

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Strike in Paterson—The C. P. L. A. and the Socialists—The Gloomy Outlook for Disarmament—Blum's Address in Vienna—Bernard Shaw and Soviet Russia

THE GOOD FIGHT IN PATERSON

I HAVE just come back from a big strike mass meeting in Paterson with new hope in my heart and fresh admiration for the courage of the men and women who are carrying on the struggle for decent standards in a chaotic industry where under pressure of hard times what little had been won in recent years was being lost.



NORMAN THOMAS

Practically all the broad silk mills are closed. The dyers and the ribbon makers are coming out next. The spirit is high and the picketing is good. On Friday of last week, after long negotiations, the United Textile Workers and the Associated Silk Workers got their new charter from the United Textile Workers for one united local. Thus was one hurtful division of the workers ended.

There is also in Paterson, as everybody knows, the National Textile Union. The trouble with it is that it is rigidly controlled by the Communist Party for Party ends. The tactics of our times call for harmony between a political party of the workers and their own union. They do not call for control of a union by a party. Nevertheless, however unfortunate may be division, in a situation like that at Paterson, the workers who in the great majority are organized under the old union banner, recognize that scabbing on any union is out of the question. And that is a great gain.

THE C. P. L. A. AND A NEW PARTY

IN handling the Paterson situation and above all in bringing the two former locals into one vigorous body the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has played a notable and very useful part. It is also giving very effective cooperation in the present strike. This is the sort of thing which justifies the C.P.L.A. and success along this line will put a different and more hopeful face on the whole American labor movement. If, however, the C.P.L.A. at this particular juncture should divert its energies into trying to establish a party in opposition to the Socialist Party or to becoming a kind of official censor of the Socialist Party—as some of its members seem to desire—it will hurt its own cause and make it difficult if not impossible for Socialists who have worked with it and want to continue to work with it to maintain their membership in the C.P.L.A.

This does not mean that friends of labor in the C.P.L.A. have no right to criticize the Socialist Party. We do not claim to be sacred. Indeed we should be glad to have our critics, if they are in earnest and constructive in their criticism, join us and help to make us better. We have always been eager for a larger and stronger grouping of labor's forces. But the C.P.L.A. is at this moment in no position in the country, for its own sake or for the sake of the labor movement, to form a bona fide labor party or to alienate Socialists by trying to act as an official censor of the Party. I do not want to overemphasize this statement. Rather I should like to emphasize the credit due to the C.P.L.A. for the fine job it has done and is doing in Paterson.

FRANCE AND DISARMAMENT

UP at the Williamstown Institute they have just been discussing disarmament. On the day when I spoke Mr. Frank Simonds painted a very gloomy picture of the impossibility of getting disarmament or, indeed, of finding any solution for Europe's troubles in terms of purely nationalistic demands. In very few of the disputed areas of Europe is there such clear right and wrong that re-drawing the boundaries would satisfy clear justice without creating new problems. That doesn't mean that some boundaries do not need rectification. It simply means that the hope of Europe lies in a degree of cooperation of nations and justice to minorities which make boundaries less important. France and her Allies have got about the boundaries they want. Hence they are afraid to disarm unless they can get a guarantee of protection against any and every attack. Moreover, France, rightly or wrongly, thinks she need not fear German economic collapse as much as Britain or the United States. Hence she is likely to stick to her present refusal to disarm without impossible guarantees to permit anything like equality in armaments, or to give Germany much better economic terms than she has got. Such at least was the impression given not only by Mr. Simonds but by the very suave spokesman for France. What the latter did not say was more important than what he said.

LEON BLUM'S HEARTENING SPEECH

IN contrast to this gloomy picture one can imagine the joy with which I read of Leon Blum's eloquent and friendly speech at the Vienna International. The hope of the world lies not in nationalism but in the friendship of French and German and all other workers whose love of their own country does not blind them to the need of cooperation for the good of all those whose toil keeps all life going in our interdependent world. Only Socialist internationalism can really solve the problem, and every growth of strength of Socialist Parties ought to make it easier to solve.

ORGANIZE THE PEACE SENTIMENT

MEANWHILE it would be both stupid and cowardly to say that the struggle at the forthcoming Geneva Conference on disarmament is already a lost battle. Ours is not a static world. There are positive forces making for internationalism and for peace. France's present complacency may not last forever. Her prosperity, such as it is, is not likely to be immortal any more than was our own in 1929. German collapse, especially violent collapse in a Hitlerite rising, would not leave France untouched. In the war debts the United States has a claim on Europe which skillful negotiators can so use as to promote both economic justice and progress in disarmament. The immediate business of Americans is not to curse France but to see that we organize public sentiment in America so that it will both discover and advance upon the road to peace. Disarmament is only one stage on the road but it is an important beginning.

FOR A HUNGER LOAN

A SOCIALIST friend makes a good point. He asks me why I speak of that billion dollar Federal loan, to be repaid out of income and inheritance taxes, as a Hunger Loan. Why not a Prosperity Loan, or a Get To Work Loan? Well, I shan't quarrel about the name. The important thing is to push agitation for the loan. That is our answer to Hoover's repeated statement that unemployment is a problem for cities and other local communities to handle. It is true that cities and local areas may be the best to administer straight relief. The problem of raising a big loan, paying for it by taxation, and putting the loan properly to work is, for reasons I have repeatedly pointed out, essentially a Federal affair.

A NOTE FROM RUSSIA

HARRY LAIDLER writes me from Russia that since he was there last summer he sees signs of real progress in many lines. Among other things, the food conditions are better. The celebrated Mr. Shaw, who has not been in Russia before but spent a few pleasant days there including his birthday, is very enthusiastic about Russia and says if he were 18 years old he'd go there to live. For lots of folks at 18 who can't get jobs in crowded England, Russia might not be a bad change if they could get in. But I wonder how long G. B. Shaw, the life long rebel, could stand the strict, rigid, and dogmatic controls that Russia would put upon him if he were a Russian Communist—or non Communist—instead of a famous visiting British Socialist, who travels with those eminent absentee American landlords, the British Astors.

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Drawn by Clive Weed

OPERATORS: The Trouble With You People Is, You Want the Earth.
MINERS: The Trouble With You Is, You've Got It.

Private Ownership of Coal Has Brought Chaos, Tyranny and Hunger—The Socialist Way Out

By Powers Hapgood

COAL MINERS throughout this country are facing a crisis. Wage reductions, slack work, misery, starvation of body and soul, are the conditions everywhere in the coal fields today.

It is hardly necessary to describe to miners how tragic their conditions have become since the collapse of their once powerful union in the bituminous industry.

BRUTALITY AND OPPRESSION FOR COAL WAGE SLAVES

For years the miners have been struggling for decent conditions. They have been attacked in ways illegal, murderous, and un-American. Against them have been used injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, evictions, operators' gunmen and private coal and iron police.

In Ludlow, the owners' agents shot down and burned women and children. In Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other coal fields the killing of miners goes on almost continuously, sometimes by operators' agents, sometimes by public officials, but always paid for out of the profits of the coal. By the deaths and accidents in the mines each year we have paid the high cost of private ownership. "If blood be the price of their legal wealth, good God, we have paid in full."

HOW THE PROFIT SYSTEM SWINDLES THE MINER

Wages are as low as thirty cents a ton for miners, and three dollars a day of ten or twelve or even more hours for day men. Most of the coal diggers have no union checkweighmen, so that it is a common thing to have half a ton or more stolen from them on each car. At times where the average weight used to be 4,400 lbs. on each car when there was a checkweighman, today, under non-union conditions, the weight is only around 3,000.

There is no pit committee to speak to in case a miner has a grievance. To voice a complaint is to lose your job. It is not unusual to see women standing at the pit-heads, each waiting for a car to come up with her husband's check on it, so that she can get a slip from the weigh boss and go to the company store to get enough food for supper. In order to hold their pitiful jobs, it is often necessary for the miners to deal only at company stores. This is causing failure after failure on the part of the business men in these communities. Their lot is becoming just as miserable and insecure as the fate of the poverty-stricken miners.

All classes of people in mining communities are suffering from the intolerable conditions in the coal industry. They are all asking the question:

"What can we do to better ourselves and our families—to get even the barest necessities of life for our wives and children?"

NATIONALIZATION—THE WAY OUT

One of the answers to this question, of course, is organization. Coal miners must have a strong, militant, honestly led union that will give them the power to command better conditions.

But even a real union will not be enough. The fundamental cause of low wages, poverty, and unemployment in the coal industry, as in all other industries today, is Private Ownership.

Economists today agree that we cannot have prosperity unless the workers, who form the great mass of the population, receive back as wages enough money to buy what they produce. Excess production, going back into business as "capital" to produce more excess production, causes business stagnation which forces shut-downs and causes unemployment.

As long as owners take more in profits than they can possibly consume, and more than is required for new investments actually demanded by industry, they make it impossible by that much for the people to buy back what they have produced.

Because the passion for profits is an essential part of private ownership, and because profits cause unemployment, there is only one possible way for the sick industries of this country to get well, and that is through public ownership of industry. That is what we mean by NATIONALIZATION.

The coal miners' only hope is the ownership of the mines by the government and the production of coal for use, and not for profit.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP WOULD HELP WORKERS

Why will the conditions of the miners be better under government ownership than under private ownership?

In the first place the government will not suffer from the cut-throat competition which causes one private operator to reduce wages when his competitor cuts his employees. There will necessarily be a national basic wage scale, with wages as the first charge against the industry. Because it will not be necessary to make profits, wages can be far higher under Nationalization.

In the second place, there will be a shorter work day to solve the problems created by the new labor-saving machines and methods of mining. A six-hour day and five-day week will produce all the coal the country can consume, so under Na-

tionalization no set of workers will be allowed to work longer hours than this. Moreover, wages will be just as high for six hours as for eight or ten. If just as much coal is produced there is just as much wealth being created in a shorter time, and the industry can pay just as much for a shorter work day.

In the third place, mining coal will be less dangerous under nationalization. Most accidents are caused by the desire of management to reduce costs. Many private owners oppose safety devices. They violate even the conservative safety laws that are now on the books. The coal industry of this country kills over 2,000 miners a year and injures tens of thousands more. Under nationalization, there would not be the competitive necessity of keeping costs of mining down to the lowest level, so that safety would increase.

A METHOD OF RUNNING NATIONALIZED MINES

Coal is a necessity. A public necessity should come under public authority. Coal mining should be considered as much a public utility as air, water, sanitation, the public highways, or the post-office. Why should we permit people to make a profit from owning coal mines any more than from owning highways or the postal service?

Any plan of nationalization of coal mines must include democratic control. The miners who work in the industry, the technicians who administer it, and the public, must all be represented in the management. The plan of nationalization issued by the United Mine Workers of America, when it was a powerful union, is one method that might be adopted. It includes the following:

1. A Secretary of Mines in the Cabinet.
2. A Federal Commission of Mines, to control budget and policy on the basis of continuous fact-finding.
3. A national mining council, to administer policies, with miners, technicians, and consumers represented.
4. The safeguarding of collective bargaining through joint-conferences.

5. Freeing production management from wage squabbles and sales problems, by making wages the first charge against the industry and therefore making wage measurement one of the functions of the Federal Commission under the principles of collective bargaining, which will be safeguarded by an independent joint wage scale committee.

Such a plan need not result in coal being more expensive to the people who use it. By eliminating the wastes of the present disgraceful competitive system through a centralized control over all coal mining, it might mean even lower prices.

Neither would the plan use up all the income from mines, leaving no funds for further development or for new equipment. The government could save part of its income from selling coal for re-investment, just as a corporation sets aside part of its income for a "surplus" account.

NO HOPE IN A POLICY AIMING AT LESS

The policy of the miners' organization for twenty years has been a policy of grievances and

small demands.

It has been a policy of conciliation. Has this policy cured grievances? Has it obtained a decent American standard of living for the miners? It has not. It has not even kept alive an organization.

Some people say that we cannot have nationalization of coal mines without a 100 per cent union and a big political labor party. Possibly, but on the other hand it is also true that we can never have a 100 per cent union and a big political party without pushing and fighting for a program of nationalization of industry.

Our organization has been almost completely crushed. Those in charge say it is because of industrial depression. Yet the miners' organizations in Europe survive and even grow stronger in the face of a worse depression than we have in America.

This is because the European unions have nationalization as the corner stone of their program. The workers keep their faith in unionism in hard times because it stands for a logical principle. It gives hope to the miners.

No union and no political labor party can flourish in this country which does not understand that under capitalism there is no hope. The lack of a 100 per cent union and a well established political labor party is not an excuse for failing to push nationalization. It is the reason why we must demand government ownership.

NATIONALIZATION OF COAL MINES MEANS:

- REGULAR WORK AT SHORTER HOURS.
- DECENT WAGES.
- MORE AIR PUMPED INTO THE MINES.
- THE END OF PREVENTABLE ACCIDENTS.
- BETTER AND HAPPIER HOMES.
- SECURITY, HEALTH, SAFETY AND FREEDOM.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY!

That is the program of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party stands for the miners and for all men and women who work. It directs its attack on the exploitation of workers in all industries, in steel, on the railroads, in the offices and on the farms, as well as against the ruthless sweating of the miners. The principle of nationalization could well be applied to all the industries which are needed by the people of the nation to supply them with the necessities of life. If this program appeals to you, the Socialist Party earnestly invites you to join its ranks. Write today to the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

The times call for determined, concerted and thoughtful action by men and women who are dissatisfied with the present order of industrial chaos, unemployment and hunger. Are you one of these men and women? Then your place is in the Socialist Party.

8000 Strike In Paterson Silk Mills

Clifton Plant Tied Up—Morale Continues High—Meetings, Picketing Among Activities

PATERSON, N. J.—(FP)—Five hundred workers in the Henry Doherty Silk Co. mill in Clifton, N. J., came out this week when Associated Silk Workers and United Textile Workers of America strikers picketed the mill. These workers had not gone out in previous strikes. Picketing stood idly by while the pickets violated the injunction which the company obtained several months ago. Under which police arrested National Textile Workers Union strikers who attempted to picket the mill.

The mass violation of the injunction and the striking of the mill force a great wedge into the ranks of the manufacturers, union officials say. The pickets, 500 strong, stayed on the Paterson city line, virtually picketing the town of Clifton, where the police are especially vicious.

The efforts to come to an amicable agreement in the textile labor dispute failed when the mayor's committee on conciliation met representatives of the A. F. of L. and the Commission Manufacturers League of America in the Chamber of Commerce. The session, presided over by Dr. Andrew J. McBride, former state commissioner of labor and chairman of the mayor's committee, brought out only distrust on both sides.

Ten More Shops Join
"Commission manufacturers as a whole are strictly dishonorable," charged Joseph Matthews, a leader of the A. F. of L. strikers, who added, "There isn't a manufacturer in this room who has not violated agreements with the workers made in past strikes, particularly the 1928 scab." "It's very nice to sit about a table and discuss ideals," he said, "but it's money we want." The conciliation efforts met an impasse when John Hyde, spokesman for the commission men, said they couldn't pay more than they do until prices go up.

Ten more shops, employing between 700 and 800 workers, have also been pulled out by the A. F. of L. strikers, bringing the total to more than 8,000. Another man has been arrested for distributing handbills in the vicinity of the Weidmann plant. In reply to reports that police plan to "beat down" on Communist pickets, Louis Budenz of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, issued a statement from the joint action committee of the A. F. of L. groups, saying "it is the right of strikers to picket, and the A. F. of L. group will insist upon this right for the National Textile Workers Union as for ourselves."

Charges of police brutality and racial hatred were made by the united front strike committee of the N. T. W. U. following the arrest of two Negro pickets after a fight in the picket line at the Weidmann silk dyeing plant. The Negroes, held in \$1,000 bail each, charged the police beat them with nightsticks.

The strikers are maintaining a fine solidarity as they are determined not to endure the starvation wages that have been paid by the employing class. Mass meetings are being held in a large hall which are being addressed by speakers in various languages and these meetings are fighting spirit of the workers.

This week Norman Thomas, James O'Neal, Leo Ryzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Louis Budenz and others have addressed mass meetings. An effort is also being made to have Heywood Brown speak at one of these meetings next week.

"Back-to-Work" Move Fails to Hurt Pitts. Taxi Strike

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Parmelee Transportation Company's biggest card in its fight to crush the union of its drivers, a back-to-work movement led by disgruntled leaders of the 1930 strike, flopped when an announced 432 men shrank to a little over 100. At least one signer of the back-to-work statement, published in daily papers as an advertisement, had been dead for a matter of six months.

With the encouragement of the forces attempting to break the strike, gangsters have repeatedly raided the union's office smashing windows and pitching office furniture from the second floor into the street. On each occasion the union has restored its big banner on the front of its headquarters, "STRIKE STILL ON BIGGER AND BETTER."

The services of a complainant justice of the peace have been secured by the Parmelee company in a small borough far out of the city where union taxi men arrested on the street or even illegally in their homes are rushed to and forced to place bond. It is hoped in this way to bust the union's treasury.

Bronx Workers Called to Join Anti-War Rally

The first of a series of large open-air demonstrations to be held under the auspices of the Bronx County Socialist branches will be held this Saturday, August 8. The arrangements committee has been exceedingly busy in marshalling the Bronx membership and the Y. P. S. L. for an impressive parade and striking slogans to be carried. This parade will begin at the Bronx County headquarters, 908 Prospect avenue, and the line of march will take them through a goodly part of East Bronx.

Herman Woskow, chairman, has worked hard to make this demonstration a success and urges every Party member, Yipsel and sympathizer to join the parade, which will begin promptly at 8:30 p. m.

The demonstration will conclude with a monster open-air meeting at Prospect and Longwood avenues. A large platform, amplifier, posters, and other decorations will provide the forum for the following speakers: James O'Neal, I. Shipiloff, Rachel Panken, Samuel A. DeWitt, Samuel Orr, Aaron Levenstein, Louis Hendin, Henry Fruchter and Herman Woskow.

Doak Submits Phoney Report On Job Bureau

Claim He Placed 638,689 Workers Draws Horselaughs in Capital

WASHINGTON (FP)—President Hoover issued to the press on August 4 a report made to him by Secretary of Labor Doak, after their week-end conference at the Rapidan camp on the growing seriousness of the unemployment situation. This report asserted that the Hoover-Doak U. S. Employment Service, with "cooperating employment offices," had found jobs for 638,689 persons between April 1 and July 31. It further claimed that the U. S. Employment Service alone had placed 281,769 of these unemployed in the jobs it had found. Newspaper men who had specialized on the unemployment crisis met this claim with a derisive laugh. They branded the figures as false.

When John R. Alpine, head of Doak's department, was invited to explain the alleged total of 281,769 jobs found for the jobless, he refused to furnish any evidence or to make any detailed claims. He said that his figures were right, but he would not answer questions as to what offices had found the jobs, or what industries had provided them, or give any other information upon which his mere assertion could be checked.

The "cooperative" employment offices include all of the employment services maintained by cities and states, and various private agencies. It is understood that the Alpine figures are based largely on a claim that the U. E. Employment Service, and none other, must be given credit for the fact that Western farmers had to employ their usual 150,000 migratory laborers in harvest for a week or two. It is not certain that this 150,000 does not represent an actual 50,000 to 75,000 men who took two or more jobs each during these four months. The farmers made application, as is their custom, for a certain number of harvest hands; the federal bureau listed the total for the entire period as being part of its record job-finding.

This report was received with the more disbelief because Doak asserted that he had not discussed public affairs or unemployment with Hoover during their week-end huddle of three days. The White House had hinted, when they went to the Rapidan, that Hoover and his Labor Secretary were to discuss and agree upon a scheme of unemployment relief—presumably a device by which cities and counties should be asked to bear the burden of this relief for the coming fall and winter. But they divulged nothing on the subject of relief, and no fact to back up the empty political claim that they had found 281,000 jobs for the jobless.

Ryan Fights Pay Cuts From Leviathan Suite; Praises Pres. Hoover

(From The N. Y. Times)
FIGHTS WAGE REDUCTIONS
Longshoremen's Head Applauds Hoover Stand for Stable Pay
Wireless to The New York Times
ABOARD S. S. LEVIATHAN, SEA, Aug. 8.—Joseph F. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, said today that with national unemployment growing, employed workmen were carrying a heavy burden in relieving the jobless and could not stand wage reductions. He applauded President Hoover's action in opposing wage cuts.

Rockefellers Break Word, Slash Wages

20 Per Cent Lopped Off Pay of Colorado Coal Miners

Rockefeller Vacationing; Silent on Wage Slashes

Appeals to John D. Rockefeller Jr. to act to cancel wage cuts announced last week for employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in which the Rockefellers are reputed to have a large controlling interest, brought no comment from him. At his office at 26 Broadway it was said he had no comment to make. It is understood Mr. Rockefeller is spending the summer at his estate at Seal Harbor, Me.

DENVER, Colo.—(FP)—The Rockefeller Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. has cut 20% in the wages of its coal miners, dropping a bluff it has carried for two months that it was opposed to wage cuts. On June 2 Pres. Arthur Roeder wrote the industrial commission that the company was "opposed to any reduction of wages." This was hailed by the press as showing John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s attitude. Labor charged that the C. F. & I. was secretly cutting wages by forcing its men to petition for cuts and was backing small companies in their wage-slashing policy. The State Federation of Labor has demanded criminal prosecution of Rockefeller officials for breaking the industrial commission law. Many trade unionists have been jailed under this law but none of John D.'s lieutenants has ever even faced a charge in court.

Labor has warned the state that another wage cut might mean a coal strike which in the past has meant the killing of striking miners, their wives and babies by Rockefeller gunmen and Rockefeller-controlled state police. Colorado's coal history has been a series of bitter struggles by the miners for a decent standard of living, usually ending with higher wages as the 1927 strike did but with the loss of the lives of many of the workers. Always the Rockefeller influence has been on the side of the killings, evictions, low wages, price wars, crooked politics, control of schools, preachers and the press to hide his methods. The present wage cut announced is from \$6.25 a day to \$5.25. It affects 5,000 miners directly and as many more indirectly. The only miners not likely to be affected are the employees of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. Under its agreement with the United Mine Workers of America, this company may cut wages when competitors do. But the management has announced that it will not follow the Rockefeller lead as yet. It has bitterly scored the wagecutting policy of the billionaire concern and is working with the labor movement to oppose wage decreases in all industries.

A Bullet-Riddled Flag Is Raised

Under these trees that shelter their furniture they assemble for a meeting. They set up in the midst of their meeting an American flag, an old flag, with forty-six not forty-eight stars. The flag, they say, "was carried all through the 1912 fight on Paint Creek, through the armed march of the aroused miners. These five have been not bitten through by bullets, they were shot through by rifle bullets. The stain here is from the blood of a union man shot in that strike." Deep is their spirit of rebellion, real their knowledge of sacrifice, uncompromising their devotion to the Union of Miners.

The leader gets up to speak. The men say that he was put in the "Bull Pen" (jail) in the 1922 strike. He asks one of the assembled men to pray. All bow as the humble man voices their complaint. "Oh, Lord, Thou who hast created us and given us this Earth for our use, We pray thee here in the open air, We pray, Oh Lord, that thou wilt be with us. May thou reveal to us that which has come upon us. It is as Thou hast predicted, when it was said, 'They should be thrust out of the synagogues and houses of unrighteousness.' Oh, God, protect the women and little children. Out here at the mercy of the weather. (The grizzled head of their leader is bowed and he brushes the tears from his eyes). May Thy spirit move over those who have put us here. Oh, Lord, they know not what they do. Bless us and protect us that we might endure as Thy Saviour did. Even this cross, Amen."

A Lecture on Debs Under the Trees
The president of the Union then called upon the visiting Labor Chautauque of the League for Industrial Democracy to lead the people in singing "Solidarity Forever." Next he introduces as speaker, one who is said to be a "Gospel Preacher." The sheriffs are after him for attending a strike meeting last Sunday in which a woman was shot. Shot by a company boss who is now released on bail. The preacher gets up to speak. "Men, I'm not a miner and there are few persons ever accused me of doing much work. But there may be some as can come here and be on the fence when they don't have to be scared of their jobs. As for me, I want it to be known which side I stand by and I ain't doing no rooting for the company."

The next person called on to speak was a young girl. She said, "You men are out here and you ought to have backbone enough to stay out. If you men go back for twenty-eight cents a ton, if you are so mean and cowardly as to go back for that, don't ever speak to me again. My dad went back and worked three days and when he went to the company store to get some scrip they wouldn't give him any. He had to go to the Friday that their plans for evicting 58 strikers' families at Ward, had been frustrated by the W. Va. Mine Workers' union which filed cash bonds for appeal. This means that the Kelly's Creek Collieries Company, the most hardboiled in the field, cannot throw strikers out and put scabs in their houses before October at the earliest. Money for the bonds was furnished by a well-to-do woman who came to see for herself the conditions under which miners live here to flaunt the human power of the Union in the face of property loving operators."

WASHINGTON (FP)—President Hoover's declaration of July 28 that he was still opposed to wage cutting, has been marred by a member of his "Little Cabinet"—R. W. Dunlap, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture—who on July 30 proposed a cut of 10 percent in civil service and other state salaries, with a 20 percent slash for those drawing \$5,000 or more.

Evictions of Miners in Two Strikes Strengthens Spirit of Workers to Fight On

Union Defeats Ouster Move in Ward, Va.—Other News From the Coal Fronts

By ANDREW J. STEIGER

(New Leader Correspondent)
EIGHTHENTON, W. Va.—Sheltered by the protecting branches of a few beech trees, sweltering in the heat of a July sun, a group of seventy strikers assembled to meet. Their household furnishings scattered about the open field that stretches away from the line of trees toward the mountains. Smoke rises from a kitchen range standing out in the open meadow and spreads widely in the chimney of the open sky. A dismantled bed leans against a tree. The boards of a kitchen table curl in the scorching rays of the sun. On a tree trunk is hung a wall decoration, the picture of George Washington, father of the country, frowning down upon unfamiliar scenes.

The line of trees surmount the fence for five hundred yards and truckload after truckload of house furnishings is dumped unceremoniously along the way. Each family stakes its claim in the vanishing line of shaded ground beneath the trees. Here lies a three-months old baby, cooling in its cradle. Clouds overhead sweep the distant mountain range with ominous shadows.

Ten families have already been moved out of their homes by the Hughton Gas and Coal Co.; sixty children must sleep the night without a tent to shelter them. Twenty fathers and mothers must endure this defeat of their hopes for a happy home life. More evictions are threatened. The men who are most active in Union meetings are picked out first to be thrown out. They will evict all who refuse to work for them because they own the company houses. Men have worked for them during the past six months, have had their rent, doctor bills, burial fund, their powder, their light and coal bill, and their store bill deducted to come out at the end of every two-week period with nothing left over for the family. They have worked honestly and have not drawn one cent of real money during that time. The evicted families have been loyal to the West Virginia Mine Workers Union which called a strike here on July 6th. They have refused to continue working under the conditions they faced. They will refuse and now are without homes.

Evictions Halted At Ward, Va.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—An appellate mine superintendent and an apprehensive constable discovered

him any. He had to go to the Union to get a sack of flour. Keeney is a square man, he fed us, even if dad did go back on the Union. If you men go back and work, if you are as low down, and cowardly as to work, I hope you don't get enough scrip to buy a pound of coffee. If you have so little backbone as to go back to that mine, I hope you don't get nothing. That's what they gave my dad."

Just as these miners have been talking for thirty years, they talked yesterday—of the Children of Israel in the wilderness; of the Pharaoh who hardened his heart; of Frank Keeney who came like Moses to lead them into the Promised Land. Union songs and a lecture on "Gene Debs" blended strangely well with scriptural exhortation. Men and women brushed away tears, stiffening their backs for new burdens.

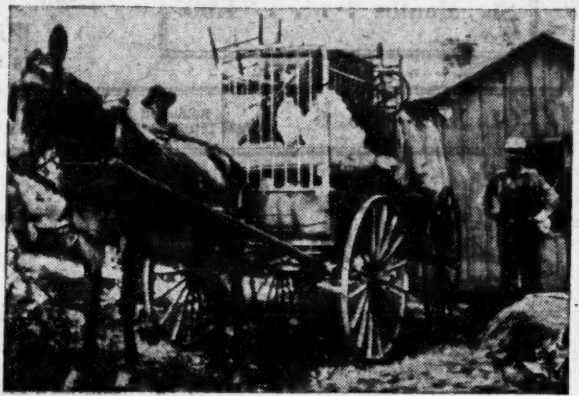
The union continues its fight by grounding tents to shelter its members. A tent colony shall rise to flaunt the human power of the Union in the face of property loving operators. The agreement gained with the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company has not ended the strike at these mines. Violations of what the men understood to be the agreement and inability to live on the low rate on which the U. M. W. A. officials settled has brought a large group of the men who had returned to work back out on strike.

State Recognizes Socialist Relief
After considerable delay, the Welfare Department of the State of Pennsylvania has granted a permit to the Socialist Party Miners Relief Fund to operate as a fund soliciting agency. At the same time, the Welfare Department transmitted a check for \$5 received by the Governor from a church school in Connecticut with the request that it be used for the relief of miners' families in western Pennsylvania. Inasmuch as the Socialist Relief Fund was the only agency pledged to an impartial distribution, as well as a full accounting of all funds received, it was chosen as the proper distributing agency. This is the only contribution made by any church group thus far, and it is a fair commentary on the complete callousness both of church and state to the hopeless distress in one of our fundamental industries.

The State of Pennsylvania not only has made no effort to relieve starving miners, except to make a vain call on the Red Cross, but had no adequate machinery of its own to aid its citizenry. As is and must always be the case, it is the working class that is carrying for its own in the present coal strike. The operations of the Socialist Committee have so far been confined to the Pittsburgh district but weekly shipments have been increased from three to four weekly reaching thirty communities in rotation. Funds gathered have built up a reserve which is being maintained at its present level in spite of expenditures. Contributions of clothes and shoes have been received from all parts of the United States and Canada, but the need grows each day and far outstrips the supply. Contributions to maintain the vital strike relief work in the Pittsburgh district must continue to come to the Socialist Party Miners Relief Fund at 611 Penn. avenue, Pittsburgh. Contributions of materials from Pittsburgh Socialists have enabled the Fund to extend itself so as to repair the makeshift barracks at Cedar Grove where, as in the darkest months of the 1927 strike, mass evictions have driven the miners.

August 1st saw anti-war demonstrations spread all the way along the seventy mile front of the present strike. The expansion of workers' anti-war propaganda meetings here is due to the radical leadership of the strike. The anti-war meetings were staged in a score of centers in that part of western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The attempt of the U. M. W. A. to gain allegiance of miners in the Ohio, western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, who are struck under the leadership of the N. M. U., has so far failed miserably.



EVICTED! The poor "household furniture" of a West Virginia miner thrown into the road by the operators who own the shacks. The union removed the beds and chairs to a tent colony.

Friday that their plans for evicting 58 strikers' families at Ward, had been frustrated by the W. Va. Mine Workers' union which filed cash bonds for appeal. This means that the Kelly's Creek Collieries Company, the most hardboiled in the field, cannot throw strikers out and put scabs in their houses before October at the earliest. Money for the bonds was furnished by a well-to-do woman who came to see for herself the conditions under which miners live here to flaunt the human power of the Union in the face of property loving operators."

Mrs. Martha Stanley, who was shot in the abdomen by "Doc" Pack, a drunken gunman employed by the Imperial Collieries Company at Burnwell Sunday, is now considered out of danger. Pack and his buddy, John Wallace, Company "safety" director who is accused of firing a third shot which wounded a 14-year-old boy in the knee, are to be tried August 5.

Except for the relief situation, which is very acute, the strike is in excellent shape. The Kanawha Coal Operators' Association took no official action on the union's proposal for a settlement, but individual operators are asking for conferences. Evictions have taken place in Blakely.

Penna. Refuses Relief; Turns Job Over to Socialists

By ARTHUR J. McDOWELL

(New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—Comfortable as Pittsburgh citizens shifted uncomfortably as the first pictures of mass evictions of miners from homes appeared in Pittsburgh papers during the closing week of the first two months of the miners' strike in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. Evictions, a score or more each week in some camps, have been going on for more than a month. But the first mass evictions near Pittsburgh to get public attention were those at the Pittsburgh Terminal Mines on the very outskirts of the city where the U. M. W. A. officials negotiated an agreement over the heads of the miners some weeks ago but where a good portion of the men have steadfastly refused to transfer their allegiance from the National Miners Union which organized them and where many others have walked out again after returning to work under the "agreement."

In Indiana, Pa., the action of the Helvetia Coal Company in carrying out 67 evictions against its miners for membership in the United Mine Workers drew a biting telegraphic protest from Governor Pinchot who protested the blow of the evictions and 16 arrests for rioting for which he had secured warrants many of his men were returning to work. The Indiana operator pointed out that miners professing allegiance to the U. M. W. A. in this central field section were spreading the strike by mass marches similar to that of the National Miners Union in Pittsburgh.

Police, Bosses, Thugs Continue Violence

Police arrogance and lawlessness around Pittsburgh increase day by day. At Harmarville, in the Allegheny valley, deputies, former coal and iron police, stopped truck loads of strike pickets on the public roads without warrant or showing of cause and threw gas into the crowded trucks and drove the strikers back to their homes. At Wellsburg, West Va., on the Pennsylvania line, eighteen members of the National Miners Union local, including all officers, are still held on the basis of an alleged confession of the local president that the union has "conspired" to use firearms to prevent scabs from entering the mines. The case bears all the usual marks of a frame-up. A Pittsburgh Press reporter who interviewed the men found they scarcely spoke any English and had no apparent knowledge of any confession. The district attorney declares that the only reason he is not holding the entire picket line was a lack of jail room.

The attempt of the U. M. W. A. to gain allegiance of miners in the Ohio, western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, who are struck under the leadership of the N. M. U., has so far failed miserably.

action of the police, only ten known arrests having been made. The meeting at Monaca, Pa., home of the Pittsburgh Steel Co. (Mellon) was broken up, as was that at Versailles on the outskirts of the McKeesport National Tube unit of U. S. Steel. Meetings of some thousand mine and steel workers in West Side Park, Pittsburgh, and of several hundred coal miners and aluminum workers at New Kensington went off without interference.

Repression Grew in '30, Survey Shows

Free Speech Fared Badly—Strikers Victimized—Lynchings on Increase

ATTACKS on free speech and attempts to suppress strikes throughout the country are so persistent that the American Civil Liberties Union voices apprehension for the immediate future in making public its 11th annual report. "The situation is less outwardly tense than in 1930," the Union declares, "but it has in its explosive qualities, with the depression continuing and relief wholly inadequate. Next winter may well see resort to disorderly, even violent outbursts of men and women driven to desperation."

Nineteen thirty was the worst year since the war for free speech prosecutions and for meetings broken up or prohibited, the Union finds. Free speech prosecutions totaled 1,630, against 228 in 1929. There were 27 lynchings in 1930, against 11 in 1929 and 11 in 1928. Negroes, strikers, and aliens have been the principal victims of repression in recent months. Police departments in various cities broke up radical meetings and picket lines. New York City has the worst record for 1930.

Denial of civil liberties increased in California, Illinois, New York, Oregon, North Dakota, and the Philippines. Correspondents credited the American Legion with being the most active agent of repression, with the daughters of the American Revolution second. More important gains were scored for civil liberty in the year ending June 1 than in any recent year, the Union finds. Three notable decisions were handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court; it voided the Minnesota press gag law, reversed a conviction under the California anti-red flag statute and required recognition of a bona fide trade union and dissolution of a company union. In New York the Court of Appeals reversed the Post Office ban on Mooney-Billings envelopes, and reversed the conviction of Mary Ware Bennett for sending her pamphlet, "The Sex Side of Life," through the mails.

Five convictions under the Ohio criminal syndicalism laws were reversed by the state court of appeals, and an Ohio judge held that a badge against the old law unconstitutional. Elmer Smith was reinstated to law practice in Washington State; he had been disbarred in 1925 for his defense of the Centralia I. W. W. Armistice Day prisoners; one of those prisoners, was released as sane by a new jury. In New Jersey an anti-Fascist, railroaded to an insane asylum for his views, was freed.

Barring of alien pacifists from citizenship by the U. S. Supreme Court tops the list of set-backs recorded.

Hillquit Withdraws as Counsel in Oil Suit

The New Leader has been advised by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, in a letter sent from Paris July 11th, that he has withdrawn as counsel for former owners of Russian oil lands in their suit against the Standard and Vacuum oil companies to recover for the loss of their properties.

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'Fusion' Takes Another Flop In Reading, Pa.

G.O.P. and Democrats, Hungry for Office, Fall Out Again

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING.—Prospects of a sweeping Socialist victory in the municipal election next November rose to a new high level this week when the plans of a few self-appointed dictators to name a fusion ticket of Democrats and Republicans to oppose the city Socialists fell with a sickening thud. At the same time, the hopes of the fusionists, together with their hand-picked slate, were jarred so severely that the slate is a cracked. As a result, Andy Fink, contractor, G. O. P. school director and protégé of the "Reading Times," and John M. Seasholtz, a former G. O. P. school director who quit his post under fire and who gets his bread by exploiting workers in an enameling plant have both been repudiated as fusion candidates by their own parties. Andy wanted to be city treasurer and Seasholtz wanted for council.

The plans of the fusion committee, composed largely of big manufacturers, a number of whom are not citizens of Reading, failed to click with the rank and file voters of the two old parties from the beginning. The real break came when, in a stormy meeting from which members of the fusion committee and the Republican city committee agreed to the candidacy of Heber Ermentrout, Democrat, for Mayor and George M. Yocum, Republican, for council, he refused to accept Fink and Seasholtz. The Democratic city committee was more docile than the Republicans and, over the vigorous objection of former councilman Edward Hunter, swallowed the ticket which was handed to them by the county manufacturers.

The net result of all the internal dissension which has been brewing in the old party ranks for some time and which was brought to a head by the fusion fiasco has been to popularize the Socialist administration of Reading. Thousands of people who, up to this time thoughtlessly accepted their politics on tradition and the more they think matters over the more they understand that their best interests as citizens of Reading will be served by continuing the kind of public service which the Socialists have been giving.

Nor is the reaction against the old party leaders confined to the city. Throughout all Berks County the rural and suburban voters are learning a lesson from the battle in which their leaders are embroiled. They, too, are studying the situation in Reading and coming to the conclusion that the kind of service which the Socialists have given to Reading would be highly beneficial to the county. As a result, the old party leaders, falling out and honest men getting their due is likely to be exemplified next November by a Socialist landslide which will not only sweep the city but send Socialists to the new courthouse as well. Should this happen, the Democratic vote traders of Reading will be properly punished for their willingness to trade with their former enemies on what rank and file Democrats consider are cowardly terms.

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Bauer Urges Finish Fight On Fascism

Austrian Leader Says International Will Use Revolutionary Opportunities

REPRESENTATIVES of Socialist Small Peasant Organizations met in Vienna at the same time as the Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and we believe that this is the first time in the history of the Socialist movement that such a conference has been held.

The agenda included the following: (1) The International Agrarian Bank and the Organized Small Peasantry; (2) Discussion on the international policy of the existing unions of Small Peasants in the future; (3) Miscellaneous.

The International Congress closed its sessions last Saturday, but the important decisions are not yet available here. One of the outstanding features of the Congress was the speech of Otto Bauer, the Austrian Marxist and leader of the Austrian Socialists, who declared that Socialists would try to meet the crisis in Central Europe by peaceful and democratic measures but that Socialists would not hesitate to use the crisis to overthrow capitalism and seize political power if democratic measures are made impossible. This was a warning to the Fascist and monarchist elements who are fishing in the troubled waters of Germany and other countries where the economic crisis is severe.

I. L. P. Motion Rejected

After rejecting a motion by the Independent Labor Party the Congress adopted a resolution submitting proposals for refusal to grant military credits and for common action against governments which provoke the danger of war to the permanent disarmament commission of the International and of the International Trade Union Congress for an immediate report.

In the debate on the motion, Filippo Turati, exiled leader of the Italian delegation, said amid applause:

"I speak for a country which is most interested in the disarmament question, because Fascism is war, and war means Fascism. Fascism is not a domestic Italian affair, but is an enemy to international cooperation, and the International must conquer it."

The same note was sounded by Bauer in an eagerly awaited speech on the position of Central Europe. A victory of Fascism, backed by German industry, would destroy all hope of peace in Europe and international disarmament, he said. Capitalism no longer is in a position to make use of its own resources, he asserted.

Bauer Hits Fascism

"We demand large-scale international credit action for Germany but will not permit it to be associated with political conditions. It is the task of German workers to defeat German Fascism. Although the cooperation of Socialists with bourgeois parties contains serious danger we do not wish in this serious hour to limit the freedom of German Socialism."

"We Socialists have always declared we are not the guarantors of the injustice of the peace treaties, but although we consider their revision necessary there is something we consider still more sacred to working class. Do not set your hopes on Fascism or on Communism; your only hope is victory of your Socialist comrades in France, England and everywhere in Europe."

"We must, however, consider that a catastrophe in Central Europe would mark the beginning of a new epoch for Socialism in the world and set before it unusual tasks. Our way is not the way of terror and dictatorship. We do not wish to sacrifice freedom for the sake of Socialism but to us it is the fight for Socialism. Only if democratic means of fighting are barred from the working class will we conduct the fight by other means."

The Insanity of Capitalism

Fruit Crops Rotting Away in Orchards While Hundreds of Thousands Hunger

EVERY week the reports relating to agriculture show the oldest industry of mankind sinking. It was the boast of Hoover and of Smith in 1928 that their respective parties would place agriculture on an equality with urban industry.

The month of July closed as the most tragic month that has faced the tillers of the soil in two decades. By the end of the month the general farm price level declined to the lowest in 21 years!

The grains index declined ten points in July as a result of a further sharp decline in wheat and lesser declines in oats and barley. The fruits and vegetables index followed wheat to lower levels, the net decline being four points.

Our attention has been directed to the desperate toilers in the wheat belt and now it is the turn of the fruit growers to be tortured by the prospect of a season of work and no income from their labor. No matter where the fruit grower turns, capitalism stands in his way.

Fruit Is Rotting Away

Men, women and children of the cities, especially those starving in the mining areas, need the fruit, yet vast quantities are going to waste. The peach crop alone is estimated at 78 million bushels, an excess over last year of 25 millions bushels, yet the growers do not receive a price that will pay the cost of crating and shipment!

The fruit is rotting in the orchards. The fruit growers have their labor for nothing. The jobless hunger for lack of fruit. The railroads will not ship without being paid transportation charges. The middlemen who stand between the growers and those who need the food insist on taking their toll.

A bright official of the New York State Department of Agriculture offers the suggestion that the fruit growers contribute something "from their abundance for the relief of sunny-faced, but unfortunate childhood."

Not a bad suggestion, to be sure, but how are the growers to get the fruit into the cities? They cannot stand the costs of shipment and the workers cannot migrate to Georgia, the great fruit area, where the fruit is going to waste.

While Workers Go Hungry

A. D. Jones, director of the Bureau of Markets of the Georgia Department of Agriculture, made the following answer to this proposal:

"It is good idea but not practicable. Refrigeration and freight costs on shipments to New York total about 80 cents a bushel. Picking and packing cost 40 cents. If some charitable organization will pay for the picking and packing and the railroads will haul the peaches without charge, I will obtain all they want."

"Thousands of acres of peach orchards are being abandoned in this State and half of the State's estimated production of 8,000 cars of Elberta peaches will rot on the ground. Georgia growers will be glad to give them to the unemployed or the needy if some one will pay for picking and shipping."

The supply is in Georgia and the demand is in thousands of cities and mining centers. The fruit growers are willing to give and the workers are eager to accept, but the fruit is rotting and will no doubt continue to rot. The fruit growers will see their financial resources disappear as the fruit rots and the bankers will foreclose on mortgages and loans. The jobless will tighten their belts and be unable to answer the eager questions of wife

and children as they return day by day from a fruitless search for work.

Was there ever such lunacy since the first nut was placed in a padded cell?

Food Not Grown to Eat!

What's the matter? Are we all looney? No. *We are sane human beings living in the craziest social order that ever emerged out of history.*

Except the hermit and a few people isolated from civilization, we do not produce things with the idea that we are going to use them. The farmer produces to sell, not to use. The capitalist owners of industry have commodities produced to sell, not to use them.

Then the owners of railroads enter the picture. They transport commodities not because they want to use them. The middlemen at the terminals take over the commodities not because they want to use them, but because they want to sell them.

So it goes. We produce things not because we want to use them or because anybody else wants to use them. It is a case of buy and sell or sell and buy. *In this exchange of commodities human welfare is completely lost.* It counts for nothing in the system of capitalist production.

The Insanity of Capitalism

We not only produce commodities but we are commodities ourselves. Capitalism reduces everything to merchandise. So fruit rots and the fruit grower sinks into debt. Wheat wastes in the grain belt while the jobless perish. Bread sells at the same price today with wheat selling at 35 cents that it sold for when the farmer received three times what he now receives.

Collective ownership of our powers of production, distribution and exchange and managed for the use and service of the masses would wipe out these tragic contradictions. We would produce fruits, grains, bread, clothing, shoes and other things for our use.

Here is an illustration. Great shoe plants are owned by capitalists who buy labor power and sell shoes. Millions of workers and their families without good shoes could use shoes but they cannot buy them. So there is a deadlock. *Owners cannot use and cannot sell and workers cannot use because they cannot buy!*

This is the insane capitalism that condemns us to unemployment and starvation.

The same situation faces the tillers of the soil. They cannot use and cannot sell and the city workers cannot use because they cannot buy.

There Is Enough for All

Remember, there is enough produced to supply the wants of all, but we cannot get things to those who want to use them because in this system it is a case of buy and sell or sell and buy!

Let us look forward to a system of production for use and comfort, for the welfare of all who do useful work. That is the Socialist aim all over the world. Fruit will not then rot and fruit growers will not sink in debt. Men, women and children in the cities will not then starve for lack of fruit and other farm products.

Production for use and enjoyment, not for profits and dividends. We will no longer have this crying injustice: those who labor do not own while those who own do not labor.

Capitalism must be abolished. A Socialist cooperative commonwealth must take its place. All useful workers should be recruited in the Socialist struggle to destroy our insane capitalism and realize this commonwealth of production for use and human welfare, the hope of the world.

Chile Bosses Fear Return Of Alessandri

Ousting of Dictator Ibanez Traced to His Devotion to the Upper Classes

UNDERLYING the revolt in Chile which ousted the dictator, General Ibanez, is a conflict between the students organized in the Student Federation, which played a leading role in the revolt, and the working class. The students have announced their opposition to the return of Arturo Alessandri to the Presidency. The latter was overthrown by Ibanez in 1925 and was forced to flee the country.

Alessandri's election in 1920 brought about a complete transformation of the Chilean political panorama. Until then the country had been ruled by a small oligarchy of wealthy land owners who occupied all the higher offices of the government. Alessandri's election was a proletarian victory over these wealthy landlords, and he was looked upon as an apostle of the working classes.

He was elected on a platform for separation of church and State, votes for women, taxes on incomes, a special code of laws to protect the working classes and government control of the nitrate industry.

Workers were aided for sick and accident benefits for laborers soon put a tremendous tax on business, especially foreign business. American mines were forced to pay many thousands of dollars to miners who were hurt in accidents.

Employees could not be discharged until they had received a month's salary for every year that they had been employed, with a minimum three-month bonus. All labor disputes were heard before special labor courts and the laborer or employee was always right.

Radical elements soon got the upper hand and the situation got beyond Alessandri's control. Then began incessant strikes of a Communist nature. Five years of this produced the reaction which gave General Ibanez his reactionary backing. He sent all agitators to Robinson Crusoe Island and there was no labor trouble while he was in power.

Refuses to Leave Country
Business and industry have not forgotten the Alessandri regime and they are taking an active part in the opposition to his returning to the Presidency. An ambassadorship in Europe has been offered to him, but before leaving Buenos Aires he is reported to have emphatically stated he would not accept such an appointment. "I am not going to live in exile again, even on a salary," he asserted.

It is not easy to interpret the rift between the students and the workers but it is probable that the former are representative of middle class and professional families who are against an arbitrary regime like that of Ibanez but are also opposed to the far-reaching social legislation which Alessandri favored for the workers. On the other hand it is reported that some of the workers oppose Alessandri, probably because they believe that his extensive program might lead to another counter-revolution.

Labor and Socialist International, the actual spokesman of Socialism in the council of the capitalist powers, the one-time iron molder, Arthur Henderson.

"This fact is symbolic:—The conflicts between bourgeois nations have brought the capitalist world to deadly peril; if by any means the economic life of the world can be protected from an unprecedented sharpening of the crisis and a frightful increase of unemployment, if by any means the democracy of Europe can be protected from further inroads of Fascism, if by any means world peace can be protected from the menacing intensification of nationalistic antagonisms—it can be only by the wisdom, the will to peace, and the unifying force of international Socialism. That is the significance of the scene in Paris; and the scene in Paris illustrates the meaning and the task of the gathering at Vienna. . . . Paris is the great today of Socialism; Vienna the points to its yet greater tomorrow."

Roland Mane, writing on "The Future of Republican Spain" in La Vie Socialiste for July 4, makes the interesting statement that the Spanish Socialists could have had an even larger delegation in the constituent assembly than they actually have, if they had not deliberately limited the number of their candidates. They feared, he indicates, that the popular enthusiasm of the moment might give them so large a representation that they would be compelled to assume the responsibility of government and would then be expected to achieve far more than the economic condition of the country and the political development of the masses would make possible. If this be the fact, it is one more proof of the extraordinary sober judgment and freedom from emotional illusions by which our party in Spain is distinguished.

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Influence of Socialist Parties Eased Europe Through Crisis

French Socialists Win New Seat in Chamber—Other Notes From Europe

By Algernon Lee

PARIS.—Over the portals of public buildings all over Paris today (July 20) one sees the red-gold-black of the German republic displayed along with the French tricolor. They are only pieces of bunting, it is true. They are the flags of two bourgeois states, it is true. But the tricolor, like the Marseillaise, can never completely cease to speak to one's heart about 1789 and 1793; and the red-gold-black is after all the flag of 1848 and of 1918. For the first time in 17 years it has become possible for them to hang here side by side.

The occasion, of course, is the official visit of Bruening and Curtius to confer with the French, British, American and other ministers of state and of finance about international measures for the relief of the economic crisis which a few days ago threatened catastrophe and chaos in Central Europe, with all the possibilities of war and reaction which that would imply. On their face, the discussions appear commonplace enough, not to say sordid. To some extent they are so in fact. Yet whoever will recall the attitude of the French government and the general tone of the French press only ten or twelve days ago must recognize that a victory has been won for peace between nations and friendly understanding among the peoples. And only those who are obstinately blind can fail to see that this victory is largely due to the wholesome and humane influence of the French Socialists, of the German Social Democracy, and perhaps above all of the British Labor Party. It is to the credit of MacDonald and Henderson that they claim no credit for their share in the work. To get

the thing done is much more important than to win praise for it.

Our French comrades are rightly elated over the outcome of a parliamentary by-election at Macon on July 12, which gives our party a seat in the chamber formerly held by a Socialist Radical. (The Socialistic Radicals, it should be understood, who are always spoken of as "Radical Socialists" in American newspapers, are not Socialists at all and are not radical enough in any way to make a fuss about.) At the first balloting on July 5 none of the five candidates had a majority, but the Socialist led. A desperate effort was then made to combine the bourgeois left and center elements, but the voters took the bit in their teeth and our man won by a large margin.

More than 100,000 textile workers in and around Roubaix—the old Guesdist stronghold in the north, on the Belgian frontier—are now in the tenth week of a bitter strike against the attempt of the employer's association to reduce their wages. Several thousands have gone back under settlements with particular employers approved by the strike committee. The rest are standing firm, despite the hardship and suffering which such a prolonged strike entails. Thousands of the children have been taken away to other places to be cared for by working people until the strike is over. The relief fund raised by Labor and Socialist organizations all over France amounts so far to more than \$46,000—which is as good as a quarter of a million would be in our country, considering the difference of wages—and every day contributions are pouring in.

We visited the party's book store a few days ago. It is a rather dingy room in a shabby old building in Rue Feytaud, which is by no means a brilliant street. But I wish our American party had as large an assortment of

good books and pamphlets dealing with the fundamental principles of Socialism and their application to all sorts of concrete issues, as well as with the history of the working-class movement in this and other countries. The sight of this array of intellectual ammunition, together with a regular reading of the Populaire, Socialist daily paper, during our short stay here, shows me how little faith to put in the judgment of those who have been telling us that our sister party in France has ceased to be proletarian and revolutionary.

Whether this is said in praise or in blame, it is not true. Whatever I see of French Socialism reminds me of a certain quality which our party in the United States once had, and which I hope it will yet regain.

Vienna.—The Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung for July 19 has a striking article dealing with the manifestations of internationalist tendencies occurring simultaneously at Vienna and at Paris—in the former city the Labor Olympiad, to be immediately followed by the congress of the Labor and Socialist International; in the latter, the conference of American, British, French and German ministers to find means of avoiding disaster in Central Europe.

"In this historic hour," it says, "the eyes of the world are fixed upon one man—upon Arthur Henderson, who was an iron molder until the confidence of his comrades made him secretary of the British Labor Party. When the International Socialist Congress last met, at Brussels, in August, 1928, it was Henderson, as president of the International who opened its sessions; a few months later, through the victory of the Labor Party at the polls, this iron molder became foreign minister for the British Empire. Since then the world has learned to know him. Today, the Socialist world only, but the bourgeois world as well, knows that if there is any man who can mediate between France and Germany and bring about such international action as will turn aside the monstrous danger that threatens the whole world; if there is any man who can prevent a catastrophe pregnant with incalculable evil, that man is the former president of the

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The Issues Facing The Workers of Philadelphia

Trade Union Leader, Socialist Candidate for Mayor, Outlines Program
In Address to Convention Accepting the Nomination

By Alexander McKeown

REALIZE that this nomination is not so much a bouquet for Alexander McKeown, the individual, as it is a recognition of the fact that I have the good fortune to serve for the past several years as a leader of the largest single organized body of wage earners in this city. I understand that in nominating me, the labor and Socialist movement is actuated by a desire to demonstrate its admiration and approval of the splendid courage, energy and unselfishness of that great union of hosiery workers with whom my name has been associated in the local labor movement.

All of you must realize I think of the obligations I owe to my union now faced with such serious and urgent problems. It is no easy matter to agree to take part in the strenuous sort of campaign we must wage in this election while carrying on the everyday work which a trade union representative is obliged to perform under present day conditions. I could not have even considered this nomination were it not for the spirit and active group of men and women who are entering this campaign under the same banner. And I would not have given the matter a moment's thought had I not been convinced that the rank and file of the labor movement in our city do now feel the need for making an honest fight for a new deal politically in Philadelphia.

If ever I have hesitated to assume leadership in labor's political activities, it was solely because of the apathy of the workers themselves. The question I put myself to was this: "Can I be true to what I feel to be the best interests of the more than ten thousand workers and their families whom I have tried as a union executive to help and to protect in this period of economic depression if I side-stepped the opportunity to take part in this struggle to break down the cruel indifference which the present rulers of our city display towards the terrific problem which has almost every working family by the throat?" As a man who tries to be honest with himself, I could answer only in one way.

War and Unemployment

If after one has listened day in

and day out as I have done for the past two years to most intimate stories of the sufferings of the wage earners of this community who are the victims of faulty workings of an economic system based entirely on grab and greed, one would not be prepared to fight against a continuance of this sort of thing, that man or woman would be a poor sort of creature indeed in my estimation.

Neither the social worker, the teacher, the priest, the doctor nor politician can have as true and faithful picture, I believe, as the trade unionist of the lawful havoc which unemployment creates in the lives of the self-respecting working people. The terrible sense of insecurity and hopelessness; the sweeping away of all established standards of life; the fear and misery which have dominated the lives of hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens have actually done far more harm than any disease epidemic which has visited us since the middle ages. I tell you men and women, that I had honestly rather we had a bloody war in our streets than this slow, and baffling horror which unemployment, poverty and economic insecurity causes. If our children were being killed by the bombs from invading airplanes; if our own women were being wounded by shot and shell and our boys facing the enemy attack in the trenches we would be willing to float liberty loans and ammunition to conduct the war. But when we are merely the victims of a ruthless, long drawn-out economic war, it is impossible to raise even sufficient relief funds to prevent the babies from falling victims to the ravages of rickets caused by insufficient milk and fruit.

With few exceptions all those individuals who compose the dominating elements in Philadelphia's civic life have displayed such ignorance, indifference or incompetence in dealing with this whole question of unemployment that it is absolutely obligatory for some group, no matter what it calls itself, to step forward with a program and policy designed to alleviate immediate distress and to

restore the community to healthy economic life. Here we are approaching the hardest winter we have ever seen (it will be desperate even if business picks up somewhat and I see no signs that it will) and we are depending on three millions of dollars to care for the needs of an army of jobless adults estimated by Mayor Mackey himself to be over 200,000 in number right now. Long before the snow flies, the three million dollars that the city borrowed, and which Mr. Lloyd is disbursing, will be spent.

Unemployment and the City
And only a portion of those in want are now appealing to the city relief station for aid. The textile workers of the northeast as a group have to a very slight extent up until this time fallen back on the charities or upon public relief agencies. The textile workers are the largest group of industrial workers in the city and have been the hardest hit perhaps with the exception of the casual workers. In the northeast we knew all about unemployment long before the crash on Wall Street took place and long before those gentlemen in City Hall awoke to the fact that the Hoover prosperity bubble had collapsed. We textile workers were attempting to interest the civic leaders of Philadelphia in a sound and sane program of economic redemption for the textile industry two years before the slump came; local labor movement has been holding conferences on this very problem regularly for years past.

We do not claim that any party or group has a program that will end unemployment at once; we know this condition which has been caused by faulty economic policies which are world-wide in application can only be eliminated finally when all nations act in concert to remedy these ills. Our point is that no party or group should be permitted to hold public office today which has not demonstrated its determination and ability to fight this economic scourge. We propose to be entirely candid on this question; there will be no cagging of votes by talk of a full dinner pail or offers of a

well disinfectant flophouse or a nice long breadline. No municipality can remedy an unemployment situation acting alone; there is much that a city government can do and we will explain in detail what we think should be done. Essentially however, this is a state and national problem; the events of the last month have demonstrated that it is also an international question.

The Socialist and labor movement of Pennsylvania demands unemployment insurance. Lawyers tell us a constitutional amendment is needed before we can secure such legislation. It is part of our program to demand such legislation and to put forth efforts to have the first steps in this direction taken at the special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature which must be called this winter. If the voters of Philadelphia see the need for a state-managed system of unemployment insurance in the place of the present charity dole system, which is degrading and doesn't even work, their only opportunity of advancing this movement is by voting a Socialist and labor ticket at the November election. We propose, among other things, a project for slum clearance and municipal housing in the congested areas of the city. The purpose is to improve the values of our community and to provide work for idle artisans and enable many poor people to enjoy decent habitations. Such an improvement is more needed right now than museums and parkways. Enabling legislation in all likelihood will be required for such an undertaking. And if we are to create sufficient public sentiment to induce the Governor to list such items of legislation in his call for the special session, the voters must cast their ballots for the Socialist and labor candidates.

About "Independent Republicans"

There seems to be a disposition at the present moment for the Philadelphia machine to be a little sensitive about putting up a candidate who is directly identified with the contractors whose business largely depends on city con-

tracts. The plan right now is to nominate a so-called "Independent and Republican" candidate, who isn't in the contracting business himself. First of all let me say as a Philadelphian, born and bred, that there is no such creature as an "Independent Republican" candidate, not in this town anyhow. No matter what faction he belongs to or what boss he takes orders from, or whether he belongs to none of the factions at all, the candidate the gang will put on the ticket this fall will take orders either from the contractors direct or from those powerful financial or corporate interests which employ or control these contractors.

No matter who heads the ticket of either the Republican or Democratic parties in this city, all thinking men agree that the large mass of the people will be faced with the prospect of paying ever higher taxes to redeem the city from its financial difficulties while on the other hand the party in power will be playing hand-in-glove with those industrialists or bankers who are pilfering our pay envelopes and tearing down our standards of life a little lower each month. There is talk of hundreds of millions being spent by the next city administration on a new water supply system. We have been drinking filtered sewage for so long that we forget the urgency for such an improvement. Don't forget, however, that large scale public works will not help remedy unemployment or bad business conditions one bit unless those who let the contracts are obliged to force the contractors to keep wages up and to preserve union conditions of work wherever possible. How long ago was it in this city when, on an operation connected with the Pennsylvania R. R. improvements, that a contractor actually imported starving Negro laborers from the South—while those in South Philadelphia were also starving—so that the job could be done by paying people a few cents an hour in wages. In interior Pennsylvania road and construction contractors taking advantage of the desperate plight

of the miners and the farmers are paying wages of 25 to 30 cents an hour. Do I need to point out the disastrous consequences of permitting a policy of this kind to spread?

Some may ask why I am accepting nomination on a Socialist ticket. I will be glad to answer this question in detail but for the moment, let me merely point out one or two relevant points. During the past several years, I have been one of a group of labor unionists who have striven unceasingly and very sincerely to cooperate with a group of employers in this city and elsewhere in an effort to stabilize, by voluntary measures, an industry which was highly prosperous and which should certainly have been able without difficulty to have avoided the pitfalls into which some of the older industries have been trapped. Both employers and employees worked together in good faith for the most part to prevent a collapse in this trade. We did not succeed.

Business and the Depression

It is my deliberate conclusion that when competition is unrestrained either by agreement, by labor unions, or by legislation and regulation, there is no hope of stabilizing industry. Even in industries where there are no unions or no hampering laws, you will find that every effort at stabilization ends in keener cut-throat competition. Every economist and sensible business man in the country admits the need for gearing production to the current rate of consumption so as to avoid the serious sort of deflation we are living through right now. But have they been able to extricate business and industry from this situation despite their knowledge of what is wrong and what must be done to make things right? They have not and cannot. I ask any rational person to study the situation in textiles or in the bituminous coal industry; and if afterwards you will tell me that cotton or soft coal can be gotten out of the mess they are in without a very large measure of public aid, and effective regulation, I can only conclude that you are a little

dense or simply dishonest.

Who have been the most recent advocates of the public ownership of our transit system. The most conservative capitalists and their journalistic organs now seem to regard as inevitable that the city take over the P. R. T.—plus of course, Dr. Mitten, too. If any opponent of such Socialist scheme voices his objections too freely, I predict that he or she will be cited for contempt of court by Judge McDevitt and sent to Moyamensing on the grounds that one must not denounce an institution over which he has appointed a number of wealthy gentlemen to act as receivers of our trolley tokens. We need some wide awake Socialists in public office today so that the public will be protected when those who have bankrupted and squeezed dry our public utilities will be trying to turn back these properties to the taxpayers so that they may rehabilitate what private enterprise has rendered powerless. In regard to the five-cent fare issue, which is one of the foremost planks in our platform, it looks as if the Socialist party has almost become the tail of the kite of the Republican. Mr. Will B. Hadley, presumably, has all the facts and he tells us it is a paying proposition to charge a nickel for a token instead of eight cents. The only thing to remember is this: the people won't get that five-cent ride unless they express themselves very strongly in favor of such a measure. I know of no better way to secure this reduction in the cost of riding trolleys than by voting for those parties which are firmly committed to a policy of the public ownership of all public utilities. I don't think you can count on Judge McDevitt's appointees to hand out the five-cent fare on a silver platter. And in view of the fact that this city is not Venice I don't see how it is to office a great advocate of travel by canal will help us much either.

In conclusion let me say that I cannot even touch today on any but one or two of the most salient points in our program. We shall later present to you in detail the scientifically thought-out and yet

highly practical plans for immediate adoption by our city administration which are vitally needed to make this town a safer and more prosperous place to live in. I come before you not as the foe of any special set of political ideas. I do not want to indulge in any campaign of personal mudslinging. It is the stupid, corrupt and damnable system which we have permitted to be built up here in Philadelphia which we must attack and not the individual agents of the system. The average citizen doesn't want to beat up or terrorize strikers; yet he does it because he knows if he doesn't break the strike up he will be broken himself by those higher up who have given the orders.

Why are votes stolen in Philadelphia? Is it because there are so many crooks or is it because there are so many lazy, indifferent or irresponsible people? You and I are to blame and not Bill Vare for the fact that he, and those behind him, are the present rulers in this town. We workers have too long shirked our duty of building up a genuine opposition political movement in this community. The younger generations growing up in this town can't see the more distinction between stealing votes and stealing something more tangible. Unless we clean up this town by creating a virile, intelligent opposition to the gang is power; unless we find ways and means of feeding our starving thousands, we shall be faced with a condition which will make Chicago at its worst seem like a quiet, sleepy suburb. Unless those so-called "better citizens" who have held aloof from politics for fear of soiling their fingers get into the fight for cleanliness they will be much more seriously benighted.

Unless the great mass of labor arouses itself to fight for higher wages, and against higher taxes without improved services; and unless labor finally arouses itself to win for the wage earners of this city that equality of opportunity, both in politics and industry, which is guaranteed as theoretically by the Bill of Rights, labor will be held fast in a form of wage slavery and political oppression, the like of which has never been known in these United States.

The Hope of The Negro Workers

By Frank Crosswaith

"WE LIVE in a sick world," Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, told the twenty-second annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Pittsburgh, Pa. "In this sick world the Negro is peculiarly the victim." He is the marginal worker, most pathetic of all the victims of unemployment and landlordism. "It is too late in the day for the race to save itself by simply following the white race in developing its own bourgeoisie."

It is to be hoped that those who heard Mr. Thomas' speech and those who have read it, will give due consideration to the sound point of view he expressed.

Changes Must Come

The world is seething with unrest. On every hand there is unmistakable evidence of fundamental, far reaching changes impending. Our industrial order has broken down, leaving the working masses buried beneath the debris, weighed down by property and misery in an age that brags of its magic process of machine production. Due to mechanical inventions, scientific and medical researches, the average life span of modern man has increased fully a third in the past two generations. Space, which has heretofore separated nations, races and continents, has been shrunk through the use of machinery. More and more each day the essential economic and social unity of the world is becoming apparent to him who hath eyes to see and ears to hear. At this turning point in human affairs, it is most disturbing to

observe the utter disinterestedness of the Negro. He seems less concerned with what is taking place in his world than any other section of the American working class. This fact is little short of a tragedy, for in the possibility of social, economic and political improvements the Negro has more to gain and less to lose than any other element of the world's disinherited.

No Hope Under Capitalism

This apathy of the Negro was made doubly manifest by comparing the speeches made in Negro colleges during the current commencement season with those made in white colleges. In the latter institutions the speakers took note of the fact that the thought stream of the world is rapidly turning toward a consideration of things economic and sought to impress its importance upon the consciousness of their hearers. In Negro institutions the speeches with but little variation dealt with things ephemeral, abstruse and largely religious.

In those few instances where this indictment does not hold true, Negro graduates were asked to believe that by accepting the present economic and social order they could rise to the heights of a Negro ruling class. To believe this notion is to imitate the ostrich. As Norman Thomas said, the Negro has come too late upon the stage of economic action ever to hope to develop a ruling class through the tortuous route of capitalist competition. This dream is not only unrealistic for the Negro but for an overwhelming majority of white workers as well.

Produce for Use, Not Profit

With the irresistible march of the machine goes the concentration of wealth into fewer hands. More and more business today is measured in terms of billions of dollars and neither the Negro nor the white worker can look for salvation in this field. The much glorified middle class is being exterminated.

Even if it were possible for a few Negroes to enter the ruling class via the competitive route, that would help working masses of the race no more than a few white millionaires have improved the economic and social welfare of their race. Six million unemployed white workers is proof conclusive of this fact.

The hope of the Negro masses, like the hope of the white, is in a new social order where work and worth will go hand in hand, where the machine—the social heritage of man—will be collectively owned and democratically operated for the satisfaction of human needs and not for piling up profits for the few. It is to such a program that the Negro should give his support. The sooner the better.

It Is Five Minutes to Twelve

The Clock of Time Ticks the Passing of Capitalism; Socialism Summons the Workers to Its Banner

By William W. Busick

THE great clock of time has been ticking ever since the first great tidal wave of blazing, whirling gas set its pendulum in motion. Its hands point, not to the hours, but to the age. Four times the short, slow-moving hand has crept its way around the clock. Four times have the long, swift hand and the short, slow hand come together at the top to mark the passing of an age in history, and the approach of the dawn of a new era, a better age, a higher plane of life. Four times the hands have pointed directly upward at the midnight of a passing age. Once when the era of fire closed and life emerged from the slime ooze of a new born world, and again when the age of the brute passed and man appeared a cowering puppet in a strange environment. Thousands of centuries passed before the clock of time ticked out the age of barbarism. And once again the hands passed at the end of the feudal period and started to keep time for the new age, the era of capitalism.

The old clock has seen four eras come and it has seen three eras go when they had to make way for a newer and higher plane of life. The midnight of feudalism approached when that system

could no longer provide for the needs of man. Today we are listening to the last few ticks of another age in history. The capitalist era is passing because it can no longer give the mass of the people bread. Capitalism has served its purpose. It has dotted the world with factories filled with great steel slaves and has covered the land with a spider web of railroads with which to transport the necessities of life to the people, but because capitalism has outlived its usefulness the factories are idle while ten million men in America beg for the right to go inside and produce the necessities of life that they and their families need.

Capitalism can no longer supply the people with even the primary need of bread, for capitalism, based upon the principle of competition, will not function in a world that needs cooperation. The main spring of capitalism is private profit. This was all right for the day of the spinning wheel and the water power mill, but it will not turn the giant wheels of modern textile mills nor will it run the towering flour mills of today. The urgent need of today is a new system based upon the idea of service for all instead of private profit for a few. The trusts have become too big and too vital to the well-being of all of the people to allow them to remain the private property of a few.

If you feel the thrill and the joy of the approaching dawn, if you

want to be a soldier in the army of progress instead of letting others fight your battle for you, you belong in the Socialist movement,—you belong with those whose faces will first catch the rays of the rising sun, and in the new day you can look back at this hour without remorse, joyful that you played your part.

When the life inside of an egg reaches a certain stage of development, it exhausts the small supply of oxygen within the shell and the baby chick breaks through into a new world. Today the social and economic oxygen within the capitalist shell has become exhausted for the ten million unemployed in America, who, with their families, represent over one-third of the American people. The small business man, the farmer and the millions who are working part time find that the supply of oxygen is vanishing. The law of life demands that the shell be broken and that they step into a new and better world. These millions will need leaders and teachers and helpers in the work of building the new civilization. Don't put it off 'till tomorrow. The call of duty is clear, the time is short; start working for Socialism now. Get into the Socialist movement; prepare yourself to play your part in the most interesting period of all history.

START NOW. . . IT IS FIVE MINUTES TO TWELVE.

START NOW. . . IT IS FIVE MINUTES TO TWELVE.

The Biggest New Leader Ever Issued

39,000 Copies of Hunger Edition Snapped Up; Late-Comers Disappointed; New Special Planned

THE New Leader reached the greatest circulation in its history last week when bundles of the special HUNGER EDITION were distributed all over the nation. Every copy was paid for by Socialist party branches, individual Socialists or trade unions. An additional order of papers was exhausted soon after the paper was out. A little over 39,000 copies of The special HUNGER EDITION were printed and distributed.

Late Wednesday afternoon THE NEW LEADER telephone rang. "This is the Socialist Party of Newark calling. Can we have two hundred more copies of the Special Hunger Edition if we send right over for them?"

This was only one request out of scores received that same day to which THE NEW LEADER had to reply: "We are very sorry, there is not a single copy left."

In spite of the fact that we had ordered thousands of extra copies above the number of advance orders for the Hunger Edition, on the very day that the issue came off the press not a single copy could be found in any corner of the office. NEVER BEFORE in the history OF THE NEW LEADER had so

many bundles been piled up ready to be called for by representatives of branches of the Socialist Party. And never before had they disappeared so quickly.

5,000 Taken By Chicago

Orders for the Hunger Edition ranging from fifty copies to five thousand copies reached THE NEW LEADER from every section of the country, from South-west Harbor, Maine to Los Angeles, California, and from Seattle, Washington to West Palm Beach, Florida. The Seventh Congressional District Branch, Chicago, led all other locals by ordering 5,000 copies. This branch elected a committee to raise the money necessary to cover the order. Let other locals take note and do likewise!

Among the individuals and branches of the Socialist Party who ordered large bundles of the Hunger Edition are:

Young Peoples Socialist League, Nutley, N. J.; Local New Rochelle, N. Y.; W. H. Spaulding, Lawrenceville, Ill.; J. H. Snider, Fairmont, W. Va.; W. Goldberg, Los Angeles, Cal;

E. B. Caschere, Dayton, Ohio; Albert Lund, Nashua, Montana; Slovenian Socialist Club No. 27, Cleveland, Ohio; Socialist Local Denver, Colorado; Socialist Local New London, Conn.; John Banas, Utica, N. Y.; 13 and 19 A. D. Brooklyn, N. Y.; Socialist Local Newark, N. J.; Upper West Side Branch, New York City; Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments Branch, New York City; Local Nassau County, Elmhurst, L. I. N. Y.; Socialist Local Indianapolis, Ind.; Socialist Party, Toledo, Ohio; YPSL, Circle 2, Queens, N. Y.; Henry Puranen, Fitchburg, Mass.; Local Astoria, Socialist Party, Astoria, L. I.; and Kurt Sell, Detroit, Mich.

Another Special Soon Hundreds of other locals and individuals ordered bundles of one hundred and less.

THE NEW LEADER will print another special edition in the near future. Our mark is 100,000 circulation. Watch the columns of the paper for the announcement. Begin to prepare for this special

edition NOW! Don't be one of the last-minute callers, to whom THE NEW LEADER had to say: "Sorry, not another copy left."

German Republic Day To Be Celebrated Today By New York Groups

The New York Branch of the "Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold" the German Anti-Fascist organization of Ex-Servicemen and Defenders of the Republic against monarchism, in conjunction with "The American Friends of the German Republic" will celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the signing and publication of the German Constitution Saturday, August 8th, with a festival at Martin Kane's Park and Casino in Clason Point. There will be a real "Volksfest" with pleasure for young and old in the afternoon.

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Woll's "Industrial" Congress

One of the most interesting trade union criticisms made of Matthew Woll's proposal for an "industrial congress" is made by "the Toledo Union Leader" of July 24. This weekly is the official organ of the central labor body and one of the most progressive union publications in the United States. The editorial follows:

ELSEWHERE in this issue there will be found an article entitled "Industrial Congress Proposed Is Real Remedy." The note by the International Labor News gives the reason for the further information on the plan. The original call for this proposed "industrial congress" was printed in a previous issue of this paper. The week following that publication we took issue with the proposal in our editorial column. We have still a deep rooted feeling that the scheme is anything but constructive and the extension of the idea as submitted by Matthew Woll in this issue only strengthens our opinion against it. Mr. Woll gives to our unemployed the following: "I propose a national industrial congress, which, instead of being the beginning and the ending in itself, shall be the beginning of a permanent industrial structure comparable to our democratic political structure." For my part I want to deny that we have even the skeleton of a "democratic political structure" left.

This Democracy

We have a political oligarchy with here and there a progressive voice upon the unbridled greed of the real controllers of the Democratic political party. Under this, "democratic political structure" we have such pleasing privileges as the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings, the starving of miners and their families, innumerable injunctions against workers' organizations on strike against the masters of democracy, we have the miners in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, driven to the point of open rebellion, through the governmental policy of joining forces with the coal barons to maintain the sacred towns of non-union mines.

This wonderful "political democracy" so much believed in and lauded by Mr. Woll is just now charged with holding up through its Treasury Department of the plans for \$500,000,000 worth of public building authorized by congress.

This according to Mr. Woll is the kind of control he desires to see established through an "industrial congress."

Under the subhead, "Based on Sound Principle" we have a fine play of words that might well have been said by the president of a Chamber of Commerce, a spokesman for a bankers' convention, or the head of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Und-

er this heading we are deeply appreciative of the fairness with which Mr. Woll handles his interpretation of the value of our present "democratic political structure." He points out that under the present political plan, political machinery is incompetent when considering industry. We wonder at this point just why we of organized labor have tried and are now trying to have this incompetent political crowd pass an anti-injunction law and why we dumb workers and incompetent political representatives should question the soundness of the big industrial leaders' wisdom in putting into effect the injunction in times when labor disagrees with them over wages and working conditions.

The whole proposal as we see it, in this farcical "Industrial Congress" is to put certain labor leaders in a position to rub elbows with leaders in industry, the vast majority of whom have no use for organized labor and who would dominate such a congress to the point of further legalizing every bit of oppression and legalized robbery through which they have accumulated their enormous riches. If we are to be treated to a taste of democracy let us have it created for the rank and file of all of our labor unions so that everything advanced by the leaders cannot be blamed upon the labor movement.

Unemployed Council Formed in Boston

BOSTON.—A representative group of colored people met in the Community Center of St. Mark's Congregational Church, Roxbury, and organized themselves into the Massachusetts Unemployed Council. Arthur C. Parker, associate editor of Negro Labor News Service, worked ardently to bring the council into being and presided over the first meeting. He outlined the object and plan of the organization to be one which will fill a desired and neglected function in the Negro worker's endeavor to stabilize himself economically.

Frank R. Crosswaith, guest speaker, addressed the meeting on the dire need of cooperative action by the colored people. The Council will try to find, create and secure opportunities for employment for unemployed persons. It will appeal to proprietors of stores and other business institutions in locations predominantly colored, who employ one or more Negro clerks or attendants, to keep regularly employed at least one Negro. When necessary, it will attempt to force disinterested, prejudiced, or obstinate proprietors to cooperate with the Council by picketing and publicity when necessary.

Ill. Jobless Council Widens Scope of Work; Plan Fight For Relief

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The sixty labor union locals affiliated with the Illinois State Conference for Unemployment Insurance, an organization formed at the call of the Socialist Party of Illinois and having its headquarters in connection with the Socialist state office, have decided during the eighteen months that state legislature is not in session, to concentrate on other measures than unemployment insurance which will relieve the immediate sufferings of the jobless.

A committee has been appointed by the Conference to work out a program of immediate demands to present to the city government of Chicago and to the Federal government at Washington. Some, at least, of these demands will be taken from the list recently recommended by National Headquarters of the Socialist Party.

The Sneering Section

NOW I am mad.

And you get mad along with me. And between us both we will do some effective leg-biting in the campaign this fall.

The main thing that grips me is the attitude of certain so-called "liberals" who maintain they want a change in the social system and who nevertheless play around with such fantastic racketeers as the various members of the Communist party and their kind.

I have in mind especially the undocumented story spun out by one Mauritz Halgren in Oswald Garrison Villard's private paper *The Nation* which in 1928 supported the candidacy of that great liberal Al Smith and which at that time spoke patronizingly of the candidacy of Norman Thomas.

With the assistance of an instructor or professor named Nunn, Mauritz has apparently, for the first time in his life, discovered the fact that coal grows under the earth and not on raspberry bushes. He has further found the startling information known to Socialists since 1900 the date of the formation of the party in this country that the private exploitation of the coal miners on the part of absentee owners is not all that it should be.

With eyes bugged out at this amazing discovery, young Halgren goes to work and writes a pretty little piece for *The Nation* which is exactly the same piece that has been regularly written since 1920, with the exception of the fact that he takes a nasty shot at the Socialist party, alleging that we have failed in our full Socialist duty in the coal fields.

Despite the fact that I have been in this movement since 1914, I have yet to meet Mauritz Halgren on any picket line. Or any of those who accompanied him on his sightseeing tour of starving coal miners.

And yet these people have the brazen forehead to criticize the Socialist party. Let the professors come around some day to the Rand School, to the headquarters of that proletarian fighting outfit in Philadelphia or to the coast, where Bill Busick is carrying on so magnificently, and they will quickly change their tune to the effect that the Socialist party of America is not doing, to the best of its ability and with its resources limited because of the cynicism of just such people, its full working class assignment.

Let those who occupy seats in the sneering section, conveniently provided for them by communally inclined organizations, stop for a moment to look about and find out what is going on in this country.

The truth is that no Communist-controlled trade union has in more than ten years of agitation and expenditure of God knows what money and energy ever yet succeeded in gaining a contract at the end of a strike called by such an organization which was in favor of the workers whom it had deluded.

At a time when the situation cries out loud for leadership, intelligence and courage, the Boys of the Barricade are forgetting to follow the formula first laid down by Karl Marx himself to the effect that those who would make a violent revolution in this country or England or Germany are not true revolutionists, but on the contrary "insurrectionists" animated by a romantic ideal.

Owing to the fact that I have "sold out the labor movement" and have received from the increment of such treachery \$250, I have not at the moment my expensive watch. My Judas-act did not get me enough to retrieve my time-piece from my well known "Uncle." But I have an idea that our same blustering friends are going about among the coal miners never saying one word about their principle of Communism, and at the same time urging the hungry men to get their heads broken in order that their rag, *The Daily Worker* may send something back to Moscow encouraging Stalin and Company to send over new funds.

We Socialists today are standing the attack of three distinct forces—the weak-minded liberals of this country; those who are making the very name Communism a hissing in the ears of any decent person; and the Fat Boys of the capitalist system.

Our true enemy first, last, and all the time is the system of production for profit rather than the needs of working classes, and we are fighting this enemy with every tool in our arsenal but what we do object to is this—the sharpshooting and side-swiping of those who should be with us in this fight.

Just at the time when the Socialist party gets to its feet after the disastrous attack upon it by such arch enemies as were mobilized under that prime dastard (and you can change that word around any way you want), Mitchell Palmer, there come upon us false friends and fair-weather recruits who would if they could divide our solid front against the thing that has us by the throat.

Let them have the decency to stand aside at this crucial hour. Let us understand that, once and for all, those who are not with us in spirit, mind, and body are against us. There is only one Socialist party in the United States. There are no factions within the party, nor is there any chance in the world that there will be any split inside of the only political party with organization, membership and intelligence enough to stand up and fight against a system which has driven more than seven million of our working men and women to the depths of Hell, which is planless, which is headed by the most impotent and futile leader which the party of capitalism has yet produced, and which in the long run, if allowed to exist, will lead us all down the blind alley to catastrophe.

Let us be aware of the things that are going on and resolve that our Socialist integrity shall remain as clean and decent and fiery as when it was first proclaimed by 'Gene Victor Deth, his fighting railroad men, and those great-hearted pioneers who came to him out of the East thirty years ago.

McAlister Coleman.

The endless days that have come to so many millions of workers are due to the brainless days we have spent in elections.

Cheer up. Calvin Coolidge will be back in September to serve his regular morning mush for nummies.

Of course, there is no class struggle in holy America. When Brother Capital starves Brother Labor it is only a little family spat that occurs in the best of families.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

British Labor and Job Relief

Socialists in Revolt Against MacDonald Proposal to Reduce Allowances and Let Bosses Run Fund

By Fred Henderson

London.

THE position here has become much clearer during the past day or two. By that I do not mean to suggest that our difficulties are being adjusted. On the contrary, they have become more acute. What has happened is that they have emerged into clearer definition, and taken a more definite and recognizable form.

During the past year everybody in the Party has been anxious to avoid bringing matters to a real crisis. There has been a lot of smothered dissatisfaction with the Liberal control of the policy of the Labour Government, and an intense resentment amongst the definitely Socialist sections of the Party at the way in which the Government has knuckled down to it rather than raise a fighting issue and face a general election by way of breaking out of the net. But while this has given rise to much criticism and even to occasional minor revolts in the House of Commons, it has never been pressed, either by the Government or by the revolvers, to the point of bringing about a real crisis in the affairs of the Party.

It now looks as though this must happen; that our conflict of purposes must come out into the open, not merely by way of general criticism, but in action carrying very serious possible consequences. And this change in the atmosphere has come about for the reason at which I hinted in my last letter.

I pointed out, you will remember, that a possible new menace to the Liberal-Labour arrangement for keeping the Government in office had made its appearance. A formidable attack on our unemployment insurance law had been launched. The commission appointed by the Government to enquire into the working of unemployment insurance had issued a report proposing the most drastic

mutilation of the scheme, the cutting down of benefits in all directions, and a general screwing down of our unemployed population as nearly as possible to the starvation limit. The explosion of Labour opinion all over the country against this report was most emphatic; and since the Liberals were likely to press for carrying out its proposals in effect, the menace which most of us saw to the Liberal-Labour compact was, as I pointed out, that it seemed to us quite unthinkable that the Government, under any Liberal pressure whatever, would attempt to act on such lines.

The unthinkable has, however, happened. The Government, while not adopting the report in its entirety, has so far surrendered to the strong Liberal desire in this matter as to introduce to the House of Commons a Bill for dealing with what it calls certain "anomalies" in the payment of unemployment benefit. It proposes to cut down benefits by over five million pounds; and, worse still, to place the whole administration of the scheme for the future outside the jurisdiction of Parliament and under the control of a bureaucratic committee dominated by the employers' interests. And on that what has hitherto been criticism and complaint has become open and active revolt. Both inside Parliament and up and down the country an anti-Government campaign has started; primarily for the defeat of this measure, but expressing itself more and more clearly every day as a general Socialist revolt against the whole trend of Government policy; with every appearance of widening out into that open breach in the Party which everyone has hitherto been trying to avoid; though many have regard-

ed it as being bound to occur sooner or later.

This is by far the most important development—with greater possible consequences upon the immediate future of our movement—that has taken place since the MacDonald Government took office. So far as the particular Bill is concerned over which the revolt has come to a head, the anti-Government campaign will almost certainly not succeed in defeating it; for the Government are supported in this matter by the solid and enthusiastic backing of the capitalist parties in Parliament, and the legislative majority for it is overwhelming. The real importance of what is happening is not, therefore, as to the fate of this particular measure, but that it brings to a head all the discontents of the past two years, and makes a fighting issue of the fundamental divergence of view between the Government and the outlook of a very large proportion of Labour electors throughout the country.

It is my business here to put you in clear possession of the facts rather than to argue about them; and it is of the utmost importance if you are to follow with real understanding the probable developments of this situation, that this fact of a fundamental divergence of view should be clearly grasped. What is at issue here is not a mere detail, but a deep cleavage as to the direction in which Labour, with governing responsibilities in its hands, should move; and the nature of that cleavage is now becoming very clear.

The main justification which is being put forward for the Government is the need for economy; in the present depressed state of industry and national finances things must be cut down. Philip Snowden, as befits his position as

Chancellor of the Exchequer, has been the chief exponent of the financial outlook of the Government. And his dictum is that "schemes involving heavy expenditure, however desirable they may be, will have to wait until prosperity returns"; and that in the meantime, while the trade depression continues, even our existing and established social services, of which unemployment insurance is one of the chief, must be prepared for "some temporary suspension and temporary sacrifice." This is a Government outlook which, as Fenner Brockway has pointed out, means that social advance, or even the retention of our already secured social services, must be postponed until there is a return of capitalist prosperity.

As against that way of looking at things, the view taken by the Socialist elements in the Labour Party is that the decline in Capitalist prosperity is a development which is bound to take place; and that as capitalism becomes less and less competent to serve human needs, the consequent intensification of poverty and suffering in the world, so far from holding us back from our constructive Socialist work, provides us with the urgent occasion for getting on with it. For our work is not the restoration of prosperity to capitalism, but the transition of our economic life from Capitalism to Socialism.

It is to this fundamental divergence of view that the British movement has now apparently come. The second of these views, the Socialist view, was the view held with practical unanimity by the Labour Party when we fought the last general election. It is the view implicit throughout all the statements of our aims and purposes presented then to the electors in "Labour and the Nation."

That Capitalism is bankrupt, and that "The Labour Party is not concerned with patching up the rents in a bad system, but with transforming Capitalism into Socialism,"—that was our appeal to the nation. The view now expressed—that we must postpone our work till Capitalism is restored to prosperity—is the view into which the Government has fallen under the pressure of its initial mistake of taking office without the power of a majority, and its consequent dependence on capitalist support in Parliament for the retention of office.

The development of this conflict, once it is now let loose, is at the moment going on swiftly. The Socialist members responsible for moving the rejection of the Government Bill in Parliament are being put under discipline; and the endorsement of Socialist candidatures at the next General Election is being withheld unless the candidate will give a pledge to support the Government. The decisive conclusion on this point will have to be made by the annual Labour Party Conference later on in the autumn; but meanwhile matters have come to a deadlock between Party headquarters and the group in Parliament who refuse to give any such pledge in view of the divergence between Government measures and the policy declared in "Labour and the Nation."

The position, as you will see, is a serious one. The dramatic and reportable incidents in it are in the conflict between the Government and the Socialist group now in Parliament. But the reality of things is outside Parliament; and the outstanding fact is that, at every bye-electional opportunity of gauging public opinion, about 20 to 25 per cent. of the electoral support given to the Party at the last General Election is now being withheld. Not transferred to the capitalist parties, but withheld by refusal to vote at all.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

Nationalism—A Product of Economic Forces

Its Philosophers Analyzed

THOSE who are acquainted with Carlton J. H. Hayes' "Essays on Nationalism" published five years ago will welcome his new book (*The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, Richard R. Smith, Inc., \$3.50). It is a valuable supplement to the earlier study. In five chapters the author traces the development of his theme through Humanitarianism, Jacobinism, Traditionalism, Liberalism and Integral Nationalism; one is devoted to the Economic Factors in Nationalism, and certain conclusions are drawn in a final chapter.

Humanitarian nationalism had its origins in eighteenth century "enlightenment" with its concepts of natural law, the exaltation of human reason, the perfectibility of the human race, and its promise of progress. The views of Bolingbroke, Rousseau and Herder are typical of this early phase although they differed in their approach. Bolingbroke being an aristocrat and Rousseau representing "the people." Humanitarian nationalism was a prelude to the French Revolution which wiped out the old feudal order, leveled down the classes, and the citizen emerged with "natural rights" vindicated.

An interlude of intoxication and terror followed, to be succeeded by the modern idea of the "nation in arms" and conscript soldiers to free the oppressed peoples of Europe but the holy crusade was soon transformed into wars of conquest with Napoleon as the master. "The people" became pawns in an aggressive nationalism serving the middle class. The illusions of the "enlightenment" disappeared in the grim realities of the new bourgeois order.

Of traditional nationalism Burke, Bonald and Schlegel were conspicuous representatives. It was in part a reaction to the French Revolution; "the reactionaries shed more tears over the aristocratic victims of Jacobin devility than over the fate of the masses, but they were sure that the quiet happiness of humanity could be assured less by the masses than by the classes. Aristocrats were the best people. If the best people were guillotined or shot, what hope remained for humanity at large?"

Burke's ravings over the French upheaval are familiar but Vicomte de Bonald's views are a classic expression of traditionalism. A Frenchman of a noble family, his ideal of nationalism included a public religion but tolerance of dissent; permanent distinctions between classes, authority vested in a monarch, and glorification of the French language which he considered "simple without baseness, noble without bombast, harmonious without fatigue, precise without obscurity, elegant without affectation, metaphorical without conscious effort; a language which is the veritable expression of a perfected nature." Moreover, the French people were "all soul, all

sentiment, all action." Over and over again the nationalism of various countries included this worship of the national stock and language.

There is no sharp break between one type of nationalism and another. They overlap while evolving from one era to another. Thus liberal nationalism includes as one of its prophets Jeremy Bentham, an intellectual ancestor of Hoover who believed that universal happiness is to be found in three state functions: "the assurance of security; the protection of property; and the guaranty of equality of individual opportunity for happiness." Bentham became the philosopher of manufacturers and capitalists who "were substituting large-scale machine production for the old domestic system of hand industry." In France Guizot represented the same trend of thought and, naturally, helped to establish the liberal middle class monarchy of Louis Philippe. Mazzini's dish was a curious "fusion of the liberalism of Bentham and the early French revolutionaries with the romanticism of contemporary poets and novelists."

Integral nationalism has its purest expression in the nationalistic dictatorships in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Italy and various strains of this obsession may be traced to Compton

Taine, Barres and Maurras. One may well say that in this form nationalism becomes a national disease as it may include the worship of our ancestors' bones. The Frenchman, Barres, is quoted as saying: "The spirit of man is never so active as when it is in close communion with the dead."

The author adds that, "true to his words, Barres was ever visiting graves and glorifying tombs."

Throughout the book the economic implications of the various types of nationalism are discussed and in each instance it is a case of translating the economic interests of some group or class into terms of the "nation." In a concluding chapter Professor Hayes passes judgment on our own disease. He writes:

"Yet, in fact, integral nationalism is far advanced among us. We are peculiarly intolerant of any domestic dissent, of all foreigners and minorities in our midst. We are peculiarly glib, peculiarly ignorant, peculiarly emotional. While talking about the wickedness of others and our own good intentions, we despise and abuse the League of Nations and distrust most international undertakings; we go in for the biggest navy afloat—our pet form of militarism; we erect our tariff barriers higher than any one else; we press forward imperialism and unashamedly deny to Latin Americans what we claim for ourselves;

and we put reservations, formal or mental, to almost every international engagement which we make."

The book is an excellent contribution to the history of ruling class ideas that have filtered through various types of the nationalist obsession.

The Need for a Classless Society

A NEW BOOK by R. H. Tawney is a matter of interest and importance to any student of Socialism. "Equality" (Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.25), his latest effort lives up to the reputation that he has made for himself, both as a critic of capitalist institutions and as a stylist, in his previous works.

It is a pleasure to read, for a change, an acute economist who writes such delightful English. The pleasure is greatly heightened when this economist says things that you have always felt wanted saying. For Mr. Tawney points out the fact that in society today inequality does exist, and that this is a menace that must be done away with. His treatment is mainly concerned with English society but the conclusions he reaches can be applied equally well to any advanced industrial state.

Most Socialists are familiar with the main points upon which Mr. Tawney bases his arguments. First of all equality is defined. Those people who argue that equality is impossible because men are not in equal physical or mental places. "The equality which... thinkers emphasize as desirable, is not equality of capacity or attainment, but of circumstances, and institutions, and of manner of life." This equality is obtainable and, as is pointed out later in the book, necessary for society. After defining equality the author goes on to point out how little there is of it in present-day society and how the present class structure of society perpetuates inequality. He shows how the welfare of the majority who work for wage is dependent on the will of the minority who control industry. The existence of social inequality is not ignored and its evils such as the difference in the health standards of the wage earner and those of the wealthy, are lucidly elaborated. The effects of inequality of wealth on the cultural standards of a society are also pointed out.

After thus presenting the problem Mr. Tawney turns to the measures that are necessary in order to overcome the evil. Legal equality has been achieved but its accomplishments are very small. The equality of opportunity which, according to some writers, existed at the beginning of the industrial revolution can no longer be said to exist. Equality of opportunity, even if it did exist, would not solve the problem. What good does it do the underfed, ill-

housed masses if only the exceptional members of the group can ever hope to rise to anything better? A much greater measure of social justice is necessary. The author points out the means of achieving it. There must be a redistribution of the social income in such a manner that inequality will be abolished. The redistribution will be accomplished by increasing the social services performed by the state, to an extent much further than they have gone in any industrial state; diminution of large incomes by taxation and by making industry a social function. These are necessary if true equality and true economic freedom are to be reached.

Space forbids the elaboration here of any of the arguments used by the author except to say that he is extremely logical and extremely clear. He takes into account opposition to the points he makes and completely demolishes the usual capitalist objections to socialism.

—L. R.

The Lesson of Fall River

ONE OF THE TOWNS that has been hit hardest by the unemployment is Fall River, important textile center. The unemployed in our state are entitled to receive from the Public Welfare Departments of our cities enough to keep body and soul together, and men with families generally do get some small, niggardly dole from the public treasury if they are out of work and completely destitute. Naturally this drives up the tax rate upon home owners, since the funds are raised in the usual way employed by American cities of taxing real estate instead of by taxing incomes, inheritances, proceeds from gambling on the stock exchange, and corporate profits. As many of the home owners in Fall River were themselves out of work, an increasingly large proportion could not pay and the city became bankrupt.

A state commission was appointed by our Democratic Governor, Joseph B. Ely, which took over the financial management of the city in order to straighten out the mess. The remedy enforced by the commission, appointed by a Democratic governor, be it remembered by all those who expect Democrats to be more progressive than Republicans, proceeded to remedy the situation by slashing the pay of policemen, firemen, public health officials and all other city employees 20%. And the significant thing is that the interest rates on loans advanced to the city by banks were not slashed at all. The bankers' claims were property rights, rights accruing to wealth, and as such are carefully protected by Democrats and Republicans alike. The claims of city employees, many of whom have served the city faithfully for twenty years, are merely human rights

The Chatterbox

THE MICROBE'S THE THING

THE medical gentry never look so futile and foolish as they appear when so strange and elusive an affliction as infantile paralysis goes wild among the communities. Of course, there are the established symptoms when the disease has taken hold. And then there are the usually hopeless gestures at treating it.

Someday, and may we all pray fervently that it will be soon, a poor poking land bending over a Bunsen burner, or squinting down a microscope will snap his tired fingers, whisper "Eureka!" to himself, and without any strut to his walk or perkiness in his manner report to his chief that the pesky little bug has been isolated.

THERE OUGHT TO BE A PATENT LAW FOR GERMS

When a wheezy-throated, one-finger thumper garlands the song-hungry world with a ballad about his Roumanian mummy, the statute books, the juries and the magistrates encircle him against loss of royalties for his slobbering service to mankind. Although it could be proven with no special research that entire nations and civilizations have managed to and still can, carry on in utter health and carelessness without having heard a single note or repeated a single rhyme of that so highly protected product of Tin Pan Alley.

Yet there have been terrible instances through history when populations were obliterated by a nasty wiggling atom and its progeny. Gentee fellows, their clothing and fingers stained by dyes and chemicals, discovered the imp of cholera, the worm of typhoid fever, the invisible pygmy demons of a score of scourges.

With these findings, whole peoples and continents found health and freedom from fearful suffering and untimely death. These liberators of mankind asked for nothing except enough food and chance to go on probing further into the unknown realms of death.

WHAT AN ORGANIZATION AND A LOBBY FUND MIGHT DO

Somebody ought to agitate and organize the timid boys, get them out of the laboratories for a spell and march them on to the capitol when the legislative bodies are monoxing the halls of Congress during the regular sessions. "We want a copyright law for the germs we discover." . . . "Why should the doctors make money on our microbes?" . . . "For every fat fee, we want our royalty." . . . These might be a few of the slogans to be carried and shown to the people.

There would be only one difficulty in the way of such a project. Bacteriologists have damnfool ideals. They persist in being interested in their work, and in that only. Even if there were a copyright law for microbes, how do you think the astute throat peepers and pulse ticklers will manage to get around this surcharge on their usual fees? By the Sales Tax, of course.

AND WOULDN'T THIS REALLY HAPPEN?

Suppose, heaven forbid, you get pushed down and laid flat with bacillus typhosus, vulgarly known as the bug of typhoid fever. Without going into the past, let us suppose further, that Achmed Abdullah-Rosenzweig, just another assistant in the East New York Bio-Chemical Laboratory had isolated, tested, tubed and cultured and done all the seven hundred and sixty-nine sundry tests and inoculations necessary to develop an anti-toxin for the murderous sary. He had had it all copyrighted. The law allowed him ten per cent of the fee charged by the physicians treating the case in which his own patented bug and serum were involved.

After you had been either buried or cured by your medicine man, your heirs or you would receive a bill reading as follows:

For medical treatment. Typhoid Fever:	
36 visits at \$5.00 each	\$180.00
For consultations with specialists . . .	75.00
	\$255.00
10 per cent charge for Rosenzweig	
Bacteria Royalty	25.50
Total	\$280.50

In many instances, the patient already weakened by the ravages of the scourge, even after a full convalescence, might get a sudden relapse and pass out from the effects of perusing just such a bill.

AGAIN, HUMANITY COMES FIRST

With such an eventuality, our research labs turn their eyes back to the petty bubbling of liquids, and the preparation of slides for the microscope. The dread of doctor bills has killed more patients than medical ignorance. And surely more than bacteria. In these days at any rate. They reason then: If the doctors persist in killing off populations with charges for treatment, even after the bio-chemists have done the most part in the cure and prevention of illness, let the doctors bear all the onus for their aftermath. And to hell with royalties . . .

CUPIDITY AND STUPIDITY ARE TWINS

Nothing is more tragically stupid than the daily instructions of the Health Department doctors through the public press on the recent wave of infantile paralysis. Keep your child away from contact with crowds or other children. And you read and find that in isolated places, on rich men's estates, in delicately bartered suburbs, cases spring up from nowhere and for no known reason. It is an order intended for preventative reasons, that neither prevents the disease from spreading even if followed, nor has it any reason except blind guesswork. Since nobody knows whether this particular germ acts like every other infectious or contagious element we have learned about. It might even be that crowding together would act as a deterrent. Who knows? It's a safe bet the doctors do not.

And then the horrible, senseless dread they spread among the mothers of young children by listing symptoms of the affliction. Even if your child has a slight cold, you can't be sure . . . CALL THE DOCTOR. And sadly enough, the doctor can do nothing to prevent the disease from coming on. He can only tell you what you yourself can see. Even if your child sneezes, or has a disordered stomach. Call the Doctor. And what will the doctor do except collect a fee for trivial treatment. And if your child should show signs of the dreaded disease, what can medicine do for him, except the crude, experimental torture that takes in years of futility, and leaves nothing in its wake except pain, privation and permanent deformity.

Business has been bad for medicine these disgustingly healthy years. Let a little prosperity shine in a depressed world. Give thanks for the epidemic. Beware of infantile paralysis. At the first sign of anything . . . CALL THE DOCTOR.

S. A. deWitt

STAGE

'5 Year Plan' Moves to Pop. Priced Cameo

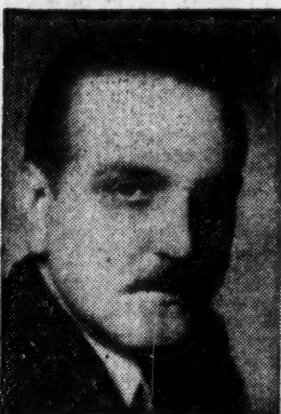
SCREEN

The Star of the "Third Little Show"



Beatrice Lillie, who does some grand work in the "Third Little Show" at the Music Box.

In One of the Big Smash Hits



Frank Morgan has one of the featured roles in "The Band Wagon," Max Gordon's big hit at the New Amsterdam.

Noel Coward Builds A Play on Lines

One of the outstanding geniuses of the theatre, Noel Coward, whose hilarious comedy of married life, "Private Lives," is currently playing at the Times Square Theatre with Madge Kennedy and Otto Kruger sharing stellar honors, is a keen student of human nature. Naturally, most dramatists are, but Coward manages to catch the philosophy, perspectives, habits and moods of the creatures called homo sapiens as well.

Gifted with a turn for saying clever and often devastating truths in a single line, young Noel Coward has been more than ordinarily successful as a playwright. Coward deals in fluff, but he is a master craftsman in his special line. Seriousness is not a part of his makeup but when he touches on serious things they emerge scintillating satiric shafts of wisdom. His line in "Private Lives"—"women should be struck like gongs—on the hour"—is an example of his wit for in one brief sentence he has summarized man's attitude with regard to the unreasonable woman generally.

Next to writing and acting for the theatre, Coward loves to travel. "Private Lives" was written on a jaunt to the Orient. Travel affords him the leisure so necessary to the penning of his plays. Life in a metropolis is exacting. Social obligations naturally cut in on one's time and the telephone, to a busy man, has become an intolerable institution. He prefers, therefore, to be out of reach many months of the year, seldom leaving a forwarding address.

In Dreiser's "An American Tragedy" at the Criterion Theatre



Paramount's first big special production of the new season is the long awaited film version of Dreiser's "An American Tragedy." Directed by Von Sternberg, who directed many of Emil Jannings' American successes, "An American Tragedy," in its preview, has been hailed as a fine contribution to the talking screen. Sylvia Sidney, of stage fame is supported by Phillips Holmes and Frances Dee.

"The Five-Year Plan" Begins Pop. Price Run At R.K.O. Cameo

An actual photographic record of the vital changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union today, a subject that is being widely discussed in all prominent newspapers of the country, is now playing at the RKO Cameo Theatre with the Amkino presentation of "The Five-Year Plan: Russia's Remaking," a full-length feature film. Performances are continuous and at popular prices for the first time on Broadway.

Reams upon reams have been written upon the important subject of Russia's rapid growth, but no comprehensive version of the country's actual development had heretofore been filmed. The Soviet five-year plan embraces a period from 1928 to 1933, and now, with the half-way mark passed, comes this authentic version of its achievements to date. In a graphic and vivid fashion "The Five-Year Plan" depicts the creation of a new Russia, showing a primarily agrarian country being transformed into a land of gigantic steel mills, of super power plants and vast agricultural enterprises.

Soviet Russia has developed a new idea in photography which they have used successfully in their latest opus, an animated cartoon with sound and music, entitled "Mail." The distinguishing feature of this new type of cartoon is that poster drawing is the medium, the figures being drawn in light and shadow, rather than in the line drawings common to "Mickey Mouse" and other American cartoons.

"Mail" is being shown as an added attraction at the RKO Cameo with "The Five-Year Plan."

"The Silent Witness" At the Winter Garden Due for Long Run

Sensational business has been attracted by "The Silent Witness" at the Winter Garden. From the first showing of the feature until closing time Monday night, stances were lined up three deep in the rear of the orchestra and the mezzanine.

Within half an hour after the doors opened Tuesday for the first full day's showing of the picture, the house had been completely sold out, and it was decided that beginning Wednesday, doors of the Winter Garden would be opened at 10 a. m. and shows would be continued until 1:30 a. m. to accommodate the crowds.

The combination of excellent reviews and the tremendous timelessness of "The Silent Witness" seem to indicate a long run for "The Star Witness."

Moves to the Fox B'klyn



Edmund Lowe and Myrna Loy in "Transatlantic" part of big bill at the Fox Theatre.

Evelyn Brent and Big Cast in "Traveling Husbands" at Mayfair And Albee Theatres

Lingerie, negligees and things-a-jigs got him into trouble—as they usually do.

If he hadn't represented a New York underwear house, he would not have found himself in a jam when the detectives and police broke into his hotel showrooms after an accidental shooting.

This is always the commercial traveler's bad fortune—unless, of course, he's selling nuts and bolts or roofing material. When you sell a lady's intimate wearing apparel, there is always the chance that some one might misunderstand the various pieces of delicate clothing you have draped on live models in your sample room.

Hugh Herbert, in the role of a wise-cracking jovially cynical, reassuringly good-natured Knight of the Sample Case, found himself in such a predicament in Radio Pictures' comedy-drama "Traveling Husbands" which opens today at both the Mayfair and RKO Albee Theatres. Numerous funny and dramatic situations arise from the holding as material witnesses, the members of a whoopee party held in the sample room, with models and such other pretty girls as were attracted by the lure of a "Large Evening."

Paul Sloane wielded the megaphone, the story being, an original by Humphrey Pearson. Evelyn Brent, Frank Albertson, Constance Cummings, Frank McHugh, Carl Miller, Spencer Charters, Purnell Pratt and Stanley Fields head the cast of featured players.

On "Hip" Screen



George O'Brien and Sally Eilers as they appear in "A Holy Terror" now at the "Hipp." Mr. Usher and other popular vaudeville stars appear on the stage.

Mary Brian in "The Run-Around" at Strand

Mary Brian, last seen on Broadway in "The Front Page," is featured in "The Run-Around," which is now at the New York Strand.

The story of two chorus girls with a penchant for pretty things but with an aversion to getting "scorched," "The Run-Around" has been classed as one of the smarter comedies of the season.

Also in the cast are Geoffrey Kerr, well known Broadway stage star; Marie Prevost, Johnny Hines

New York Salutes Its New Sensation!

Critics and audiences alike are acclaiming Paramount's Most Important Contribution to the Screen.

"AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY"

Based on Theodore Dreiser's novel with Phillips Holmes, Sylvia Sidney and Frances Dee. Directed by Josef Von Sternberg.

Gets your seats NOW!
2:45—Twice Daily—9:00
Extra Show Saturday Midnite,
Sunday at 5:45

CRITERION

Broadway at 44th

Von Sternberg's Long Awaited Production of Dreiser's "An American Tragedy" Said To Be a Screen Masterpiece, With Sylvia Sidney, Phillips Holmes and Entire Cast at Their Best

The world premiere of Paramount's "An American Tragedy" at the Criterion theatre last Wednesday evening, brought to a climax the wave of speculation which began five years ago, in 1926, when the story was purchased for the screen.

During this time, many a star and many a director looked longingly at the assignment, which grew to be considered the plum of picture achievement. When in March of this year Paramount executives took the book in hand and announced that Josef Von Sternberg would direct, and that Phillips Holmes would have the coveted role of Clyde Griffiths, many a hope and ambition crashed.

Holmes made his debut in films two years ago, when, a student at Princeton, he was selected by Frank Tuttle for a role in "Varsity." Since then his rise has been rapid, running through featured and leading roles to stardom, embracing a group of outstanding productions, including "Pointed Heels," "Only the Brave," "The Devil's Holiday," "Her Man," "Stolen Heaven," and "Laughter."

Miss Sidney was selected by Von Sternberg to play the role of Roberta Alden in "An American Tragedy." Miss Sidney came to the screen following the success on the New York stage in Theatre Guild productions and in the Broadway production of "Bad Girl." Having appeared in "City Streets," and "Confessions of a Co-Ed," she faces stardom, at the age of 21.

Frances Dee, another rising Paramount player, plays the role of Sondra Finchley, the glamorous daughter of wealth and society whose charms dazzle the susceptible youth and cause him to plot the death of Roberta the girl who loves him.

For the cast of supporting players for this Paramount production, Von Sternberg has turned to stage and screen alike to fill his difficult roles. Included in the imposing group of names are Irving Pichel, fresh from triumphs in "Murder by the Clock" and "The Right to Love," Frederick Burton, Claire McDowell, Wallace Middleton, Vivian Winston, Emmet Corrigan, Lucille LaVerne, Ariene Judge and Arnold Korff.

The production was adapted for the screen by Samuel Hoffenstein, former Broadway theatrical press agent and author of best selling poetry.

Katherine Cornell Leases Belasco Theatre

Katherine Cornell has leased the Belasco Theatre from September 21 next for a term of years in association with her husband, Guthrie McClintic. This lease represents her second step as actor-manager, her first being the production of "The Barrets of Wimpole Street." Since Miss Cornell has always enjoyed playing at the Empire, she will continue to present "The Barrets of Wimpole Street" there throughout its run, but her subsequent productions will be at the Belasco. The Belasco will open early in October when Mr. McClintic presents Francine Larrimore in "Brief Moment" by Samuel N. Behrman.

At the 8th Street Playhouse

Revival showing of "White Cargo" will be presented at the Eighth Street Playhouse for one week commencing today. This is the talking picture version of a most sensational play. Commencing Friday, August 14, will be "Sherlock Holmes' Fatal Hour."

In the Much Discussed Film at the Cameo



A supporter of Russia's plan of rebuilding as seen in "The Five Year Plan" which begins an indefinite and popular priced run at the Cameo Theatre.

"A Holy Terror" on "Hip" Screen—Jed Dooley And Other Vaude Acts—Complete Big Bill

The show is the thing at the Hippodrome this week with "A Holy Terror" the screen romance of a rough riding vaudeville bill of eight acts. George O'Brien, Sally Eilers, Rita La Roy, James Kirkwood, Humphrey Bogart, Stanley Fields and Robert Warwick are featured in this star spangled picture.

Jed Dooley, the cameo comic with his pretty companion Andree Evans shares headline honors with Mae Usher, the singing character comedienne. Yale University Glee Club contributes Eight Sons of Eli to the program; Jack Colby and Patricia Murry star in the "Petite Revue"; Bud Harrison and Pinky Elmo roll dice as only darlings can; Walter Jenner presents the wonder seal "Buddy"; the Allison Sisters, three peppy girls furnish thrills aplenty on the trapeze and Al Nord with Jeanie offer a comedy skit "Stop Crying" to complete the Hippodrome's stage show.

Will Rogers in "Young As You Feel" at Roxy

Current at the Roxy is Will Rogers' latest, "Young As You Feel," converted from George Ade's "Father and the Boys." It is the story of a middle-aged, settled-down business man who goes on the loose, doffs his all-wood business suit for an all-broadcloth and satin swallow tail, throws away his dyspepsia tablets for champagne and forgets business reports for racetrack results.

Fifi Dorsey, who comes into this business man's life just when he is doing his daily dozen in his nightshirt, romps through the picture with Rogers, to the end that Rogers' two sons, who themselves have been pursuing the high and modern life, awaken and address themselves to the task of rescuing their father from the temptations and pitfalls of the world.

Others in the cast include Lucien Littlefield, Donald Dillaway, Terrence Ray and Rosalie Roy.

"Wharf Nigger," Paul Peters' Play About Race Prejudice, Due Sept. 15

"Wharf Nigger," a play by Paul Peters aimed against Southern race prejudice, which is now in rehearsal at the Provincetown Playhouse, will open on September 15.

The play deals with the life of colored dock workers in New Orleans and ends in stirring scenes which bear striking similarity to the circumstances of the Scottsboro and Camp Hill, Ala. share-cropper cases.

Peters gathered the material for his play while he was at work as a stevedore in New Orleans.

MUSIC

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"Transatlantic" on Screen of Fox B'klyn—On Stage Is Fanchon And Marco's Revue

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre's program this week consists of the first of the season's new screen products, "Transatlantic"; a new master of ceremonies, Phil Lampkin, and the personal appearance of Mickey Mouse in Fanchon and Marco's stage show.

"Transatlantic" deals with the tangled lives of a dozen or so persons aboard a de luxe liner Europe-bound. Edmund Lowe, who heads the cast, has the role of "Monty Greer," a gambler anxiously sought by the district attorney as star witness in a graft trial. Others who become involved around the S. S. Transatlantic are Lois Moran as "Judy Kramer"; Jean Hersholt, her father and an old German lens grinder making his first luxury trip abroad; John Halliday, an absconding banker; Myrna Loy, his wife; Greta Nissen, a Swedish dancer and sweetheart of Halliday; and Earle Foxe, who has designs on Halliday's stolen millions.

The Fanchon and Marco stage show, "Mickey Mouse" idea marks the first personal appearance of Walt Disney's beloved animated cartoon character. Mickey also introduces on the stage his comical Barnyard Gang and "Silly Symphony" Ballet. Augmenting the novelty entertainment are the principal performers—the Three Rolling Stones, Toots Novelle, Helen Petch, Chrissie Daley, Louis and Cherie and the Sunkist Beauties.

"The Immortal Vagabond" Held Over At the Warner Thea.

Week-end attendance at "The Immortal Vagabond," the Ufa English musical love-drama of Vienna and the Tyrol, has caused a holdover of the picture for a second week at the Warner Theatre.

Gustave Frohlich, of "Metropolis" fame, and Liane Haid, the screen sweetheart of Europe, play the leading roles in the charming story of a musical genius who wins renown but loses love in his climb to fame.

"Huckleberry Finn" At Para. Theatres

The screen version of Mark Twain's famous masterpiece of boyhood, "Huckleberry Finn," with the same cast which depicted "Tom Sawyer," will be the new attraction at the New York and Brooklyn Paramount Theatres starting today.

BROOKLYN

FOX The DIFFERENT Picture Transatlantic

with EDMUND LOWE LOIS MORAN
And on the Stage
FANCHON & MARCO'S
"MICKEY MOUSE" Idea
in Person Mickey Mouse
3 ROLLING STONES
TOOTS NOVELLE
HELEN PETCH—CHRISIE DALEY
BOB WEST

"Ruddigore" Next in Gilbert and Sullivan Series at Erlanger's

"Ruddigore," or "The Witch's Curse," eighth in the series of Gilbert and Sullivan operas at Erlanger's Theatre, will be presented by the Civic Light Opera Company next Monday night. It is next to the last production in this summer comic opera season, a reproduction of "The Mikado" being scheduled to succeed it on Monday, August 24.

"Ruddigore" is termed as "supernatural" opera, and tells the story of a hereditary title-holder who has to commit a crime every day, owing to a curse his ancestor incurred through burning a witch. It is an obvious burlesque of the old Surrey-side melodramas with their bad baronets, village maidens, gallant rescuers in impossible situations and so forth. When Mr. Gilbert had satirized all the prevailing fads of his day, including the craze things Japanese, which resulted in "The Mikado," and the absurdly aesthetic madness in "Patience," he turned to the one thing which, to his mind, needed reform, and that was the impossible dramas, with their flowery speeches and situations and laughable characters. "Ruddigore" was the result.

"Zwei Herzen im Dreiviertel Takt" Reaches 1850th Performance

The phenomenal run of the Viennese screen operetta, "Zwei Herzen im Dreiviertel Takt," now current at the Europa Theatre, has the distinction of having surpassed all records for the continuous run of a stage or screen play for the number of performances since the five-year record set by "Able's Irish Rose."

This week-end it will have reached its 1,850th performance. An innovation in the presentation of a foreign language film for American audiences is promised by the management. The experiment will have its initial tryout with "Zwei Herzen."

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N. Y. Socialists Busy Aiding Mine Strikers

**Amalgamated Branch
and 23rd Kings Par-
ticularly Active—Big
Meeting in Williams-**

Burg _____

PRACTICALLY all of the active Socialist branches in New York City are engaged in the raising of funds, food and clothing for the striking miners. Special mention should be made of the Y. P. S. L., which has been particularly active and has sent a number of huge cases of clothing within the last few days.

Mention should also be made of the largest and most active branch of the party, this connection namely, the Assignment Committee House Branch. They are arranging a concert for Friday evening, Aug. 21, with an admission charge of 50 cents. A very fine musical program has been arranged and Norman Thomas has consented to be present and speak in

consented to be present and speak in behalf of the venture. It is expected that possibly \$200 or more in cash will be raised at once. The branch has also been successful in soliciting the assistance of the Women's Club, Amahai Group, the Men's Club, Workmen's Circle and the educational department of the Amalgamated Co-operative Houses to make this concert a huge success.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED! — The first day for filling petitions to nominate Socialist party candidates for public office is held next week in the

11. It is urgent that every branch return its petitions before that day. Considerable work must be done upon them before they are ready for filing. There is a need for volunteers to obtain signatures in some districts where the job has not been completed. Comrades are asked to devote one evening to this task. The signatures can be obtained most conveniently between 6 and 8 p. m. Those who are willing to volunteer for this work are urged

to get in touch with Organizer Claessens, city office, 7 East 15th street, without delay.

MANHATTAN

4th A. D.—A special meeting was held on Monday evening, July 27, in the Forward Building. The matter of candidates was gone over again. Final recommendations named Morris Markheim for Alderman, 4th A. D., and Louis Lieberman for member of Assembly. Since then, Comrade Lieberman has declined and it was left to the city office to suggest another can-

Accepted the nomination as member of Assembly in the 4th A. D. A campaign committee of seven was elected. Plans are being made for an active

YORKVILLE — A very successful street meeting was held at 86th street and Yorkville avenue last evening. Samuel Bardsley spoke. A large audience listened attentively and enthusiastically. The branch has recommended the nomination of G. H. Cannon as candidate for Alder in the 18 district in place of Joseph D. Cannon, who declined.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS — The branch has arranged for a day's outing and has chartered a private motor bus to accommodate 50 people. This outing will be held Sunday, Aug. 23. The boat will leave at a. m. and go up the Hudson to Hook Mountain Park where there are facilities for picnicking.

CHELSEA—Another group of Active members will take The New Leader out this Friday evening for a ride at the subway stations around headquarters. If you care to join, meet at headquarters between 5 and 6 p. m. next Tuesday, Aug. 11, a regular branch meeting will be held at

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS — At a meeting John Martindale was nominated as the candidate for Alldredge in the 13th District in place of Arnold Johnson, who declined to run.

The meeting was held on Friday evening Aug. 14, in the ballrooms at 327 East Ninth street.

BRONX

A huge outdoor demonstration and parade will be held on Saturday afternoon and evening, Aug. 8. This will be the first of a series of demonstrations. This one is directed particularly at the National Guard. The parade will start near the headquarters at 908 Prospect avenue at

m., and will march through various sections of the Bronx and end at the corner of Prospect and Longwood avenues, where a large platform will be erected. The meeting will begin at 8 p. m. The list of speakers includes James Oneal, Samuel A. DeLoach, A. I. Shipiloff, Louis Hendin, Henry Fruchter, Samuel Orr, Rachel Krutner, Aaron Levenstein, Herman

South Branch.—The branch has decided to cooperate with the Washington Heights Branch at its outing on Sunday, Aug. 23. Every member of the branch is urged to come along to and enjoy a enjoyable day, and at the same time help the branch obtain the finances for the coming campaign.

North Branch.—A meeting will be held Sunday, Aug. 11, at 908 Prospect Avenue. We will plan for the forthcoming campaign. We require the presence of every comrade.

East Branch.—A meeting will be held Sunday evening, Aug. 11, at 8:30 p. m. at 4215 Third Avenue.

BROOKLYN

WILLIAMSBURG—The second of a series of large open air demonstrations held last Friday evening was successful. Over 500 were present. In the face of Communist opposition, it was orderly and impressive meeting. Speakers included Shiplacoff, Oneal, Weil, and others. Belsky spoke on "The Great Depression and Unemployment."

and Hunner." A large delegation of Yipsels and party members handled the meeting most efficiently. An additional feature was the occasional singing of songs by Yipsels between the introduction of speakers. The next series of meetings will be announced shortly and will most likely be held in the 20th A. D.

20th A. D.—An important meeting will be held Friday evening, Aug. 14, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 7212 Broadway avenue. Due to the declination of Nathan Schatz, who was proposed of

candidate for member of Assembly
the 16th A. D., Louis Chertoff was
elected as the candidate.
and A. D.—The business meeting
Aug. 3 was very interesting and
encouraging. The hot weather does
affect the attendance of our de-
voted comrades. In support of the
mining miners, the branch has
collected \$25 which will be for-
warded this week together with a



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C. A. Hoffman, sec'y; Robert
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CITY WIDE BEACH PARTY
The Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York has planned a beach party for Sunday afternoon and evening at Long Island. We are all to meet in

hike of all the Manhattan Yip-
piers will be held this Sunday, August
15. We meet at 10 a. m. sharp at the
entrance station of the I. R. T.

CIRCLE TWO SR. BROOKLYN
Big doings are going on in the
Kew-Forest section of Brooklyn. Circle
Sr. and Two Jr. are holding open
meetings twice weekly. The regu-

Circle Two Sr. meetings are held
Tuesday evening at 8 p. m., at
Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219
Manhattan street, Brooklyn.

Yorckville junior circle is being
nized at the Socialist party head-
ters, 241 East 84th street. Th

meeting will be held this Friday
at 7, at 8:30 p. m.

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

100 SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1931

The Half-Wits Talk

WE are drifting to a catastrophe and the dull wits at Washington, with Hoover leading, do not understand what is ahead. Hoover and Doak again talk of "local action" to meet the unemployed emergency although many cities are near bankruptcy. The drive for 82 million dollars even if successful will not meet the emergency for one winter.

The mayor of Hartford, Conn., answers Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, who proposes that mayors of cities urge a special session of Congress to enact unemployment relief legislation, by numbing some jargon about our government being "founded upon the Anglo-Saxon idea of individual rights and liberties." This drive is followed by Governor Ritchie of Maryland who declares that the owners of industry should provide against a return of widespread unemployment or the "government is going to step in." He would have capitalists fulfill a "social obligation" by establishing insurance against unemployment whereas this would be a feudal, not a social, obligation.

We turn from the half-wits to Leo Wolman who cuts through the drivel by saying that the capitalists as a class are powerless. These best minds are in themselves tossed here and there by the industrial convulsions and we doubt whether one in a hundred understands the economics of their own wretched system. He declared that our ruling capitalist class is carried along with the tide of events rather than exercising any control.

What is required is intervention by a social power which means heavier taxation of great fortunes, the beginning of public works on a large scale and subsidizing cities for a similar program. There should be an army of delegates representing the organized masses in Washington when Congress convenes to "talk straight" in this emergency.

A Tale From Kansas

A DREADFUL story comes from Kansas of a "socialistic experiment" that has gone to pot. Eighteen years ago the state went into the business of publishing school books and a legislative investigation shows that it is a mess. Reading the story in the New York Times it is not difficult to understand what happened to the "socialistic experiment."

It is admitted that private publishers have fought the enterprise and "have probably done much to hamper it." This immediately brings private capitalism into the picture. Text books have been frequently changed which would indicate that text writers have been close to public officials. Plates and copyrights have been discarded with large stocks of books on hand "in order that five-year royalty contracts might be made with publishing houses for new text books." Paper and other material were purchased from one house with no competitive bids.

We now have some idea of why the "socialistic experiment" failed. Various private and capitalistic ventures settled upon the state publishing business and with the connivance of politicians sapped it of its vitality. It looks like a case of sabotage and this has occasionally happened in this country.

Lincoln Steffens in his *Autobiography* tells the story of a private corporation which secretly tried to sabotage the publicly owned power plant in Seattle, Washington, in order to have the creek turned over to private exploiters. This sabotage failed but it appears to have accomplished something in Kansas.

Public ownership of itself is not Socialism. It all depends upon who administers it and for what purpose. Politicians of capitalist parties try to wreck it and they sometimes do and we have the failure of a "socialistic experi-

Fighting the Chains

SOME thirty odd trade groups have organized in New York State against chain stores and they have resolved to fight for a tax upon the corporation chains. The U. S. Supreme Court has upheld a similar tax enacted in Indiana and the movement to tax the chains has spread to other states.

That the chains menace the small merchants there is little doubt, and yet recent studies have shown that many of the small stores that failed are of a type that failed before the chains had assumed their present growth. They start with small capital, little or no experience in merchandizing, set up in poor localities, and are doomed before they start. These little ventures continue to appear and disappear and they are counted among the casualties due to the competition of chains.

While making allowance for this it still remains true that even the merchant with experience faces a difficult struggle. As an intermediate class the merchants may eventually be displaced just as the workers are displaced by machines. Suppose the workers demanded heavy taxation of labor-saving machines, would the organization fighting the chains support the proposal? We do not think so. Its members have never thought of the wage worker.

We mention this not because we would urge taxation on machines. This would be futile, as futile as we believe taxation of chains will prove to be. What is needed is a benevolent assimilation of the machines and chains, that is, socialization of production and distribution. In a word, Socialism, and we will come to this as certainly as taxation will fail.

Free Lancers

IF there is one thing needed in Socialist agitation today it is clarity in presenting our fundamental criticism of the capitalist system and basing our appeals upon working class aims and interests. The capitalist order is a criminal in the dock and there are millions of workers now willing to listen to our indictment. Without the workers there is no Socialist movement and yet in this period of our greatest opportunity there are freak ideas and movements that can only lead masses up a blind alley.

The new style Populism in the West with its stressing of "usury" as the cause of all economic ills is an example. There are also a number of free lance publications that bear no responsibility to any organization. The philosophy and program of each is carried under the hat of each editor and all together constitute a bedlam of ideas and plans. The *American Guardian* devotes a full page to a five week plan to end the economic depression and wires it to Hoover. The editor plunges into his consciousness, emerges with this idea, consults no one else, publishes it to the world and, no doubt, makes a big impression on some of his readers.

The labor and Socialist movement has suffered more in this country from such irresponsible journalism than any other country. In fact, it is a problem that has never faced the workers in Europe and only on rare occasions has it appeared in England. The free lancer is a product of that restless individualism that has been conspicuous in American life. He discounts teamwork, discipline, organization and cooperation; he is irresponsible and to the extent that he gets a following it does not control him; he controls his following. A self-controlled and disciplined movement is impossible with the free lancer.

IN A NUTSHELL

July wheat drops to a new low record and the decline of the price level measures how low Hoover prosperity has also fallen as a commodity.

The capitalist system has had its day, and, like other systems that have gone before, it must pass away when it has fulfilled its mission and make room for another system in harmony with the forces of progress and compatible with the onward march of civilization.—Eugene V. Debs.

Will Mr. Hoover please observe that the chicken in the pot which all workers were to receive has become grass and roots for men, women and children in some sections of the mining regions? Perhaps the Republican slogan next year will be "Grass for the Jobless."

Science is more hopeful of perfecting poison gas than of curing cancer.—John Galsworthy.

Speaking of poison gas, the Republican speeches of 1928 have been so deadly that many victims have not yet recovered their health.

The more unions there are in one industry the less unionism there can be.—S. H. Withey.

Talking Socialism is essential but acting its spirit is also vital. Have you made your contribution of money or of shoes and clothing to the suffering miners?

With the idea that labor is the basis of progress goes the truth that labor must be free.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

Everything is all right now. Hoover and Doak have had another talk about relief for the jobless and they have again decided that the chief burden rests with each community. We understand that they are willing to have another talk about it if you insist.

Matt Woll is again to the front in a heroic battle for the working class by scoring, yes, actually scoring, big capitalists and bankers who favor wage reductions. We thought that Woll's high tariff wall was going to insure high wages but it does not seem to work out for some reason.

The capitalist is a capitalist solely for profit—without profit he would not be in business for an instant. That is his first and only consideration.—Eugene V. Debs.

The Spirit of '31



From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

FROM THE NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Editor, The New Leader:
In your answer to Emil Stock in the last issue of The New Leader on the question of the difference between Socialism and Communism you make the following statement:

"Theoretically both movements are opposed to the capitalist system of society, but in the matter of organization and methods there is a vast difference."

From this answer, one infers that the two theories or philosophies differ only in matters of organization and methods.

Being a Socialist agitator for many years and somewhat active now in building up local Cook County, I make it my business to distribute "What's So and What Isn't" by John M. Work, because the chapters on "Communism" on page 119 to 24 inclusive, answers the questions that are always put to me on Socialism vs. Communism.

Practically the same explanations that Socialism and Communism differ not only in tactics but in theory, we find in a good many books and pamphlets that we now sell and distribute from Socialists party platforms and street corner meetings.

One does not "require a book to answer this correspondence inquiry" as you state in your answer, unless one wants to get into a discussion on the history of the Socialist movement.

Permit me to call your attention to Section 3 of the resolution adopted at the last convention of local New York Socialist Party and reported fully in the February 11th, 1931 issue of The New Leader, which reads:

"We deem it necessary to make it clear to our adherents and to the general public that there is a fundamental difference in theory and practice between Socialism and Communism, as exemplified by the Soviet government. This difference is frankly stressed by the Communists and the Socialist movement has nothing to gain by trying to minimize or obscure it."

The liberally minded people in my audiences and my comrades in the ward branches, are given to understand the fundamental differences, both theoretical and actual, between Socialism and Communism, and when, at some meeting in the near future, I will be confronted with a clipping from The New Leader, stating your answer to this question, I will be "stung."

Chicago, Ill.

We agree with the above letter and cannot observe any conflict between it and the answer to which Comrade Green refers.—Editor of The New Leader.

RADIO AMATEURS

Editor, The New Leader:
Will licensed radio amateurs, either active or potential, interested in organizing a Socialist Radio League, please communicate with WGOQ, 1117 West Third, Santa Ana, California.

SOCIALIST.

THE ONEAL ARTICLES

Editor, The New Leader:
I find James O'Neal's reply to the Pope's Encyclical very good. If you decide to print this series in pamphlet form, please let me know when they are ready.

Yours for a better justice than is found in the various religions.
GEO. LAVOIE.

New Bedford, Mass.

We have received a number of letters like the above and in answer to all we can say that the Rand School is considering the publication of the articles in pamphlet form.—Editor of The New Leader.

ATTENTION MICHIGAN SOCIALISTS

Editor, The New Leader:
As assistant state secretary of the Socialist Party I would like to suggest some plan of action to the membership. The party is growing in many states outside of Michigan. There is much discontent both among the farmers and wage workers in this state. We must act.

1. Continue to have picnics during the extreme hot weather, open air meetings also if possible. 2. Join hands with other radical bodies in Detroit outside of the Communist Party, and form an Unemployed Council. 3. In view of the fact that most of the active members of the Open Forum Committee last winter were Socialists, I would suggest that we run open meetings and lectures every Sunday evening all next winter in Detroit. 4. Rent an office or small hall in central locations for a headquarters the first of September in Detroit. If this is not done soon we will be wasting our time. 5. Hold meetings in the residential districts.

in members' homes during the winter to form contact with sympathizers. When we have money and a larger membership we can hold community meetings in the schools and halls. 6. Raise a fund to put in a full time State Secretary and Organizers and attempt to reorganize the State. 7. Buy a bundle of New Leaders each week and sell them. Foreign language papers please copy, as we wish to reach all members in the state.

JOHN PANZER.

45 Goulson Ave. E., Hazel Park, Mich.

THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

Editor, The New Leader:
In accordance with instructions from my Branch, I am enclosing a copy of letter sent to Governor Miller re Scottsboro case. Please make mention of this.

Fraternally yours,

MORDECAI SHULMAN.

Acting Secretary, Chicago Congressional District Branch, S. P. Cook County, Illinois.

(Enclosure)

Gov. E. M. Miller,

Executive Mansion,

Montgomery, Alabama.

Your Excellency:

I am writing at the request of the members of the Sixth Congressional District Branch Socialist Party of Cook County, Illinois, which at the last meeting on July 16, 1931, instructed me to write to you on behalf of the Negro boys who were sentenced to death at Scottsboro. From our study of the matter, which has been impartial, we have reached the conclusion that these boys have not had a fair and just trial, and in our opinion, a judicial murder will be committed if these boys are executed.

We urge you, therefore, to do whatever you can, within your office, to see that justice is done to these colored boys so that the good name of Alabama will not be stained by the blood of innocent youths whose only guilt is their color and their poverty.

MORDECAI SHULMAN.

A WORKERS' THEATRE

Editor, The New Leader:
Several dramatic groups in New York City, namely, the Young Civic League of the Workers Circle, the Young Peoples' Socialist League, the Rand School, various groups of the Socialist Party and the Labor Union, several Negro domestic groups of Harlem, Brookwood Labor College, have banded together to form the Workers' Theatre in order to carry out a two-fold purpose. The first is to reach a workingclass audience that is unapproachable by the commercial theatre; and to impart to that audience a definite sense of class consciousness social ideal. The second is to produce plays with the aid of those young men and women who by amateurs are anxious to express their social philosophy in a true dramatic form.

Toward this end we are in need of all sorts and types of labor plays. Will those people who possess or who know of such type of plays please communicate with me?

We would also like to hear from other labor dramatic groups throughout the country. We hope, in due time, to be able to coordinate the work of these groups and to form a nationwide movement of Workers' Theatres.

SAMUEL ROTENBERG.

Secretary, Workers' Theatre, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Cuba General Strike Aids Car Workers

Beginning last Friday the Cuban workers declared a general strike of 24 hours in sympathy with the street car workers of Havana. The National Confederation of Labor headed the movement and many unorganized workers participated in the strike. Even the Spanish language dailies suspended for a day and in Havana there were frequent clashes with strike-breakers.

The street car strike in Havana continued into the next week and on Tuesday hundreds of merchants closed their doors, either in sympathy with the strikers or fearing disorders. Heads of the Confederation report that while the 24 hour general strike was not 100 per cent effective many of the trade unions obeyed the order.

The fact that this strike is possible in Cuba would indicate that after all the terrorism, President Machado has not succeeded in destroying organizations of the working class.

Notes on the Jobless

Activities of the Unemployed Reported from Newport, Southampton, New York and Other Points

NEWPORT, R. I.—The first major entertainment of the summer season of Newport's unemployed and the largest private party thus far was given Sunday night by Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Bell. One hundred of the unemployed were fed, while as many more jobless came in later from music and supper. A temporary addition on the ocean side of the house accommodated the guests.

Rochester, Pa.—Attempting to steal food for his hungry mother and brother, Ellwood Collins, of Crow's Run, 19 and unemployed, was shot in the back near here Sunday. Young Collins was found lying in the vegetable garden of George Rejonovich late Sunday night. He is in a serious condition in Rochester General Hospital. "I hated to steal," he said. "I only wanted to take what we would eat."

Southampton, L. I.—Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Sablin, unemployed banker, gave a large luncheon party at Baberyland, their, Shinnecock Hills home here Sunday for Mr. and Mrs. Clarence H. Mackey, idler head of the Western Union telegraph interests. Dr. and Mrs. Nicholas Murray Butler, here to recover from the strain of their recent idling in Europe, were among the guests.

New York, Out of work for some time, Walter Lassen, 41, hanged himself in his room at the Hotel Hermitage here last

week. Hotel employees broke into his room when they could get no response to their knocking. They found he had hanged himself to a steampipe sometime after 5 o'clock Sunday night. Lassen, a steamboat engineer, came from Somerville, Mass., to begin make a fruitless search for work here.

Newport, R. I.—A select list of members of the unemployed colony of Newport were entertained at a dinner by Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Harriman at Wisteria Lodge Monday night. To relieve the tedium, the unemployed will hold a dog show August 23rd on the estate of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Vanderbilt. Special prizes are being given by Mrs. T. Sufferin Tailer and others.

Chicago.—Charles Wind, 65 years old, is in jail here because he stole a set of marble setters' tools in order that he might get the first job that he had been offered in a year. His son, 29, who was with him, was also arrested. Both face prison terms on burglary charges.

Cannes, France.—Paul Frank of New York and Saint Germain, and Princess Laura Murat were married here Monday. A goodly throng of unemployed millionaires and their wives attended. The Princess is a great granddaughter of Alexander MacDonald of Cincinnati, a noted unemployed oil

magnate of a two-score years ago

Detroit.—Mrs. Charles Schmidt, her husband out of work for 13 months, and her child starving from several days of hunger, took the five year old boy into the kitchen of their impoverished home and turned on the gas. The child was found dead, the mother barely alive when they were found by police. "I don't know what I'm going to give the children to eat," said a note Mrs. Schmidt left.

New York.—James J. Walker, itinerant mayor of New York, sailed Tuesday on the Bremen for a month in Germany. Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Mackey arrived from Newport in time to sail on the Maestric. Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Moore are returning from Honolulu. They will go to Inverness at Greenwich, Connecticut. Mrs. George H. Houston of the Savoy-Plaza, is returning from Europe to leave the following day for Bar Harbor, Maine.

New York.—Because Mayor Walker, in his hurry to leave for a month's junket in Germany, failed to call a necessary special meeting of the Board of Estimate to vote \$500,000 in tax notes, 1,500 unemployed men held temporary jobs on Queens County roads, out of jobs. The men were employed 3 days a week. With their families, some 10,000 persons are affected by the lay off.

Praise for Socialist Milwaukee

Wickersham Commission Finds Police Administration Free From Usual Corruption by Politicians

CONDEMNING the police departments of American cities for general failure "to detect and arrest criminals guilty of many murders, spectacles hold-ups and frequently resulting in death," the Wickersham commission this week found control of the police by politicians the main cause of "a loss of public confidence in the police of our country."

The Wickersham commission was appointed by President Hoover to investigate the police of the country. It was composed of five members of the Milwaukee police and fire commission appointed one a year by the Mayor. "As a matter of fact," Work declared, "the present chief of police was Mayor Hoan's choice." Dr. Calman concluded with the view that either Mayor Hoan insist on police recognition of free speech or cause the removal of the police commissioner.

The New Leader forwarded Dr. Calman's letter to Mayor Hoan, who has sent us the following reply:

"Replying to the letter of Dr. Calman, will say that the story he read in the New Leader as follows: 'Milwaukee Police Make Socialist Rally Move From Corner' was a BIG piece of news. The fact is that the Socialist rally was moved rather than suppressed did not mitigate against its importance, I presume. A local merchant made a great outcry against so large a crowd in front of his store, that a friendly copper asked the speaker if he would not be kind enough to move his soap box to the next premises, which he gladly complied with. This is the I am mayor of this city of Milwaukee interference with a Socialist meeting I have ever heard of since waukee."

"The next paragraph of the article quotes: 'Similar "interference" in other radical meetings by the "Socialist" police of Milwaukee has been advertised throughout the country as an evidence of Socialist hypocrisy.' and I presume it must refer to some headlines in the Communist press. The police have a restricted area downtown. The Communists, when they were active, used to delight in breaking this rule in order to tease the police and look for an opportunity to be arrested and pose as martyrs. They were always allowed the same privileges that are agreed to by the Socialists to hold their outdoor meetings outside of the congested area."

"The Haymarket affair which Comrade Work refers to is an incident where the Communists were allowed to parade under the protection of the police, which parade proceeded to the Haymarket Square, where an opposition speaker was speaking on another corner. The Communists made a rush to tear him down from his box and were in the act of beating this speaker up when the police intervened in his behalf to protect him and his right of free speech. Whereupon the Communists attacked the policeman, taking his billy-club away and beat him sufficiently to send him to the hospital. In turn, the policeman went after the Communists and gave them a thrashing. Knowing of dozens of instances where the Communists had been heckling the police and looking for trouble, I could not help but admit that the Communists got just exactly what they were looking for and have behaved fairly well ever since. I have no apologies to offer for the conduct of our police department whether under my jurisdiction or not. Its policy in the conduct of all labor strikes and its attitude toward free speech has met with the unanimous approval of all Socialists and fair-minded people in our city."

The Right to Remove

"This might dispense entirely with the need of any explanation as to what, if any, influence or legal authority I have over the police department. Prior to 1910, the mayor of Milwaukee was the head of the Police Department and could suspend the Chief of Police. With the election of Emil Seidel, the reactionaries went to the legislature and repealed this provision, making the Chief of Police the head of his department and made him personally responsible for the enforcement of all laws and ordinances. On the other hand, the Mayor appoints the Fire and Police Commission of five men, all of whom I have appointed. This commission in turn elects the Chief of Police. The present Chief of Police was recommended to me by that commission which selected him from among the civil service employees in the department. He is subject to discharge upon the filing of charges of any free-holder in the city. The charges must be for "due cause." Cause, under Wisconsin law, means a real malfeasance in office or the breach of some law. The discharge of the Chief of Police is subject to appeal to the courts and the courts of Milwaukee are very likely to reinstate a chief discharged by the Socialist mayor, as was the case with the Fire Chief who had been discharged by the same commission while Seidel was mayor. It is true that I wrote letters to several members of the department as Comrade Work says, requesting that they get out or face charges. The fact is that I had been gathering charges against these officers for several months that they had been flagrantly violating rules of the department and I had plenty of evidence to support the charges. "What I wish to conclude is this, that under the Milwaukee system, the mayor can not enforce orders with reference to the Chief of Police. He should have a decided moral influence over his conduct, which I believe I have exercised up to this time, in shaping his policy on labor and free speech. For a Socialist mayor to remove the Chief of Police who decides to be obstructive, would be an extreme difficult task. Very few chiefs have sufficient evidence or power to secure the ratifications of the Police, even if they were guilty of malfeasance would leave behind capitalistic press to the dismis-

Hosiery Workers Urge Labor Party Be Formed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The membership of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, by vote taken in each branch of the organization, has gone on record in favor of a policy of militant independent political action. Formal action on this question was taken when a "national committee motion" was officially submitted to the Federation membership on the initiative of Milwaukee Branch No. 16, in line with constitutional procedure practiced in this organization. Secretary-Treasurer William Smith announces that a final check-up of the ballots returned from thirty odd branches in half a dozen different states shows a unanimous vote in favor of the Milwaukee action.

Who Controls Milwaukee Cops?

Interesting correspondence has been received by The New Leader concerning the relation of the Milwaukee police department to the Socialist administration. Dr. Maurice Calman of New York finds that, while the record of the Milwaukee police may be commendable in dealing with crime, it is not so praiseworthy in dealing with free speech. Dr. Calman refers to "the mishandling" of the