

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Hoover at Valley Forge—A New Testimonial for Government Ownership—Social Planning—Another Tammany Scandal—The Minnesota Farm-Laborites—The Pope and Mussolini

### WASHINGTON AND HOOVER

PRESIDENT HOOVER's wall about his troubles and George Washington's at Valley Forge is as inaccurate as his comparison of American life to a foot race. Washington at Valley Forge had a plan and a purpose; Hoover has no plan, but to blunder through. Washington's little army kept its organization. Hoover has no program whatever for organizing the forces which fight depression. On the contrary, he piously hopes that if everybody tries to do something, something—God knows, what—will get done!

The best we can say for the Great Engineer in the White House is that he has quit talking optimistic bunk and that he now recognizes that in part we suffer the "penalty of excesses of greed." Yes, and he and his predecessor, the Sage of Northampton, keep right on encouraging folks to believe in the immortality of a bul market born of the marriage of greed and stupidity!

Norman Thomas

ON one thing the Great Engineer is firm. He is so sure that he hates the thought of a special session of Congress that he wouldn't even see a delegation who went to urge a special session in order to provide for the unemployed. General Herbert at his Valley Forge is determined at all costs to protect income taxpayers from those Hessians, the unemployed! A hunger loan to wipe out slums and give work to the unemployed? Never, says the gallant General. It would hurt business. How? That he won't and can't tell and he won't even see those who want to argue about it. Herbert doesn't like arguments.

### FOR GOVERNMENT RAILROADS

THE best by far of our Interstate Commerce Commissioners, Joseph B. Eastman, says right out in meeting that this business of trying to regulate private companies that logically the public ought to own just won't work. Of course not. Either the public utilities will try to own the regulators, as the power trust has tried to do, or the regulators will slow things up. To have to have one set of men watch another set work is the essence of bureaucracy.

Mr. Eastman's statement ought to give another boost to public ownership of railroads. They've had ten boom years, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has kept them fairly well in hand. But they haven't between the lot of them worked out a plan of consolidation, and now the railroads are crying because of the competition of truck and barge and boat carried freight. There is no way out of such difficulties until all plans can be in terms of a national program. And that means until the railroads belong to the nation; for it's mighty hard to plan for what you don't own.

### PLANNING FOR AMERICA

EVERY day I think about it the surer I am that most of this now fashionable talk of plastering some sort of five or ten years plan on our capitalist system is little better than a dream. Planning goes with Socialism, not capitalism.

Stuart Chase is one of the latest to write vividly on a ten year plan (in the current Harper's). He proposes to revive the war planning boards and adapt them to peace, specifically to providing every family with a minimum income of \$5,000 annually. He argues that this ought to be easier than it was in the war to raise the standard of living and to carry on an immensely destructive war. So far, so good.

But Stuart Chase forgets or underestimates two factors, one psychological and the other economic. Psychologically, the compulsions of war are so great that a degree of planning is accepted which industries mad for profit would not accept in time of peace. See how precipitately all the war planning machinery was junked in every capitalist nation after the Armistice.

But what is a more serious hitch in Mr. Chase's comparison is that war planning left plenty of war profits—about 25% on the average for all steel companies! This profit was not the nemesis of prosperity while the war lasted, for war demanded ever more to fit its maw. After the war we paid the piper in post war deflation. It is impossible in peace planning to continue these huge profits and forever avoid crises. The workers will not get the equivalent of what they produce, and in peace it is not the monster, war, but the purchasing power of the masses which stimulates production.

If American capitalism would accept something like the Chase ten year plan we shouldn't get far before the trouble Mr. Eastman finds in regulating would be multiplied a hundred fold. Of course we need planning, but planning is wholly and inherently out of tune with the theory of "automatic laws" on which the profit system has depended or pretended to depend for the control of its anarchistic greed.

### WALKER'S GIFT TO THE B. M. T.

WORSE than most of the things the good government critics of the Walker administration worry about is its fairly good mother attitude to the B.M.T. And this the reformers don't criticize! The labor hating B.M.T. has just got a ten year bus franchise good for about 22% profit. It is likely to get a cost plus operating contract for the city owned subways under the Undermyer plan. It has miles of surface car and elevated lines. To keep what it has, like all great utilities, it will have to stand in with the political machine and help directly or indirectly to corrupt politics. As Lincoln Steffens has reminded us out of his vast experience, that is the way the system always works out.

THE Walker administration will say that the state refused it the right to establish its own bus lines. This is half the truth. Walker never really fought for the right. He went through the motions. As it was, the Board of Estimate could have given a franchise terminable the minute the City got the power to operate its own lines. Then it could have gone after that power.

### SUPREME COURT RULINGS

ANOTHER 5 to 4 decision of the Supreme Court happens to be right. It knocks out the Minnesota law which enabled the state to go before a judge and stop a paper as a kind of public nuisance, if it was malicious, scandalous and defamatory. It wasn't necessary to prove libel. The majority of the court rightly held that this was censorship. The present Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota, Floyd Olson, got the original verdict against the Saturday Press. Not exactly the best business for a Farmer-Laborite even if the Press was unfair and defamatory.

It would be good if the Court could now protect the rights of some of the Communist papers barred from the mails or of the Filipino Communists who have not only been kept off the ballot but thrown in jail on the charge of unlawful assemblage. Then there are those eight Negro boys convicted on mighty slim evidence at Scottsboro. If State Courts don't do their duty the Supreme Court should act as in the Arkansas case. Every little victory for liberty shows how much is to be won in the land of Jefferson.

### FARM-LABOR DREAMS

THAT'S a cute idea some Minnesota Farmer-Laborites are playing with; let their party nominate electors but not pledge them. Then these electors can vote after the rest of the country has spoken as it will do the most good. Cute idea, I said, but only from the standpoint of tricky political maneuvering. It is a long step backward from the direct vote for President and Vice President we ought to get. And it's no way to build a party founded on principle. The Minnesota-Farmer-Labor representatives in Washington have done enough political juggling. Let the party get a real program and hold itself, its elected officials and its electors to it. That program to be worth anything will be socialist.

### TYRANNIES FALL OUT

WHEN the renegade Socialist, Mussolini, gets in a row with a Pope who says no Catholic can be a Socialist, Socialists may find cynical amusement in this falling out of the friends who signed the Lateran treaty. In this case Mussolini's intolerance in banning Catholic societies is wrong, but wouldn't the Pope do the same to Socialist, Protestant, or free thought societies in any territory over which he ruled? Both tyrannies of Fascist state and papal church are bad. When they fall out, sorely tried liberty in Italy may have its chance.

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XII.—No. 23

Published Weekly at  
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1931

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

Price Five Cents

In This Issue Page 4  
**HEYWOOD  
BROWN:**  
"A SOCIALIST REPLY  
TO THE POPE"

## Miss Klein Wins Leader Sub Contest

Mrs. Weisberg Takes  
Second Prize—Win-  
ner Obtained 453  
Subs in Short Time

WOMEN Socialists led the field in The New Leader circulation contest which ended on June 1st. Gertrude Weil Klein, Brooklyn Socialist, captured the first prize. She scored a total of 4,535 points, obtaining 453 yearly subscriptions to the paper in less than three months. Mrs. Minnie Weisberg, also of Brooklyn, won second place, scoring 1,310 points. The other three winners were Harry Lichtenberg, with 310 points; Dr. Louis Sabloff with 235, and Charles R. Bradford with 210.

Miss Klein, who has frequently run for public office on the Socialist ticket and is well known for her occasional contributions to the Socialist press, won the trip to Vienna, which was the first award. She will leave early in July to attend the congress of the Socialist and Labor International as well as the International Congress of Socialist women, which will precede it.

Mrs. Weisberg won a two weeks' trip to Camp Taminnet, the summer camp of the Rand School. Lichtenberg won a week-end in Taminnet, during the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. Dr. Sabloff a library of the works of Upton Sinclair, and Bradford a library of Socialist classics.

Announcement of the winners was made Monday, at midnight, the closing hour, at the New Leader office. Active party members as well as many of the contestants were present. In the last few hours, Miss Klein and her supporters brought in more than \$200 worth of subscriptions. Her supporters in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who had "promised" to send her to Vienna as soon as she decided to enter the competition, were also present. Miss Klein of the A. C. W. gave generous share of the credit in the winning of her prize to Henry Greenberg, Hyman Rubin, H. Schetzky, Morris Blumenreich, C. Dispenza, H. Schepps, Peter Monak, Charles Rabiner and A. Reich. S. A. De Witt acted as master of ceremonies at the occasion and his announcement of Miss Klein's victory brought congratulations from all sides.

The contest enlisted the interests of Socialists from all over the country. More than fifty entered the competition and succeeded in boosting the New Leader circulation within a short period. Among the entrants who trailed the winners, respectively, were Fred Green of Pittsburgh, Samuel Richman of Brooklyn, Ida Sondeck of Brooklyn, Ida Sondeck of Brooklyn, A. F. Zager of N. Chicago, and Sol Berman of Montreal. On the day the contest closed, Berman sent a subscription with the following note: "Contest or no contest, I intend to keep right on sending you the New Leader subscriptions. I hope the others will do the same."

THE contest enlisted the interests of Socialists from all over the country. More than fifty entered the competition and succeeded in boosting the New Leader circulation within a short period. Among the entrants who trailed the winners, respectively, were Fred Green of Pittsburgh, Samuel Richman of Brooklyn, Ida Sondeck of Brooklyn, Ida Sondeck of Brooklyn, A. F. Zager of N. Chicago, and Sol Berman of Montreal. On the day the contest closed, Berman sent a subscription with the following note: "Contest or no contest, I intend to keep right on sending you the New Leader subscriptions. I hope the others will do the same."

## Socialists Urge Funds Be Given For Scottsboro

The Scottsboro case which involves the lives of eight young Negroes who have been sentenced to death in an Alabama court for a crime which many intelligent people doubt that they committed, is of interest to all who are interested in fair play. It is a notorious fact that Negroes accused of crime throughout the southern states are rarely given the fair trial which whites get.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has for years rendered important service to Negroes who are victims of such injustices. A Bolshevik organization has stepped in and is raising funds ostensibly to help the accused eight. From its past performances it is likely that the funds will be diverted to the Bolsheviks themselves.

The City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party therefore, advises all friends of the accused who are able to contribute to the defense of these Negro boys to forward their contributions direct to the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. All funds contributed will be acknowledged by the association.

TRIP TO VIENNA Won by  
Brooklyn Socialist in New  
Leader Contest.



GERTRUDE WEIL KLEIN

## Socialist N.E.C. Meets June 13 In Pittsburgh

Mass Meeting to Be Held  
Sunday Afternoon—  
Summer Work on  
Agenda

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will hold an important session in Pittsburgh, on Saturday and Sunday, June 13 and 14. The sessions will be held in the Mayfair Hotel, on Penn Avenue. While in the city the members of the committee will speak at a mass meeting Sunday afternoon, and at a banquet the same night.

The important matters to be considered at this session are the new system, regional conferences of party organizations, and Socialist work during the summer and especially next winter.

The present dues system has not worked out to the satisfaction of quite a number of states and for this reason it will be given consideration. The proposed national party conference which was to be held in Milwaukee this month, was abandoned but if a number of states in given sections desire to hold regional conferences, they can be held with little expense to the party organizations. The committee will also have this matter of regional conferences before it and to the extent that it can encourage them, it will do so.

The persistence of widespread unemployment and the paralysis of city, state, and national administrations in meeting the situation present the most important problem before the committee. The committee members realize that there is something disconcerting about the nation and that this may burst into blind fury next winter. The whole situation is charged with the danger of police dictatorship in many cities, but it also affords a great opportunity for the Socialist Party to render invaluable service to the working class.

It is known that many trade union weeklies throughout the country are expressing a more militant view regarding unemployment, wage reductions, and intensified exploitation. This sentiment is certain to increase and it is natural that local trade union bodies will seek allies in trying to meet the situation. This growing

(Continued on Page Two)

## MachineGuns Rout Pickets In Allentown

State Police Disperse 1,000 Silk Mill Strikers—Philadelphia Fight Goes On

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Striking silk workers are meeting police opposition in their efforts to spread the general strike here into neighboring towns. They were greeted by state police during a demonstration at the neighboring town of Emaus. Over one thousand strikers threw a mass picket line around the four mills when the second night shift went on at two a. m. After a slight scuffle caused by vile names thrown at the pickets by the mill workers the local burgess called in the state police. They entered with a machine gun and searchlights and dispersed the pickets.

The local authorities have now organized a Citizens Vigilance Committee to stop all picketing. Over one hundred deputies have been sworn in by Sheriff Kellow, who has previously maintained he was a friend of the strikers. Strikers who have been in Emaus say all the workers are armed, and serious trouble may be expected at any time.

An attempt to break the ranks of the strikers made by the Pyramid Silk Company proved unsuccessful. The management succeeded in enticing half a dozen of its former weavers to return to work. As soon as word reached the union a mass picket line of two thousand was thrown around the mill. The scabs were finally removed in a police patrol to avert trouble and the mill has since made no effort to reopen. No other mills have attempted to reopen.

The general morale of the strikers has remained good. An attempt by the National Textile Workers' Union (Communist) to split the strikers has been unsuccessful and a large proportion of the strikers have joined the United Textile Workers.

The employers refuse to deal with the union. They have insisted through the Citizens Committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce that the workers of each mill must settle with the management of their own mill. This proposal has been turned down by the strike committee.

### Pinchot Raps Denial of Freedom

HARRISBURG, Pa. (FP).—One of the most forceful statements of the case for free speech and lawful assembly made by any public official in recent years is included in the letter which Gov. Gifford Pinchot has just written to Burgess Bean, of Lansdale, who had refused to permit the hosiery workers' union to meet in that borough. Pinchot said:

"To prevent meetings held in support of the right of labor to organize is to deny a right which the constitution, the laws, and the judicial decisions of Pennsylvania specifically recognize. We have long passed the time when there was any doubt about that. For these reasons, I urge you to issue a permit to the full-fledged hosiery workers, and to allow them to exercise their American right of free speech in the borough of Lansdale. Furthermore, I ask you to provide adequate police protection for their meeting, and in a word, to accord the hosiery workers the full rights which are guaranteed by the constitution."

(Continued on Page Two)

## Jobless Demonstration Greets Hoover In Phila.; Nine Socialists Jailed

Phila. Mayor's Committee to Aid Jobless  
Revealed to Be Racket; Dissolution Ordered

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA, Penna.—Mayor Mackey has never pushed relief for the unemployed thousands of Philadelphia very hard. Only recently his Director of Public Welfare stopped relief for 7,100 families. But Mackey has just committed an even worse crime against the working class.

The Philadelphia Record has just exposed the Mayor's Committee for the Relief of the Poor and Unemployed as one of the biggest rackets in the city. This committee has been named by high pressure promoters who have received 20% of all funds taken in. The manager has received 25%. Out of nearly \$400,000 collected only \$50,000 has actually gone to the unemployed.

The Emergency Relief Committee set up by the charity organizations is indignant (its funds are exhausted) the City Council has ordered an investigation, the District Attorney has ordered a Grand Jury probe. The Mayor insists he gave the committee authorization only to proceed with entertainments and not to solicit funds. Under public pressure, he has been forced to disband the committee.

## Pocketbook Strike Lines Grow Stronger

Union Holds the Whip-  
Handle as Production  
Is at a Standstill

THE strike of almost 3,000 pocketbook makers in New York City has won the admiration of the entire local labor movement as a result of its complete effectiveness. In the midst of unemployment attendant to the industrial breakdown, the members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union have put into effect one of the most complete strikes in decades. The lines of the strikers, who include women as well as men, were stronger a week after the walkout than on the first day of the strike.

Barnet Wolf, manager of the union, was enthusiastic at the solidarity displayed by the strikers. He said that not a single defector from the ranks of the strikers had been reported. Large enthusiastic strike rallies have been held daily in Beethoven Hall and in the Rand School. Leaders of the union and of the labor and Socialist movement have addressed the strikers to find them thoroughly determined to continue the fight in the same manner it was begun. The picket line through which no strike-breakers have even attempted to pass.

In the meantime, the "runaway" shops which hoped to set up manufacture outside of New York City and thus escape union conditions, have come to grief. Strikes have been called in New Bedford, Baltimore and other nearby cities. Labor movements in these respective localities is giving the union full support.

The strike was declared against the employers affiliated with the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Manufacturers' Association when it insisted on an effort to force a 35 per cent wage cut on the workers, and demanded the right to fire 20 per cent of their employees annually without stating any reasons.

### Miners' Strike Spreads

PITTSBURGH—(FP).—A rapidly growing strike of miners in the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia has already brought 7,000 men out of the mines, it is estimated in Pittsburgh. Over 3,500 men are out in strikes called by the United Mine Workers of America and 5,000 miners are out with the National Miners' Union in Washington County and other nearby fields. The N. M. U. leaders are organizing in various camps near the West Virginia border. Among the struck mines are the A. J. and Atlasburg and Cedar Grove mines of the Carnegie Coal Co., and the Kinloch and Hollenauer mines. The strike is spreading into Allegheny County. It is in protest against wage cuts and speed-up methods of the operators. The Continental Coal Co. near Morgantown, W. Va., signed a closed shop agreement with the U. M. W. A., but the terms of the settlement were not announced.

### Mansfield, O., Strike

WARDS OFF WAGE CUT  
MANSFIELD, O.—(FP).—After a four day strike 1800 steel workers of the Mansfield plant of the Empire Steel Corp. returned to their jobs when the company rescinded all wage cuts announced since April 20.

## Electric Rate Boost for Poor In New York

B'klyn Edison Co. Has  
Recently Cut Wages  
and Fired Over 2,000

HALF the people of New York City will have their electric bills increased July 1 and that half will be the poorer folks, the unskilled workers, the jobless, the families where only one is carrying the burden of support after several have lost their jobs.

All those whose electric bill is less than \$1.96 will feel the increase, with a minimum fixed at \$1 just at the beginning of the summer when use of electricity is at the lowest. The large consumers will be given cuts in their rates so that the companies will lose \$5,500,000 a year, it is claimed. The companies say they hope that increased use will make up for this.

Workers, bitter at the state's Public Service Commission, declare that the companies are buying the support of the wealthy in the fight that looms over wage cutting, layoffs and speed-up in the plants of the Brooklyn Edison Co., especially. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action has sent a letter of protest to the Public Service Commission, pointing out the wage cutting policy of the public utilities affected, their huge profits, their already high rates, and demanding a new hearing on the rates. It quotes the letter sent to Lieut.-Gov. Lehman by Rep. LaGuardia in which he protested against the layoffs of 1,600 Brooklyn workers and adds that there have now been 2,000 laid off. Matthew Sloan, head of the companies getting the rate increases and firing the workers, is on the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment.

The spirit of organization is stirring the employees in the huge plants of the Brooklyn Edison Co. as an organization committee meets to draw up their demands. Three mass meetings, each attended by over 1,000, have been held in Brooklyn Borough Hall.

Consumers became interested, too, when they were reminded that the Brooklyn Edison charges the highest rate for current of any company in the country, that its business in the depression year 1930 increased 8.28 per cent, and that it has unlimited franchise and a guarantee of 8 per cent return from the state of New York. Workers began formulating demands when 1,600 were laid off recently. They ask reinstatement of all laid-off men. To block the company's practice of working men until their vacations were due and then firing them, they demand reimbursement of vacation money. The demands also call for the stopping of all layoffs, the discharge of stoopigonous, and the establishment of a grievance committee to handle employees' complaints.

### No Depression

GLEN COVE, L. I., N. Y.—(FP).—The depression has made no appreciable dent in the spending capacity of some of our high-powered financiers. Edward F. Hutton, of Roslyn, N. Y., is having built for him in Germany what is described as the "world's largest pleasure sailing yacht." The vessel will be 322 feet long, carry a crew of 70, including seamen and stewards, and is expected to appear in Long Island Sound this summer to replace Hutton's present yacht, the Husar.

Textile Strikers and  
Other Unionists Join  
in Parade to Presi-  
dent's Hotel

DANIELS, PARTY  
HEAD, AMONG  
THOSE SEIZED

All Are Released in  
Court—Arrests Held  
to Be Unwarranted

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—All was not cheers and a pat on the back for President Hoover when he visited this city last Friday to be the guest of the tariff-grubbing Union League Republicans before speaking at Valley Forge on Memorial Day.

An anti-Hoover demonstration led to nine arrests. Police later released three of the prisoners, one a lawyer, with apologies.

While the Quaker City bourgeois were brushing up on the etiquette for "The President's Dinner" more than 1,000 Socialists, hosiery strikers and—believe it or not—American Federation of Labor trade unionists,—did not let the Great Engineer forget the existence of unemployment and his failure to attempt to cope with it or relieve it.

From a huge mass meeting on City Hall plaza, the 1,000 dissenters suffering from the effects of that peculiar psychological delusion—the depression—marched two blocks away to the Bellevue Stratford Hotel where America's closest approach to an excellency was to rest before dining with his masters.

Ask Invite To Rapidan

Banners demanding redress were carried by the crowd in the procession from the plaza to the Bellevue-Stratford.

"Charity, Hell—We Want Work and Wages" was one of the signs displayed by the marchers. Another read "Mr. Hoover, Please Take Us to Camp Rapidan—We Want Vacations, Too." Others were: "Mr. Hoover Treat Us Like Belgians—We Need Food," "Mr. Hoover, Where Is the Full Dinner Pail?" "Our Wages Have Been Cut in Half in 18 Months," "Tax the Rich for Unemployment Insurance."

Because of the smallness of the crowd that turned out to witness the arrival of the president, a smallness that must have affected the president more than unemployment has done, the 1,000 Socialists and unionists loomed large and threatening in the eyes of Schofield's police cossacks.

A mounted sergeant, threatened that he would put them in the hospital if they raised their banners.

Barred From Hotel

The marchers got as far as the pavement outside the hotel, but then were shunted by the police up Walnut street to 15th, and again headed down 15th street to Moravian, a small thoroughfare which runs from 15th street to Broad below Walnut street.

Though the marchers struggled against the police orders to "keep moving" it was in vain. In Moravian street, however, they were "bottled up" while the President and his party entered the hotel. The police seemed most concerned to keep the banners and their boldly printed protests from the range of the President's vision. To the protests of the marchers, the police answered that the banners were an "insult" to the President, and he would not be permitted to see them.

Six of the nine were arrested while selling Plain Talk, the Philadelphia socialist newspaper. Two of them were beaten by a policeman while being conveyed in a patrol to the 15th and Vine streets station.

Arrested and Freed

Those arrested were: Samuel Bakely, 413 Carlisle street, a graduate of the Brookwood Labor College and former member of the National Executive Board of the Pocketbook Workers' Union.

M. H. Goldstein, an attorney, with offices at 1800 Walnut street, counsel for the Socialist party. Franz Daniels, 413 S. Carlisle street, a member of the American Federation of Teachers and local organizer for the Socialist party. Arthur Grant, 14; Alex Walick, 14; Jerome Silverman, 15; Joseph Gorelick, 16; Louis Trachtenberg, 16.

(Continued on Page Three)



## Hoover Finds Hunger Good For the Soul

President Again Offers 7,000,000 Jobless Solace of "Rugged Individualism"

VALLEY FORGE, Pa.—(FP)—Starving Americans today should remember that privation and suffering are a splendid exercise for the soul, in the opinion of President Hoover, whose Memorial Day address at the scene of the bleak winter camp of Gen. Washington and his revolutionary army, at the most discouraging period of the War for Independence, seemed to liken Hoover to Washington. The President was thinking of hard times, and the coming presidential election, and the demand of millions of the unemployed that the Federal Government make good Hoover's assurance that no American would be permitted to go hungry. Out of the desperation of his failure to silence the demand for public relief he discovered a new virtue in dying—if unemployed—rather than impair the independence of the rich.

"George Washington and his men at any moment could have accepted the counsel of an easy path to an easy end of their privations," he declared. "They could have surrendered their ideals to the widespread spirit of despair and discouragement. They could have abandoned their claims to freedom. They could have deserted their hopes and forsaken their faith. Instead, they chose the harder way of steadfast fortitude and for many of death."

He went on to tell how they "conserved their strength, husbanded their resources," and seized the opportunity that led to victory. The victory, he said, was a moral victory, one of the glories of the human race. It had a lesson for Americans today.

Another Valley Forge  
The American people are going through another Valley Forge at this time. To each and every one of us it is an hour of unusual stress and trial. . . . The whole nation is beset with difficulties incident to a world-wide depression. These temporary reverses in the march of progress have been in part the penalty of excesses of greed, of failure of crops, and the malign inheritances of the Great War and a storm of other world forces beyond our control.

Numerous are the temptations under the distress of the day to turn aside from our true national purposes and from wise national policies and fundamental ideals of the men who built our republic. Never was the lure of the easy path to every panacea and of easy ways to imagined security more tempting.

For the energies of private initiative, of independence, and a high degree of individual freedom of our American system, we are offered an alluring substitute in the specious claim that everybody collectively owes each of us individually a living rather than an opportunity to earn a living, and the equally specious claim that hired representatives of a hundred million people can do better than the people themselves, in thinking and planning their daily life."

In this passage Hoover performs his familiar legend of making it appear that the 7,000,000 unemployed have been offered work and have claimed instead the right to live without work—like heirs to big private fortunes. Not for a moment does he face the fact that the basic indictment of his system is that it has deprived these 7,000,000 Americans of the chance to earn a living, and hence is a betrayal of the independence.

"Valley Forge is our American synonym for the trial of human character through privation and suffering," the millionaire President concluded. "And it is the symbol of the triumph of the American soul. If those few thousand men endured the long winter of privation and suffering, humiliated by the despair of their countrymen, and deprived of support save their own indomitable will, yet held their countrymen to the faith, and by that holding, held fast the freedom of America, what right have we to be of little faith? God grant that we may prove worthy of George Washington and his men of Valley Forge."

Hundreds of thousands of destitute unemployed in Pennsylvania, looking to this speech for a word of hope that—lacking new jobs—at least food and shelter for their families would be promised by Hoover for next winter—are disillusioned.

## Tammany Names Bitter Foe of Union As Manhattan Superintendent of Buildings

SAMUEL FASSLER, president of the Fassler Iron Works, of 439 East 10th street, has been appointed Superintendent of Buildings in Manhattan by Borough President Samuel Levy to succeed Charles J. Brady, who resigned several weeks ago, while his department was being investigated.

Mr. Fassler is highly placed in the Tammany organization of the Sixth Assembly District, Manhattan, and has used his political power to prevent the organization of iron workers employed in his iron and bronze shop, located at 439 East 10th street. Although his firm employs union men, as erectors on outside jobs, Mr. Fassler has persistently used every means, fair and otherwise, to prevent the organization of his shop workers. Mr. Fassler pays his employees from \$15.00 to \$20.00 per week, below the union scale.

During the general strike of 1929, when the Architectural Iron, Bronze and Structural Workers' Union made a heroic attempt to organize his employees, Fassler, accompanied by his strikebreakers, violently attacked the union pickets in front of his factory on Tenth street, and even caused the arrest of one of the strikers, who was beaten up by him and his cohorts. The striker was discharged after he described the occurrence and showed his injuries received as a result of the physical violence heaped upon him by Mr. Fassler and his strikebreakers.

The Allied Building Metal Industry of which Mr. Fassler is the president, as well as the Employers' Association of Architectural Iron Workers, of which organization Mr. Fassler is president, have refused to deal with the union, which has jurisdiction over all the shop employees in the city of New York. All members of those associations, including Mr. Fassler, are conducting open shops insofar as the manufacture of architectural iron, bronze and other equipment is concerned.

## Police Fight Meetings of L.A. Socialists

Three Open-Air Rallies Interfered With—Busick Wins Two Tussles

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
LOS ANGELES.—The Socialists of Los Angeles have been having some very interesting experiences.

A Socialist meeting was at Wabash avenue and Evergreen street, and was disturbed by a gang of hoodlums, who later turned out to be members of the local R. O. T. C. They met resistance and withdrew. A policeman came onto the scene and seemed to know several of the R. O. T. C. hoodlums. They told him that they were go-Leader

ing to break up the meeting, and he told them to go ahead. Whereupon, they rushed the speaker, hitting him in the face and knocking him off the box, precipitating a general disturbance in which two people were injured. The Socialists are preparing to hold a meeting on that corner and since the law will not protect them, they will bring their own protection.

On the corner of Cornwell and Brooklyn, plain clothes men rushed a Socialist meeting and knocked the speaker, a young Socialist, off the box and into a guy wire which was supporting a telephone pole.

The detectives picked the box up, ordered the audience to disperse and started away with the box. Bill Busick, who was waiting to be introduced by the young Socialist, grabbed the box from the detective and started to put it down when the detective grabbed it again. For a few minutes there was a tug of war. Busick, being heavier than the officer, succeeded in yanking the box away after the officer's hands had been filled with splinters. Busick put the box down and got on it and started to speak. The detective grabbed Busick to make an arrest, but Busick wouldn't go and kept on talking. Just then several policemen came up and they held a consultation and for some unknown reasons did not disturb the meeting further.

Busick Defies Police  
The next night Joe Zameris was speaking on the corner of Broad and Brooklyn, when his meeting was broken up, and he was taken to jail. Busick was scheduled to speak at the meeting and arrived just as the officers took Zameris away. He followed them to the First Street Station. The officers told Busick that they had arrested Zameris for inciting to riot. They claimed that Zameris had said that when the Socialists get control of Los Angeles, any policeman who hits a worker during a strike would be punished, and that Zameris further said many things about the police force that were not true. Busick told them they could sue Zameris for slander if he had said anything that was untrue, but that anything anyone said about the Los Angeles police could be proven, as they were guilty of every crime conceivable; that Zameris had a right to speak on the corner where he had held his meeting and that names of people in the audience had been secured—they would come as witnesses, and the officers would be prosecuted for illegal arrest. Busick then turned to leave the station, telling the officers to get the wagon and a stenographer and follow him, because he was going back to the same corner and reopen the meeting.

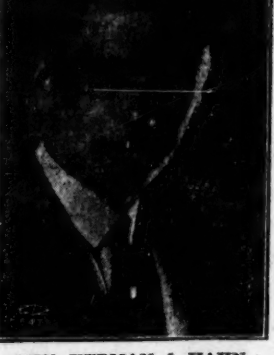
"If Zameris left anything out about the police of Los Angeles and their various methods, I'll tell it," was Busick's parting shot. Busick then went back to the corner. It had started to rain in a way that only Noah could appreciate, but he opened the meeting. The large crowd that had gathered under awnings and in stores to talk about the police breaking up the meeting, came out and stood in the rain. Over three hundred people stood in the rain for almost an hour and listened to Busick tell about the brutal methods of the police and the reasons why the police were paid extra by the Chamber of Commerce to disturb the Socialists. Busick told of many cases where officers were given bonuses by the Chamber of Commerce for doing dirty work in strikes. He said that, "Leut. Hynes of the so-called 'red' squad, though supposedly on the payroll of the city, had his office in the Chamber of Commerce."

The police returned to the meeting and stood around and listened to Busick's scathing denunciations, always followed by a round of cheers and applause from the audience. Zameris was later released and returned to make a few remarks at the close of the meeting.

Communists Aid Police  
One of the high marks of Frank Crosswath's stay in Los Angeles was his speech to well over 2,000 at an open air meeting in the Plaza. The meeting went off peacefully in spite of the fact that several dozen uniformed officers and many plain clothes men hung around the crowd, as well as about a dozen motorcycle officers, whose roaring motors interfered with the speakers. The audience was very enthusiastic and was generous with applause for the various

## Fighting Socialist Minister Who Heads the Party's Ticket in Buffalo

REV. HERMAN J. HAHN



## Hahn to Lead Socialist Fight in Buffalo Poll

Battistoni to Run for Comptroller—Party Names Complete Slate

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Socialist Party of Erie County has designated a full slate of candidates for the fall election. The ticket is headed by the Rev. Herman J. Hahn, pastor of Salem Evangelical Synod Church and radio speaker, for President of the City Council. James Battistoni, veteran leader of the Italian Socialist Federation, is the nominee for Comptroller.

The County ticket is composed of Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth, for Commissioner of Charities, and attorney Julian H. Weiss, for District Attorney. Jesse Taylor, vice-president of the local Bricklayers' Union, and outstanding Negro leader, is the candidate for Councilman in the Elliott district.

Local Candidates Named

The remainder of the ticket is as follows: Councilmen at large, Hazel V. Bowers and Harold R. Raitt; District Councilman, North District, Lillian A. Rowe; Niagara District, Angelo Cordaro; Delaware District, Margaret A. Franks; University District, Ernest A. Faessler; Western District, George J. Wister; Walden District, Fred Mueller; Lovejoy District, Stanley Nowak; and South District, William E. Newbury. Members of the State Assembly: First District, John C. Pace; Second, Carrie A. Miles; Third, Alfred F. Borschel; Fourth, Stanley Melson; Fifth, Henry Kaminiski; Sixth, Ernest H. Klein; Seventh, Martin B. Heisler; of Alden; and Eighth, Jacob F. Criesinger, of Lackawanna.

Buffalo Ward Supervisors: First Ward, William L. Mueller; Second, Alice J. Young; Third, Leroy Knapp; Fourth, Pasquale Ceal; Fifth, Samuel Brody; Sixth, Clara Haushammer; Seventh, Ralph Haas; Eighth, Ray Knapp; Ninth, Elias Kosminski; Tenth, Mary J. Hoag; Eleventh, Clara Schneider; Twelfth, Fred Weinheimer; Thirteenth, Morris Gevirtzman; Fourteenth, Charles Bauman; Fifteenth, John Venhmer; Sixteenth, Lauri A. Kamula; Seventeenth, Arthur L. Bowers; Eighteenth, George F. Welck; Nineteenth, Belle Friedman; Twentieth, Fred W. Caster; Twenty-first, John W. Rixinger; Twenty-second, Hugh Crothers; Twenty-third, Sarah Braunstein; Twenty-fourth, John Nasuto; Twenty-fifth, Ernest A. Franks; Twenty-sixth, Anthony Provino; and Twenty-seventh, Joseph Flore.

Ehrenfried to Speak

Socialists of Buffalo will have the opportunity Thursday evening, June 11th, of hearing Frank Ehrenfried, veteran Socialist of Buffalo. Ehrenfried will speak at a meeting of Local Buffalo, June 11th, at Carpenter Hall, 475 Franklin street. Ehrenfried is well known and highly regarded as one of the builders of the movement in the state and the meeting which he addresses should see every Socialist in and near Buffalo present. The general public is invited.

speakers. Crosswath gave a masterful address.

The Socialists of Los Angeles have held dozens of open air meetings in the last month, most of which have not been interfered with by the police; the police feeling that it was unnecessary since the Communists were present to heckle the Socialists. The usual procedure is to hold a meeting near the Socialists, the Socialists always get a crowd several times larger than the Communists do. When the Communists find that they are unable to hold even a handful of people they stop and scream and yell and ask questions while the speakers are talking. Despite the police, Communists and the R. O. T. C., the Socialists' open air meetings have been very successful and have reached many thousands of people.

## Laidler Urges Congress Meet On Jobless

Socialist Leader Declares Condition of Unemployed Has Become Desperate

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and author of "Unemployment and Its Remedies," in a talk at Raleigh Hotel, Wash., in convention with delegation to Washington to urge extra session of Congress, Monday, June 1, declared that the situation showed few signs of improvement; that private relief funds were in many cases nearing exhaustion; and that the Federal Government was the one agency which could quickly mobilize the means for relief and launch a comprehensive program of useful public works. In his opinion the government should proceed with the same vigor and speed to deal with the present prolonged depression as it would in the case of a major catastrophe.

"The present depression is in many respects the most severe of the last generation," Dr. Laidler said. "For the last eighteen months the government has depended primarily on the voluntary action of business to bring us out of the tragic situation and business has shown little constructive leadership. Conditions have failed to improve. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor in a statement a few days ago, declared that he regarded the situation as almost as serious as at the beginning of the year. Employment of union members gained only slightly in the first part of May. Compared with Spring improvement in a prosperous year, this year's employment gains have been small indeed and probably less than 1,000,000 of the 6,300,000 without work in January have found jobs in industry. July brings the Summer lay-offs and unemployment is increased."

Sees Jobless Desperate

"Freight car loadings, the output of electrical power, department store sales, and American exports all showed a decline in April. In the meanwhile the condition of the unemployed is desperate. The savings of thousands have been wiped out and they have no place to which to turn but private charity. Private charity, however, is in no condition to give adequate relief. As the demands for relief become greater, it is increasingly difficult to secure contributions. While dividends kept up well during 1930, many dividends are being cut in 1931 and this in turn is leading to a decrease in contributions to private relief organizations. A number of municipalities have supplemented private funds. But, as in the case of Detroit, taxes are coming in slowly and cities do not have the power to impose income and inheritance taxes. Many cities have borrowed up to their legal capacity."

"The only agency which can deal with the situation adequately is the national government. President Hoover has time and again urged the construction of public works during periods of depression, and yet the increase in such works has been small indeed as compared with the needs of the situation. The President should urge Congress to issue a bond issue of say three billion dollars for the purpose of starting necessary public works—road building, river and harbor improvement, reforestation, flood protection, reclamation, and needed public buildings. And between now and the special session of Congress, he should mobilize all available information regarding the best procedure in the development of these projects."

"A special session of Congress should likewise give governmental relief to the unemployed and provide for the subsidy of any state unemployment insurance systems that may be initiated."

"If Congress takes no action before December, tens of thousands of honest citizens will have suffered tragically for life's necessities and Congress will find itself so overwhelmed with the ordinary legislation that it will take weeks before anything is accomplished."

"Why should not the present situation be regarded as a major crisis for the amelioration of which every agency of the government should be mobilized?"

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884

Main Office: 114 SENECA AVENUE

Telephone Hegeman 4058

Over 60,000 Members in 350 Branches

Reserves on December 31, 1930: \$3,383,000

Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit: \$4,635,677.94

Sick Benefit: \$11,453,774.93

Total: \$16,089,000.00

WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:

Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$100 at the age of 18 to \$175 at the age of 44.

Class B: 80 cents per month—Death Benefit \$200 to \$250.

Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18.

Sick Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate.

\$5 and \$10, respectively per week, for the first forty weeks of all illness amount for another forty weeks.

Sick Benefits for women: \$8 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks.

For further information apply at the Main Office, William Spahr, National Secretary or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches

WORKMEN'S FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office:

227 EAST 84th STREET NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Sixty branches throughout the United States. Membership 66,000.

Assets \$900,000. Insurance in force \$70,000,000.

No Profit or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of removal.

Workingmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

## Jobless Demonstrators Greet Hoover in Phila.

(Continued from Page One)

17, and Edwin Coane, 17, all Yip-sels.

Before copies of the charges could be obtained for Bakely, Goldstein and Daniels, they were freed with the statement "a mistake had been made."

It seems they hadn't meant to "bag" a lawyer with power to press complaints against them to the Civil Service Commission.

Bakely Seized First

The first arrest did not come until after the President was in his suite in the hotel.

Bakely was the first arrested. He had tried to take up a position in front of the hotel and was ordered to move on. When he refused he was placed under arrest. Then Goldstein pushed through the crowd to Bakely's side and protested against the action of the police. He found himself in custody, too. Daniels in turn went to Goldstein's aid, with the same result.

The boys arrested all had copies of Plain Talk, which displayed an open letter, signed by the "Plain Talkers" and addressed to "Herbert Hoover, President."

The "open letter" bitter complaint was directed against present economic conditions.

"Hitherto you have used your vast authority in increasing rather than lessening this misery," the letter said. "All plans for fundamental change in our social and economic system are scorned by you, and in the face of starvation you continue to talk about the 'American System' and 'rugged individualism.'"

Others Are Dismissed

"The intellectual poverty of such talk is equalled only by the economic poverty of the people who listen. You are guarding well the 'American system'—a system designed by the rich and powerful of this country in order that they might feel more secure in their possession."

In the conclusion the letter asserts: "The people of this country are no different from the people in other countries. When they suffer oppression too long they will take steps to remove the oppressors. . . . Our history will be no different from the history of other nations."

On the back page was a cartoon showing Mr. Hoover in the guise of an apple vendor.

The police ordered the boys who were selling the socialist paper to discontinue and to "move on." When they refused they were arrested.

A magistrate dismissed them the next morning, finding the arrests unwarranted.

Mr. Hoover! A Dole!

In 100 cities reporting to the U. S. Children's Bureau the amount disbursed in aid to needy families increased 89 per cent from 1929 to 1930. Altogether, it is estimated by that bureau that some \$40,000,000 was spent for this relief in 1930, and this amount does not include sums expended by missions, municipal lodging houses, or other agencies providing individuals with temporary shelter or food, nor agencies giving relief to war veterans only.

The capitalist system is producing a social cancer, as well as economic chaos. The day of socialism may not be so far off as some people suppose.—Lord Ponsonby.

DR. L. SADOFF

DENTIST

1 Union Square, Cor. 14th St.

Room 503 10 A. M. to 7 P. M.

DR. A. D. ANDERSON

DENTAL SURGEON

Formerly 1736 Fifth Ave. now at

181 Douglas St.

Phone: DIskans 2611—Brooklyn

MAX WOLF

OPTOMETRIST & OPTICIAN

228 W. 125 St., Bet. 8th & St. Nicholas

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney

229 East 42nd St., Near Ridge, Suite 1902

Evening and Sunday, 1486 Grove St.

Brooklyn, Take Lexington Ave. Subway.

Palman Bay extension, to George Avenue.

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884

Main Office: 114 SENECA AVENUE

Telephone Hegeman 4058

Over 60,000 Members in 350 Branches

Reserves on December 31, 1930: \$3,383,000

Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit: \$4,635,677.94

Sick Benefit: \$11,453,774.93

Total: \$16,089,000.00

WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:

Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$100 at the age of 18 to \$175 at the age of 44.

Class B: 80 cents per month—Death Benefit \$200 to \$250.

Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18.

Sick Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate.

\$5 and \$10, respectively per week, for the first forty weeks of all illness amount for another forty weeks.

Sick Benefits for women: \$8 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks.

For further information apply at the Main Office, William Spahr, National Secretary or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches

WORKMEN'S FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office:

227 EAST 84th STREET NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Sixty branches throughout the United States. Membership 66,000.

Assets \$900,000. Insurance in force \$70,000,000.

No Profit or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of removal.

Workingmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

## Penn House Passes Bill For Home Rule

Measure Sponsored by Mrs. Wilson, Socialist, Is Killed by Senate, However

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

HARRISBURG, Penna.—The City Home Rule bill introduced into the Penn. General Assembly by Socialist Representative Lillith Wilson in the early days of the session of 1931 was passed by the House without significant opposition in its closing days this week. However the efficient legislative smothering devices were brought to bear and the measure carefully lost in the Senate committee in the last minute rush of legislation.

This is the farthest advance ever achieved by this measure to emancipate city government from the iron jacket of present restrictive legislation which is designed and operates to successfully prevent municipal government from Pennsylvania from being adapted to the genuine service of the needs of the masses in the great cities.

The bill would proceed under an already existing provision of the state constitution to permit every city that so desired to initiate and with expert aid devise a city charter adapted and constructed to meet the particular needs of the community that would plan its future. The bill was first introduced by Rep. Maurer when he entered the Penna. General Assembly as the first and single Socialist representative. Ignored over a period of years the bill under old Party sponsorship was years after brought to the floor but never reached a vote, until its reintroduction by Rep. Wilson this year.

## New Haven Water Co. Boosts Rates to People

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

NEW HAVEN.—The New Haven Water Company has filed notice of a general raise in its water rates. Two years ago the citizens of New Haven through its Board of Aldermen turned down a chance to take over the Water Company by purchase. John W. Murphy, President of The New Haven Trades Council, was a member of the aldermanic committee which held hearings to get the opinions of the people whether or not they were in favor of taking over the Water Company. In the final vote of the committee Br. Murphy voted that the dear Water Company should hold on to their dividend-paying proposition.

Mr. Murphy is seeking the nomination as candidate for Mayor on the Democratic ticket in the coming city election. It is conceded that he has a good chance to secure the nomination unless the Water Company deal spills the beans.

No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions have matured.—Karl Marx.

DR. L. SADOFF

DENTIST

1 Union Square, Cor.



## Chi. Labor Is To Parade for The Jobless

Demonstration Is Called for Labor Day—First March in Many Years

CHICAGO—(FP)—A Great Labor Day Parade for Chicago this year as a mighty protest against unemployment and wage cutting has been voted by Chicago Federation of Labor delegates. Chicago has not had an old-fashioned Labor Day march of workers for years.

Decision to have a parade was unanimous after various delegates urged that Chicago employers must be made to realize that the labor movement is still militant. The celebration this year, to center in Soldier Field, also marks the golden anniversary of the American Federation of Labor.

Urging the parade, David McVey, labor union delegate, said: "We must do something to counteract the activities of the employers in this crisis. The employers think that labor has no militancy, that this is the psychological time for wage cutting. I say this is the psychological time for labor to get out and show its colors."

"You remember the Landis Award Committee. It started out on a small scale; soon it had a suite of offices and 42 clerks and stenographers on the payroll. They thought they had us licked, but we showed them later the bosses who were contributing money to the Landis Award Committee realized that they had not put organized labor out of business and the Landis Award Committee collapsed."

## Roberts Throws Supreme Court To Militarism

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Justice Owen D. Roberts swung over from the so-called new majority in the Supreme Court to the reactionary group May 25, and created a 5-4 majority, which attempted to make militarism the test for citizenship in the United States. He joined with McReynolds, Butler, Vandevanter and Sutherland, in refusing the right of American citizenship to Prof. Douglas C. Macintosh, of Yale Divinity School, and to Marie C. Bland, a nurse. Both had refused to declare, in seeking citizenship, that they would take up arms to defend the United States in the event of war, and regardless of their convictions of the justice of such a war.

Sutherland, former Utah senator, reading the majority opinion, declared that the applicant for naturalization must be wholly loyal to the government in time of war as well as in time of peace, and that he must be ready and willing to answer any call for military service. This rule, he held, was settled in the Rosika Schwimmer case.

Chief Justice Hughes, supported by Justice Holmes, Brandeis and Stone, protested just as vigorously that the religious scruples of war objectors should be respected in the case of applicants for citizenship, just as they had been in the case of citizens during the last war. Congress, he said, had never required all applicants for citizenship to take oath to give military service, and he felt that the Supreme Court was not called upon to give legal effect to departmental rulings that the applicants must agree to take up arms in the event of war.

## U. S. Rubber Co. Admits Owning Mishawaka Firm

MISHAWAKA, Ind.—(FP)—The strike of the 2,500 workers of the Mishawaka Rubber & Woolen Co., which has posed as a local firm, has caused company officials to admit that the United States Rubber Co. actually controls. The strike is a result of an attempt to cut all wages.

After nearly two weeks, when picketing forced a complete shutdown of the plant, the company has asked union representatives to meet for a conference. Paul Smith, A. F. of L. representative, as well as a department of labor man, are on the ground.

Reports that the unionists were weakening on their demands brought a denial from Smith. "There has been no weakening and there will be none," he said.

## Doak Using U. S. Job Service To Reward GOP Politicians

Incompetents Placed in Important Positions in Expanded Employment Bureau

THAT party politics has played a leading role in Secretary of Labor Doak's attempt to "reorganize" the Federal employment service and that his plan has already revealed serious weaknesses which were avoided in the vetoed Wagner bill, are charges made in a report just published by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Appointments to the new jobs created in the expanded service have been determined by partisan considerations. "Inquiry in the more important industrial states has brought the following comments on a number of the new state directors: 'lacking in ability,' 'appointment entirely due to our State Senator'; 'no particular qualifications for the work'; 'an amiable sort of politician.' One experienced state official declares: 'It appears that Secretary Doak is persistent to set up his own political organization under the guise of an employment service.'"

## One-fifth of Mothers Work Away From Home

U. S. Survey Shows Increase Since Investigation at Close of War

WASHINGTON—(FP)—One-fifth of 12,000 mothers in Philadelphia, whose situation was surveyed in 1923 by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, were found to be working out, to help support their families. A similar study at the close of the war showed only one-seventh of the mothers so employed. The study was made in 11 varied residential and industrial districts of the city, so that it included families of different races and nationalities, and of different economic classes.

More than 6,000 mothers who had at least one child under 16 years of age, had been employed after marriage, according to the 1923 survey. Of these, 2,000 had been employed at least 10 months in the year preceding the investigation, and 2,700 had worked out for at least 6 months of that year. Yet the year 1923 was one of "prosperity," when strikes were few and the stock market was booming.

"Twenty-eight per cent of the mothers were the chief breadwinners of the family," the report says. "Desertions or divorce was found to be primarily the problem of the younger working mother, while the absence of the husband from the homes of mothers over 35 was in most instances due to death."

More Negro Women Work "Apart from economic necessity, apparently the outstanding consideration in determining whether or not a mother went to work was the age and number of her children. The proportion of mothers employed varied directly with the number of children of pre-school age. The indications are that mothers of children who require constant supervision and mothers of large families do not go to work except as a last resort. They then try to obtain work at night, or at hours that interfere the least with their duties as mothers. Mothers who must earn to keep the family together, however, will work even if the children are neglected. It is a choice between food and clothing for the children and their adequate supervision."

Among the Negro women the compulsion to work outside the home was far greater than among the whites. In more than half the Negro families in which the husband was at home, and in more than four-fifths of those in which he was away from home, the wife was working out. Of the Negro widows, 88 per cent were working—evidence that Negro widows received much less benefit from public or private relief funds than did white widows. Pennsylvania has a mothers' pension system, but this survey appears to show that it is not fairly administered for Negroes.

Effect on Young Studied Mothers who were the principal breadwinners for their households were employed mainly in factories

"It is also significant," the reports point out, "to find in the list of directors at least fifteen who are reported to be members of the railroad unions, with which Mr. Doak was closely connected for many years. Several others who were given jobs are 'lame duck' state office holders whose fortunes were adversely affected by the political upheaval of recent state elections."

Employment offices cannot be successful unless employers use them and have confidence in their impartiality, it is maintained. "One of the primary objectives of the Wagner bill as vetoed by President Hoover was to place the personnel of this service under the civil service law. The calibre and impartiality of appointments would also have been safeguarded by the requirement of representative advisory councils, which have proved their value as protection against partisan pressure. Neither the Doak proposal which was rejected by Congress nor the present 'reorganization' under Secretary Doak's supervision have included either of these essentials to effective administration. The results of this shortsighted policy are now evident in the quality of the recent appointments."

## Work Away From Home

or at domestic service. Those who worked in order to help out the family income were largely employed at home in the family store, or at laundering, or at part-time work that permitted them some time to care for their children. But home jobs that paid any considerable wage were fewer than in 1919. Cleaning of offices, stores and other buildings gave work to about half the mothers who had to supplement the husband's wages. This work, mostly done in night hours, was ill-paid. Ninety-two per cent of Negro mothers worked away from their homes; native white mothers who could not work at or near home were 86 per cent, while most of the Jewish, Italian and German mothers found work in the family business establishment, or that could be taken home.

A later report will show the effect on the children, from the absence of the mothers from home under the necessity to earn all or part of the family income. The value of this study is seen in the fact that it deals with typical home conditions in a big American industrial center, in the "good old days" before the depression. It discloses that more than 6,000 of the 12,000 mothers studied, had found that the "American home" was a privilege of the economically fortunate. Poverty barred them from giving a real home to their children in 1923.

## Dishonest Vote Gives Pa. Rich Hunting Right

(Continued from Page One) by Socialist Representative Wilson. The desk demurred and asked if the members insisted on their motion. The Socialists replied decidedly in the affirmative and a yet longer delay and conference among the clerks followed. The reporters at the press desk grinned knowingly and prepared to tally the vote. The affirmative roll was called slowly and haltingly with many repetitions. Press men compared notes. Your correspondent's tally showed 89 votes for the bill to 60 against, while other accounts set the total at 87, all much less than the constitutional majority necessary to pass the bills which is 105.

Another long conference among the clerks then a brazen announcement to the Speaker. "Vote on final passage of the bill, 109 for, 58 against. A gasp from the press desk, a slow red flush on the face of Representative Hoopes. The following bill on the calendar was an allied licensing measure, also by Senator Norton, Republican of Berks. The roll was called. Members were being hurriedly gathered into the House meanwhile. Again tallied to a maximum "aye" vote of 94 this time. "On the final passage of the bill the ayes were 112 and the noes were 46," came the announcement hurriedly. No demand for verification came from the back rows where the Socialist members sit. There was no further need. To all who were watching, what had happened was too apparent to be blinked. The legislation had been faked through.

"What is happening?" asked a member of the correspondents' association who had just come in. "The desk is passing bills again," said the staff representative of a Philadelphia daily, ironically. By night even the more fuddled minds were gossiping about the "vote steal." The bills will probably be declared unconstitutional and vetoed by the Governor but the shame and the menace of this outright revelation of trickery goes deeper.

Better close up the path of temptation and crime Than deliver from dungeons or galley; Better put a strong fence 'round the top of the cliff Than an ambulance down in the valley. —Joseph Malins.

## Aged Pension Movement Goes Forward

Security Association Reports Marked Gains—Five States Adopt System

THE 1931 Legislative season was the most fruitful year in the enactment of old age pension legislation, five new laws having increased the total number of pension states to seventeen, according to a nationwide survey conducted by the American Association for Old Age Security. New Hampshire has enacted a law making it mandatory for the counties to come to the assistance of citizens of 70 and over.

Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the Association, who summarized the results of the survey, listed the following states as having enacted old age pension laws during the 1931 session: New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, Idaho and New Hampshire. Official commissions are to study the question of old age insecurity in Connecticut, Oregon, Maine and Illinois.

With some state legislatures still in session, approximately 100 bills were presented in 38 legislatures this year. Bills passed both Houses of the Legislature in six states and were enacted into law in five of these states. In addition to the new legislation, several important amendments were enacted in several states which had previously placed such laws on their statute books. Commissions to investigate the subject and report to the next legislatures are assured in four states. Altogether, 1931 marked an unprecedented rise in the number of states having old age security laws, of one kind or another, from 12 to 17, covering about 42,000,000 of the population of the United States.

New Laws Enacted Bills creating new pension laws passed the Legislatures of the following states: Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, West Virginia, New Jersey and New Hampshire. Only the Governor of Indiana failed to give the bill his approval. In addition to the above new enactments, the State of Colorado changed its optional law of 1927 to a mandatory Act and reduced the pensionable age from 70 to 65. The Legislature of Pennsylvania adopted the constitutional amendments which will ultimately make possible the payment of pensions on the part of the State and counties. Maryland also amended its law so as to make it possible for Baltimore City to begin the payment of pensions under the original law of 1927. . . . Bills also passed one House of the Legislature in Arizona, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

Of the five new laws enacted this year, only the West Virginia statute still contains the optional feature. All the other new acts are not only mandatory upon all counties, but are in most instances exceedingly well drawn, fundamentally sound and adequate. This is especially true of the Delaware and New Jersey laws, both of which contain some of the soundest principles of modern legislation. The Delaware law is distinguished by its complete State control, State administration and State finance. The New Jersey law, in addition to setting up a comprehensive and independent administrative board in each county, had undoubtedly made a most striking contribution to the entire movement of social legislation by setting aside money derived from inheritance taxes for the payment of these pensions. It is significant also that three of the five new laws set the pensionable age at 65, while the State of Colorado reduced the age limit from 70 to 65.

At this time about 50,000 persons have been pensioned in the States of California, Montana, Utah, Minnesota, Wisconsin and New York. The Idaho law went into effect last month, while the Delaware and Massachusetts laws became operative in July. The New Hampshire law is to take effect in September, but the New Jersey law will not become operative until July, 1932.

## Duluth Labor Battles Wage Cuts in 3 Trades

DULUTH, Minn.—(FP)—Duluth labor is battling wage cuts on three fronts. The longshoremen of this lake shipping town have been on strike for two weeks against a heavy wage cut. The painters' union is now facing a 10 per cent wage cut and has voted to strike, and the bakers' union is carrying on a strike against the largest bakeries in town.

One of the bakeries, Zinsmaier's, is importing bread from St. Paul and Minneapolis, and is trying to operate with scab labor and gunmen. It is not having much success as Duluth is strongly organized and has a large cooperative bakery, which still makes and sells union bread. The co-op reports a large increase in business due to the strike, as do several small bakeries where union conditions continue.

## Governor LaFollette Urges Governor Rolph Set Tom Mooney Free

(By A New Leader Correspondent) SAN FRANCISCO—A letter from Gov. Philip F. LaFollette of Wisconsin expressing belief in the innocence of Tom Mooney and recommending executive clemency is in the hands of Gov. James Rolph, Jr. Stating that an examination of the facts involved has convinced him of Mooney's innocence, Gov. LaFollette urges Gov. Rolph to give the Mooney case "careful personal consideration."

In setting forth reasons for extending executive clemency in a case of this nature, Gov. LaFollette deplors a tendency to consider the prisoner's economic and political views rather than the question of his guilt or innocence.

## Pioneer Youth Camp Opens Season July 1

With several new staff members and at reduced rates, the national experimental camp of Pioneer Youth will begin its eighth season on July 1st, according to plans announced by the camp committee through Alexis C. Fern, director of the camp.

New counselors supplementing last year's staff include: Elmer and Esther Cope, of Warren, O. Cope, though a graduate in economics of Swarthmore College, has had five years' experience as a worker in shipyards and steel mills and is now working in the rolling mills where both he and his father are members of the A. A. I. S. and T. Workers' Union. For one year he was a student-tutor at Brookwood, and at the Pioneer Youth camp will be in charge of construction and machinery. His wife who will be a leader in the girls' division did relief work in Germany and Russia, for the Friends, following the war. For a year, she directed Pioneer Youth activities in Philadelphia, and is the author of several articles on steel mill workers.

Directing the Junior division will be Robert and Dorothy Heininger, graduates of Western Reserve University, and with two summers' experience in the camp of the Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic. They will help with handicrafts, dramatics, and nature study. Richard Fernbach, a young architect of Philadelphia, with a long experience in hiking, nature study and roughing-it camping, will work with the older boys. Anna Weschler Rappaport, wife of Harry Rappaport, Socialist candidate for Congress, will be camp secretary and assist in rhythms. A total of eighteen group leaders and counselors will comprise the educational staff.

To help meet unemployment conditions the rate for the ten week's season for children of trade unionists and unorganized workers has been reduced to \$120, with a weekly rate for the first and last two weeks of \$10. The rate to others is \$195 for the entire season. Only by means of a camp scholarship fund which Pioneer Youth endeavors to raise each year can its high quality of camping be maintained at these low rates.

An illustrated folder describing the national camp at Rifton, N. Y., may be had from the office of Pioneer Youth, 45 Astor place, Stuyvesant 9-7855.

## 3rd Summer Institute in Consumers Cooperation To Meet on July 26th

Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., is again to be the place at which cooperative officials, employees and active members will assemble for one week of study and recreation from July 26th to August 1st.

Each morning there will be one class period given to discussion of practical organization and administrative problems of cooperation and another devoted to a discussion of the history and principles which serve as the background of the movement. The first will be under the leadership of Cedric Long, Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., and the second will be led by various authorities on the subject, including Dr. J. P. Warshaw, President of The Cooperative League; L. E. Woodcock, Manager of the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale; A. E. Kazan, President of the Eastern States Cooperative League and also of the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments; Mary E. Arnold, Treasurer of The Cooperative League and others.

All who are interested are cordially welcomed. The \$20 fee covers all expenses of tuition, board and room. Further information may be obtained from the Eastern States Cooperative League, 167 West 12th street, New York City.

## The Bronx Free Fellowship

"Can a Pacifist Be a Good Citizen?" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of The Bronx Free Fellowship, Amuse Masonic Temple, 1391 Eastern Pk., near E. 172nd street, on Sunday evening, June 7th. At the nine o'clock Open Forum, Dr. William E. Bohn will speak on "A Critical View of American Culture."

## Students Find W. Va. Miners In Dire Straits

Liberal Club of George Washington University Reports on Kanawha Valley

(By A New Leader Correspondent) WASHINGTON, D. C.—A committee of the Liberal Club of George Washington University has completed an investigation of the bituminous coal fields in Kanawha valley, near Charleston, West Virginia. The report draws a picture of extreme poverty, and industrial and political tyranny which could be equalled in few other states. A hopeful feature of the report is a section dealing with the revival of trade unionism among the miners. Food, fuel and clothing are urgently needed for relief, and the students' committee urges that they be sent to the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, Room 9, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Bldg., Kanawha and Capitol streets, Charleston, W. Va.

Edith Wemp Day, and Robert Shostack, secretary of the Liberal Club, made the investigation. While in West Virginia, they distributed about 1,000 pieces of Socialist literature, including copies of The New Leader. The club is planning mass meetings at which money, clothing and food will be collected for the miners.

The investigators found that over one-third of the 112,000 miners are without employment, while another one-third work about two days a week. The average annual incomes range from \$350 to \$400. The common type of miners' home is described as a "small, unpainted shack on stilts, uncalled, with broken steps and a leaky roof. These box-like structures are not homes but merely shelter from the weather." Each shack shelters some six to twelve persons.

"Scrap" Used for Money The current industrial breakdown has brought "repeated wage cuts, increased unemployment and violations of civil liberties and state laws." Government currency is the exception, company "scrap" serving instead. The state law providing that there must be a check-weighman at every tipple is a dead letter. Only three check-weighmen where eight hundred are needed were at work. The "yellow dog" contract is the standard one.

Commenting on the new union which has taken the place of the destroyed United Mine Workers, the report says: "In March, 1931, former United Mine Workers of America leaders, among them Frank Keeney, organized an independent State Union, known as the West Virginia Mine Workers Union. Centered in the Kanawha Valley, the union has today about 17,000 members of the 23,000 miners in the valley. Our committee attended a union meeting at Elkade, West Virginia, a small mining town about 30 miles from Charleston. About 400 miners attended this meeting, addressed from the platform of an empty warehouse. In miners' slang, spiced with none too academic words, Keeney and other leaders, delivered fiery speeches on unionism. We were impressed with the grave attentiveness of the miners, their stern mien and sincerity. It appeared a matter of life or death to most of them since never did they applaud or laugh; however, fifty-one more men joined the union after the meeting. Though it was Sunday afternoon, many of the miners and their children were in overalls, children barefoot and in tatters. Several in the audience had lost a leg or an arm and scattered through the crowds, were sawed-off mothers with babes in arms. Negroes and White work and live in harmony. Two Negroes are on the Executive Committee of the local union. Miners of both races stood side by side, discussing union matters or in friendly conversation."

Do Your Children Need Country Air? This is an ideal place for them. Lovely location; woods, swimming pool, village green, the enjoyment of plays, folk dancing etc.; with wholesome, refined home life, under personal guidance. An all-the-year-round home. Terms moderate. References exchanged. MRS. M. NEWCOMB ARDEN INN Arden, Delaware

## Brownsville Lyceum To Celebrate 20th Year

Socialist Party branches, Workmen Circle Branches, Labor Unions and progressive organizations, are reminded that on Saturday evening, October 10th, the Brownsville Lyceum will celebrate its 20th anniversary with a Banquet. All organizations and friends should keep this date open.

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP Amuse Masonic Temple 1391 Eastern Pk. Near E. 172nd Street Sunday evening, June 7th, 1931 8 P.M.—REV. LEON ROSSER LAND on "Can a Pacifist Be a Good Citizen?" 9 P.M.—DR. WILLIAM E. BOHN on "A Critical View of American Culture."

## WHAT'S SO and WHAT ISN'T

by JOHN M. WORK 158 Page Cloth \$5.00 Stock Objections to Socialism Tensely Answered Order from Socialist Party of America 2653 WASHINGTON BLVD. Chicago, Ill.

## Bad breath is a warning—

Poisonous food wastes held too long in the digestive system cause bad breath. Ex-Lax rids the body of these wastes promptly. Better for you than vile, violent cathartics.

Important Note! There's nothing else like Ex-Lax. Its scientific laxative ingredient is made more effective through chocoleting by the exclusive Ex-Lax process. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

Keep "regular" with **EX-LAX** The Chocoleted Laxative

## VACATION RESORTS

### JUNE CONFERENCE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Thursday, June 25 to Sunday, June 28, 1931 **CAMP TAMIMENT** Forest Park (Near Stroudsburg, Pa.) "Banking, Credit and Social Planning" Conference speakers include Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Dr. Max Winkler, Norman Thomas, Professor Willard Thorp, Professor E. F. Agor, Nicholas Kelley, Professor Gyan Chandra, Max Lowenthal, John T. Flynn, McAllister Goldman, Paul Blanchard, Professor Colman, Warren, Louis Waldman, Vladimir D. Kuznetsov, Dr. Lionel D. Edie, Guy Greer and Evans Clark. For further information write to LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY 112 East 19th St. ALGONQUIN 4-3665 New York City

**40 European all expense Tours \$315** Including Vienna Conference. Sail July 8 . . . Return August 17. President Harding President Roosevelt

**17 Day European all expense Tour \$179.00**

Other tours including Russia, all at lowest verified rates **Times Square Travel Bureau** Established 1901 Management Paul Tausig & Son 565 Seventh Ave., cor. 40th St. Penn. 6-2800

**Nevin Bus Lines** Cheap, Comfortable, Safe Philadelphia . . . \$2.00 Baltimore . . . 4.50 Washington . . . 5.50 Atlantic City . . . 3.00 Boston . . . 4.00 Pittsburgh . . . 9.50 Cleveland . . . 12.50 Detroit . . . 15.50 Chicago . . . 29.50 St. Louis . . . 22.50 Kansas City . . . 26.50 Los Angeles . . . 56.50 Additional Reduction for Round Trip Tickets Low Rates to All Parts of the United States

**CAMP TAMIMENT** Forest Park, Pennsylvania An ideal camp for young people Located in the heart of the Pocono Mountains on a private lake, splendid sport facilities—golf service, horseback-riding, tennis, handball, basketball, base ball, watersports. Dramatic and musical diversion. Lecture courses. Excellent food and equipment. Moderate rates.

SEASON: Recreation Day through Labor Day. Write to camp for full information. TELEPHONES: FOREST PARK—Bunkhill 1 R4 NEW YORK—Algonquin 4-4475

**ARDEN Single Tax Colony** A perfect spot with beautiful woodlands, creek, swimming pool, etc. Just the place for one looking for rest, recuperation. Lovely surroundings, homelike atmosphere—congenial friends. Write "Dad" or Mrs. M. Newcomb—Spreading Oak Tavern ARDEN, DELAWARE—and find how reasonably you can be accommodated either for week-ends or a longer vacation

**Then go to P. WOLF & CO., Inc.** COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES 1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A. Bet. 64 & 65 Sts. Bet. 4 & 5 Sts. (1st floor) New York City Open Even., 8 p.m. Open Even., 9 p.m. SUNDAYS CLOSED Special Ladies' Attendant

**Fred Spitz, Inc. Florist** Now at 74 SECOND AVENUE NEW YORK CITY Telephone Dry Dock 4-3554-4-8886 Not connected with any other store in New York

**COMRADES! For a competent Carpenter and Painter CALL ON R. L. NICHOLSON 248 SEVENTH AVE., New York City ED greenlee 4-5727**

**TIME SERVICE CO.** SAMUEL BERNARD Watches Clocks Expert Repairs Phone: Murray Hill 2-9295 516 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

**ECZEMA!** It takes ZEMBA-SAV to take it off. Milder miracle remedy. One Dollar a Jar by mail. A. MILKE, 181 BROAD ST., N. Y.

**BUSHKILL VIEW CAMP** BUSHKILL, PA. Hotel and Camp site combined; high elevation; bathing, tennis, dancing; social director; Yiddish meals. Cost, Booklet, 5 FRBS

**ATHEISM** Book stating FREEDOM, Truth, etc. Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism, 200 E. 24th St., New York, N. Y.

**If You Like**  
A Real GOOD and HEALTHFUL Meal  
Don't Fail to Visit  
**GEFFNERS**  
Bakery and Dairy Restaurant  
143 SECOND AVE.  
Corner 9th Street  
Famous for Delicious Food



# A Socialist Reply to the Pope's Encyclical

**SOCIALISM, CATHOLICISM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE—WHY CHARITY IS INADEQUATE  
BROUN CHALLENGES PAPAL DECREE WE MUST ALWAYS HAVE POOR**

By Heywood Broun  
(An Address Over Station WEAU)

I might as well begin by thanking the National Broadcasting Company for affording us the use of their network for a reply to that part of the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, which referred to Socialism. And in order to clarify the issue let me say at the beginning that we do not regard this as a religious discussion. The Socialist Party establishes no religious test for membership. It is true that occasions have arisen, and will arise, where the Socialist Party will be in opposition to the temporal power of the Catholic Church or the temporal power of any other Church, for that matter.

And when I say "temporal power," I include financial power. Some devout Catholics supported legislation in Mexico, to make with land reform. To make the point that our attitude is the same in regard to all churches functioning as property holders, let me mention an incident having to do with a Protestant denomination.

You probably read in the newspapers of the Wendel fortune and of the backyard which was kept for the poodle dog. Today, when the last of the Wendels died, this fortune amounted to some \$75,000,000. It had grown to this size because the original Wendel ancestor had bought land beyond city limits and his descendants had clung to it.

In course of time, other settlers came and built and lived and worked and bred around that Wendel farm. Everytime you went to a theatre or a restaurant in the neighborhood, or took a bus ride, you were paying tribute to the Wendels. But when this fortune

was distributed by will it did not go back to the people who had created the values in the neighborhood. A very large proportion was spent for the support of a Methodist Theological Seminary in Nanking, China. The Socialist Party would be against such gifts to the temporal power of any Church.

We applaud the Pope, insofar as he gives recognition to the fact that the workers of the world are living under conditions which cannot be endured. In the resume of his Encyclical which was broadcast, he was quoted as saying:

"In the past there has been beyond question an excessive and unjust disproportion of the commodities of life between capital and labor; for on the one hand immense riches are accumulated in the hands of a few, while on the other the proletariat, who form a multitude beyond all counting, have nothing of their own save their own hands and the sweat of their brow."

To that we say "Amen," or, if you please, "Hear, hear!" it could appear as a paragraph in the speech of any Socialist orator. Moreover, we are in agreement when the Pope continues and says:

"It is therefore, absolutely necessary to reconstruct the whole economic system."

But the point at issue is the method by which this is to be done. The Pope offers a remedy. He says that the economic injustice of the world can be cured by Christian charity. To that it might be objected that Christian charity has had its chance and failed. This may be a trifle capricious, for the Pope has a right to hold to the belief that in another

age the teachings of Jesus may be applied in a more literal way. Yet, from our point of view this does not meet the problem with precision. The eternal "How?" remains.

In any society of which I can conceive good-will and fellowship are useful factors in the making of a just life. But let me state the limitations of untrained and untrained benevolence in a homely illustration:

You live next-door to a man who trips over his doorstep and breaks his leg. The injured man is carried back to the house, and when you hear of the accident, you come to call on him. You are truly sorry. You want to do anything you can to help. In fact, you pat him on the shoulder and say, "There, there, old man, I'm terribly sorry."

That is good will, and that is being neighborly. But it won't set the broken leg. You'll have to get a doctor who knows the method of adjusting the fracture. And I say that we live in a world which is out of joint, and that all the good will and all the neighborliness of every one of us will not suffice without a plan for production and for distribution.

The Pope has said, "It is essential that the proletariat be enabled to gradually obtain some of the advantages enjoyed by the proprietors. In the present order of things, the poor can be accomplished only by a fair and just wage. Wages therefore, must be such as really to satisfy the legitimate requirements of an honest workman. Not only for his person, but also for his family, and to make it possible for him to improve his condition within the

limits above described." Now, we of the Socialist Party are peculiarly interested in those limits which the Pope attempts to set. The word "legitimate" is subject to endless interpretation. There is no peace ever if we must war over each demand of labor and say, "Is this legitimate or not?"

And here the Pope sets a goal with which we cannot agree. He says, "The differences in social conditions in the human family which were wisely decreed by the Creator must not and cannot ever be abolished."

There I think is the real nubbin of the dispute. We say that those differences in social conditions not only can but will be abolished. We do not hold by the doctrine that man shall be content in that estate to which it has pleased God to call him. In fact, on the contrary, we urge him to be discontent; to join together with his brothers in order to improve his lot.

Nor are we in agreement when the Pope says that "a wide field will always remain open for charity, which is and will ever be the only true and efficacious bond which can unite all men together and make them one single family."

Here there is possibility that interpretation enters in. Charity in the sense of good will we would have with us forever. But charity in the sense of soup kitchens and breadlines we do not regard as a necessary part of the world's future. We admit the reasonableness of immediate aid to those who are suffering. It is not our notion that Socialism must be built upon a still greater misery and a deeper distress. We think that abundant testimony is present now to illustrate the fact that the

modern economic set-up doesn't bring joy or peace to the world. We feel that from things as they stand we can begin to build; and not fifty years or one hundred years hence, but by 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

It is also true that some inevitable difference in point of view resides in the fact that the function of all churches is to prepare men and women for a life after death. That we feel is properly the concern of the churches and not our business at all. We Socialists constitute a political party. We are bent upon this earth and the life which we live here. In this we are hardly peculiar. Democrats and Republicans do not profess to found platforms upon which their voters may rise to the gates of Heaven.

And as a political party I think we have a right to protest against the Pope's definite assertion: "It is not possible to be at once a good Catholic and a true Socialist."

In this statement we feel that the head of the Catholic Church has taken a position repugnant to American ideals. If in May, the Pope says that one may not be both a Catholic and a Socialist, he has set a precedent by which some Pope could say in June, that one could not be a Republican and a Catholic, or a Democrat and a Catholic.

As a matter of fact, from the Pope's own statement of his views in regard to economic reconstruction, it is difficult for me to see how anybody could espouse the cause of either major party and still live up to the exhortations of the Pope. After all, he has said that it is absolutely necessary to reconstruct the whole economic

system, and I fail to remember within my lifetime anything which the Democrats or the Republicans have ever advanced to make good this ideal.

The Pope has said that it is essential that the proletariat be enabled gradually to obtain some of the advantages enjoyed by the proprietors. And a Republican spokesman on numerous occasions within the last year have declared that the Government of the United States has nothing whatever to do with the business depression, and that a way out must be left wholly to private initiative. In fact, Mr. Hoover said precisely this no longer ago than Memorial Day when he spoke at Valley Forge.

In other words, the program for the betterment of the worker is not a part of the program of the party now in power.

We hold that under the present economic system—a system supported and applauded by both Democrats and Republicans, there is no plan whatsoever for changing the fundamental structure of the economic world.

Let me digress to tell an anecdote:

I went the other night to a dinner where I was teased somewhat about Socialism. And I clung to doctrines which are perhaps familiar but none-the-less true. I spoke of the fact that here in America we are starving in the midst of plenty, and that we suffer because there is too much wheat, too much oil and too much copper. But this glut of wheat does not mean that bread is to be had for the asking, and that any man can have his loaf by reaching for it. A tall grey-haired, pleasant-

faced man listened politely. But I was embarrassed when my host said, "Heywood, I want you to meet a gentleman who owns one of the biggest wheat farms in America." I think he said 500,000 acres or maybe a million acres. When figures get to that size my brain grows a little dim. But I felt it was my place to listen. And the captain of the wheat industry began to defend the farm board and its present practice of buying the grain and holding it off the market. He said, "People don't seem to realize that wheat is not a perishable commodity. It can be stored for years."

"How many years?" I asked in my statistical way.

"Well, maybe 25," he replied. "But we won't need to hold it as long as that, because long before the twenty-five years have ended, we will have a drought, a war, a famine or a pestilence of some sort, and everything will be all right."

And that convinced me that we live in a cockeyed world. For under that conception it would be logical for all of us to go to our churches, kneel down and pray, "Oh Lord, send us drought. Send us war, pestilence or some catastrophe, or else we perish."

No, it is our notion that production must be adjusted to needs. We feel that in the present world we suffer not only from overproduction but from underconsumption, as well. The way out is an economic problem, not a religious one. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is an excellent adage. But you must know how to make your love efficient both for your own sake and that of your neighbor. This cannot be done merely by the

making of statements, however exalted.

The Pope has declared, "Work is not any kind of salable commodity, but one in which the human dignity of the workman must always be respected."

This same assertion has been made by many leaders of American industry. We will all agree that human labor should not be a commodity. But what is the fact? What is the real fact? Well, the fact is that under the competitive capitalist system the captain of industry buys his labor in the cheapest market just as he buys his raw material, his wool or his pigiron. Mr. Hoover is on record as saying that labor is not a commodity. And yet, when President Farrell, of the United States Steel Company, came to testify he said that in spite of promises wage cuts were being made in the steel industry. I do not look on that as a personal villainy on the part of certain employers. They are caught up in the system under which we live. And the point comes in business where a factory must shut up shop or reduce costs.

In fact I would like to make the point that the quarrel of Socialism is not with this or that individual who has made many millions. We feel that mankind in general is good. If that were not true it would be difficult to shape for ourselves a vision of a new world. We say that the system is entirely wrong; and that the system must be attacked. The Pope is proceeding upon the principle of the betterment of each individual. It is not the way out. The way out lies in the broadest of fellowships yet conceived by the human mind—the actual and the literal brotherhood of man, a brotherhood which certainly is the complete fruition of the teachings of the founder of Christianity.

## Australian Labor Party Founders In Factional War

**DIFFERENCES ON FINANCIAL POLICIES AND CLASHING PERSONALITIES BREAK VICTORIOUS GOVERNMENT PARTY INTO THREE SECTIONS**

By John Price

THE recent experiences of the Australian Labor Party will be regretted by Socialists everywhere. Federal politics are approaching a crisis, and this can only be understood in relation to these unfortunate events.

On October 12th, 1929, the Party emerged from the general election with a clear majority and a Labor Government took office with every prospect of remaining in power for the full term of three years. To-day the Party is divided against itself and there is talk of an early general election. Eighteen months ago one would have said that the Party's biggest bughbear was the Senate, in which there was still a Nationalist majority. To-day there is much to be said for the view that the Party's greatest enemy has been itself. It is true that the Senate has pushed its opposition and obstruction to extreme limits, but are there not constitutional ways of dealing with a recalcitrant Senate? And was not the mandate of the people clear?

The constitution provides that if the House of Representatives passes any proposed law and the Senate rejects it or passes it with amendments to which the House will not agree, and if the House again passes the law after three months and the Senate again rejects it, the Governor-General may dissolve the Senate and the House simultaneously. Thus a Labor Government with a united party behind it in the House of Representatives could always manoeuvre for a double dissolution.

There was no doubt as to the mandate of the electors. The Labor Party won 12 seats from the Nationalist Party and 3 from the Country Party. Thus no less than 45 seats in the House of Representatives were secured by Labor, leaving the Nationalists and the Country Party in a seemingly hopeless minority. The country wanted a Labor Government and had given it an ample majority. What would MacDonald have thought of such an opportunity? Or Prime Minister Stauning in Denmark? Or the late Hermann Müller in Germany? Moreover, the desire of the Australian people for Labor rule was re-affirmed in subsequent State elections in Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales.

Split on Financial Policies  
Unhappily, the Party has not been able to maintain its unity. Differences of opinion, principally on the question of finance, have proved irreconcilable, and the Party has broken into fragments. Consequently, there is less likelihood of the Party being able to force a double dissolution and the General Election which is now being foreshadowed might only be an election for the House of Representatives. In this case, whatever happened to the House in the election, the Nationalist majority in the Senate would remain.

The real trouble began with the visit of Sir Otto Niemeyer of the Bank of England to Australia to investigate and report on the country's finances. Sir Otto's recommendations were considered by a Conference of Premiers on August 18th, 1930, at which the seven Governments of Australia agreed to balance their budgets in the current financial year and keep

them balanced by a curtailment of expenditure and increases in taxation.

Although the Federal Government, like the other Labor Governments, was a party to this agreement the Cabinet was not unanimous on the question. Matters came to a head when the campaign for the New South Wales elections began and a number of Federal Ministers came out in support of the policy of Mr. Lang, which involved the rejection of the Melbourne agreement. There was an open split in the Cabinet.

At this time Mr. Scullin was in London at the Imperial Conference which opened on October 2nd. The section of the Cabinet which continued to support the official policy was led by Mr. Fenton, Acting Prime Minister, and Mr. Lyons, Acting Treasurer (Mr. Theodore, the Treasurer, had resigned some time before and was waiting for charges of corruption made against him to be brought into court by the Queensland Government). The other section was led by Mr. Anstey and Mr. Beasley.

In view of the circumstances, the result of the New South Wales elections on October 25th, which carried Mr. Lang into power, were received with mixed feelings, for this smashing Labor victory strengthened the hands of the opponents of the Melbourne agreement. Before the elections the Labor Party in New South Wales had 40 seats in a House of 90; after the elections it had 55. The

Federal Caucus (Parliamentary Labor Party) met immediately after the elections, and while the Fenton-Lyons section supported the Melbourne agreement, the Anstey-Beasley section denounced the agreement as the product of interference by outsiders.

The Fenton-Lyons section stood out, however, and the Cabinet held together until the Prime Minister's return in January. Meanwhile Mr. Lyons was allowed to float an internal conversion loan of 28 million in December.

Theodore Re-instatement Resented  
When Mr. Scullin returned to Australia in January he surprised both sections by reinstating Mr. Theodore as Treasurer. The reason he gave was that Mr. Theodore was not getting a fair deal from the Nationalist Ministry of Queensland, which had been holding up the trial against him, and that he ought to return to his place in the Federal Cabinet, as Australia needed the best brains she had. Mr. Scullin may also have felt that Mr. Theodore would put forward a financial policy around which the Party could rally and thus maintain its unity, but actually the first result of his recall of Mr. Theodore was to precipitate the resignations of Messrs. Fenton and Lyons. Thus commenced a process of disintegration which no one could have foreseen.

Mr. Theodore's first proposals for remedying the financial situation were turned down by the bankers. On February 26th how-

ever, a Conference of Premiers at Melbourne approved of his new plan to create a fiduciary issue of £18 million for the relief of unemployment and the financing of the farmers, though the Nationalist Premier condemned the proposals as constituting inflation. On the other hand, the Melbourne Conference denounced "the policy of repudiating interest payments on public debt" which had just previously been announced by Mr. Lang, the Labor Premier of New South Wales.

Thenceforward the battle centred around Mr. Theodore and his financial proposals, which have been described as "carefully-regulated inflation." The alternatives were Mr. Lang's policy of so-called "repudiation" and the policy of Mr. Lyons, aiming at a balanced Budget on the basis of "equality of sacrifice."

At a Federal Caucus meeting March 2nd, the feeling of the members was tested by a decision to reconstruct the Government, all the offices being declared vacant. Mr. Scullin and Mr. Theodore were re-elected. Two new Ministers were elected in place of Messrs. Fenton and Lyons, while Messrs. Anstey and Beasley and Senator Daly were dropped. Thus the caucus not only supported the Theodore financial proposals but it administered a definite rebuke to both the Fenton-Lyons wing on the one hand and the Anstey-Beasley wing on the other.

A fresh crisis then arose in connection with the by-election in

East Sydney on the 11th March. This was a Federal Election, but the New South Wales Executive of the Australian Labor Party held a pistol at the head of the Federal Executive by declaring that the election must be fought on the Lang plan. Not unnaturally Mr. Theodore, who sits in the Federal Parliament for the Dalley constituency in New South Wales, refused to accept the instruction of the New South Wales Executive to go into the election and advocate this plan, whereupon the Dalley Federal Electorate Council passed a vote of no-confidence in him. This was on March 9th. On the 14th the New South Wales Metropolitan Labor Conference passed a resolution declaring that by his action in connection with the election Mr. Theodore had placed himself outside the Labor movement. Plainly the Labor movement in New South Wales was inviting reprisals.

Two New Parties Formed  
The East Sydney election had other tragic consequences. On March 11th the Cabinet declared that Mr. Ward, the newly-elected member for East Sydney, could not be accepted as a member of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, as the Federal Labor Executive had ruled during the election campaign that "in the event of Mr. Ward advocating a policy in the by-election contrary to that of the Australian Labor Party as announced by the Federal Executive, this Executive declares that he is not a candidate of the Aus-

tralian Labor Party." Thereupon seven New South Wales members—Messrs. Beasley, Lazzarini, Eldridge, James, Ward, and Senators Dunn and Rae—severed their connection with the Party and decided to form a new left-wing party of their own, with Mr. Beasley as leader.

This would have been bad enough in any case, but the fact that similar action had been taken only a few days before by the Fenton-Lyons group made it infinitely worse. On March 13th Messrs. Fenton and Lyons, who had previously left the Cabinet, decided in company with Messrs. Guy and Price to sever their connection with the Federal Labor Party, and to form an independent party with Mr. Lyons as leader and Mr. Price as Secretary. In this action they were joined by Messrs. Gabb and McGrath. Mr. Price had until then been Secretary of the Federal Labor Party, and his reason for resigning may be taken as typical of the group as a whole. "I am out of step with the fiduciary issue," he said, "and have resigned as a protest against Mr. Theodore being reinstated to Cabinet rank."

One would have thought that by this time matters had gone far enough, but still worse was to follow. When the special Interstate Labor Conference met on March 27th to deal with the situation it repudiated the Lang plan "to deliberately refuse to pay the interest obligation on loans," and expelled the whole of the New South Wales

Executive for "having refused to acknowledge and accept the Federal Platform and Constitution, and having flouted the decisions and authority of the Federal Executive of the Australian Labor Party."

Thus while the authority of the Federal Labor Movement was asserted the door was closed to any reconciliation with the Beasley group. This was the more to be regretted, as the difference between this group and the main body of the Party seemed to be mainly one of method and was therefore presumably more capable of adjustment than the dispute with the Fenton-Lyons group which seems to have arisen primarily out of personal antagonism to Mr. Theodore, or at least to his return to the Cabinet before he had cleared himself of the charges made against him.

Following upon the expulsion of the New South Wales Executive, steps were taken to reconstitute the official Labor Party in that State, with the result that there were two Labor groups competing for support. In Australia as a whole the Lyons group became the rallying point for the anti-Labor opposition. Matters went so far indeed, that the "Times" of May 8th was able to announce that the opposition groups in the Federal Parliament, except the Country Party, had met on the previous day and formed the "United Australian Party" with Mr. Lyons as leader, Mr. Lathan (Nationalist) as deputy leader and Mr. Price as

secretary. Moreover, the Country Party members met separately and resolved to give their wholehearted support to the new party in bringing about an early election.

As a result of this deplorable strife the Party is losing its prestige in the country. Thus the Tasmanian elections on May 9th resulted in a defeat for the Labor Party. Is this a straw which shows which way the wind is blowing? Further, the Scullin Government, which once had a majority over all parties behind it, is now in an anxious position, for its weakened forces have to face a combined opposition.

The Government's Fiduciary Currency Bill was rejected by the Senate on April 17th. According to the "Times" of April 21st Mr. Scullin made it clear in a broadcast statement on April 20th that he does not intend to hand over the reins to the new opposition or seek an early dissolution of the House of Representatives. He would send the Fiduciary Currency Bill again to the Senate, and if it was again rejected would seek a double dissolution.

Before he can do this, however, three months must elapse. A double dissolution therefore implies, (1) that the Government survives for the necessary three months and then still commands enough support to get the Bill through the House of Representatives again, or (2) that some other Bill rejected earlier than the Fiduciary Currency Bill be chosen as the issue for the fight and sent back again to the Senate.

In any case, the Senate, which was ruthless in its opposition to the Government even when the Labor Party in the House of Representatives was united, will not be any more conciliatory now that its opponent is weakened. If we allow for by-elections subsequent to the General Election of October 1929 the official membership of the Party has been reduced to 39 without the Lyons group and 35 if the Beasley group is also excluded. No support can be expected from the Lyons group in view of the formation of the United Australian Party. As far as the Beasley group is concerned the position is complicated by Mr. Lang's refusal to meet various payments due from the New South Wales Government, which action has still further aggravated the difficulties of the Federal Government. For instance on May 13th the Senate rejected, on the second reading, a Bill containing the provision for the shipment of the gold reserve to London to meet payments due there on the 30th June.

Needless to say, the opponents of Labor in Australia are overjoyed. What the workers think about it all is quite another matter. The supreme tragedy is that Mr. Scullin, Mr. Lang and Mr. Lyons all declare that they are acting in the interests of the workers. But did the interests of the workers require that the biggest Labor Parliamentary group that ever sat in the House of Representatives should be split into three?

Perhaps it is even now not too late for the various factions to realize the grave disservice they are doing, not only to the Australian workers but to the international Labor movement as a whole.

## GOV. ROOSEVELT SHADOW BOXES THE UTILITIES

**"Progressive" Executive's Party Hands Out Rich Plum to Private Bus Operators in Brooklyn**

By Henry J. Rosner

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT has assumed the role of public defender against predatory private utility interests. He has made speech after speech denouncing the Republican Legislature for its very obvious friendliness to private utility interests. Many people have been convinced by these gestures and honestly believe that he is a genuine champion of their rights. Fortunately for the Governor, the Republican Legislature furnishes him with a convenient alibi. There is no evidence that his party in power would be different. Quite the contrary is the case.

For instance, his party in control of the government of New York City has just awarded a ten-year fixed term franchise to the B. M. T. for Brooklyn bus operation. An analysis of the terms on which this franchise has been awarded blasts the myth that the Democratic Party is the foe of profiteering utilities rather than their friend.

The primary objection to granting this franchise for bus operation to the B. M. T. is that it means turning public streets for a ten-year period over to a private corporation which will be enriched enormously thereby. Very few realize the profits to be derived from bus operation in Brooklyn, under this contract. A cost analysis which we have made indicates that the rate of return to the B. M. T. on its capital investment will be approximately 22%. Even the Supreme Court has held that an

8% return on the investment in public utilities is a fair return. Obviously, 22% is outrageous from the public standpoint. This estimate is based upon data contained in the sixth and seventh Bus Reports of the Board of Transportation and the 1929 Annual Report of the Transit Commission.

In the 1926 Bus Report of the Board of Transportation, it is estimated that the rate of return on the investment for Brooklyn bus operation would be 22.24% given a payment to the city of 5% on gross revenues. Since that date the situation has not materially changed. If anything, it has changed for the advantage of the company.

For one thing, operating costs have dropped since then. In 1926, the original number of route miles proposed for bus operation in Brooklyn, was 87.7 miles. The franchise contract under discussion calls for 73.85 miles. The reason for the shrinkage is that the Transit Commission has signified its intention of not granting certificates of convenience and necessity for certain routes which would have competed against street car lines operated by the B. M. T. Obviously, the bus routes which have been eliminated since 1926, would have cut down the earnings of the B. M. T. from trolley operation and would not have been as profitable as the remain-

ing routes which will serve areas that enjoy no form of surface transportation. Bus operation, therefore, ought to be even more profitable under the existing set-up than under the 1926 proposals.

Profits in the Bronx  
It may be argued that the Board of Transportation was wrong in its original estimate of a profit of 22.24% on the investment. It is significant that its estimate for Bronx bus operation in 1926, has been borne out by experience.

On November 1st, 1927, the Surface Transportation Company began bus operation in the Bronx, under a five-year franchise. Their sworn statements as of June 30, 1929, to the Transit Commission show how close was the estimate made by the Board of Transportation in 1926. That is shown in the following table:

Bronx Bus Operation		
	1926 Estimate	Actual of Board of Results of Transportation Operation
Investment	\$1,301,000	\$1,321,608
Total Oper.		
Revenues	1,851,280	1,879,079
Exp. avail. for		
Int. & div.	261,413	171,308
Am'tization	155,125	214,762
Rate of return	20%	13%

It is evident from this table that the surface Transportation Company is amortizing its entire capital of investment within five years because of the five-year franchise, whereas the original estimate of the Board of Transpor-

tation contemplated amortization between eight and ten years on the ground that a bus properly taken care of will last that long. If the Surface Transportation Company had amortized as originally planned by the Board of Transportation, there would have been available for distribution and interest in dividends \$230,945 instead of \$171,308, which would have meant a rate of return of 17 1/4% as compared with the 20% estimated by the Board of Transportation.

Our estimate of 22.23% for Brooklyn bus operation is shown in the following table. Figures were obtained from sixth and seventh Bus Reports of the Board of Transportation. Since the Brooklyn franchise is for ten years, the capital investment will be amortized for the life of the franchise.

Estimated Capital Investment		
182 buses at \$10,000		
a piece	1,820,000	
Average cost per bus		
for garaging at \$2,546	463,426	
Misc. equip. and working capital per bus, at \$1,157	210,647	
Total investment	\$2,494,073	

Operating Results  
Total num. of bus miles \$8,492,286  
Total revenue at 40c per bus mile 3,390,914  
Costs of operation at 38c per bus mile 2,377,480  
City return at 5% of gross revenues 169,846

12% amortization on buses, 10% amortization on other investment 294,907

Total Operating Exp. \$2,842,233  
Available for distribution to bondholders and stockholders \$554,681.

A return of \$554,681 on an investment of \$2,494,073 is 22%. The lesson to be drawn from these figures is plain. There is no reason in the world why public streets should be turned over to private corporations so that interested individuals will receive such a tremendous return on their investment.

If the city were to operate these buses the charge for necessary capital would be 4% or \$99,763 annually; instead for the joy of private operation the rider pays capital \$554,681. Public operation, therefore, would make available a \$450,000 per annum which could be used to improve the working conditions of the men employed or give the rider better service. Another alternative would be to use it to help finance and improve social services provided by the city such as education, recreation, and health.

At the present time, the city under its charter lacks power to own and operate buses. In the past, it has attempted to obtain such power from the Legislature, but thus far has been defeated. It

has yet to put up a real dramatic fight for power. This fight ought to be made until victory is won.

To make public ownership and operation possible as soon as the city receives such power from the Legislature, a ten-year fixed term franchise should not have been granted. A franchise terminable at will by the city should have been given. The Legislature of 1928 made this possible under the terms of Chapter 717 of the laws of that year.

Such a franchise would fix the compensation to be paid by the city at the time of recapture. This should be based on actual investment less depreciation. An amortization fund should be set up which would be included in the purchase price. Thus, if at the time of recapture the company should be entitled to \$2,000,000 as compensation, while at the same time there were a half million dollars in the amortization fund, the city would be called upon to pay only a million and a half dollars to the company.

Moreover, as long as private operation is the case, the city ought to share much more in the profits. Under the present franchise the city will receive only 5% of gross revenues which will amount to approximately \$170,000. If the city received 10% of gross revenues thus doubling its return, the company would still earn 15% profit which is handsome enough. The failure of the city administration to demand a greater share of the profits is particularly outrageous.



## "Summer Is Icumen In"

THERE is one fight going on towards which we are enthusiastically neutral. This is the row between the Pope and Mussolini's Black Shirts. Ordinarily we take sides in almost any sort of scrap, but in this instance we're cheering our heads off for a finish fight with a double knockout.

Last week we made what we imagine was our last speech of the season to a New York open forum. Open forums are always pretty heated affairs and their directors usually arrange not to prolong them into the hot spells of the Summer.

I do not agree with the idea prevalent in these parts that with the coming of the first warm days, all interest in what is going on in the world suddenly ceases, and that a moratorium on thinking must needs be declared between Decoration Day and Labor Day. Of course balls do get stuffy and speakers sometimes get overheated, but just the same in such critical days as these, it seems to me, that ways and means could be devised for carrying on the few of our indoor forums that are really worth while throughout the Summer months. In my opinion, outdoor meetings can never take the place of these clearing-grounds for clashing opinions.

Cheering word comes from West Virginia that the newly organized miners' union in the Kanawha Field now has a fighting membership of some eighteen thousand coal-diggers. With the bringing into the union of the remaining five thousand in this district, the organization will be pretty near one hundred per cent.

This tremendous job of organizing carried on by the indomitable Frank Kenney, Tom Tippet, Kitty Pollak, Cal Bellaver and others, merits the wholehearted cooperation of every Socialist. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, headed by Norman Thomas, has done a magnificent task in sending food and clothes to the West Virginia mine workers. We urge that every Socialist branch appoint a committee to raise funds and furnish needed clothing to this most hopeful of new labor organizations. Write this address in your hat and get your comrades busy: THE WEST VIRGINIA MINE WORKERS, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Building, Room 2, Charleston, W. Va.

The West Virginia Mine Workers Union was created at a convention in Charleston on March 19th, 1931. It is a militant union with no affiliation with the reactionaries of the United Mine Workers Union, headed by the reactionary John L. Lewis. Its officers are Frank Kenney, president; Brant A. Scott, vice-president; George Scherer, secretary-treasurer. The importance of this movement is that it gives a keen spear-head to the organizing attack that must soon be made upon the great non-union fields to the south of the Kanawha Valley, if ever the coal-diggers of this country are to regain some small measure of their old-time freedom.

These are the rare June days when our colleges dump out into an unfeeling world their latest batch of mass-produced graduates and the Stuffed Shirts have their final whack at poisoning the minds of our youth. At one seat of learning after another, platitudes are being rained upon the defenseless heads of the young. They are told that after all, it is not what man knows but what he is that counts, as though there were some mystic way of distinguishing knowledge from character. They are told that America needs "leadership" and then comes the suggestion that leadership today, consists in being the prize peddler of the bunch. Our pushtart civilization is extolled, the morals of the cockroach capitalists are exalted and the speakers go away convinced that they have made a terrific impress upon the "plastic minds" of their listeners.

I am not quite so sure of all this. The true story comes to mind of the hideous irreverence of the student in a most conservative institution where attendance upon chapel was compulsory. The authorities noted that great interest was evinced by the students in the numbers of the hymns to be sung during the services. Exhaustive research disclosed that the students had made a pool into which much of the hard-earned money of their parents had gone on bets as to the hymn numbers.

I recently read a long yawn bawling the lack of liberalism on the part of latter-day college students, as though indeed that were some new development. I can go back in memory to my own college days, twenty-two long years ago and recall how the very word, "Socialism" sent shivers down my young and most conservative spine. We rewarded the few rebels in our ranks as "nuts" and barbarians far below our snooty notice. By the great rank and file of us, attendance at a meeting where the subject of Socialism was so much as discussed, was as out of question as our appearance on the campus stark naked. And this was no cow-college in the remote Bible belt which I attended but none other than the supposedly sophisticated Columbia University.

As a matter of fact, progressivism, liberalism, yes even radicalism, are very much on the upgrade in the colleges, as witness the alarmed screams of the Old Guard who are busy trying to organize young Republican clubs in the colleges.

And this is due in no small part to the unceasing intelligent and courageous work carried on in these past years by the League for Industrial Democracy. Which reminds us that one of the most interesting Summer conferences of the L. I. D. will be held at Camp Tamiment from June 25th to June 28th next and that the thing to do is to get your reservations in right away, sending them to the League for Industrial Democracy offices at 112 East Nineteenth street, New York City.

Now I'm going down to talk to the members of the Pocketbook Makers' Union who are engaged in a bitter struggle with their hard-boiled bosses. Personally I haven't had any use for a pocketbook for the past eighteen months, having had nothing to put in one. But my misfortune is not necessarily prevalent and is no reason why a good fighting bunch of workers should be ruthlessly exploited. It takes all sorts of guts to stand up and fight for unionism in these perilous times and my hat is off to the gutful pocketbook makers.

Miners in West Virginia, Pocketbook makers in New York, textile workers in all the industrial centers; if what President Hoover so touchingly refers to as our new "Valley Forge" of depression has indeed any heroes, these militant unionists are surely as heroic as the ragged Continentals who spent that dreadful Winter in the huts of Valley Forge. To be sure there is nothing dramatic about them to the ordinary eye. They just happen to be fighting against a foe far more deadly than an army of British Redcoats, the grim foe of oppression and tyranny and with few indeed to cheer them on. Least of all the Big Shots of the administration who can find no generous gesture for a whole cross-section of American workers on the very verge of starvation itself.

McAlister Coleman.

# French Politics and 'Anschluss'

By Emile Vandervelde

BRUSSELS

I AM writing these lines the day after the defeat of M. Briand, at Versailles. (May 13).

It is a serious happening. The victory of M. Doumer, who was elected President of the French Republic supported by all the parties of the Right, will not promote the cause of peace. The least we can say is that if, nevertheless, Mr. Briand, as Foreign Minister, goes to Geneva to the Council of the League of Nations this month, his moral authority runs the risk there of being diminished and his action for peace of being weakened. And this just at a critical moment, a few months before the conference on disarmament—and in the midst of the pressing difficulties resulting from the Franco-Italian discord over the naval question and the Austro-German economic agreement, the brusque announcement of which aroused very lively emotions, to say the least, in France and still more in Czechoslovakia.

A few days ago we had a meeting of the Bureau of the Socialist International, in Zurich, on this matter. [Comrade Vandervelde is President of the Socialist International.]

After it was over, we merely issued a brief statement to the press announcing another meeting in the near future.

[This statement ran as follows: "The Bureau of the L. S. I. has examined the situation which has arisen through the conclusion of a preliminary agreement between Austria and Germany for a customs union. It has established that the Socialist parties of the countries concerned agree in their desire to continue their efforts with a view to preparing, in the interests of international peace, a solution of the dispute which would be compatible with the interests of the working class and the dignity of all the countries concerned. The International will endeavor to extract from the dispute itself a reform of the economic policy of Europe which would be capable of bringing about

## Socialist International, Opposing Trade Barriers, Is Nevertheless Against Attempt at Reprisals

a reduction of customs' tariffs and removing the obstacles to international trade. With this object in view, the parties will remain in permanent contact and the Bureau will meet again at an early date in order to continue the discussion."

Upon returning to Vienna, however, our comrade Otto Bauer wrote an article for the Arbeiter-Zeitung of May 7, clearly showing a number of points about which all the sections of the International represented on the Bureau were in accord.

First of all there isn't a single Socialist who could object on principle to the political or economic Anschluss [union], or who imagines that the victors of 1918 will be able, in contempt of the right of self-determination of nations, indefinitely to forbid Germany and Austria to unite if they want to.

On the other hand, there was unanimous agreement at Zurich, that in such matters the methods of secret diplomacy were not the best and that, in wishing to place the Entente before an accomplished fact, MM. Curtius and Schober [the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers] had obtained a different result than they had expected; but, now that "the beans had been spilled," it was necessary to make the best of it and, as the conflict had been started, the only possible policy was to Europeanize it and to try to reconcile the parties concerned.

Only, as Bauer rightly observes, it isn't enough—merely to say that the problem ought to be "Europeanized." It is also necessary to know just what this Europeanization ought to be.

In certain circles there is a dream of extending this proposed Austro-German union to cover the other States of the European continent, of organizing them into a customs union, with the following characteristics: A common high tariff wall against the States outside the union; lower tariff rates



Now for the Other Side

among the States belonging to the European Union.

The Socialist International has no sympathy with the "Pan-Europeanism" that tends to create a protectionist block set up, at the same time, against England and the British Empire, the Soviet Union and North and South America.

Furthermore, it has just as great objections to the organization, suggested by the Austrian

Government, of "regional unions," under which the States belonging to such unions would give each other mutual tariff reductions not granted to other States. An evolution in that direction would be an attack upon the "most favored nation" clause which at present constitutes the most efficacious guaranty of comparatively free international commerce.

Suppose, on the other hand, that tomorrow Germany, Austria,

the Balkan States, and even France and Czechoslovakia, were to arrange their protective tariffs so as to give each other preferences to the exclusion of the other States. What would be the situation of Great Britain and other States such as Holland, Belgium, and the Scandinavian States, which thus far have remained true to the system of free trade?

Our comrade W. Gillies, former private secretary to Arthur Henderson and a Labor Party member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International, declared without circumlocution that such countries would be obliged, in their turn, to come back with higher duties on the products of the protectionist block and the final result would be the reconstruction of the barriers handicapping international trade.

It is under such circumstances that the Socialist International, a guardian of the peace, an enemy of any policy tending to widen the breach between Germany and France, interested above all else in trying to settle by understanding anything that might militate against the success of the Conference on Disarmament set for next February, is a unit in categorically rejecting, on the one hand, any attempt to block the projected Austro-German customs union by a veto, by a single prohibition, by threats or by reprisals; and, on the other hand, in opposing any solution involving an aggravation of protectionism working against the commercial policy supported by all the sections of the International which tends toward the gradual and general suppression of custom duties.

[The reception accorded to M. Briand at the Geneva Council of the League of Nations in May, seemed to indicate that his failure to be elected President of the French Republic, had by no means made him an insignificant figure there. The dispute over the Austro-German customs union was temporarily disposed of by being referred to the International World Court at The Hague for an advisory opinion.]

## Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

# American Capital Gets Control

## The Trust Triumphant

By James O'neal

THE dawn of the present century is generally recognized as the passing of individualism in the United States, and by the end of the first decade only its ghost survived in the minds of historical writers like Coolidge, Hoover, Congressmen, and schoolboys reciting copy book maxims. A study of the period of 1898-1914, by Harold Underwood Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice* (New York: Macmillan) makes this evident to the most casual reader. The work is Volume 11, in *A History of American Life*, and the seventh thus far published in this notable series.

The first chapter presents the background of economic and social forces which transformed the capitalism that had emerged out of the Civil War. At the turn of the century it was evident that wealth and capital were concentrating into a few hands. In the last two years of the old century there were no less than twenty-one combinations in iron and steel, and in 1901, the greatest consolidation, the United States Steel Corporation, was formed. The necessities of life were controlled by powerful groups and within ten years the hairy apes of capital and finance were ruling American life. Like their cousins of the jungle, law meant nothing to them and the magic by which they came into the possession of the valuables of others was never equalled by a Houdini. By 1910, concentration "shifted a large portion of the operation and ownership of the common industries from the actual producer to the banker and non-resident stockholder" and "sped the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, thus creating a class more powerful than the people, and, indeed, more powerful than the government."

Meantime, labor had been organizing, but "its status before the law" was "continually whittled away by the judiciary." Employers' organizations appeared to fight labor organization and used the courts to seize trade union funds. Indeed, in the Buck Stove and Range case, Judge Wright appointed three attorneys of the Anti-Boycott and National Manufacturers' associations "to recommend prosecution or dismissal" of the accused union leaders. Injunctions multiplied and state constabularies appeared. Courts struck down acts intended to make life a little easier for labor on the ground that they were "class legislation" or that they took the property of the ruling classes without due process of law. Meantime, it was not unusual for a railroad corporation to run the governments of a half-dozen states and specialists in this art appeared at the state capitals. States and cities became bureaus of the ruling cliques and graft flowed like pus coming from a filthy sore. The muckrakers appeared. They pulled aside the curtain and permitted the masses to observe what was going on, and

fear seized the hairy apes. There were no libel suits against the muckraking magazines as the writers did their work well.

The facts were notorious but the crusade declined in part "due to a persistent attack upon the magazines by the business interests which forced them to soften their attacks or drove them into bankruptcy." Certain politicians as reformers capitalized the situation. They "found their quickest road to political preferment through the adoption of new rules of the game favorable to themselves." Thus the structure of capitalism and its politics, more or less rocking in those days, was saved. We might add that the evolution continued into the days when Coolidge interpreted the rule of our Captain Kidds in terms of religious piety.

It is obvious from this book and subsequent history that our ruling classes have acquired the greatest stakes in wealth and power of any ruling groups in history, so we turn to the story of what the quest for social justice brought to the masses. The author lists the popular election of U. S. Senators, direct primaries, the Australian ballot, postal savings banks, the Federal Reserve Act, the advanced status of women in industry, law, and the professions, improved conditions for children in education and play, the rise of modernism in religion, advances in hygiene and health and so on. Chapters are also devoted to the development of transportation and general culture, including journalism, the novel, the drama, music, painting, and the arts in general. All of this constitutes phases of the general development of society and few of them can be said to be important conquests made by the laboring millions.

On the other hand the conquests made by our ruling classes have continued and huge booty has been their reward. This is obvious in the final chapter on "The New Frontier," which tells the story of the new worlds brought within the sovereignty of our banks and corporations. The imperialist march was opposed by various peace societies but they had to face a drilled squad of imperialists organized as the Navy League and supplied with plenty of cash. It was an unequal contest and cash won. This organization was formed in 1903 "by retired navy officers, armory plate manufacturers and others, and closely interlocked through its board of directors with New York banking houses interested in foreign loans." This rounded out the structure of the higher capitalism. And individualism? Its theories, "so beloved by the classical economists, no longer fitted the more intricate civilization of the new age, and unrestricted individualism was breaking down in every phase of human activity."

Professor Faulkner has covered a very important phase of American history and has added an excellent volume to this series.

## Mixed Persons

THE "Queen of England" photographs badly, but she is undeniably handsome. Also, at forty-three, Mary Roberts Rinehart was a grandmother, and had learned that for a baby, these days, "the minimum cost is about twelve hundred dollars, without the layette; and that this figure may be increased almost indefinitely." She rode in "General Foch's big limousine," too, all armored, and with souvenirs of German darts; and if you are interested in gossip of this sort, plunk out your \$2.50 for "My Life" (Farar and Rinehart, publishers; Mary Roberts Rinehart, author) and read how one successful novelist spent her days.

There is, for this writer at least, more money's worth in the four dollars you'll have to pay to get the livelier and wiser anecdotes of "Stage-struck John Golden." Viola Brothers sure helped Golden write himself up, to the taste of the Saturday Evening Post; but the pictures assembled in his book (Samuel French) give a good-humored, yet shrewd survey of the theatrical heart of the universe. New York's own great way. The book does not need the preface sponsoring of Irvin S. Cobb, Rupert Lardner, George Ade, and Rupert Hughes, to earn the attention of all interested in the growth and stir of the liveliest spot we know, together with many pointers as to how plays (and other things) go on Broadway.

More serious discussion of a good and gallant group is presented in "Imagism and the Imagists," by Glenn Hughes (Stanford U. Press, \$4), which gives a clear story of this offshoot of symbolism, and of the seven poets who more or less lightly followed its ways. H. D., F. S. Flint, Richard Aldington, John Gould Fletcher, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell: brief biographies and descriptions select the salient features of their poetry; though the questions hidden at their roots (as the mother-love of Lawrence) are merely put, with no pretense at answer. But, a clear account is given of a significant movement through which have grown some of our important poets.

A series of lectures on Friedrich Nietzsche delivered during the war by George Burman Foster of the University of Chicago is now issued (Macmillan, \$2.50) thirteen years after the author's death, with a preface by the Professor of Comparative Religion, and edited by the Dean of the Abraham Lincoln Center. The chapter heads: "Nietzsche and—run through feminism to art, Jesus, and the superman," a rather plodding method; but the book is better than these labels, for it is a sympathetic study, even a defense—in a footnote is given Nietzsche's remark: "I have never desecrated the name of love." The great law of life, as Nietzsche views man's ascent to superman, is "Live wholly; live fully!" realizing in its noblest respects the will to power. Delivered during the war, these lectures are

a valiant stand for truth, seeking to re-establish, against the distorted views offered as Nietzsche's and Germany's, a reasoned philosophy of freedom and social and individual ideals.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

## War and Heroism

DURING the past few years we have been bombarded with war novels. "Cattle Car Express" (by Emil Lengyel, The Ralph Beaver Strassburger Foundation) is not the heavy cannonading against war that most readers expect; yet it is a preachment against war, powerful because of its understatement. It is a crushing answer to the argument that war brings out heroic qualities and ennobles the race.

In "Cattle Car Express" we are given a picture of the lives of soldiers in Russian prison camps. The fifth, vermin, disease, the hunger, physical and mental, and above all, the spiritual disintegration of those whose "good luck" consisted in being made prisoners of war. "These were the sons and the grandsons of the Neanderthal Man, real to the marrow and without pretense. . . . Here everybody was fighting for himself, and no quarter given."

If the war mongers and their ballyhoosers fail to recall some of the grand old phrases when rape is attempted on Little America or Nicaragua, they need seek no further than "Cattle Car Express."

"Our Armies are holding the lines: losses negligible. Not more than 100,000 men."

"We showed the enemy that we are not afraid of the devil himself."

"We have sunk 500,000 tons of the enemy in one month."

Then there is an incident that should make a hit with expectant gold star mothers.

The mother of Bubl, a boy of eighteen, had written to his corporal that her son should be made to drink his breakfast coffee, Bubl becomes the butt of the prisoners' derision and seeks comfort from Landler, a veteran, officer, his senior by a full year.

## Books Received

Eugen Diesel—Germany, and the Germans; Macmillan, \$2.00.  
G. H. Cole—Gold, Credit and Unemployment; Macmillan, \$1.75.  
E. F. Treadwell—The Cattle King; Macmillan, \$3.00.  
C. W. Pipkin—Social Political Modern Democracies; Macmillan, 2 vol., \$7.50.  
Stuart Chase—The Nemesis of American Business; Macmillan, \$2.00.  
G. D. H. Cole—Gold, Credit and Unemployment; Macmillan, \$1.75.  
D. B. Commings—Making an orchestra; Macmillan, \$1.50.  
Paul Douglas and Aaron Director—The Problem of Unemployment; Macmillan, \$3.50.  
Boris Savinkov—Memoirs of a Terrorist; Boni, \$3.00.  
G. E. G. Castiglione—Liquor Control; Henry Holt, \$1.25.  
Gina Lombroso—Tragedies of Progress; \$3.75.  
H. J. Laski—Foundations of Sovereignty; Yale University Press, \$3.50.  
Bernard Shaw—The Apple Cart; Brentano, \$2.00.  
Hans Chaimson—The Miracle at Verdun; Brentano, \$2.00.  
E. M. Remarque—The Road Back; Little, Brown & Co., \$2.50.  
Margaret Wilson—The Crime of Punishment; Harcourt Brace, \$1.50.  
Marius Hansome—World Workers Educational Movements; Columbia University Press, \$5.00.  
David Sposob—The Labor Movement in Post War France; Columbia University Press, \$6.00.  
C. J. H. Hayes—The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism; Richard R. Smith, \$3.50.

## Arrest Chi. Yipsel for Distributing Literature

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
CHICAGO.—Lila Wolman, active member of Circle 4 of the Chicago Socialist Youth League, was held for questioning by police following complaint by school authorities that she was distributing seditious literature. The literature was announced of a mass meeting to be addressed by Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, on the subject of "Youth and World Depression."

As soon as news of Miss Wolman's arrest reached local Socialists, Edward Loewenthal, county chairman of the Party, and Sol Larkis, city secretary of the Yipsels, hurried to the police station. "You aren't bomb-throwers, reds, bolsheviks, or anything like that, are you?" the police captain asked. "You are?" the police captain asked. "You are?" the police captain asked.

To his credit, the captain refused to grant the request of the school authorities for aid in checking up on the distribution to see if any school students were helping, saying that this was the business of the school and not the police authorities. Miss Wolman was released immediately. Fifty students attended the Yipsel's meeting.

The worker is inseparable from his labor power. He cannot send it to the mill; he has to deliver it in person. He has to go to the mill in the morning and work until evening, producing for himself, but for the capitalist that owns the tools he made and uses, and without which he is almost as helpless as if he had no arms.—Eugene Debs.

## The Chatterbox

FOR the seven million still out of a job today, we have said much with bitterness, with compassion, and with fire to rouse them and the world to the colossal tragedy now being enacted in our glorious national theatre.

For the hundreds of thousands, middle class business men and professionals who have lost their life savings in the smashup of the prosperity flier, we have had a bit of condolence and belated advice to offer in friendliness.

But now that the dear old coupon-snipper, income tax, and altogether worthless parasites are standing before their vaults, or before the Wall Street charts of daily debacle, we will be pardoned the indulgence of a snicker and a nostrum, as we watch them shiver and grow pale about their hogst gizzards.

It is plain enough to us wny securities, bonds and stocks, mortgages and all the other properties of income without work are fast losing power to magic. Seven million workers out of work are just so many less bodies and brains that are not producing profits. Fifteen million more workers of part time, cut down the dividend bearing chemicals strength on wated stock. And with twenty million farmers bankrupt or dodging the marshal frost precarious day to day, and the rest of the employees millions hanging like pernickious anemia to the buffalo's tail on every blessed nickel, out of onery drea for the future, the whole dividend-income racket is going soooey. And make out, Southampton, New port and Park Avenue aren't having the wilies right here, this minute.

Good, I say, and the devil take the hindmost. Anzowie, what a hindmost! Fattened and massaged and pampered, caviar and anchovy fed, champagne washed, and baked each winter in Florida. Of you fortunate devil!

Maybe, I'm laughing too soon. Maybe, as Hoover has been saying for the last year and a half, the upturn is just around the corner. Maybe tomorrow the smoke stacks will belch forth with three shill smoke screens against the sun, the mills will whir again, and the mines burrow deeper within themselves to heap up hills of ore and coal, and cars and ships steam forth with profit-heavy burdens over the routes of trade once more.

But even if that blessed miracle be performed as soon, tonight I want to have my own ha-ha and there is no gainsaying me.

In a hundred thousand mansions, surrounded by sunken gardens and the blossoming glory that is June, there is dread against tomorrow, even as there has been fear within fifty million cheap homes all these many years. The ogres of Madison Street poverty furnished tenements are marching ghostly into the pent houses and duplex apartments of midtown. Gosh, that's swell.

All the Bomb Squad brutes and all the Nations guards, couldn't bash in one head of that phantom mob. Gedalya, that's scrumptious!

There's music in the squeal every time the gilt edge bonds and stocks slide down the golden stairs every time a dividend is passed, every time rock ribbed U. S. Steel announces its further loss in unfilled tonnage. The crispy rustle of century note in a sucker's wallet will have no less melody in the trained ear of Texas Guinan when she returns from the swiftest reception la belle France gave her this week, than the groans of the big babies to me. I'd rather see them squirm and boil and be cooked out in their own stew, than bump them off on barricades, or have to trundle them off to a necking party at Dr. Guillotine's.

Supposing the logical thing really happens? Supposing the railroads give up their bloated bodies after all these years of floating about in water supposing the piled up heaps of uninvested bank funds make poetic vengeance and ruin the banking business; supposing industries shut up altogether because they grew too big and now find so little sustenance in profit for the huge overhead bulks that over-expansion piled upon them? Then the nicely colored paper and the little perforated coupons that meant so much power and wealth and comfort will pass into as much meaning as the dead old Czar's phiz on a paper rouble.

And then we could say to the gilded few who have Czared it over us American muckjacks all this time. . . . "Whatcha gone a do when the rent comes r.u.n. . . . "How will you pay for your yachts, your yachts, your flunkies, your golf dues and your golf treatments? You'll just have to give up Newport and Maline this summer. How will you ever manage to bear a summer in the horrible city alongside of twenty workers in subways, smelling their garlicky breath, brushing or crushing together in jams? What will the Van Pusterters say if they see you in a breadline, or pressing in the mob before the employment offices? It will just be too dreadful. Am really, old top, what kind of a job are you been trained for? That little gold scissors on your watch chain has spoiled your hands.

All my days I have gone about with a fear that the vastly rich would have to be expropriated by an armed force of the workers and farmers when the Day came. Now that fear is no more. The dear useless boys and girls are just going to starve themselves to death on a diet of bonds and stocks that are squeezed dry of the fats of income and the oils and vitamins of dividends. Glad consumption. What a happy ending to an age long tragedy!

My idea of the most delightful task that might come to a rebel's work-a-day routine, especially unemployed, would be to work an elevator up one of the spiredomes of the Empire State Build with load upon load of busted millionaires and investment parasites who have become predetermined, on taking a high dive down to the sidewalk below. The thought is a trifle gruesome and hardly humane. But gosh, what could one do in a case like this. Especially if thoroughly worthless folks want to perform the one worthwhile act of their lives.

As I take them up to their last spurge, it would be fitting to think about the millions of children that slaved and died in the mills of the land, of the countless men and women who wasted their lives in the shops and marts and fields, of the unpeppable poverty and squalor that was their reward, of the withered lungs, and shriveled limbs, of the stunted minds, and the darkened souls, of hunger, stuns, fear and disease, of picket lines and Pinkertons at Calumet, of the kerosene soaked tents and the toasted bodies of strikers at Ludlow, of police battering the heads of men and women on parade of miners fung out with their families from company owned hovels to starve through horrible winters, of all the unsummed misery and hell that went into dividends and profits for the magic papers that are now dwindling into sterile stuff.

Even if it be denounced as an apostle of chaos and disaster, it were worth to bear abuse and rebuke so long as I have had this one hour of high hilarity and low joy at the pathetic spectacle of the squeezers of mankind being squeezed in their own press.

For all things living that suffer, I have pity and compassion, but they insect, worm, beast or being. But for these loafers, before the fearful facts of history, let there only be lewd and loveless laughter.

S. A. de Wits.



# 'Five Year Plan' at Central Shows Modern Russia

The Stage

The Movies

Music

In Popular Film Now at the Fox Brooklyn



At last, the successor to the "Cockeyed World"! "Women of All Nations" is its name, and it begins a run at the famous Fox Theatre in Brooklyn. Victor McLaglen and Edmund Lowe are seen again as "Flags" and "Quirt," assisted by Greta Nissen, above, El Brendel and others.

**'Women of All Nations' Part of Big Bill at Fox B'klyn; Stage Show Has Many Prominent Names**

This week's program at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre takes its audience traveling while viewing both the screen feature "Women of All Nations," and its stage show, "Top O' the World."

"Women of All Nations" not alone brings Victor McLaglen and Edmund Lowe together again as the immortal marines, "Flags" and "Quirt," but also their blundering companion, El Brendel as "Olsen," and a new charmer in the Nordic beauty of Greta Nissen, who plays the feminine lead. Scores of other leading players include such names as Fifi Dorey, Marjorie White, Joyce Compton, Bela Lugosi and Charles Judels.

Fanchon & Marco's "Top O' the World" idea, conceived and staged by Le Roy Prinz, depicts an airplane tour, making stops at New York, Paris, China and Australia. Entertainers aboard the theatrical aircraft are Gene Morgan, Fawn and Jordon, "Dancers Divine"; Russell and Johnson, and the very versatile Sunkist Beauties.

Sam Jack Kaufman, has the Fox Symphonettes play a merry melange of tunes from all nations, while bespectacled Bob West makes everyone part of the show with his community-singing organ slides.

In One of the Smash Hits of the Season



The Barretts of Wimpole Street, it is expected, will stay at the Empire throughout the summer months. In it, Katharine Connell has one of the finest roles of her career.

**'Good Bad Girl' on the 'Hipp' Screen; Radaelli Tops Vaude Program**

The Hippodrome, in presenting "Good Bad Girl" on its screen is offering a new kind of gangland story. One in which the gun-moll, Mae Clarke, marries, has a child and tries to go straight, yet the fangs of the underworld are forever lashing at her. James Hall plays the husband and Robert Ellis, the bad man. Others popular with Hipp audiences and playing important roles in "Good Bad Girl," are Marie Prevost, Nance O'Neil, Edmund Breese and Paul Porcasi.

On the eight act vaudeville program we find Radaelli, Italy's famous tenor and star of the La Scala Opera Company of Milan; Brems, Fitz and Murphy Brothers, Ambassadors from Laughland; Maurice Colleano, the dancing comedian with his family; Jean Boydell, the little laugh digger; Sidney Tracey and Bessie Hay, versatile dancers; George McClenon, colored humorist; the Crystal Trio in a skating fantasy and Davis and Glass who say it by wire.

**'Ubangi,' Thrilling Picture of the Jungle, Stays On at the Cameo**

An African expedition started out in 1924 with three doctors, Louis Neuman of Brussels, Jacques Maus of Antwerp, and Daniel Davenport of Canada and the United States in command. The expedition was primarily an errand of mercy, their purpose being to teach the natives how to fight yellow fever and sleeping sickness, the latter caused by the bite of the tsetse fly. Near the very beginning of the expedition Dr. Neuman and Dr. Maus lost their lives, and the greater part of the research work and photography was left to Dr. Davenport.

Dr. Davenport had many thrilling encounters with the wild beasts during his five-year adventure through the Cameroons and the Belgian Congo as seen in "Ubangi," and the film will be held over for a second week at the R-K-O Cameo Theatre.

**'Lover Come Back' With Big Cast of Favorites at Globe**

The Globe Theatre this week presents the Columbia picture, "Lover Come Back," a romance of the girls men love—and the ones they marry, featuring Constance Cummings, Jack Mulhall and Betty Bronson, with a very capable cast which includes Jameson Thomas, Fredrick Santley, Jack Mack, Loretta Sayers, Katherine Givney and Susan Fleming. Robert Shannon adopted the story by Helen Topping Miller, and Eric C. Kenton directed.

**ERLANGER'S** Wed. 8:30, Mat. 2:30  
Thurs. 8:30, Mat. 2:30  
The Civic Light Opera Company presents

**Gilbert & Sullivan**  
COMIC OPERA

**"Gondoliers"**

ALL STAR CAST OF 60  
Direction of MILTON ABORN  
"THRIFT PRICES"  
EVEN: 50c to \$2. WED. MAT. 50c to \$1. SAT. MATS. 50c to \$1.50.  
"Capital entertainment for the end of a mirthless season."—Times.  
In Preparation: "PATIENCE," "PIRATES OF PENZANCE" and "IOLANTHE"

**THE CRITICS RAVED!**  
"The most perfectly played play in New York excepting 'As You Like It'."—PERCY HAMMOND, Herald-Tribune.

**'PRECEDENT'**

A Vivid and Stirring Drama  
BIJOU THEATRE  
45th St. W. of B'way. Even. 8:30  
Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. LA 6-0734

**ROXY**  
JANET GAYNOR  
DADDY LONG LEGS

with WARNER BAXTER  
Tremendous Roxy Show  
MODERN CINDERELLA  
colorful, musical, joyful show in 2 spectacular scenes with PATRICIA BOWMAN, premiere danseuse, Viola Fells and Alida Vase in her American debut  
ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA  
Reveries, Razz Dances, Roxy Chorus

**NORMA SHEARER**  
in  
**"A FREE SOUL"**

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Production  
LESLIE HOWARD, LIONEL BARRYMORE, JAMES GLAXON, CLARE GABLE  
B'way & 13th St. Twice  
Daily, 2:30 and 8:30  
3 times Sat. Sun. & Holidays, 2-8:30  
ALL SEATS RESERVED

**ASTOR**  
The Barretts of Wimpole Street, it is expected, will stay at the Empire throughout the summer months. In it, Katharine Connell has one of the finest roles of her career.

**Central Park Theatre, Where "Tabu" Still Charms, Has New Summer Attractions**

Up at Leo Brecher's Central Park Theatre, "Tabu," F. W. Murnau's South Sea romance, is now in its fourth month—and apparently intends to remain for some little time. Those who have not yet seen this idyllic primitive love story, played by a cast of Polynesian natives, will enjoy a visit these summer days not only for the refreshing outdoor atmosphere of the film itself, but for the attractive manner in which the former Jolson playhouse has been treated to harmonize with the settings of the screen feature.

Cool breezes, induced by newly-installed ventilating fans, ferns and tropical palms placed about the foyer and mezzanine together with gay-colored seatcovers, all combine to waft spectators away from the whirl of mid-summer Manhattan to the breezy mid-Pacific home of Matahi and Reri, native stars of "Tabu."

**"White Shoulders" at RKO Mayfair is a Rex Beach Thriller, With Jack Holt and Big Cast**

A daringly frank x-ray is turned upon play-boys and play-girls in Radio Pictures' "White Shoulders," the current attraction at the Mayfair.

The picture gives the "lowdown" on stage beauties who shun love for money and men of wealth who would rather buy affection than merit it. "White Shoulders" represents Rex Beach at his finest.

**Radaelli, Famous Italian Tenor, at 'Hipp'**

Radaelli, Italian tenor formerly of the La Scala Opera Company of Milan, headlines the stage show at the Hippodrome commencing this Saturday.

In Europe Radaelli spent several seasons under the baton of Toscanini at La Scala and has sung many leading dramatic roles in Covent Garden, London; the Royal Opera, Madrid; the Imperial Opera, Moscow, and the Royal Opera in Vienna. At the Hippodrome he will be heard in selections from "Aida," "La Gioconda," "Il Trovatore" and "Pagliacci."

**"The Maltese Falcon" Stays On at Winter Garden**

Bebe Daniels and Ricardo Cortez are co-featured in "The Maltese Falcon," which seems set for a run of three or four weeks at the Winter Garden. Dudley Digges and Una Merkel also have prominent parts. Miss Daniels is the Ruth Wonderly of Hammett's novel, and Cortez brings the inimitable Sam Spade to life on the screen. Clarence Badger directed.

**AT WARNER BROS. Comfortable COOL THEATRES**

6th Week **JOHN Barrymore**

as **"Svengali"**

(The Hypnotist)  
**Marian Marsh**

as **"TRILEY"**  
**HOLLYWOOD**

And Now Also at  
**B'klyn STRAND**

**"MALTESE FALCON"**

with **BEBE DANIELS**

**RICARDO CORTES**

Dashell Hammett mystery thriller will hold you spellbound

**Winter Garden**

BROADWAY & 50th STREET  
Continuous—Popular Prices

**2 Held Over**

**MARLENE DIETRICH**

in **"3 LOVES"**

German made—English titles

**WARNER THEATRE**  
B'way & 52nd  
Continuous—Popular Prices

**RUSSIA REBORN AND REBUILT!**

**THE 5 YEAR PLAN**  
(TALK IN ENGLISH)  
See This Epoch Making Triumph For Yourself!  
CENTRAL THEATRE, 47th St. & B'way  
DAILY MATS. at 2:45, 5c to \$1.50. Sat. Sun. NIGHTS at 8:45, 5c to \$1.50. Sat. Sun.

In Feature Picture, Part of a Big Bill at the Hipp



In the "Good Bad Girl," now at the "Hipp," the woman's side of racketeering is exposed. Mae Clarke, the gun-moll in this film, is supported by James Hall and other film favorites. The opera field is represented by Radaelli, famous Italian tenor, who heads a big vaudeville bill.

**Al Trahan Returns To the Palace**

Back to the Palace after an eight months' tour in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, France and England, comes Al Trahan, with the newly earned title of the "King's Jester," to headline the new bill opening today. Trahan and his partner, Miss Yukona Cameron, were the comedy feature of the Royal Command Performance at the Paladium in London, My 11th, in the presence of Their Majesties, the King and Queen of England. "That American, Al Trahan—how he made me laugh," the king was heard to say in discussing the evening's entertainment.

Mr. Trahan and Miss Cameron are doing some of the turns of their Royal Performance success in their act at the Palace next week.

**"Le Culte de Beauté" At 8th St. Playhouse**

"LE CULTE DE BEAUTE" (The Cult of Beauty) or "ARTHUR," the French musical film produced by OSSO FILMS in Paris, is now at the Eighth Street Playhouse.

Boucet, called by some the Al Jolson of France, appears in the leading role, that of a beauty doctor, whose wife and girl cousin from Martinique, cause a typical French comedy tangle. Saucy scenes in Boucet's beauty factory, form a background for much of the action.

**12th Big Week! F. W. MURNAU'S**

**TABU**

**CENTRAL PARK THEATRE**  
7th Ave. & 59 St.  
Cont. Noon to Midnight  
Pop. Prices  
Midnight Show  
Every Saturday

**Margalo Gillmore Now in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" at Empire Theatre**

Margalo Gillmore gave her first performance as the rebellious sister of Katharine Cornell on Monday night June first in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" at the Empire Theatre.

**TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION!**

The Sound Camera makes the dark continent give up its most amazing and closely guarded secrets.

**UBANGI**

A rare and thrilling record of hitherto undiscovered monsters... customs of odd humans and queer beasts.

**SECOND WEEK**

**R-K-O CAMEO 42nd & B'way**

An Entirely New Role for **EMIL JANNINGS**

See him as a light-hearted artist—joyful and jolly in **"THE GROSSE TENOR"**

Directed by ERICH POMMER. A UFA Production  
UFA COSMOPOLITAN Continuous thereafter  
Noon to Midnight—Popular Prices

**CAPITOL**  
Broadway and 13th Street  
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

**Never the Twain Shall Meet**

with **LESLIE HOWARD**  
Conchita Montenegro, C. Aubrey Smith  
A Metro Goldwyn Mayer Picture

**ON THE STAGE—TED LEWIS**  
and His Happiness Revue  
BUNCHUK 2nd ANNIVERSARY, Travel  
Talkie "Uy and Bessie New York"  
Hearst Metrophone News

**8**  
With RADAELLI and Opera Company  
**THE GOOD BAD GIRL**  
with MAE CLARKE  
JAMES HALL  
MARIE PREVOST

**HIPPODROME**  
6th Ave. and 43rd St.

**Theatre Parties**

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

**The Week On The Stage**  
By Joseph T. Shipley

RUSSIA RE-STORING

**"THE FIVE YEAR PLAN"**, American film with lecture in English. At the Central.

STUART CHASE is quoted as saying—I haven't seen his words—that there is nothing new in the Soviet five year plan, that it is merely an example, on a large scale, of cooperative efforts long made in the U. S., with American machinery and efficiency methods. Chase suggests a "ten year plan," of continental sweep, to lift our own country from its depression.

Yet the Five Year Plan is different, being the cooperative effort of a whole nation; it is doubtless the most important positive activity (calling war-preparations, etc., "negative") in the world today. Russia is watched by every other country, with hostility by most, but with respect by the wise in the lands. For the measure to which Russia finds it necessary to lapse into capitalistic devices will be some indication of the extent to which Socialist communities can thrive in a wakening, but largely antagonistic world.

It is not to be expected that the drawbacks in their system will be prominently displayed by the Russians, but the epoch-making transformation that has come upon the land is most vividly portrayed in the film at the Central theatre, which every one interested in human progress should see. The giant farms are brought before us, with all the modern machinery group work has made it possible to introduce, with the traveling post-office, the communal kitchens, and the social life of the workers. We also see the development of the great Soviet industries, the development of the country from the three-fold point of view of production, distribution, and consumption. Views of the leaders of Russia today are given, as well as of the typical workers in the many fields; and the English lecture combines with the scenes to strengthen one's feeling that in one country of the earth, at least, social history is being made.

**A LOST TRIBE**

**"A MODERN VIRGIN."** By Elmer Harris at the Booth.  
The days of the virgin are long in the land. And now is her poogee. From every hamlet and every farm, she comes crying "I wanna be out-ter!" And these girls know how to get what they want. "Impatient Virgin," "Country Virgin," "Modern Virgin"—in poem, novel, play, this dying type is celebrated. Time was when the French defined it as "a girl under five"; but in this country we are more orderly. The vogue began with Edna St. Vincent Millay—some of whose sonnets on the subject have just been reprinted. You might say "Here's some one a-diggin'!"

The loss of a virgin Who needed no urgin' To leap into sin; But like the swift surgeon That counters the surgin' Current convengin', She made her way in— or words to that effect.

"A Modern Virgin" pictures, with all the daring of the author of "Young Sinners" (and all the lack of that deft discovery, Margaret Sullivan) the quest of a maid for excitement, for that swift and baffling stir which may come many times in a life-time. What does it mean, this hectic world of ours? Here are the men, the women, and the flowers—but here too are the auto-tracks snaking the countryside, and the gin-stacks snaking the sons and daughters of those who still have more money than they ought (others having none). But social problems and their solutions are not the concern of Elmer Harris, who centers his efforts on more utilitarian ends. And who succeeds! "A Modern Virgin" will tickle the fancy of all who steer their way to it by sextant.

**UFA OPENS**

**"DER GROSSE TENOR."** German film with Emil Jannings. At the Ufa (formerly Cosmopolitan).

The opening of the new Ufa film-house, where the well-known German firm is to present its own products, was something of an event. That popular democrat, James J. Walker, mayor of the City of New York (and otherwise known as Gentleman Jim) came out strongly in favor of free trade and open competition. If we had more German houses showing more German films, the Mayor winningly remarked, perhaps our home brand of motion pictures would be more worth while. It was a gala occasion—significant of the desire of Ufa to share more directly in the shekels German films have been drawing, but promising, as well, of a continuing stream of good pictures such as Ufa has offered since the pioneer days of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari."

"Der Grosse Tenor" is built of a trite theme, and does not grow to proportions worthy of the restrained passion Emil Jannings brings to the screen, nor does it reveal more than the usual German camera-skill. Winkelmann,

**In Interesting Picture of Jungle Life**



"Ubangi" continues at the RKO Cameo Theatre where it is attracting those who are interested in exciting shots of the jungle. Natives and native life, and many specimens of beasts and fowl can be seen on the Cameo screen this week.

ters of those who still have more money than they ought (others having none). But social problems and their solutions are not the concern of Elmer Harris, who centers his efforts on more utilitarian ends. And who succeeds! "A Modern Virgin" will tickle the fancy of all who steer their way to it by sextant.

**UFA OPENS**

**"DER GROSSE TENOR."** German film with Emil Jannings. At the Ufa (formerly Cosmopolitan).

The opening of the new Ufa film-house, where the well-known German firm is to present its own products, was something of an event. That popular democrat, James J. Walker, mayor of the City of New York (and otherwise known as Gentleman Jim) came out strongly in favor of free trade and open competition. If we had more German houses showing more German films, the Mayor winningly remarked, perhaps our home brand of motion pictures would be more worth while. It was a gala occasion—significant of the desire of Ufa to share more directly in the shekels German films have been drawing, but promising, as well, of a continuing stream of good pictures such as Ufa has offered since the pioneer days of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari."

"Der Grosse Tenor" is built of a trite theme, and does not grow to proportions worthy of the restrained passion Emil Jannings brings to the screen, nor does it reveal more than the usual German camera-skill. Winkelmann,

**UFA OPENS**

**"DER GROSSE TENOR."** German film with Emil Jannings. At the Ufa (formerly Cosmopolitan).

The opening of the new Ufa film-house, where the well-known German firm is to present its own products, was something of an event. That popular democrat, James J. Walker, mayor of the City of New York (and otherwise known as Gentleman Jim) came out strongly in favor of free trade and open competition. If we had more German houses showing more German films, the Mayor winningly remarked, perhaps our home brand of motion pictures would be more worth while. It was a gala occasion—significant of the desire of Ufa to share more directly in the shekels German films have been drawing, but promising, as well, of a continuing stream of good pictures such as Ufa has offered since the pioneer days of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari."

"Der Grosse Tenor" is built of a trite theme, and does not grow to proportions worthy of the restrained passion Emil Jannings brings to the screen, nor does it reveal more than the usual German camera-skill. Winkelmann,

**UFA OPENS**

**"DER GROSSE TENOR."** German film with Emil Jannings. At the Ufa (formerly Cosmopolitan).

The opening of the new Ufa film-house, where the well-known German firm is to present its own products, was something of an event. That popular democrat, James J. Walker, mayor of the City of New York (and otherwise known as Gentleman Jim) came out strongly in favor of free trade and open competition. If we had more German houses showing more German films, the Mayor winningly remarked, perhaps our home brand of motion pictures would be more worth while. It was a gala occasion—significant of the desire of Ufa to share more directly in the shekels German films have been drawing, but promising, as well, of a continuing stream of good pictures such as Ufa has offered since the pioneer days of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari."

"Der Grosse Tenor" is built of a trite theme, and does not grow to proportions worthy of the restrained passion Emil Jannings brings to the screen, nor does it reveal more than the usual German camera-skill. Winkelmann,

**UFA OPENS**

**"DER GROSSE TENOR."** German film with Emil Jannings. At the Ufa (formerly Cosmopolitan).

**Westchester Playhouse**

**Opens Its New Season**

Monday, the Westchester Playhouse, Lawrence Farms, Mt. Kisco, opens its new season with Bernard Shaw's comedy, "You Never Can Tell." This is the first of ten plays to be given.

Next Monday night the bill will change and Philip Barry's "Holiday" will be presented for a week.

idol of the opera-public, loves women and leaves them, but goes back to his wife when he loses his voice—officially, he has "lost it." Rustic rest does him good; just as his wife learns his throat is bad, Winkelmann finds that his voice has been restored. Back to the stage!

There should be good films at the Ufa.

**Ethel Barrymore** Thurs. 47 St. W. of B'way.  
Even. 8:45; Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

**LAST WEEK**

**Final Performance June 13**

**MELO**

By HENRY BERNSTEIN  
with Basil Edna Earle  
RATHBONE BEST LARIMORE

**GILBERT MILLER**

Presents

**Tomorrow**

AND

**Tomorrow**

with Zita Johann and Herbert Marshall

**HENRY MILLER'S** Thurs. 154 St. W. of B'way.  
Even. 8:45; Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

**As cheerful a frolic as the present season has offered.**—Sun.  
Dwight Deere Wiman presents

**Mary Boland**  
in Paul Osborn's comedy hit  
**VINEGAR TREE** 8TH MONTH

**PLAYHOUSE**  
Thurs. W. 48 St. E. 8:40  
Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40  
Telephone BR 7-2535



# Senior Urges Purchase of Literature

Good Propaganda Material Being Sold in Small Quantities—Other Party News

(By A. New Leader Correspondent)  
CHICAGO.—Thousands of stickers, fliers, and leaflets prepared by the Socialist Party are being distributed by those who cannot afford to make a contribution to the Socialist Forward Drive, but who are able to order a small amount of literature to help spread the Socialist message, according to Clarence Senior, Drive Director.

"We are greatly pleased," says Senior, "at the response that is being given to our third general Drive letter. In this letter, we have asked all those who cannot give a dollar or more to the Party's needs for the year to order as little as a quarter's worth of Socialist literature for distribution in their own communities. Only a small number of those to whom this letter was addressed would have had time yet to answer, but the proportion of these who have answered is encouraging."

Literature Sales Reduce Expense.—The most popular of the three items that is being pushed in connection with the Drive is a small sticker advocating unemployment insurance. It is not only attractive from an artistic standpoint but it has proved itself exceptionally effective, as judged by the number of inquiries received at National Headquarters of the Party in stimulating non-Socialists to do some thinking on the subject of out-of-work pay. The sticker sells for 25¢ per hundred.

The other items are a little less popular, are a filler pointing out the difference between what happens to wages and dividends in a depression, and a leaflet giving the Socialist program for unemployment, including a more complete explanation of the Party's insurance plan than can be given in smaller space, selling at 25¢ and 50¢ a hundred, respectively.

The small amounts involved in these literature sales make it impossible to send individual receipts or to apportion the sales by states. For this reason, the slight margin over actual cost of this literature is being credited to the expense account of the Drive, which will have the effect of raising the allotment to each state in proportion to its direct Drive drive.

Contributions Still Urged.—While the emphasis of the Drive has been shifted to the distribution of literature in order to give everybody a chance to help, regardless of his financial condition, it is still urged that those who are able to contribute in a larger way. With interest increasing throughout the nation, while many of the Party's members are out of work, the problem of raising the money to carry on the work on smaller finances than usual is taxing every effort that national and state officials of the Party can put forth.

Those who do not do so will seriously cripple the growth of Socialism during the year.

Recent contributions received include:

Jerome Morgan	1.00
George E. Roemer	10.00
George North Taylor	1.00
John T. McRoy	10.00
Fred Ehling (Ad.)	50.00
Anonymous	2.00
Carl A. Olson	1.00
Joseph Tappan	5.00
Donald W. Trees	1.00
Mr. & Mrs. J. W. Hughes	4.00
A. Glinberg	5.00
H. G. Allenburger	2.00
Fred S. Sanders	5.00
Lydia G. Wentworth	3.00
Rose S. Halushka	3.00
Meyer Halushka	1.00
Arvid Shulman	1.00
Max Silverman	1.00
Lyman V. Cantrell	1.00
Ethel Watson	1.00
Joseph Goldman	2.00

## California

**BAKERSFIELD** is the latest town to join active locals as a result of the work of Roger Rush and Hyman Sheinin. Bakersfield has not had a local since the war. A street meeting was held and a public meeting was held in the Labor Temple auditorium. The meeting was planned later to organize a local. Fifteen people came and seven joined the party. Plans were made for a membership campaign and literature distribution. Most of the members are also leaders in the labor movement and the city is one of the strongest union towns in the state.

The two organizers plan to work in Tulare County and Fresno, and then on through the rest of the San Joaquin Valley to the northern end of the state.

**PASADENA** Branch held the largest meeting in months when over 60 turned out at a regular meeting of the branch. The meeting was held at the local paper mill, Lisbon Falls and Bangor are likely places in which to start something but will not be reached until next evening.

**VENICE** members plan to visit every registered Socialist in Venice, Santa Monica and Ocean Park to get them to join the Party and attend meetings. Four new members were taken in at the last meeting.

**SCRIPPS COLLEGE** has organized a branch of the League for Industrial Democracy. Bill Busick spoke at the college last week. The young women have organized a study group.

**POMONA** Branch had one hundred people at its first meeting. The speakers were Abe Rubin of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and Bill Busick.

**OAKLAND**—William Snow organized a local in Oakland with twenty members.

**DEBATE**—At the University of California Bill Busick debated with Professor Miller on "Does the present economic system need a fundamental change." The wild applause indicated that 90% of the audience endorsed the Socialist program. The comment of the Daily Bruin, the college paper.

# B'klyn Parade Of Unemployed Set for June 13

Manhattan Borough Convention to Meet Tuesday—Branches Are Active

THE Joint Socialist Agitation Committee of East New York, Brownsville and Lower East Flatbush, Brooklyn, have arranged a large unemployment demonstration to take place Saturday, June 13th. The demonstration will be in the form of a parade starting from Pitkin and Howard avenues, at 6 p. m., and to wind up with rally at Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. The Socialist branches in the 2nd, 18th, 22nd and 23rd assembly districts will take part. The speakers will include Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon, A. I. Shipiloff and Jacob Axelrod.

**NEW YORK CITY**  
**VOLUNTEER TYPISTS WANTED!**—There is a large amount of typing to be done in the City office preparation for the Primary Petition work. This work consists of typing names and addresses of the enrolled Socialist voters throughout the City. The city office staff is too small to handle this job along with its other work. A number of comrades volunteered last year. This helped considerably. If you are a typewriter operator, you can type at the city office between 10 and 6. If they are able to do the work, they will be paid 10¢ per hour. This is a comparatively easy and completed in time.

**Neon Day Meetings.**—The Committee on Literature, Propaganda, and Meetings has decided to hold Neon Day meetings in various parts of the city and is making a survey of favorable locations. A number of speakers have volunteered and more will be asked to do so. What is needed are committees to take care of meetings, managing platforms, distributing literature, and obtaining signatures for the Neon Day petition. All the comrades who can assist in any capacity are urged to get in touch with the city office.

**City Executive Committee.**—A meeting of the Committee will be held Wednesday, June 10, at 8:30 p. m. in the City office. The agenda includes: 1. Report of the Committee on Literature, Propaganda, and Meetings. 2. Report of the Committee on Neon Day. 3. Report of the Committee on Unemployment. 4. Report of the Committee on Labor. 5. Report of the Committee on Education. 6. Report of the Committee on Finance. 7. Report of the Committee on Publicity. 8. Report of the Committee on Social Work. 9. Report of the Committee on Sports. 10. Report of the Committee on Amusement. 11. Report of the Committee on Entertainment. 12. Report of the Committee on Recreation. 13. Report of the Committee on Health. 14. Report of the Committee on Welfare. 15. Report of the Committee on Religion. 16. Report of the Committee on Art. 17. Report of the Committee on Science. 18. Report of the Committee on Literature. 19. Report of the Committee on Music. 20. Report of the Committee on Drama. 21. Report of the Committee on Film. 22. Report of the Committee on Radio. 23. Report of the Committee on Television. 24. Report of the Committee on Motion Pictures. 25. Report of the Committee on Stage. 26. Report of the Committee on Opera. 27. Report of the Committee on Ballet. 28. Report of the Committee on Circus. 29. Report of the Committee on Fairs. 30. Report of the Committee on Exhibitions. 31. Report of the Committee on Conventions. 32. Report of the Committee on Assemblies. 33. Report of the Committee on Meetings. 34. Report of the Committee on Lectures. 35. Report of the Committee on Seminars. 36. Report of the Committee on Workshops. 37. Report of the Committee on Courses. 38. Report of the Committee on Schools. 39. Report of the Committee on Universities. 40. Report of the Committee on Colleges. 41. Report of the Committee on Academies. 42. Report of the Committee on Institutes. 43. Report of the Committee on Centers. 44. Report of the Committee on Clubs. 45. Report of the Committee on Societies. 46. Report of the Committee on Associations. 47. Report of the Committee on Unions. 48. Report of the Committee on Leagues. 49. Report of the Committee on Orders. 50. Report of the Committee on Lodges. 51. Report of the Committee on Chapters. 52. Report of the Committee on Branches. 53. Report of the Committee on Divisions. 54. Report of the Committee on Districts. 55. Report of the Committee on Territories. 56. Report of the Committee on Regions. 57. Report of the Committee on Zones. 58. Report of the Committee on Provinces. 59. Report of the Committee on States. 60. Report of the Committee on Countries. 61. Report of the Committee on Continents. 62. Report of the Committee on the World. 63. Report of the Committee on the Universe. 64. Report of the Committee on the Cosmos. 65. Report of the Committee on the Galaxy. 66. Report of the Committee on the Solar System. 67. Report of the Committee on the Milky Way. 68. Report of the Committee on the Local Group. 69. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Cluster. 70. Report of the Committee on the Coma Cluster. 71. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Cluster. 72. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 73. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 74. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 75. Report of the Committee on the Local Supercluster. 76. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 77. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 78. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 79. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 80. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 81. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 82. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 83. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 84. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 85. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 86. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 87. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 88. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 89. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 90. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 91. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 92. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 93. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 94. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 95. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 96. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 97. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 98. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 99. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 100. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 101. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 102. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 103. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 104. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 105. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 106. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 107. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 108. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 109. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 110. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 111. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 112. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 113. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 114. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 115. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 116. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 117. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 118. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 119. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 120. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 121. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 122. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 123. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 124. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 125. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 126. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 127. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 128. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 129. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 130. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 131. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 132. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 133. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 134. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 135. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 136. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 137. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 138. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 139. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 140. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 141. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 142. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 143. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 144. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 145. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 146. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 147. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 148. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 149. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 150. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 151. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 152. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 153. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 154. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 155. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 156. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 157. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 158. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 159. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 160. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 161. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 162. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 163. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 164. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 165. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 166. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 167. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 168. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 169. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 170. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 171. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 172. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 173. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 174. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 175. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 176. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 177. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 178. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 179. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 180. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 181. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 182. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 183. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 184. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 185. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 186. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 187. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 188. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 189. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 190. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 191. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 192. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 193. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 194. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 195. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 196. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 197. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 198. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 199. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 200. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 201. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 202. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 203. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 204. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 205. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 206. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 207. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 208. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 209. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 210. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 211. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 212. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 213. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 214. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 215. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 216. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 217. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 218. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 219. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 220. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 221. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 222. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 223. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 224. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 225. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 226. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 227. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 228. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 229. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 230. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 231. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 232. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 233. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 234. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 235. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 236. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 237. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 238. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 239. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 240. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 241. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 242. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 243. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 244. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 245. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 246. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 247. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 248. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 249. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 250. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 251. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 252. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 253. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 254. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 255. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 256. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 257. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 258. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 259. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 260. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 261. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 262. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 263. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 264. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 265. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 266. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 267. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 268. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 269. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 270. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 271. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 272. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 273. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 274. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 275. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 276. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 277. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 278. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 279. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 280. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 281. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 282. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 283. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 284. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 285. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 286. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 287. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 288. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 289. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 290. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 291. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 292. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 293. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 294. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 295. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 296. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 297. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 298. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 299. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 300. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 301. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 302. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 303. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 304. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 305. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 306. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 307. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 308. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 309. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 310. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 311. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 312. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 313. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 314. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 315. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 316. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 317. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 318. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 319. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 320. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 321. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 322. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 323. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 324. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 325. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 326. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 327. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 328. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 329. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 330. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 331. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 332. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 333. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 334. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 335. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 336. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 337. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 338. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 339. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 340. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 341. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 342. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 343. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 344. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 345. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 346. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 347. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 348. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 349. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 350. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 351. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 352. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 353. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 354. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 355. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 356. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 357. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 358. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 359. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 360. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 361. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 362. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 363. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 364. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 365. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 366. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 367. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 368. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 369. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 370. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 371. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 372. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 373. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 374. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 375. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 376. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 377. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 378. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 379. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 380. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 381. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 382. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 383. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 384. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 385. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 386. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 387. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 388. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 389. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 390. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 391. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 392. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 393. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 394. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 395. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 396. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 397. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 398. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 399. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 400. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 401. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 402. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 403. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 404. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 405. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 406. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 407. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 408. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 409. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 410. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 411. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 412. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 413. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 414. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 415. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 416. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 417. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 418. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 419. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 420. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 421. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 422. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 423. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 424. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 425. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 426. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 427. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 428. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 429. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 430. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 431. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 432. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 433. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 434. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 435. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 436. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 437. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 438. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 439. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 440. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 441. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 442. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 443. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 444. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 445. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 446. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 447. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 448. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 449. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 450. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 451. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 452. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 453. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 454. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 455. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 456. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 457. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 458. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 459. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 460. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 461. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 462. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 463. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 464. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 465. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 466. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 467. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 468. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 469. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 470. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 471. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 472. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 473. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 474. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 475. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 476. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 477. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 478. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 479. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 480. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 481. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 482. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 483. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 484. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 485. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 486. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 487. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 488. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 489. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 490. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 491. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 492. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 493. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 494. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 495. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 496. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 497. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 498. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 499. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 500. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 501. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 502. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 503. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 504. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 505. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 506. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 507. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 508. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 509. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 510. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 511. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 512. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 513. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 514. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 515. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 516. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 517. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 518. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 519. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 520. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 521. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 522. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 523. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 524. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 525. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 526. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 527. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 528. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 529. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 530. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 531. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 532. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 533. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 534. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 535. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 536. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 537. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 538. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 539. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 540. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 541. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 542. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 543. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 544. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 545. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 546. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 547. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 548. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 549. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 550. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 551. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 552. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 553. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 554. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 555. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 556. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 557. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 558. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 559. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 560. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 561. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 562. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 563. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 564. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 565. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 566. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 567. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 568. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 569. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 570. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 571. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 572. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 573. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 574. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 575. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 576. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 577. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 578. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 579. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 580. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 581. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 582. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 583. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 584. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 585. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 586. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 587. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 588. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 589. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 590. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 591. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 592. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 593. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 594. Report of the Committee on the Perseus Supercluster. 595. Report of the Committee on the Virgo Supercluster. 596. Report of the Committee on the Coma Supercluster. 5



# NEW LEADER

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

Editor ..... James O'Neal  
Assistant Editor ..... Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit,  
Abraham Cahan, Al-  
bertson Lee, Harry  
W. Laidler, Norman  
Thomas, Joseph E.  
Cohen, Joseph W.  
L. B. H. W. Wm.  
M. Feigenbaum, John  
M. Work, McAllister  
Cohen, Joseph E.  
Shipley, Louis Stan-  
ley, Louis Waldman.



Published Every Saturday by the  
New Leader Publishing Association,  
People's House, 7 East 15th  
Street, New York City.

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

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1931

## The July Picnic

THE annual picnic of the Socialist Party, trade unions, the Workmen's Circle and other sympathetic organizations this year should certainly prove to be a tremendous affair. The date has been set for July 25 and the place at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn. We suggest that all organizations that are interested reserve this date and help to make it a great outpouring of the organized workers.

These picnics in recent years have become more and more an event in cementing fraternal relationships. They bring the workers and their families together by tens of thousands and foster a spirit of solidarity that is so essential in times like these. Anything that fosters morale, that deepens social contacts, and that breaks down a separatist spirit is all to the good and these huge social gatherings contribute to these ends.

This annual picnic is all the more essential this year considering the general distress. Most of us have little to spend and this outing can be enjoyed with little expense to each family. We hope that every organization will exert every effort to make the July picnic the biggest and the most inspiring yet held.

## At Valley Forge

NO one who has studied President Hoover expected anything better of him in his address at Valley Forge. His attempted analogy of his own administration with the freezing soldiers of the revolution was entirely out of place. Whatever may be said of that revolutionary movement and its results one thing is certain; it was a struggle to break with the past, to break the fetters of an old regime and to begin a new one.

Hoover stood in the ruins of an old regime and advised its millions of victims not to disturb it. Hoover's performance was more in accord with the program of the British officers who were enjoying their wine in Philadelphia than with the starving Continentals a few miles outside of the loyalist city. To ally his fat standpoint with the revolutionaries lying in rags at Valley Forge was a performance that only a muckhead would be guilty of.

"The American people are going through another Valley Forge," said President Hoover. They are in suffering but not in support of a program. If their suffering leads to a program that will utterly bury the ideas for which Hoover stands then their black experience in our modern Valley Forge will be worth while.

"Sirens still sing the song of the easy way for the moment of difficulty," said the speaker. It was only yesterday that Hoover with the aid of corporate dollars was singing the song of an easy way to the capitalistic New Jerusalem. He and others sang us into this industrial hell; now he stands above the pit, looks down upon the suffering millions, and warns them not to abandon the views that brought them where they are. If that isn't disservice to the starvelings who lie buried at Valley Forge we do not know what is.

## A Little Napoleon

SOME wise chap once said that the gods themselves contend in vain against stupidity. The gods executed a panic retreat when Matthew Woll spoke early this week on world conditions. For the moment he ignored the Bolshevik spook and turned to the dangerous internationalists, the capitalists and bankers who recently met in the International Chamber of Commerce. Standing on the ramparts the little Napoleon spied the enemy and wheeled his heavy artillery into action.

"The European delegations, almost to a man," said the commander, "came to the United States all prepared for a gigantic effort to pull America down to the European level of living." The enemy fell back in confusion as other shots were fired into the rear guard.

Wherever there isn't an issue we will find Mat

and where there is one he cannot be found with a search warrant. Really, this performance is distressing. Under Matt's high tariff for which he is fighting millions of workers are already reduced to the "European level of living" and they are sinking still lower. Many members of the unions all over the United States have been taking wage cuts under Woll's tariff and many members are today secretly working under the union scale because they cannot help themselves. The fruits of a generation of trade union struggles are being lost and if Woll does not know this he does not know the movement for which he professes to speak.

The New York Times correspondent declares that Woll's statements appear to fit in with the Hoover Administration. They do not correlate with the interests of workingmen and women, millions of whom are thrust into the social pit and whose sufferings are mocked by the drivel of the tariffites.

## Revolutionary Ladies

ONE of the most amusing stories in years comes from Washington. It appears that the Daughters of the American Revolution, ever on the alert against the imps of revolution, discovered a plot within the shadow of the White House. A drugstore proprietor was selling Russian candy to solid American patriots! The ladies called out the poison gas squad and the poor druggist has been the target of patriotic fire.

But the home front had collapsed on another sector and it is rumored that the martial ladies are afflicted with hysteria. Smelling salts are in much demand and even the druggist marketing Bolshevik sweets may have to rush his reserve supply of salts to the stricken ladies.

The second area of treason to the "founding fathers" was found in the War Department itself! That department which is expected to make us safe for oil, steel and investments has been purchasing hundreds of thousands of boxes of safety matches manufactured in Soviet factories. Think of it! All over the nation there are corporals, captains, generals and brigadiers lighting their cigarettes with Bolshevik matches! Was it not an inspiration of God that prompted Hoover at Valley Forge last week to warn us to starve in peace if we are to preserve our "character" in the breadlines?

However much we Socialists may oppose Bolshevism these antics of the aunties reveal how stupid and asinine certain elements of our ruling classes may be. They should carry their point of view to its logical conclusion and oppose the import of goods from China and Turkey on the ground that they carry the germs of ancient ideas not consistent with the ideas of our "fathers" who lived in the days of slavery, the slave trade, smuggling, land stealing and other noble virtues.

We vote the ladies a garland of cabbage leaves and a summer vacation in padded cells till they recover their poise.

## IN A NUTSHELL

"The American people are going through another Valley Forge at this time," said President Hoover. Yes, somebody stole that chicken in the pot and that promised car in the garage has been sold at auction.

Class consciousness is being created not by "agitators" like myself but by the difference between the classes—wealth, superabundance, and extravagance on the one hand; starvation and misery on the other.—Robert Smillie.

"Idealism was forged into the souls of the American people by the fires of the Revolution," said President Hoover. "I deal hokum to the American people," he might have added.

While there is a lower class, I am in it. While there is a criminal element, I am of it. While there is a soul in jail, I am not free.—Eugene V. Debs.

"Never was the lure of the rosy path to every panacea and of easy ways to imagined security more tempting," said President Hoover. Herb was thinking of the "easy way to security" he outlined in the campaign of 1928.

I would rather be a dead dog than an ignorant workman knowing nothing of and doing nothing for his class.—Thomas Cooper, Chartist.

"We are enduring sufferings and we are assailed by temptations," said President Hoover. Who are we?

Hunger is not among the postponable wants, and a day, even a few hours, in such a condition is often the crisis of a life of ruin.—Tom Paine.

"If we weaken, as Washington did not, we shall be writing the introduction to the decline of American character and the fall of American institutions," said President Hoover. Don't weaken, Mr. Jobless, or your character will go astray.

Capitalism has had a long run, and it has been chiefly successful in the manufacture of poverty.—Leo Chiozza Money.

"We must not be misled by the claim that the source of all wisdom is in the government," said President Hoover. We will not, Herb, as long as you are President.

That the conduct of individuals is determined largely by the conditions under which they live is as well established as any axiom of political science.—J. Allen Smith.

"Many have lost the savings of a lifetime, many are unemployed, all know the misgivings of doubt and grave concern for the future," said President Hoover. If he had said in 1928, "You will lose the savings of a lifetime if you vote for me," he would not be so gravely concerned now.

That wind that chilled the city last Sunday is still a mystery as Jimmie Walker made no speech at a communion breakfast that day.

Forget nationality; think only of humanity; princes and kings only have diverse interests; the people of all countries are friends.—Victor Hugo.

## Death-Dance of the Time



1.—Hunger

## The New Leader Mail-Bag

### AN INQUIRY

Editor, The New Leader:  
We are glad to hear of the growth of the Socialist movement and are very tired of being in the backwash, and would like to enquire through your columns if there is not some place where two live wires can make a living and be of some use in the Socialist movement.

We are trained musicians and I am an excellent teacher of piano, vocal, elocution, write plays, drill amateurs and stage the plays. I am especially interested in teaching small children and have a method of teaching them music known as color music. The other partner in the firm is a retired opera singer, and we are both good entertainers, and those who remember me, know I am a good speaker.

If anyone knows of a good location, please write—

Whitehead Coombes,  
652 Western ave., Prescott, Ariz.

### THE TRADE UNIONS

Editor, The New Leader:  
While we may take due pride in the success of our recent May day demonstration, let us not be blind to the fact that the unions of this city, even the most progressive, have completely ignored or at best made lukewarm efforts to co-operate with the Socialist Party. This should prove to the Party that it is high time that we looked into the matter of effective propaganda to the unions, especially among our so-called "Socialist unions." The lack of criticism on our part is interpreted as a tacit approval of the methods which our "Socialist unions" invoke. These unions have already surpassed by far the known reactionary unions, while still maintaining a cloak of respectability by paying lip service to the Socialist Party. There is a decided lack of social vision in our trade union movement. The need of trades unions which have enjoyed reputations of being the most progressive unions in the American labor movement have now disintegrated to the level of Tammany Hall. The orphans of the American labor movement are being "substituted" and this is defended by our "Socialists" in the unions as the only means of effective organization, completely disregarding the fact that such tactics create among the mass of workers. While such methods may bring immediate results, as taking down a few shops here and there, in my opinion the victories obtained by such methods are fast leading the union movement into the pit of destruction. We can truly realize that the workers who have been "induced" to join the union by these means is not an asset to the organization. Furthermore, we cannot keep such members, especially when we bring them in to so matter of fact atmosphere as now exists. There is a complete moral bankruptcy in the leadership and in the mass. Lately, some apathetic and cynical, I believe it is high time that the Socialist Party take definite steps over the heads of the union leadership and bring a view of bringing about a rebirth of idealism in the unions. The party must try to bring about a clean-up and shake the mass out of their apathy, give them new hope and idealism to strive for.

Murray Gross,  
L. I. G. W. U. Local 23, N. Y.  
Sec. Party 1st A. D. Box.

### DECOMORATION DAY

Editor, The New Leader:  
The life-long struggle of true and loyal Socialists in the Class War, stiffens to a great extent, their finer feelings. They find little time, beyond their daily toil and party activities to enjoy the serenity of lesser militancy. They can not even find rest in religious observances, because the churches of all denominations and countries take part with very few exceptions, uphold the very system of society which the former are striving to displace by a more just equitable one.

True there is a great measure of joy and exhilaration in their emancipatory efforts, nevertheless there are periods of despair and disgust when they are compelled to observe stubborn indifference of their own class, which even manifests itself in hero-worship of its oppressors, while millions of unknown soldiers of the working-class drop into their humble graves and oblivion.

Every year, however, on Memorial or Decoration Day, the rules of the earth, even though it be rank hypocrisy, remember and enquire those who have given up their lives, to make the world safe for their oppressors, and place some token of appreciation upon the mounds that cover the remains of their duped and blinded victims. Of course, all this is done to keep alive the traditions of the ages, to perpetuate the things that are "dead" to the masterclass, but also "dead" in another sense to the stupendous, stupid armies of the working-class.

Now then, more than twenty years ago the Socialists of New Jersey seized the opportunity of presenting the ethical message of Socialism by gathering and speaking on that day at the graves of departed comrades, as they were sure of audiences who watched the ceremony with no little curiosity, surprise and interest. It further served to engender a feeling of respect and gratitude in the families of the deceased for things socialist.

Hoping that this hint is sufficient and will find an echo in party circles, we have taken up more of the limited space of the New Leader.

Fred Kraft,  
Ridgewood, N. Y.

### RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:  
Comrade Lawrence Rogin, like quite a number of our Socialists, seems to run away with himself while discussing Russia and the "five-year plan."

"It is," he says, "an attempt to speed-up the economic development of the U. S. S. R. by an almost superhuman effort in order to give the inhabitants the unquestioned benefit of an industrialized society within as short a time as possible." If this is the type of "planned economy," which Socialists are to point to with pride and a quickening of the pulse-beat, then we ought, to pinch ourselves—and wake up!

No citizen of Russia, who understands what is going on within her boundaries, will dare say that the reason the "five-year plan" was put in force is that the Bolsheviks want to "give the inhabitants the unquestioned benefits of an industrialized society." If he did, he would have to add an infinite reason for the existence of the dismise to the failure of food among the people. The "five-year plan" is nothing more than a political maneuver for the purpose of blinding the masses to the failure of previous policy like the N. E. P. and also as a weapon for the creation of a ruthless, violent world-revolution. I am not opposing the world-revolution that will overthrow capitalism and bring about a Socialist state, but I am opposed to have it at the cost of a generation of mankind. Cries of dumping may seem ill-founded, but if one would read between the lines of Livinoff's speech at Geneva, you would realize what the "five-year plan" means to Bolshevism.

The "five-year plan's" success or failure may not be the ultimate test of "planned economy," but it, without a doubt, is a test of "Socialism" of Russia's dictators. First of all, those who are ready to squeeze the life-blood of a nation for their own ends, are not Socialists, they are Fascists! Secondly, "planned economy" is not Socialism, and is not by any means the step to Socialism!

The failure of the "five-year plan" has now even been hinted at by the "great god" Walter Duranly, who is better known in Moscow's journalistic circles as "Stalin's Foreign Secretary." The "Pravda" has recently admitted as much. The cause of this, as might have been suspected, is the greater strength of the Bolshevik bureaucracy over Socialist idealism in the misnamed Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (not excluding Georgia).

Harry Lopatin,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### THANKS COMRADES

Editor, The New Leader:  
May I ask your indulgence to express through the columns of The New Leader, to the comrades and friends who sent me their messages of

# A Spy's Confession

By Laurence Todd

AS though to mock the fervent tributes to military heroes that had been pronounced in every considerable cemetery in the nation on Memorial Day, Major Herbert O. Yardley chose June 1 to release to the press his book, "America's Black Chamber"—the story of his alleged services to the United States as chief of a secret bureau for decoding stolen messages between other countries, during and for more than ten years after the World War. Liberals and radicals who were victims of the war hysteria, and who were howled down when they urged that the Allies be called upon to plainly declare their war aims, are today reading the disclosures in this volume with less surprise than are the war-shouters. They will probably dismiss as malice the story of the story of an Allied plot to kill President Wilson during the peace conference, but they will recognize many other incidents as justifying their war-time belief that "facts" were being manufactured to suit each of the combatant powers.

Of course the War Department refuses to sponsor Yardley, now that he has talked. He is today a reserve officer. Until his book appeared, his reputation in army circles was high. Undersecretary of State Castle says he "cannot believe" that Yardley's allegations are true, though he has been in the State Department since 1919. Yardley says his bureau was not abolished until Stimson replaced Kellogg as Secretary of State in

## Double-Dealing, Theft and Intrigue as Mere Incidents of War

1929. Further, Yardley asserts that Hughes won his great "diplomatic triumph" at the naval reduction conference in Washington in 1921-22 because he was enabled, every morning, to read the decoded secret dispatches sent to each of the foreign delegations by their respective governments the previous night.

His story of the secret message suggesting that President Wilson be poisoned, or given influenza germs in ice, which upset Yardley at the time of the Versailles peace parley, illustrates the "danger to world peace which is inherent in reliance upon message-stealing, spying and intrigue, in relations between peoples. That message could have been sent by a provocative agent for the sole purpose of destroying good relations between the American government and some one or more European governments. It might have mentioned some prominent radical as an agent for the proposed crime. Possibilities of mischief and corruption, when once a government goes into the eavesdropping and letter-stealing game, are endless. Yet every war gives new license to the spying corps.

If, on the other hand, we are to believe that the murder of Wilson was seriously considered by an

Allied government leader—was suggested to the head of another government, then there is disclosed a new phase of the "idealism" behind the masks of those who wrote the infamous treaty at Versailles. Here was the brutal realism of the "practical" war-makers. Jean Jaures, French Socialist leader, was assassinated as soon as the Paris government realized that his anti-war eloquence could not be frowed down. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by a reactionary German mob which had shouted in vain for German imperial conquests. After all, life had become cheap, in post-war Europe.

But the chances are that no genuine suggestion that Wilson be killed was ever made; a bogus message is the more likely explanation. Washington had had strange experiences with war-scare of every sort, from a German-directed uprising of Negro domestics to a Bolshevik revolt in American factories. Mitchell Palmer had an army of spies, when he was Attorney General, and when one morning a corpse—evidently procured from an anatomical laboratory—was found blown to pieces near his doorstep, nobody was surprised that the pockets of the suit on the corpse were found stuffed with revolutionary leaflets. But there was no blood.

Yardley has annoyed Hughes and many other officials by his revelations. They will offer denials. But he has proved that war and capitalist diplomacy give lessons to gangland.

# THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

## VIII.—Some Recent History

By James O'Neal

(Editor's Note: This is the eighth installment of a revised booklet, "The Next Emancipation," by James O'Neal. It has been published to sell at cost, 10 cents postpaid, by The Negro Labor News Service, P. O. Box 66, College Station, New York City, or 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.)

IN Birmingham, Ala., on October 26, 1921, President Harding delivered an address on the race question. He said that "this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference." Thus spoke the representative of the Republican party sixty years after its first triumph. This party has been gradually casting aside its Negro traditions to obtain a standing in the Southern States. Over the prostrate body of the Negro the Republican party hopes to obtain Republican Senators and Congressmen in the Southern States. The flow of Northern capital into the Southern States is binding the North and the South into a common solidarity.

The "Manufacturers' Record" of Baltimore, in March 1922, gave some figures of capitalist development in the South. The value of taxable property has increased, from 1910 to 1920, from over \$13,000,000,000 to more than \$29,000,000,000 a gain of 122.9 per cent. The South then had about 23 per cent of the manufacturing establishments of the country, with a capital of nearly \$7,000,000,000, and employing 2,000,000 people.

The capital invested in Southern factories was nearly three times the sum invested in manufacturing in the whole country in 1880, and lacking only three per cent of the sum invested in the North in 1900. The capital invested in all the cotton factories in the South was four times that invested in all the cotton mills of the country since 1880. The South was also consuming 59 per cent of its

cotton in its own mills. It was also producing 57 per cent of the oil of the United States.

### The Masters Join Hands

The old agricultural South is becoming an image of the factory North. The same financial interests that have large holdings in New England cotton mills also have investments in Southern cotton mills. With the rise of a factory and manufacturing system in the South the capitalists of that section are also demanding tariff duties. The South for generations has been wedded to "free trade."

As the Southern masters invest their money in industry and share profits with Northern capitalists the capitalists of both sections reach a better understanding. They are also coming to contract a political alliance through the Republican party by a common agreement to exclude the Negro from elections.

The Democrats have a "lily white" party in the South and the Republicans want a "lily white" party in the South. Early in 1921 Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, appointed a committee to consider the best means of establishing the party in the South. In the state campaign in Virginia in 1921 the Republicans agreed to make the party a "white man's party" in that state. It was a bargain struck with the Democratic party to keep the Negro out of elections. This was reported to be satisfactory to the Republican national leaders at Washington.

A dispatch to the New York "Evening Post" from Richmond said that in exchange for the loss of the Negroes, "the Republicans in Virginia have gained the support of many men of influence and wealth." Among these are railroad presidents, bankers, capitalists and business men. The political agreement follows the common interests which Northern and Southern capitalists have in Southern industries, banks and railroads. The agreement frees the

ruling class of Virginia from dependence upon one political machine.

The call of Southern capitalism across the old sectional chasm is heard by its Republican ally. The Republican party is responding to the cry. The last pretense of difference between both old political parties in national politics is being wiped out. Capitalism is national, not sectional. The capitalist parties are becoming national in scope. Both parties are agreed on "white supremacy," the supremacy of capitalism in excluding the Negro from the suffrage in the South.

The Negro Republican leaders who have led the masses of Negro workers to their betrayal are themselves being kicked in the face for their treachery. The class interests of Northern and Southern capital are healing the old sores of the ruling classes and bringing about unity between the two. Facing the Negro worker are two parties of the capitalist class.

Quoting the language of President Harding, we may say that it is not a question of "recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between the two parties. There is no difference. They are as alike as two peas. They are the political enemies of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers. They are the parties of railroad bankers, magnates, capitalists and labor skingners in general. As the capitalists of the two sections are uniting, so the workers of both colors should unite in their own interests. Unite in the labor unions and in the Socialist party.

In the North the Negro workers have a vote. In the South they have a vote in theory, but not in fact. While they have a vote in the North they should use it in the interest of white and Negro workers. The white workers must be educated to cast their votes also in the interest of white and Negro workers.

(To be continued)

# Socialism and Class Struggle

(The following quotations are taken from Wilhelm Liebknecht's "No Compromise, No Political Trading," written in 1899. It was born of a period of controversy in the German Social Democracy and the pamphlet was translated into many of the modern languages. Liebknecht was one of the founders of the German Socialist movement.)

PITY for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not Socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism. The communism of early times, as it was before the existence of private property, and as it has at all times and among all peoples been the elusive dreams of some enthusiasts, is not Socialism. The forcible

equalization advocated by the followers of Babeuf, the so-called equalitarians, is not Socialism.

In all these appearances there is lacking the real foundation of capitalist society with its class antagonisms. Modern Socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. Without these it could not be. Socialism and ethics are two separate things. This fact must be kept in mind.

Whoever conceives of Socialism in the sense of a sentimental philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalist society, is not a Socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which modern Socialism is unthinkable. . . . Whoever has come to a full consciousness of the nature of capitalist society and the foundation of modern Socialism, knows also that the basis of the class struggle may be anything else, but it is not Socialism.

This foundation of the class struggle, which Marx—and this is his immortal service—has given to the modern labor movement, is the main point of attack in the battle which bourgeois political economy is waging with Socialism. The political economists deny the class struggle and would make the class struggle only a part

of the bourgeois party movement, and the Social Democracy only a division of the bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois political economy and politics direct all their exertions against the class character of the modern labor movement. If it is possible to create a breach in this bulwark, in this citadel of the Social Democracy, then the Social Democracy is conquered, and the proletariat thrown back under the domination of capitalist society.

However small such a breach may be in the beginning, the enemy has the power to widen it and the certainty of final victory. And the enemy is most dangerous when he comes as a friend to the fortress, when he slinks in under the cover of friendship, and is recognized as a friend and comrade. The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-Socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—him, and him alone have we to fear.

The tramp in the complement of the millionaire.—Henry George.