

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

A Cruel and Crazy Capitalist System—Stabilizing the World's Currency—We Cannot Save Society With Money Panaceas—The Nonsensical Swope Plan Considered



NORMAN THOMAS

HOWARD COFFIN'S resolution favorably recommended to the American Legion for a peace-time dictatorship to deal with unrest and depression means anything, it means a definite beginning of American Fascism with the American Legion as the black-shirt militia kept in line by a judicious mixture of beer and bonus.

It is significant that the resolution was introduced on the very day that the newspaper head-lines announced "Stock Goes Up 1 to 14 Points as Wages Go Down." It is this outrageous system which the Legion is asked to buttress.

WAGE CUTS AND THE WAY OUT

NO single thing could better illustrate the fundamental unsoundness of a cruel and crazy capitalist system than the fact that the big trusts headed by the steel companies have joined the procession of those who would restore prosperity by cutting wages. Our only hope of real prosperity is increased spending power in the hands of the masses. This necessarily involves maintaining and increasing wages and otherwise equalizing the distribution of the national income. Wage cuts are a step in exactly the wrong direction.

Nevertheless we must face facts. In a time of prolonged depression there is a limit to what you can do by mere negatives. Hoover, for political reasons, is against wage cuts. The labor unions for practical economic reasons are rightly against wage cuts. But, alas, labor is not well enough organized to make its opposition as effective as it ought to be, and as for Hoover, he had no constructive plan to offer.

In a time like this when prices are falling and the purchasing power of a dollar is increasing; in a time, that is, of deflation, sooner or later wages are going to be forced down in order to reduce costs of production. The capitalist system, left to its own devices, knows no other way out of the hole which it has dug. The situation is made worse for the United States by the fact that Great Britain has at least temporarily, gone off the gold standard and resorted to what is a partial policy of inflation. This will probably raise prices in England in terms of pounds but it will reduce English costs in terms of dollars and so help her export trade in its rivalry with American trade.

What ought to have been done long ago was to set up a positive policy. The government should have done its best to prevent or check the chaotic epidemic of falling prices. At least three steps should have been taken: (1) A five billion dollar loan to be repaid out of income and inheritance taxes should have been issued to finance immense public works and relieve the unemployed; (2) The Federal Reserve Bank should have used its power to check or prevent deflation by its open market purchases; (3) Our government should have cooperated with other governments on a world wide fiscal policy adapted to this calamity.

Of course, these are only immediate measures. Along with them should have gone steady progress in basic socialization. The point I am now trying to make, however, is that the way to prevent wage cuts is to have a positive policy, first of effective organization of labor industrially and politically and, second, of such financial measures and such forms of unemployment relief as will tend to check deflation. The New Republic is right. At present we must choose between further deflation or conscious and modest inflation. It is the latter that should be tried. But the fact that we have to make a choice proves how crazy is our whole fiscal and industrial system.

THE GOLD STANDARD AND FINANCIAL CHAOS

THE world has learned how to use money to facilitate trade instead of barter, but it has not learned how to manage money. Money is a fetish and the manipulation of it partakes of magic. Something like three-quarters of the gold supply of the world is in the United States. On the old fashioned theory that ought to make for easy money. Instead it lies in vaults. We have deflation and farmers and other folks have to pay back loans in dollars worth 20% or more than when they made them. Meanwhile other nations cry out that their systems are bankrupt for lack of gold.

The other nation with abundant gold is France. And France temporarily is using its gold more effectively than Napoleon used his army to conquer Europe. By the loans of gold it has tied its allies more closely to it. By the terms it has laid down for loans it has reduced Austria, Hungary, Germany, and even Great Britain to submission to its foreign policy, and that is not a foreign policy of peace and cooperation. Neither is it a foreign policy that makes for prosperity. Mankind is literally enchained by gold.

If we were sensible human beings we should doubtless have a world wide fiscal policy and currency. It would be a stable currency where a dollar was always worth a dollar. It would be a managed currency not dependent upon fluctuating amounts of gold and silver. As it is we blunder on. Great Britain probably should never have gone on the gold standard when she did and may be well off it, but the confusion of the world is not lessened. There is much to be said for a world conference not only on silver but on gold and silver and money generally.

MONEY REFORMS

NOW for a word of warning. Money, banking and credit are tremendously important. It was one of the many weaknesses of Mr. Gerard Swope's plan for saving American industry on the basis of forming capitalist syndicates or trade associations, regulated by the government, that he nowhere took into account money, banking and credit. He left that out along with questions of land taxation and the ultimate question of ownership of natural resources and basic utilities.

Nevertheless it is ridiculous to suppose that you can save society by fooling with money. I have had dozens of letters based on that theory. Most of the schemes proposed are fantastic and would not work. But even schemes in themselves good can't save society simply by changing the money system. If land, coal, oil, and the stocks of great corporations are to be privately owned and managed for profit we shall have the exploitation of the workers and wild chaotic and planless waste, no matter what kind of money system we have. Russia did not get very far by inflating its currency until its money was worthless. It began to get somewhere when it had planned production and distribution with control of banking and currency as part, but only as part, of the picture. Whatever socialists and radical workers may believe about money, they play directly into the hands of the enemy when they forget our basic socialist demands in favor of some scheme about money, whether that scheme is good, bad, or indifferent. The class struggle will not be successfully ended in the cooperative commonwealth under any form of currency reform. But to establish the cooperative commonwealth we must socialize banking and learn to manage money intelligently as one of many things.

GERARD SWOPE'S PLAN

MR. SWOPE'S plan for American industry, to which I have already referred, is an amazing evidence of the complete breakdown of the old capitalism. His regulated trade associations throw overboard openly all the old economic nonsense about the virtues of competition and the ability of automatic laws of marketing to save us, and the supreme virtue of individual initiative. Nevertheless his plan is by no means a sound approach to socialism. Mr. Swope does not even provide adequate unemployment insurance. He still hopes to keep private profit and he wants to harness the power of the state to the service of his capitalist syndicates. It is no plan for any genuine progressive—let alone a socialist—to play with.

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Capitalism Strangling Itself

Anarchistic System of Producing Nation's Goods For Private Profit Plunges Producers in Factory and Field Into Acute Misery

IS AMERICAN capitalism being strangled by a cord of its own weaving? Has it entered the shadows from which it cannot emerge?

No one can give a final answer to these questions, but the sinking of the system is obvious. The capitalist nations weltered in four years of a bloody debacle, one group trying to destroy the other. Now they are all sinking.

But let us return to our own. From week to week we have presented various aspects of our sick capitalism, the hopeless wheat and corn growers, the plight of the southern fruit growers, and the wretched millions of unemployed wage workers.

Perhaps no other industry has been accompanied with so much human misery as cotton growing and cotton manufacture. It was one of the leading causes of the Civil War. It produced the measureless misery of New England textile capitalism. It consigned a few millions of poor whites in the old slave South to abysmal illiteracy, reeking poverty, and degraded superstition.

Today there are several million cotton growers in fourteen southern states who are facing starvation. Add them to the others mentioned above and we have a grim picture. Here in less than 3 per cent of the world's land area 60 per cent of the world's cotton is grown.

A Form of Peonage

The great majority are tenants. Even in periods of "prosperity" they are generally in debt. The cotton grower may work twenty years, raise a family, then die and his children will inherit his debts. It is a mild form of peonage.

Negro and white live on a basic diet of salt fat pork, corn bread, and molasses. These items, by the way, were the rations of the former Negro bondmen.

Frightfully low as this standard of living is, these masses are thrust lower and must be fed by Hoover "doles" if they are to live. Three weeks ago cotton dropped as low as 6 cents; and the cost of raising it is 8 cents. The current world consumption of cotton is 12,000,000 bales while the total supply of American cotton is now 24,000,000 bales! Two world crops and only one wanted!

Abundance has produced a calamity. The U. S. Farm Board, in an early attempt to stabilize the price, purchased 1,300,000 bales of cotton at 16 cents a pound and it has now lost about \$50 on each bale, or about \$70,000,000, including storage charges, because of the drop in price.

The value of the 1,300,000 bales has declined from \$70,000,000 to about \$39,000,000 and a bumper crop is on hand. What's to be done? The Farm Board urged cotton growers to plough one-third of their standing cotton under. The growers replied that the government should destroy its 1,300,000 bales!

Hooverism on the Rocks

It's a lunatic world. Produce useful things and then destroy them. What's the answer? The Farm Board gives it by announcing that it will purchase no more cotton in an attempt to

stabilize the price. It cannot sell what it has.

But what of the millions of cotton growers? If they sell at the current price they will receive a piece of paper indicating how deeper they are in debt. With the slump in the price the cotton merchants will be unable to extend credits to the growers. The growers will have to tighten their belts and hope that Hoover will provide "doles" for them and their families.

It appears that Hoover's "rugged individualism" is going on the rocks in cotton culture as it has in other industries.

Senator Smith of South Carolina has a plan. He would have the Farm Board purchase 8,000,000 bales of the current crop at the market price, providing that each grower cuts his planting by as much as he sold the government. By taking these 8,000,000 bales from the market and also reducing the next planting it is figured that the price will rise. Next year the government would resell the cotton to each grower at the price paid for it, plus shipping charges, and the farmer would sell it at the expected higher price.

But this is a gamble. At about 6 cents a pound for 8,000,000 bales the total cost to the government including carrying charges, would be about \$250,000,000. Production in other parts of the world cannot be anticipated. Therefore, suppose the price does not go up next year. What will happen? The government will have increased its surplus stock of cotton by 8,000,000 bales, the cotton growers would not repurchase the government cotton, and one absurdity would be piled on another!

The Insanity of the System

A modification of this plan is offered. Instead of the government buying 8,000,000 bales it is suggested that it use its own stock of 1,300,000 bales to contract with each grower to cut his planting. For example, a grower who raises 50 bales will raise none, but the contract will give him the right to purchase 50 bales from the government stock at the current price and resell it for something more.

But that "something more" is also a gamble. Suppose the market price next year isn't "something more"? What then?

Edwin G. Seibels, who offers this plan, admits it is a gamble when he says: "The growers will not take this cotton, of course, if the price should fall despite the curtailment; but in that event the government would be no worse off than it is now in holding the cotton, and the cotton growers who suspended production would also have suspended their losses."

In other words, a deadlock would be carried into the next year.

Capitalism is producing such damnable absurdities that even a child can understand them. No other social system in all the history of the race has produced such insanity.

The reader will note throughout every phase of these absurdities there is one word that always enters into the discussion. That word is "price." It is this word and what it stands for that bedevils the whole situation. The cotton growers produce in expectation of a price that will pay them for their labor. They cannot help themselves. Producing for a price means pro-

ducing for sale, and production is a gamble with the growers the only certain losers.

Producing for Profit

It was only some decades ago when many thousands of families did not produce for sale. They cured their own meats in the home. They made their own starch and yeast and soap. They baked their own bread and made their own clothing. They preserved their own fruits and produced many other things, not for a price and not for sale, but for their own use and enjoyment.

Each member of the family lived in frugal comfort. They knew how much starch, and soap, and yeast, and bread and clothing the family required and they produced a small surplus to insure that they would have plenty. They did not think of selling to each other and they did not think in terms of price. They were producing for their own use and enjoyment.

Within the family they consciously planned and produced for their needs. Never in all their lives did they experience the disaster of being overwhelmed with bread, starch, clothing and preserves and starve in the midst of the abundance which their labor produced. Such a situation would be absolutely incomprehensible in this old form of family production for use and enjoyment.

Now this family has enlarged to include the nation with its more than a hundred million human beings. What a contrast! We are flooded with wheat, and corn, and cotton, and clothing, and other goods. Instead of enjoying abundance, millions suffer because they have no access to it. Why?

We are producing for a price, producing to sell things. A small part of the family owns the machines, raw materials, plants, railroads, banks and other things with which we produce and distribute. The rest of the family is disinherited. The whole system now is one of production for sale, that is, a gamble. There is no intelligence, no order, no conscious direction of our powers and resources for human ends.

Socialism the Way Out

Because we are anarchy producing blindly for sale we finally pull the system down on our heads. Then we pay a terrible price for our folly.

Cotton, wheat, corn, clothing, bread and other essentials of life should be produced to use, not to serve as stakes in a blind gamble that produces chaos and suffering. A Socialist society of cooperative production, intelligent direction and social control, would banish the absurdities of capitalism and wipe out its shocking cruelties.

Socialism would in a way be the old family production for use enlarged to include the whole population. The only ones missing from this enlarged family would be the great capitalist and financial magnates who would no longer be our masters. They would also find useful occupations.

Socialism is the hope of the toilers of the world and capitalism is their enemy.

It is yours to choose. What is your answer?

3,000 Strike At Pay Cut in Hosiery Mills

Union Signs Agreement
Taking Big Reduction
—Walkout in N. J.

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—While the exact form of the new agreement between the hosiery workers' union and the union manufacturers has not been announced because the attorneys are still working on it, the two groups have agreed on the major points and have signed a binder to sign the agreement when it is in final form, it is announced officially.

The agreement calls for wage cuts of from 30 to 45 per cent for the workers and no profits for the bosses during the year. The books are to be open to union accountants to verify that. It is looked on as a desperation agreement, agreed to by the union as a means of meeting a situation which threatened the existence of the organization.

Many thousands of members of the union opposed the agreement although it was passed by a referendum. It is reported that from 3,000 to 4,000 walked out in Dover, Boonton, and Paterson, N. J., and in New York when the bosses posted notices that wages the week of Sept. 21 would be based on the new scale. Officials are attempting to persuade the membership to stand by the agreement as a unit, pointing out that already there are signs of the scab shops weakening under the threat of a price war based on the new wage scale. The secessionists urge that the union ought to go down with flying colors.

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STOCKS RISE 1 TO 14 POINTS AS WAGE CUTS CONTINUE; LONDON MARKET IS STRONG

THE above two-column caption to a story in The New York Times on Thursday is a blow in the face for millions of workingmen and women throughout the United States. Scarcely had the steel masters announced wage cuts for several hundred thousand workers when masters of other industries also announced wage reductions.

As though to add insult to injury stocks began to rise as wages began to fall! "Activity in the Market is Attributed Partly to Pay Revisions." So reads the same story.

Nothing more vivid has happened, nothing more significant for the workers, in post-war history. Like a brilliant flash of lightning out of a dark sky this news illuminates the barbarism of the "new" American capitalism.

From other centers of misery throughout the nation similar tragic news comes of the slashing of wages and all indications are that this will continue for weeks to come. The workers have their backs to the wall; the class antagonism is made vivid by this news.

Workers must fight this descent to degradation, Socialists must give aid in the struggle, and carry the message of labor solidarity into every dark region menaced by the raids of our exploiting vandals.

Socialists of Phila. Open Local Fight

Workers Crowd Hall to
Hear Thomas Outline
Campaign Issues

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Philadelphia Campaign was officially opened September 21st by a great demonstration which taxed the capacity of Knitters' Hall to the utmost. Active Party workers in both the Socialist and Independent Labor Parties greeted Norman Thomas with a mighty shout as he sounded the keynote of his campaign, "Workers of the World, unite!"

In a masterful address of more than an hour Thomas held his audience spellbound as he described the collapse and failure of Capitalism with its tragic consequences for workers. He emphasized again and again that any Labor party worthy of the name must adopt a straight-forward policy of Socialism. "The time is past," he said, "for petty reforms here and there. We are in the midst of a period of great social change with the tempo ever increasing. There is only one answer to the present ills of the world, and that is Socialism. Workers, and Socialists alone, can build a socialist world. Organization on the economic front must be strengthened by political organization. Strikes must be backed by votes, and votes by strikes. By courageous hard fighting on both fronts we can win the world of plenty and abundance we all so ardently desire."

The campaign is being carried into every working class section of

(Continued on Page Two)

Non-Partisan Committee Is Urged by Socialists to End Conflict in A. C. W.

Warning to Washington
And Idaho Socialists

Two or three individuals pretending to be party organizers are at large in Washington and Idaho, taking in members, collecting dues and contributions for the Socialist Party. Members and sympathizers are warned that no person has a right to represent the Socialist Party unless he has credentials from National Headquarters, or from the state organization in those state which have organizations.

Neither Max M. Elson nor P. Green are authorized to act in any capacity for the party.

Party members or local organizations find these men working in their territory are urged to deal with them properly. They are obtaining money under false pretenses.

Brady, Labor Banker, Dies in Air Crash

Peter J. Brady, head of the biggest labor bank in America, was killed in an airplane crash Sept. 21 as he was flying to speak to the American Legion convention in Detroit. Brady's plane smashed into a house and killed a woman, but his pilot, James G. Hall, escaped alive and practically unharmed.

Party and "Forward"
Suggest Special Committee—Hillman Ready
to Submit His Side

STEPS proposed by the Socialist party and the Socialist press to end the dispute between the general office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Local 4, the cutters local in New York City, appeared this week-end to have good possibilities of success. Local 4 was suspended and "reorganized" by the general office of the A. C. W. some weeks ago when the officials of the local refused to appear before the general executive board and make answer to charges leveled against them.

The Socialist party and the Jewish Daily Forward, organ of the party which has a large circulation among needle trades unionists, this week proposed the setting up of a committee of the labor movement to hear both sides in the dispute. President Sidney Hillman of the general organization on Friday announced that he welcomed the suggestion as contained in a Forward editorial and would gladly submit the facts in his possession. Leaders of the Local 4 group delayed their comment until they had an opportunity to read Mr. Hillman's letter.

The Party's Statement
The statement issued by the Socialist party, as authorized by the city executive committee, follows:

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You cannot vote unless you register! Registration week begins on Monday, October 5. Polls are open every day from 5:00 p. m. to 7:30 p. m., except on Saturday, when they are open from 7:00 a. m. to 10:30 p. m. Every Socialist and sympathizer must register. Do not wait until the end of the week—register early! Information can be obtained at 7 E. 15th Street, Socialist Party, City Office. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-4620.

Town Hall Rally Oct. 11 Presses Fight

Carrington Accepts Thomas Proposal to Debate Broun Dinner Sunday

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for president of the Borough of Manhattan, yesterday had written Borough President Samuel Levy and Col. Carrington, Democratic and Republican candidates respectively, asking them to join him in a series of campaign discussions in which "parties, principles and issues" involved in the campaign would be discussed. "The usual Tammany parades and big noise educate nobody," Mr. Thomas said in his letter to Mr. Levy, urging acceptance of his proposal. Col. Carrington has agreed to debate, with Levy unheeded from.

Mr. Thomas' letter was the forerunner of a vigorous campaign. Running coincidentally with the open hearings of the Seabury investigating committee, the Socialist campaign will stress unemployment and what the Socialists charge has been the Walker administration's failure to meet the relief needs. Other issues stressed by the Socialists, Mr. Thomas' letter said, would be "a safe and cheap milk supply, municipal housing, honest and efficient administration," redemption of the courts of justice, and the ending of gangsterism "made possible by underground political alliances." Behind all these issues, said the Socialist candidate, "stands the great issue of the fitness of Tammany to administer the city's affairs," and the nature of the ideals of the political and economic organization to which we must turn in these days of the collapse of the old profit-seeking order."

Socialist headquarters announce that a large central rally in support of the Thomas candidacy will be held Sunday afternoon, Oct. 11, at Town Hall, Thomas, Heywood Broun and Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, will be among the speakers.

Broun's Dinner Sunday

Broun's campaign for alderman or the Socialist ticket from the 9th, Manhattan district, will get under way with a dinner this Sunday night, September 27th, at the Level Club, 253 West 73rd street. Prominent Socialists and non-members of the party have joined in sponsoring the Broun dinner. These include: Harry Elmer Barnes, Paul Blanshard, Irving Berlin, Harriet Stanton Blitch, Bruce Bliven, Abraham Cahane, Edward F. Cassidy, Pliny F. Chalkin, McAllister Coleman, Morris L. Ernst, Gilbert Gabriel, Meyer Gillis, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, Ruth Hale, Morris Hillquit, John Haynes Holmes, Harry W. Laidler, Algonquin Lee, Edward J. McNamara, Reinhold Niebuhr, James Oneal, Jacob Panken, Brock Pemberton, M. Lincoln Schuster, Benjamin Schlesinger, Charles Solomon, Marion Severn, Norman Thomas, B. C. Vladeck, Oswald Garrison Villard, Louis Waldman, Alexander Woolcott.

The speakers at the Broun dinner are to be Heywood Broun, Norman Thomas, McAllister Coleman, B. C. Vladeck, Morris Hillquit, and Morris L. Ernst, who is the chairman of the Broun, non-Partisan Committee. Mr. Woolcott will preside.

Socialists in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn get their campaign under way Tuesday night with a mass meeting at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The candidates there are Jack Altman for member of assembly, and Samuel H. Friedman for alderman.

Collegiate Group Is Formed to Assist in N. Y. Socialist Fight

Organization of the Intercollegiate Campaign Committee for Norman Thomas, composed of young men and women who will campaign actively this Fall for Thomas as Socialist candidate for Borough President of Manhattan and for other city Socialist candidates, is announced. The committee already has more than fifty members and it is planned to increase its size. Its co-chairmen are Miss Mary Hillier, former trade union organizer and now an organizer for the League for Industrial Democracy, and Will Maslow, attorney and former newspaperman.

Progress in the Greek Labor Movement

On July 19, 20, a Congress of the Greek Socialist Party took place at Salonica. In 1928 an attempt was made to form a Socialist Party from the non-Communist remnants of the old movement, but this had no lasting success. The Party finally split into groups again. Thus the chief task of the Congress at Salonica was to unite these scattered forces again.

The groups in Salonica, Athens, Larissa, Drama, Cavalla, Serres, Verria, Caterini and Kilkis were represented, as was the women's organization. Yamoyanni presented the report which was unanimously adopted. The "Socialist Banner," published in Salonica, was made the official organ of the Party. Salonica was also chosen as the seat of the Party Executive.

The following resolution was carried:—"The Congress of the Socialist Party affirms that the political situation of the country, the severe economic crisis and the sufferings of the laboring classes, the dangers to democracy which the dictatorial and Fascist efforts of capital and the reactionary parties create, make it a duty to intensify and extend the fight for the masses of the people in order to ward off the danger which threatens their fundamental and vital rights. In agreement with the suggestion of the Agrarian Party, the Congress also affirms the necessity of transforming the bloc of democratic left-parties to an anti-capitalist bloc, and instructs the Central Committee of the Party to take the necessary steps for the formation of this bloc. The organization and theoretical independence of the Party, and its programme of immediate demands in the political, social and economic sphere shall, however, be guaranteed."

After the Congress the Party Executive met for the first time and elected D. Yamoyanni as Secretary. It was further resolved to maintain the closest contact with the Labor and Socialist International. The address of the Secretariat is: D. Yamoyanni, 58, Rue Egnatia, Salonica.

National Conference of British Labor Women

The National Conference of the British Labor Women met in Blackpool under the Chairmanship of Dorothy Elliott when the Trade Union Congress met and opened with a mass meeting under the chairmanship of Jennie L. Adamson, at which MacDonald made a speech to over 5,000 people.

The desire for knowledge, like the thirst for riches, increases with the acquisition of it.—Sterne.

Wis. Socialists Fighting for Congress Seat

Bouma Making Strong Fight for Place Formerly Held by Cooper

RACINE, Wis.—The race of O. J. Bouma, Socialist, for Congress in the special election to be held Oct. 13 is rapidly gaining in interest to all Socialists. The prospects that the vacancy caused by the death of Congressman Cooper will be filled by a Socialist has caused a burst of enthusiasm within the rapidly growing ranks of the party organization in this city. Bouma was formerly editor of the Manitowish Times and has been party organizer in Racine since the last election, which resulted in the party capturing the office of Mayor. What appeared to be a deliberate attempt to keep Bouma from running heightened the desire of the whole Wisconsin state organization to put their candidate across. The secretary of state issued the official list of candidates without the name of the Socialist, and insisted that the nominating papers were never received until the registered acknowledgment of them was produced.

Funds Are Needed
The state committee of the party has decided to appeal for dollar contributions from all over the state and elsewhere in order to make possible a mailing to all the voters in the five counties that comprise the district.

A special edition of the Milwaukee Leader will be issued, as well as several editions of the Racine Labor Appeal. Oneal's leaflet on the farming situation will be sent to all of the farmers in the rural districts of the five counties and appeals have been sent out to all possible speakers to come to help in the campaign.

Funds or other offers of help should be sent to Jerome Bergeron, 1232 Isabella avenue, Racine, secretary of the campaign committee.

Socialists Wage Good Fight in 18th A. D. Kings

THE Socialist campaign in the 18th A. D., branches 1 and 2, Brooklyn, is now under way with the selection of Sadie Rivkin as manager and the opening of campaign headquarters at 303 Albany avenue, near Lincoln place. Plans have been completed for a big ratification meeting in P. S. 167 at Eastern parkway and Schenectady avenue on Tuesday night, Sept. 29, at which a large gathering is expected. The speakers will be Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Alderman; Joseph Viola, for the Assembly; Norman Thomas and Charles Solomon. Samuel Rothenberg will preside.

Some fourteen or more school meetings are being planned for the campaign. In the case of each school meeting it is planned to hold street meetings for a week to advertise each school demonstration, the climax of each week's work. House meetings are also to be held.

Another big affair is a dinner on October 19 in Field's Mansion, 1439 St. John's place, near Utica avenue. The speakers will be Harry W. Laidler, Joseph Viola, Louis Waldman, B. Charney Vladeck, Charles Solomon and Norman Thomas.

On Monday evening, Sept. 28, Louis Sadoff will speak on his observations in Russia for branch 2 at the headquarters on Church avenue.

Let us then be what we are, and speak what we think, and in all things keep ourselves loyal to truth.—Longfellow.

No More Buck-Passing

President Hoover Must Be Forced to Assume the Nation's Responsibility to the Millions Suffering From Unemployment — Mayor Hoan Sounds Out Local Executives

By Daniel W. Hoan
Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee

UNDER date of July 29th, I addressed a letter to the mayors of 100 of our larger cities and submitted two propositions for their consideration.

1. To send telegrams to President Hoover, urging him to call a special session of Congress to consider and act on legislation designed to provide work on needed public construction and relieve widespread distress caused by prolonged unemployment.

2. In the event that President Hoover persisted in his do-nothing policy and insisted that the whole burden of relief should rest with local communities, whether or not the mayors would favor a conference in Washington and demand a showdown on this proposition.

In response to the first question, a flood of telegrams and press statements emanated from the mayors of widely scattered cities, showing unmistakably that they are ready to call the President's "buck-passing" tactics.

Hoover's Hand Forced
As a result, the President realized that something had to be done. With control of Congress in doubt he decided not to call a special session. The announcement to this effect came on Aug. 18th. However, simultaneously came the news that the President had appointed Walter S. Gifford as chairman of a new federal committee for unemployment relief, to take the place of the defunct emergency committee for employment headed by Col. Arthur Woods. The purpose of this committee was not made clear, but apparently its function is to co-ordinate federal, state and local relief activity on the same non-political basis that war time emergency activity was conducted. Incidentally the President announced a greatly enlarged program of public work, which he advanced as an unemployment relief measure.

Thus, the President considerably modified his previous contention of local responsibility by assuming some degree of federal responsibility for unemployment relief. While it remains to be seen whether the new federal committee, because of its restricted scope of activity, will be able to accomplish much of real benefit to the millions of unemployed, particularly in the way of creating jobs instead of dispensing charity, the President's sudden change of heart on the vital question of federal cooperation with states and local communities is quite

significant. The President and his new committee may soon realize that unemployment is a problem of such grave national peril that only the combined forces of all agencies, national, state and local, can avert a national calamity next winter.

Conference Favored
As to the second question, I have gathered from the replies at hand that most of the mayors of the larger cities would attend a conference in Washington if adequate federal aid is not forthcoming. Only three of the mayors declared themselves against the conference idea, and one of them expressed doubt as to the efficacy of such a gathering.

The prevailing sentiment of the mayors, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is that a conference in Washington would focus public attention on the futility of expecting local communities, already overburdened with taxes, to load more taxes on the small owners and thus dispossess many of them of their homesteads, thereby adding to existing distress. The federal government, through state and local cooperation, is in a position to finance a large-scale program of public improvements, institute shorter hours and a shorter work week, maintain prevailing wage levels, and abolish child labor. The necessary money can be raised by issuing bonds and levying income taxes in proportion to the ability to pay.

Create Jobs for All
I feel that the President's new committee should be given a fair chance to show what it can accomplish, and that states and municipalities should cooperate to the fullest extent by continuing whatever their limited resources will permit to provide temporary employment and take care of those in need.

There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that such a committee, with full power to act and with the machinery of the federal government behind it, can put all our unemployed back to work. This is a national crisis and it can be solved only by mobilizing all of our local, state and national resources both mental and material, in a cooperative effort. I trust that President Hoover, as might be interpreted, is beginning to realize this. The time for "buck-passing" has passed. The people will judge the sincerity of his leaders by their actions, not words. With millions of men, women and children facing a slow death from starvation the problem of unemployment challenges the earnest efforts of all the agencies of government.

N. J. Socialists Push Big Campaign; Thomas at Newark Rally October 9

THE Campaign Committee of Essex County, New Jersey, is arranging a series of meetings to bring the Socialist platform before the voters. On Friday, Oct. 9th, at eight o'clock, a public meeting is to be held in Newark at 840 Broad street. Norman Thomas will be the chief speaker. Dr. R. Kingdom of East Orange will preside. Other speakers will be the New Jersey candidate for Governor, Herman F. Niessner of Camden; Helen Alfred and Andrew P. Wittel, candidate for the assembly from Essex County. Tickets for reserved seats may be secured at 25 cents, from Wittel, at 44 Linden avenue, Belleville, telephone Belleville 2-4155-R.

Niessner will make several speeches in Essex County along with the other candidates. Meetings are scheduled for the Labor Lyceum on Belmont avenue, at the Ironbound Community House, one in Irvington and a fourth in the Oranges. Belleville and Bloomfield will probably hold one jointly. Mr. Niessner spoke Wednesday in East Orange at a large meeting, held under the auspices of the League of Women Voters.

Major emphasis is being placed upon employment in New Jersey. The platform for 1931 has been directed toward methods of relief. The campaign committee intends to carry the program before many local locals, as we have excellent contacts with organized labor in this county. We find encouraging signs of aroused interest in New Jersey and an extremely sympathetic attitude toward the party's program. In the opinion of many of us in this state, its promotion and acceptance are solely a matter of organization, and it is the intention of New Jersey Socialists to acquire the necessary tools and technique for waging a continuous campaign.

Five hundred New Leaders were sold last Saturday and \$10.85 was collected at Military Park. Rosenkrantz reports that the Thomas meeting Oct. 9 will be a great success. The committee are working like beavers to make it the largest meeting ever put across in New Jersey. The speakers for Saturday, September 26, in Military Park, will be George Goebel, A. P. Wittel, Samsky and Gotlieb of New York.

Phila. Socialists Open Local Fight

Philadelphia. Large and eager crowds listened attentively to every word our speakers utter. The police are carrying on a systematic policy of petty interference. On Tuesday, September 22nd, cops tried to break up meetings in both South Philadelphia and the north-east. In both cases the speakers carried on, refusing to be intimidated. The net result on the crowds was excellent. It was a graphic lesson to them that the powers of capitalism cannot defeat a fighting working class.

3,000 in Hosiery Union Strike at Wage Cuts

If it is necessary to go down, there is no disagreement over the fact the union faced a serious crisis. Controlling perhaps 25 per cent of the industry and with almost half the membership unemployed, the union convention faced the question of how to keep the wage scale substantially above non-union shops when every buyer was grabbing for the lowest possible price on hosiery.

Election of Women in Spain

Among the alterations to electoral legislation which the Provisional Government in Spain has made was that of the conferment of the right of election upon women. This provision was already operative for the election to the Constituent Assembly. Two women were elected, Victoria Kent, the director-general of prisons, and another woman barrister, Clara Campoamor, both of bourgeois republican parties.

Bronx Free Fellowship

"The Positive Message of Liberal Religion," will be the subject of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Agure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston road, near East 172nd street, Sunday evening, Sept. 27th. At the nine o'clock Open Forum, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan will speak on: "The International Situation as Seen in Vienna, Great Britain, and America."

Socialists of Utica Defeat Primary Steal

Perrotta, Party Designee, Defeats Democratic Interloper—One Nomination Is Stolen

UTICA.—The attempt of Democrats to capture the Socialist primary in Utica went down to defeat this year, and their candidates who filed designation petitions for the Socialist nomination as well as their own, cannot sneak into office as they have done on former occasions by stealing Socialist nominations. Corrected primary returns show that the Rev. Anthony Perrotta, Italian Protestant clergyman, and Socialist candidate for Mayor, swamped Democrat Mayor Charles S. Donnelly in the voting, and the same was true in the case of other regularly designated candidates of the Socialist Party.

The only Democrat who managed to steal a Socialist nomination was the candidate for District Attorney, and this was due to the failure of Socialists to make any designation for this office. Over one-third of the Socialist enrollment turned out to vote in the primary.

Prior to the primary the Socialist Party instituted proceedings against nearly 80 persons who were alleged to be fraudulent voters enrolled as Socialists for the purpose of helping the Democrats steal nominations, and the enrollments of twenty-eight of these were ordered cancelled by Supreme Court Justice William F. Dowling. Among the number proceeded against by County Chairman Endres of the Socialist party was one John Esposito who subsequently published a letter in a Utica newspaper advocating the support of Democrat candidates by enrolled Socialist voters.

Julius Gerber of New York was sent upstate to act in an advisory capacity for the Socialist Party State Organization in connection with Utica and Lackawanna proceedings, but the legal end of the Utica case was handled by Frederick E. Adams, an attorney who was instrumental in setting the stage for the ousting of State Senator Samuel H. Miller who last year gained a seat in the Upper House of the State Legislature through Democrats stealing the Socialist nomination for him.

Lose in Lackawanna

In Lackawanna bona fide Socialists were again outvoted in the primary by Democrats specifically enrolled as Socialists for the purpose of capturing the Socialist nomination for Democrats. Proceedings for the cancellation of enrollments in Lackawanna, suspected of being fraudulent, were undertaken by the Erie County Committee. The original court order of Judge McGregor cancelled the enrollments of all those complained against by the Socialist County Committee was set aside by a "show-cause" order, and the final proceedings taken before Judge Samuel J. Harris, resulted in the cancellation of the enrollments of only 12 of the 73 complained against, the court holding that in each case there must be material proof as to non-sympathy with the Socialist Party. Hence, while it is estimated by the secretary of the Erie County Socialist organization that every bona fide enrolled Socialist in Lackawanna with one exception voted in the primary, there were still enough tools and jupes of the Democrat city machine enrolled as Socialists to carry the Socialist primary for the Democrat candidates.

State Secretary Merrill of the Socialist Party has advised ex-Mayor John H. Gibbons, who was the candidate of the bona fide Socialists of Lackawanna, to enter the field as an independent candidate, and to make the run as a Labor Party candidate using the emblem of the clasped hands. It is felt that this is the only way that the political integrity of the Socialist Party can be maintained in that city until such a time as evidence can be secured which will be sufficient to cancel all the fraudulent enrollments which the Democrats have inspired in order to feather their nests at the city hall. The State Secretary declares that the necessity of an official political party in getting out an independent petition for the representatives of the principles for which it stands conclusively demonstrates "the insufficiency of the State Election Law and the urgent need for its amendment."

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Hillquit and Vladeck To Debate Party Policy

In conjunction with the educational committee of the Socialist party, the Rand School will sponsor a series to be held twice a month on Friday nights during October, November and December in the Debs Auditorium, the first debate being scheduled for October 2, at 8:30 p. m. Morris Hillquit and B. Charney Vladeck will participate. The topic of the debate is, "Is it the Present Task of the Socialist Party to Promote a Third Party Movement?" Admission free for these debates will be 25 cents and will be open to party members only. It will be necessary to present the party card in order to be admitted.

Rand School Registration Hits High Mark

Classes at Socialist Educational Institution Draw Record Through

OPENING on a torrid evening, Tuesday, September 22, most of the Rand School classes were taxed to capacity. Registration will continue for the entire week. Interest in serious study courses: Socialism, Trade Unionism, Labor Problems, Economics, History, Sociology, surpasses all previous registrations. That this is a reflection of the general growth of interest in the Socialist Movement is evident. A glance at the bulletin of the School will convince one of the wealth and quality of the courses given.

Workers' Training Course

The Workers' Training Course which is the most important feature of the School's activity has a larger registration than at any previous time. The students come from the Socialist Party, Young People's Socialist League, Workers' Circle, Young Circle League, and the Unions.

New Party Members

A considerable number of new party members are also taking advantage of the opportunity to register for one course in the Social Sciences free of charge.

Instructors

In addition to many of the former instructors of the School: Louis Stanley, David P. Berenberg, Joseph N. Osman, Elias L. Tartak, Bela Low, a number of new instructors: David E. Rossi, John S. Welling, Harry Delsion, Samuel A. DeWitt, Felix Cohen, Sidney E. Goldstein, Adele T. Katz.

Special Lecture Series

The special lecture series and the Debates will not begin until later. The series "American Trade Unions Today," including Heywood Broun, Alexander Woolcott, Kenneth MacGowan, J. Brooks Atkinson, Anita Block, will be held Thursday nights at 8:30 p. m., October 8 to November 12. A series of lectures which will be in the nature of a symposium on one of the most vital problems of the day is the course "Social Planning," to be held Monday nights, October 19, to December 7, at 8:30 p. m. The lecturers will be George Soule, Lewis L. Lorwin, Thomas L. Chadbourne, John T. Flynn, Lewis Mumford, H. Parker Willis, Algonquin Lee, and H. S. Person.

English

The Rand School is offering as usual, courses in English which attempt to meet the needs of workers. The School is particularly fortunate this year in having among its instructors in the English department, Alice Cohen, Sadie Shapiro, Rebecca Jarvia, A. I. Shipiloff, and William E. Bohn.

Foreign Languages

For the first time in many years, the Rand School is offering courses in foreign languages: Russian, French, and German.

Book Review Course

A new feature this year is a Book Review Course in which important literature on economic and social questions will be analyzed from a Socialist point of view. The course will be under the direction of Lawrence Rogin.

Rand Book Store

The "Workers' World," the sixteen-page pamphlet by David P. Berenberg which was issued two weeks ago, has had a remarkably successful sale already. In view of the fact that the orders are coming in in such large quantities, party branches are urged to submit their orders as soon as possible since the present edition has been almost exhausted. The pamphlet which sells for 5c is available to all branches at the rate of \$3.00 per hundred or 35c each for orders less than 100. Bulletin giving complete details with reference to all of the activities of the School are available on request.

Reading G.O.P. And Democrat Get Together

Combination Is Effected in Primary—Many Voters Stay Away From Polls

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—A total of 19,496 disgusted Democrats and Republicans, who showed their resentment to the fusion tactics of their leaders by either remaining away from the polls or refusing to vote for any candidate for Mayor in Tuesday's primary election, permitted the fusion forces to secure a partial success for their plan to place anti-Socialist candidates on both party tickets. The lack of interest in the affairs of old party office seekers was clearly demonstrated by the fact that Heber Ermentrout, who now stands as the Democratic and Republican candidate for Mayor, received a total of only 14,242 votes out of a registration of 33,738 voters.

Fusion failed to make good the matter of a city controlled likewise made only a partial success in the councilmanic fight. George M. Youm, who waved an American flag early in the campaign, won anti-Socialist support and was nominated on both party tickets for council. However, the Republicans gave Youm a running mate while the Democrats, by a strange freak of fate, nominated the Republican John M. Seasholtz to make their fight for them, thus making every candidate for council an actual Republican. Fusion scored a complete success in the fight for school board offices by nominating Eugene F. Hendricks, Edwin L. Hettinger and Warren Romig, all of whom are now members of the board.

Non-Voters Worry Fusionists

While the fusion forces have partly achieved their ambition to name an anti-Socialist ticket on both old party tickets, the jubilation has been moderated by a consideration of the large number of old party voters who stayed at home on election day. The thought of what those 19,496 non-voters at the primary are going to do at the general election is causing well-founded worry in the fusion ranks and indicates that the Socialists will sweep the field in November despite the combined opposition which has been set up against them.

On WEVD

Sept. 27, 4 p. m.—Rev. William Nichol, "The Social Gospel."
Sept. 28, 2:30 p. m.—The Federated Press "Labor's News Reporter."
Sept. 29, 2:30 p. m.—The Federated Press "Labor's News Reporter"; 8:15 p. m., Dr. William E. Bohn, lecturer, writer and well known as a Socialist, will speak on current topics, "Between the Headlines," 9 p. m., E. M. White, research secretary, City Affairs Committee, "City Affairs."
Sept. 30, 1:30 p. m.—Women's Peace Union, "A Program for World Peace, Armament and Pacifism"; 2:30 p. m., "Labor's News Reporter," the Federated Press feature; 4 p. m., Mrs. Heginhan, M. E. Board of Foreign Missions, "Can the Church Enter Politics?"
Oct. 1, 1 p. m.—"Race Improvement—How It Can Be Brought," Birth Control Movement; 1:30 p. m.—Frank L. Palmer, Federated Press, "Labor's Front Page"; 4:45 p. m., World Peace Posters Committee, "Timely Topics"; 8:45 p. m., William Karlin, "Current Events as a Socialist Looks at Them."
Oct. 2, 2 p. m.—Federated Press "Labor's News Reporter."
Oct. 3, 2 p. m.—War Resisters League; 2:30 p. m., "Labor's News Reporter," the Federated Press feature.

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Socialists of Cleve. Fight For City Plant

Sabotage of Municipal Ownership One of Party's Main Campaign Issues

By HY FISH (New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—The finance committee of the City Council of Cleveland has just refused to back a move to issue \$2,500,000 bonds for the expansion of the municipal light plant.

Although the plant is over fifteen years old, and, during that time the use of electricity has increased over 100 per cent, and the population of the city has increased, there have been no additions to the plant.

During its first few years of existence it had decreased the rates charged by the Cleveland Illuminating Company (private) from 12c to 10c and then to 8c per kilowatt hour. The municipal plant charges only 3c.

Even though such low rates were paid, the plant succeeded in making a profit every year with the exception of one.

Report of the plant's profit and loss for 10 years: 1921 loss \$109,500, 1922 profit \$60,800, 1923 profit \$252,100, 1924 profit \$414,500, 1925 profit \$346,300, 1926 profit \$378,400, 1927 profit \$264,200, 1928 profit \$434,800, 1929 profit \$494,400, 1930 profit \$321,400.

These figures are after subtracting cost of operations, maintenance, bond interest, depreciation, and taxes foregone (which need not have been deducted).

Sabotage Is Begun The plant increased steadily in the number of subscribers until the people of Cleveland were duped by false promises to accept the city manager form of government.

The first city manager was William R. Hopkins, a millionaire capitalist. One of Hopkins' first acts was to choose Howell Wright, a known opponent of municipal ownership, as Public Utilities Director. This is almost as unbelievable as selecting General John Pershing or Smedley Butler to head the American Peace Society.

As was to be expected with such a selection, it was the beginning of the direct sabotage of the plant that had saved the workers of Cleveland several million dollars.

Wright, in turn, chose his subordinates from among other opponents of public ownership. He sold electricity to the city for street lighting purposes at a rate below cost so that he could point to a deficit at the end of the year but, this, to his sorrow, failed.

Power Trust Lackey He then showed himself to be a lackey of the Power Trust by recommending an inter-connection between the Cleveland Illuminating Company and the municipal plant. This would serve as a good excuse for him to use their power at their price whenever he wished. But this proposal was looked at critically by the local papers and was dropped.

And now, although he is no longer connected with the municipal plant, he appears before the Finance Committee to speak against expansion. At this same hearing the engineers connected and interested in the plant favored expansion and conclusively proved that such a move would not only be practical but would be of great value to the people and the city.

In face of all these facts, Wright still had the nerve to ask for an apology from Ernest E. Bohn, a councilman, for accusing him of sabotage.

The Cleveland Illuminating Company is a subsidiary of the North American Company which is controlled by the Electric Bond and Share Company, one of the largest holding companies "public utilities in the world."

The Power Trust is making a strong attempt to kill public ownership in Ohio. They have already succeeded in swallowing the Painesville municipal plant a short time ago and it is only a matter of time before the tentacles of the octopus will stretch out to Cleveland.

Redress Is Possible The people of Cleveland will have a chance to ward off the approach of this disaster at the polls next November.

The first step in the right direction would be to elect men to City Council who will do everything in their power to avert the impending doom to the publicly-owned plant which has been of such good service to the people.

One of the planks that the Socialist candidates will run on is the expansion of the municipal light plant to comply with present needs.

But the main plank will be immediate relief for the unemployed. The present administration has done practically nothing for the unemployed.

Voters of Cleveland, now is your chance. Voice your protest against the sabotage of your municipal light plant. Demand relief for the unemployed.

Register your protest and demand by voting for the following Socialist candidates: 1st district, John G. Willert; 2nd district, Joseph Martinek; 3rd district, Max

England's New Crisis World Capitalism Shaky

Pressure of French Bankers Brought England's Suspension of the Gold Standard

THE crisis in British finances is another incident showing that capitalism is in a very bad way all over the world. How intimately the system is bound together in a network of international relations is evident from the fact that the British shock was followed by the closing of stock exchanges in six or seven nations.

The government has suspended the gold standard and with the dropping of the gold value of the pound, part of the investments in British bonds were confiscated. France did this when she stabilized the franc so that we have the interesting spectacle of conservative governments, violating a holy item in the religion of capitalism in order to stabilize capitalism.

Back of this situation is the fact that the usurers of France and the United States have three-fourths of the gold supply. Our bankers endeavored to dictate terms to the former Labor Government while the French bankers use the purse for reactionary purposes on the Continent. The French ruling classes fear a recovered Germany and Austria and are willing to follow a financial policy that may in the end risk the destruction of their own capitalist system. It is the recklessness of the gambler who believes that he knows all the cards in the deck and that he will come out the winner despite all risks.

British banking relationship he wrote: "The City (to use our name for your Wall Street) has been lending recklessly to Germany and Austria, to the extent of some \$500,000,000, all of it in short-term credits, which are now frozen stiff. These were not the hard-earned savings of the gentlemen of the City. If anyone had stinted himself to amass them, it was the French peasant. What the City did was to borrow from France at 3 percent, to lend to Germany at 6 or 8 percent. Correct persons call this transaction a discharge of international duty and magnanimity to a fallen foe. Presently the French began to see a vision: they saw the banks of Vienna, Berlin and London as Alpine climbers tied together by a rope; two had tumbled, must they not drag the other down? Accordingly, the French in their prudence withdrew their deposits from London: there was a run on the Bank and a drain of gold. The reserve must have disappeared, had not New York and Paris decided to save the Bank of England, by lending it jointly \$250,000,000. Their aid for some reason failed to restore "confidence." The drain went on; sterling was still in danger; it was evident that if further credits should be needed from abroad, something much more drastic must be done to restore "confidence."

So the French bankers are playing a dangerous game and the second British crisis also has its origin in the audacity of financial spiders.

World capitalism is shaken with convulsions and the economic crisis is beginning to affect France like the other nations on the Continent. At Washington the "best minds" are also distracted over the problem of an increasing deficit. Within a year or two the United States may also face a financial crisis on top of the industrial breakdown.

Is it a race between Socialism and Capitalism? It may be, but again it is necessary to urge American Socialists to go to the masses with all the resources we have in preparation for any situation that may come to us at any hour.

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San Francisco Socialists in Mayoral Fight

Alexander Horr Named To Lead Fight—Will Stress Aid to Jobless

(By a New Leader Correspondent) SAN FRANCISCO.—At a special Red Card convention of the Socialist Party of San Francisco the party decided to enter the coming mayoralty campaign.

Alexander Horr, one time Socialist candidate for Governor, was nominated unanimously as the party's standard bearer.

The campaign will be an interesting one and hotly contested. The two leading candidates in the field are both anti-municipal ownership and as reactionary as possible.

The Socialist party will put up a vigorous fight and it is expected that the party vote will show a strong increase. The party platform places special emphasis on the unemployed problem in the city.

Horr's statement on accepting the nomination was as follows: "For 35 years past I have been an organizer, editor and secretary in the labor movement. I propose unemployment relief by having the city undertake a big home-building, school and playground program and other public improvements; \$5,000 tax exemption for homes and a graduated realty tax above that amount I advocate a five day week and six hour day with higher wages and unemployment insurance so that the consuming power of the workers will equal production. I favor the extension of the Municipal Railroad, maintenance of the five cent fare and public ownership of all public utilities."

Mrs. Symes to Speak The next monthly dinner of the Socialist party of San Francisco will be held on Oct. 7 at 6:30 p. m., at the California Inn, Polk and Turk streets, San Francisco.

Lillian Symes, author of "The American Dreyfus Case" and well known as a writer and speaker, will talk on "Unemployment." The attendance at the monthly dinners of the party has grown with each dinner and it is expected that this dinner will be the largest of all.

Urges Inquiry to End Conflict in A. C. W. (Continued from Page One)

"Mr. Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"Dear Sir and Brother:—The Socialist party, as you know, has ever been ready to serve the trade unions. Its record is one of continuous helpfulness to the unions in strikes, lockouts, and organizations campaigns. It is the party's settled policy not to interfere in the internal affairs of the unions, nor to form factions within them nor to take sides in factional divisions that sometimes arise.

"The Socialist party has rejoiced in the triumphs of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and has had mutually helpful relations with it. We are proud of the fact that leaders of the party were among those who took part in building up the Amalgamated from its very inception, and that large numbers of our party comrades are also members of your organization.

"To say that our party makes it a rule not to meddle in the internal affairs of the unions does not mean that we are not interested in them. Holding that the unions on the industrial field and the party on the political field are both absolutely necessary for the progress and emancipation of the working class, we cannot but regret when abuses develop in any union or when dissension threatens to weaken it. While the unions must, because they alone can, finally deal with such problems, we as a part of the working-class movement have a right and duty to offer fraternal aid when there seems to be occasion.

Sees Danger to Whole Union "We feel that such an occasion has now arisen in the case of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Accusations of the gravest nature have been brought against officers of one of your locals. Your General Executive Board has investigated and cited them for trial. On what they allege as constitutional grounds they have refused to appear. They have been found guilty by your Board and removed from office. Some portion of the membership of their local has sided with them and denied the validity of this action, and as a result the local has been reorganized, and a part of its former members are now organized in opposition and have carried the fight into the courts and also into the shops.

"This we believe, is a correct statement of facts. We do not pretend to have any special knowledge as to the evidence for or against the charges. We do not presume to judge as to the regularity of the procedure. We are not acting as partisans of the SUS-LEADER.

pending officers or members of your union, nor as partisans of its general officers against them.

"We do not know how strong or how weak may be the forces that are challenging the jurisdiction of your general body, nor how serious may be the dissension and its probable consequences. We do know that the fight is likely to be

British Unions Gain Members Despite Crisis

One item overlooked by the correspondents when the British Trade Union Congress was meeting at Bristol a few weeks ago is that despite the depression the unions have gained in membership.

The General Council gave much attention to recruiting new members, especially among workers in new or rapidly expanding industries and also among women and juvenile workers. Some trade unions have suffered losses due to the crisis but these losses have been offset by the new members so that the net gain in membership for one year was 100,000.

Oregon Labor On Record for Job Insurance

Nationalization of Railroads Also Favored—Socialists Are on the Job

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Oregon state convention of the American Federation of Labor was the most progressive in years. It favored modifying the Volstead Act and allowing the manufacture of 2.75 per cent beer, and the Government to manufacture all liquors, including beer; recommended the improvement of the State Compensation Act in favor of injured workmen; favored old age pensions for all over 60 years, funds to be derived by an increase of income taxes on all incomes over \$5,000 and condemned the sale of convict-made goods.

The convention approved the five day week and a six hour day and approved as well international disarmament, condemned the conditions at Boulder Dam and approved unemployment insurance, and referred the subject matter to the executive board of the federation and the interim committee appointed by the Governor to work out a plan for the next session of the Legislature in 1933.

Public ownership of railroads and democratic management was approved by the convention. Worthwhile resolutions were introduced by three Socialist delegates from Carpenters Local No. 226, George R. Baickerood, D. K. Alexander and Charles Kolb.

more or less injurious, possibly very injurious, to the organization of the men's clothing trade in this city and perhaps elsewhere, and that its bad effects extend even beyond your trade to the whole needle industry and even wider circles.

Inquiry Proposed "It is important that, if the accused persons are guilty, this should be established in such a manner that no member or sympathizer of the labor movement can honestly doubt the fact. It is important that, if they have suffered any injustice, that fact should be brought out, in order that the injustice may be righted. It is important, in any case, that everything should be done to prevent a case of disciplinary action resulting in a schism, large or small, within the union and the movement.

"For these reasons, and in this spirit, we suggest and even request that steps be taken to set up an impartial committee, composed of persons who know the general conditions of the needle industry and who, by their own records, command general confidence and respect within the movement; that you lay before this committee the evidence upon which you have acted; that the accused members and their friends have the fullest opportunity to lay before the committee any evidence and argument they may wish to present; that this committee be asked to judge the matter without fear or favor; report its conclusions to the interested public, and to do whatever it can to prevent damage to the movement resulting from the present situation.

"For the Executive Committee, Local New York, Socialist Party. "ALGERNON LEE, "Chairman of the Executive. "JULIUS GERBER, "Executive Secretary."

Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood and establisheth a city by iniquity.—Habakkuk.

Art is human workmanship. A work of art is a well-made boot, a well-made chair, a well-made picture.—W. F. Lethaby.

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SCHOOLS—LECTURES—FORUMS

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE DEBATE

Joint Auxiliaries Socialist Party and Rand School MORRIS HILLQUIST B. CHARNEY VLADECK

"Is it the Present Task of the Socialist Party to Promote a Third Party Movement?" FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 8:30 P. M. Open to Party Members Only Admission 50c

Alexander Woolcott "American Theatre Today" THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 8:30 P. M. Admission 50c

"The Crisis of Our Civilization as Reflected in Modern Literature" Monday, September 28, 8:30 P. M. ELIAS L. TARTAK

"The Theatre as a Social Factor Throughout the Ages" Monday, September 28, 7 P. M. DAVID B. ROSS

"Principles of Socialism" Tuesday, September 29, 7 P. M. DAVID P. BERENBERG

"Poetry—Up: Parasites to Freedom, Peace and Plenty" Tuesday, October 6, 8:30 P. M. SAMUEL A. DEWITT

"Philosophy of Values" Wednesday, September 30, 7 P. M. FELIX COHEN

"History of International Socialism" Wednesday, September 30, 7 P. M. ALBERT LOVY

"Contemporary Novel" Wednesday, September 30, 7 P. M. LOUIS STANLEY

"American Socialism at Work" Wednesday, September 30, 8:30 P. M. HARRY DELSON

"Changing Aspects of Marriage and Family Life" Thursday, October 1, 8:30 P. M. LOUIS STANLEY

"Book Reviews" Friday, October 2, 8:30 P. M. WYRENCE ROGIN

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Miners Relief Fund Continues Work In Pa.

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL (New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Miners Relief Fund of the Socialist Party, thanks to the splendid aid of labor union and fraternal organizations of a progressive type, the Young Peoples Socialist League and Socialist Party branches and locals throughout the United States, goes steadily forward on its relief work as miners in this greatest Pennsylvania field stand at an important crossroads in labor history.

There is little general resumption of work, partly the mark of unemployment but still more the sign of the impossible working conditions imposed upon the miner who returns to work. "Two go in and three come out," is the rule almost. At the same time the National Miner Union phase of the miners' revolt seems pretty well at an end.

Following the parabola described by the usual Communist-led strike the struggle under the T.U.U.L. union has now declined into an effort to swing the union locals directly into Communist party locals with attendant dissension and narrowing of support down to a sectarian group, the abandonment of the facing of mine union problems and the intensification of bitter and unprincipled attacks upon other groups, in this case particularly the Socialist party, and particularly its relief work.

The Fund continues to serve some thirty-one communities in the Western Penna area including Caonsburg, Studa (Cedar Grove Barracks), Penova, Van Voorhis, Rice's Landing, Fair Hope, Vesta No. 5, Fredericktown, Avella, Alasburg, Santiago, Bertha, Slovna, Monongahela City, Ellersworth, Creighton, Renton, Hamarville, Kinloch, Charleroi, Warner Mine, Bentleyville, Cokeburg, Arden, Tylerdale, Daisytown, Burgetts-town, Strabane, Coverdale and Gibson.

As support continues to come to the fund, especially from Miners Relief Conferences organized by labor and Socialist organizations in Boston and Detroit, the Fund plans to push its work to R. Wohl; 4th district, Joseph Sivkovich.

Aid in the campaign! Write to Jennie L. Harvey, secretary local Cleveland, Socialist Party, 10729 Hathaway Avenue, if you want to help in the fight against the Power Trust and for the people.

Urges Merchants to Block Jobless Relief BOSTON—(FP)—A move to "soft-pedal" the Hoover-Gifford unemployment relief appeal from Oct. 19 to Nov. 25 for fear that it will hurt Christmas business was launched at the Boston Conference on Retail Distribution, meeting at the University Club.

William Nelson Taft, editor of The Retail Dealer, urged the merchants for the sake of their profits to exert every influence possible upon local campaign managers to "soft-pedal" the nation-wide drive to feed the hungry children of the jobless. The words "soft-pedal" were Taft's.

Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin Dies; Was Active N. J. Socialist

THE Socialist party of New Jersey lost one of its oldest members and one of the hardest workers for Socialism in the death of Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin. She died at her home, 98 Paulson avenue, Ridgefield Park, Friday, Sept. 18. Her death was due to the effects of injuries received in an automobile accident three years ago from which she had never fully recovered. Her husband, Theodore Bohlin, and three sons, Howard, Lester and Kenneth, survive her.

Mrs. Bohlin held a prominent place in the ranks of the Socialist party of New Jersey for many years and was widely known both in New Jersey and New York. She was the guiding spirit in party affairs of Local Bergen County and was frequently a candidate for Assembly and other local offices. For many years she was a member of the state committee and was elected a delegate to several national conventions of the party. In

Swedish Trade Unions On Industrial Unionism

One of the important questions before the Congress of Swedish trade unions held in Stockholm in August was the transformation of the unions into industrial organizations. This change was accepted at the congress of 1926 and a good deal has been done for the transfer of members and local branches on the lines of this scheme, 8,000 persons having thus been transferred during the period. But nothing has been done towards the dissolution of the unions which were either to disappear or to be amalgamated with others to form an industrial union, the unions in question being reluctant to give up their independence.

Various proposals have been submitted on this subject, these consisting mostly of complaints that certain unions had either disregarded or had only imperfectly obeyed the directions laid down in the industrial unions scheme. A resolution was therefore adopted, which provides that all unions which have not transferred their members or their local branches in accordance with the scheme shall be urged to do so. Those unions which have formed cartels are to be invited to expand the amalgamation of its member unions in the near future. The unions which are to be dissolved are to start amalgamation negotiations with the industrial unions in question.

Mrs. Bohlin was a true lover of mankind, a woman of sterling character and great energy. She devoted herself unselfishly to the cause of the exploited and the oppressed. She spent herself in a useful life of service, devoted to family friends and the community that will be long remembered for the blessings it brought into the lives of others.

The body was cremated Monday morning, Sept. 21, 10 o'clock, at the New York and New Jersey Crematorium, Jersey City, N. J. A number of comrades attended the funeral services.

1928 she was the candidate for United States Senator. During the women suffrage campaign, she was one of the hardest workers for votes for women. Her fine personal qualities endeared her to her comrades and co-workers and to the many friends she had outside of the Socialist party in various humanitarian activities which she followed.

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Jefferson, Marx: Whose Philosophy for the Workers?

Economic changes have played havoc with Thomas Jefferson's ideal of a nation of independent small farmers...

By Charles Solomon

THOMAS JEFFERSON died in 1826, Karl Marx in 1883. Men and their thoughts are largely the product of their time...

The United States today is overwhelmingly urban and industrial, the foremost capitalist nation in the world...

Industry was conducted in homes scattered throughout the land. In the first quarter of the 19th century only four per cent of the people were employed in manufacture...

Jefferson, the Virginia planter, was an avowed agrarian to whom free government was possible only when the mass of the people were independent farmers...

Things Strange to Jefferson

When Jefferson died, the Industrial Revolution was just beginning to make itself felt in the United States...

The Future of Anthracite

There is a growing pessimism in the hard coal fields which has almost turned to an assurance that anthracite is doomed...

The Home Industry Passes

Modern capitalism has reached into the home and dragged women and children into the factories...

Eliminating Labor

Cutting down labor costs has taken various forms. The most outstanding method has been the centralization of the preparation of coal for market...

and lords of industry are vastly more powerful than was royalty in Jefferson's time. His simple political philosophy and economic program are inadequate to meet the challenging problems of our day...

The End of Individualism

The era of economic individualism is dead and its laissez faire doctrines are no longer applicable. The agrarian United States of Jefferson's day has passed into the limbo of history...

Will Hard Coal Go the Way of Soft Coal?

The soft coal industry of the nation presents a picture of plantless production, deserted mines, hundreds of thousands of jobless miners and pitiful wages where the miners are fortunate to have a few days of work occasionally...

By Louis Stanley

THE hard coal region, the last stronghold of the American Federation of Labor in a basic industry, threatens to go the way of the soft coal fields. Misery and starvation are already there...

The anthracite is a kingdom all its own. Though it is but a few blotches in the northeastern portion of a map of Pennsylvania, its importance is tremendous. In an area of less than 500 square miles, practically all the hard coal in the United States is found...

accidentally the company can play off against one another the local unions that are located at each mine, since the workers at the central breaker prepare the coal from whatever mines feed it. The question of creating locals with the central breaker and its auxiliary unions is a unit of organization has recently come to be discussed occasionally.

TO COMRADE BLANSARD

The first question is one of general principle, I might almost say of principle. The Rand School is committed to a policy of education, as distinguished from indoctrination. Our aim is not to put our students to believe as we do, but to incite them to think and to help them in getting data on which to base their judgments...

It was in this way that we judged both "Bloesheim at a Deadlock" and "America's Way Out," and on this second point I am happy to put in print our editions of both. Some of our members disagree with Kautsky on certain important points; some condemn that Thomas is very far wrong in certain matters; and nevertheless these members voted for publication in each case. It is rather significant that not one of the party comrades who criticize the Thomas book has reproached us for pushing its sale, in that the so-called "liberals" in our movement, who disagree with Kautsky, violently denounce us for giving any one a chance to read his book...

Blansard and Sinclair say that Kautsky's views ought not to be laid before our party, but neither of them ever consults the party before expressing his own views, not only in the party press but outside. Their desire for a one-sided presentation, together with the insulting and supercilious tone they assume, justify a suspicion that they are rather afraid of a discussion in which both sides are to be heard.

I should rest the case here, except that this might give the impression that I admit the correctness of Blansard's strictures on the Kautsky book, which I emphatically do not. I think he is wrong on each of the points he makes, but space does not permit me to take up all of them. Russian Bolsheviks surely know more about education in Russia than do our American college professors. If we are to judge by their own utterances, what Kautsky says in the passage quoted is altogether correct. Their guiding purpose is to instill into the pupils' minds an implicit belief that whatever the Communist party says is true and to train them in a habit of implicit obedience to the Soviet state. This concept in education is perfectly consistent with Bolshevik theory as a whole. The Bolsheviks avow and glorify it, and leave to their American admirers the queer task of

CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY MODERN INDUSTRY HAVE OUTMODED JEFFERSONIAN VIEWS—MARXISM A PHILOSOPHY OF COOPERATION AND REAL DEMOCRACY

the handicraft stage. States rights, a strict construction of the constitution, civil liberties, these are obviously no program with which to meet the problems thrown up by a giant capitalism in the 20th century. Moreover, they are no longer the substantial and decisive issues in the political life of the nation they once were.

There are one million jobs in New York City today—one third as many people as there was population in the colonies in 1776. We are told there are eight to ten millions of unemployed in the United States; today. The current depression is the 14th since 1885. There is something fundamentally wrong with a social system that keeps breaking down repeatedly, that refuses to function, condemning millions of joblessness and all its incidental horrors.

Capitalism's New Problems

Each and every one of our major social problems arises out of capitalist society.

less labor is to resort to stripping. This is the name applied to the process of removing coal near the surface of the earth by means of steam shovels. Where the vein is thus exposed the coal is shovelled out almost clean with the employment of a few men for blasting rock, running the shovel and doing a few other operations that entail much lower labor costs than the cumbersome method of mining underground. When the demand for anthracite coal is lessened, as at present, operators can take care of a good deal of their orders through their stripping operations without depending as much as usual on the man-requiring method of mining.

Operating washeries while shutting down breakers and mines is still a means of escaping the necessity of hiring many more men. Through the anthracite there are huge piles consisting of discarded rock and slate but in addition made up of large quantities of small sized coal which could not be sold years ago. The companies in many cases are now running these piles through washeries and sometimes through breakers preparing small

The New Leader Mail-Bag

ABOUT MANY THINGS

The June bag has his wings of gold, the lightning bug his flame, the bed-bug has no wings at all. But he gets there just the same. De Witt's poetic soul ought to see the beauty and truth in those lines. Of course, if we all looked wise and said nothing, nobody would dispute us; it is only when we say something that somebody else calls us nuts, degenerates "or suppin'". Which reminds me that I have said plenty. I had some more spittles to fire, but in my hurry to edit I will put them in my pocket, and offer De Witt a candy. The article on machine tools and capitalist production should earn Thomas a history by Clark and Goddy. It is a long time since I went to church, but I remember something about: The greatest of these is Charity.

LIBERTY IS MOCKED

Our industrial system can and must be changed. It is dangerous to all but the few who own and rule. The distress and hunger of millions, the uncertainty and insecurity that hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of most of us, increasing crime and insanity, war and the threat of war, these are the inevitable fruits of capitalism. Under capitalism, our very liberty is a mockery. Our freedom is the freedom to find jobs or beg, borrow or steal. In the Declaration of Independence, of which Jefferson is reputed to have been the author, it is written we are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But there can be no life without the means of life—food, shelter and clothing—and no food, shelter and clothing without jobs, and no jobs except at the pleasure of their capitalist owners. Jefferson was a great democrat. But political democracy, while altogether desirable, is no guarantee, in and of itself against the evils which increasingly afflict ever-growing numbers. The battle for freedom was not won when the political ideals of Jefferson triumphed and the so-called rule of the people was established. An industrial and financial, economic, sovereignty has been established which, regardless of political forms, dominates the lives of the great masses of the people. These will never be truly free until industrial democracy has been established, until the people are sovereign in the economic sphere as they are, in theory at least, in the political.

UNORGANIZED WORKERS

I agree with Comrade DeWitt's article in the Sept. 5 issue of your paper. Let the union members run their own organization. The Socialist party ought not to either criticize or coddle them. Let the Socialist members of the unions do that if necessary inside union lodges. The workers outside the unions are as susceptible to the principles of Socialism, if not more, than union members are. The non-organized workers are more essential to a Socialist victory at the polls than the organized workers for there are so many more of them. We can win without the organized worker's vote but we are compelled to have the non-organized workers vote in order to win. Besides we can't win them by antagonizing their leaders and policies. Let them alone and let us use our time and energy in building up a Socialist movement.

MISSISSIPPI READER

Suppose there was a man in the British House of Lords talking some kind of Socialism, and a lot of them in the Commons, and the county and city chambers doing the same, how would that compare with our party of revolutionists and modernists with nobody in Congress, the N. Y. legislature or city council? When we elect somebody somewhere, members of the working class go to see them as they would go to the Zoo to see a new animal. He ain't a democrat 'an' he ain't a republican; he's one of them there waddycalamuses.

capitalism—the private ownership by the few, and the exploitation by them for profit, of those natural resources and machinery of production and distribution without which modern civilized life is impossible. These social means of life must be socially owned and democratically controlled in the interests of the workers of the world, the producers of hand and brain. The industrialism which Jefferson feared and condemned came, served its historic purpose, and is now an impediment in the way of the happiness of the human race. We cannot go back to yesterday, to the small inexpensive handicraft tool, to almost unlimited free lands, to the nation of small, independent farmers; we cannot decentralize our cities and deport our industries to Europe. We cannot return to the conditions, problems

THE MENACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The operators have the upper hand now that there is so much unemployment. If a rate is set the individual miner must make the complaint before the grievance committee of the local union is able to take up the case. The individual does not always complain. He may have no faith in what the grievance committee may be able to accomplish or he may be afraid that he will lose his job or receive a poor working place next time. There are examples of aggressive grievance committees bringing pressure to bear on timid workers to fight their cases.

Some other book, "American History" by Southworth and published by the Iroquois Company can be purchased at a second hand rate of eighty cents here in New York City; the same book can be had in Camden by the school children at a 60 cent rate. Don't attempt to relieve the situation by a misguided sense of philanthropy, the book publishers have forestalled that. Even education seems to be in the grip of the racketeer, but of course, all this is legitimate to the capitalists' mind. And it is "giving your neighbor a job." The booksellers must live.

BOOKSELLERS MUST LIVE

In Camden, New York, a suburb of Syracuse, the school board has changed its text books this season compelling the poorer classes to buy books that are not available at second hand. The present economic depression is just as stringent there as in New York City but despite this fact, the changes are made. Some of the text books just introduced are "Better English" by Jesche, Potter and Gillette; "South America and the Old World" by Atwood and Thomas; History by Clark and Goddy; Reader by Elson and Gray. These books are all new and not available at second hand.

WRITTEN AN ARTICLE

written an article to—I think—the Call, about 57 varieties, that there was only one. Well, I guess he was right; he knows a lot more about it than I do. But which one is it? As the poet sang so sweetly: The June bug has his wings of gold, the lightning bug his flame, the bed-bug has no wings at all. But he gets there just the same.

HASTINGS ON HUDSON, N. Y.

De Witt takes himself too seriously. The Socialist movement existed before he was born and will exist after he is both dead and buried. That doesn't mean that he shouldn't kick while he can; only that he should kick the right carcasses. I read Kastenbaum's letter about the Guide for intelligent women and I ask: Who did more to incite Socialist thought, De Witt or Shaw? Who began first; and who did Shaw quit? Of course he has his own methods which may not be strictly Marxist but I think he and I are agreed that the R.I.P. must be stepped out of Capitalism. Does De Witt go any farther than that? I believe that the Socialist movement should be of and for the working class; and the workers call us nuts and bolsheviks; our colleagues of the middle class form inter-collegiate Socialist organizations. Should we fight them? Hillquit has been called a prior Socialist but he has followers in East side bed-cooking and dining rooms. I never followed him but I have listened to him and gone with him and am still going—along with the party. I went with C. E. Russell and I never would have voted to exclude him on account of difference in tactics. Spargo is someone else; he always sundered at the junction—at least I thought so. Regarding MacDonald, I would reserve judgment. In these investigating days, we should obey the injunction: "Judge not lest ye be judged." He has been killed about as often as the Times killed Lenin and it would not surprise me to see him, like Mark Twain, inform us that the news was greatly exaggerated.

Each and every one of our major social problems arises out of capitalist society. The factory doors are closed because the capitalist owners cannot run industry and make a profit doing so. In the meantime, let the jobless workers beg, borrow, steal or starve. That's the capitalist profit system. Wherever it establishes itself it produces its characteristic manifestations, among which are aggravated depression and unemployment, with all the other social problems these generate. Modern capitalism, offspring of the Industrial Revolution, separated the worker from his primitive handicraft tool, replacing it with the modern factory; it placed ownership and work in different categories.

WRITTEN AN ARTICLE

At the present surplus of labor, cases are found where workers have actually been performing rock work and timbering without any compensation. Every colliery has a consideration wage, a rate which the miner must be paid when his working conditions make it impossible for him to earn "wages." Now that the men are being cowed the consideration wage is often not paid. The contract miner is told he must work only for coal no matter how little he is able to earn. Then, differences of opinion may arise as to the measurement of the coal he has handled. Thus, although the agreement is ostensibly lived up to, it is being violated every day. Some company officials have a subtle way of breaking down contracts when bulldozing proves to be inadequate. A man is given a place to work at a specified rate. If he rejects the offer as unfair he is assigned elsewhere. Soon another worker is found who accepts the proposition, then another. It is not long before a new wage scale has been set up quietly. When a complaint is finally brought before the Conciliation Board by the union the grievance is thrown out because under the rules the Board is bound by "practices" or precedents. The readjustment of wages when the method of computing earnings is altered affords the companies opportunities to cut wages. When the payment is changed, for example, from so much per yard to so much per car or vice versa, the company knowing what the present and future technical conditions are is able to propose rates which may seem favorable to the men at first but will, when the new conditions come to light, deprive them of wages. When machinery is introduced, setting the rate always gives the employers a chance to propose wage scales that will mean losses of earnings to the men. If the workers object, the mines are kept closed until the men are starved into submission.

There Is Gold in Those Lecture-Halls

ONE result of the abandonment of the gold standard by the British will undoubtedly be an even greater influx of British lecturers than usual this season.

Among the first of them is the ever articulate J. P. Jacks who has arrived with a Great Message for all of us who may be wondering what to do with the new leasure that a benevolent capitalism has thrust upon us.

Mr. Jacks suggests that we should go into training for adversity, starting with physical exercise. Something like the old-time Swedish exercises. One, two, three, skip, you know. It wasn't so long ago that you were doing this to the hoarse commands of a physical instructor at a microphone.

There are at this writing some 750,000 workless workers in New York City alone. Some of them who have panhandled us of late seem a bit down in the mouth. Thank God Mr. Jacks is here to brighten them up. Let them leave their park benches, flop-houses and Mills hotels and run gayly around the reservoir in Central Park at sundown.

Attendants at the Detroit Convention of the American Legion must be good and dizzy by this time. They were undoubtedly good and dizzy the first night of the convention, if they acted in their conventional manner, but think of their mental state after listening to the first five or six speeches delivered by Hoover, Harbord et al.

First Harbord tells them that surely they are the people and that they have been appointed from the high to become the back-bone of the American Fascists. They are to preserve law and order and protect us all from our "criminal elements". Those who were in Boston at the last convention of the Legion will undoubtedly be delighted to hear that we are to be saved by the Legion especially if they happened to be wayfarers who were hit by bottles thrown from Legion hotel headquarters or were in automobiles dumped over by these stalwart guardians of law and order in their more playful moods.

Then Hoover arrives at Detroit with the heartening word that the Legion having won the war to end war is now summoned to another war. This new war is one in which the Legionnaires are to fight like anything against taking any money for themselves. They are to go out there and stand up like men against accepting any more of the bonus.

However the Legion knows what it wants when it wants it, as the howls of a large section of our Defenders showed at the conclusion of Herbie's speech. Like the American Federation of Labor, the Legion has come to its profound economic solution for the present crisis. Cries of "We want beer!" thundered through the convention hall. You can't expect a bunch of heroes to be busting around putting down our criminal elements without a snootful of something more powerful than water.

I told you recently that these were the days when candidates on the Socialist ticket in New York City paced the floors of night thinking up answers to questions sent them by the Citizens' Union, the League of Women Voters, or so wretcher. They want to know what I think about controlling tax-ables, licensing night clubs and my view of the push-cart situation. Also my age, former activities and previous condition of servitude. I wish they would ask me something about unemployment and public ownership because my stand on the push-cart situation is, well, a bit tenuous, if you get what I mean. I mean that I am not much wrought up about it. I hadn't realized that push-carts had arrived at the burning issue stage. A push-cart is a push-cart, colorful, interesting to those in search of local color for fancy pieces for the paper, but nothing that calls for a questionnaire.

In the issue of "The West Side Socialist News", copies of which will be distributed for the first time at the dinner to Heywood Broun this coming Sunday night at the Level Club on West Seventy-third Street, New York, Heywood says that he just isn't going to answer these questionnaires. You can find out the reasons in detail, if you go to the dinner and hear the speeches by Heywood and Charney Vlodek and Norman Thomas but in general I can tell you that it's because Heywood doesn't think that in a time of crisis like this, Socialists should putter around with such reformist matters. I know that there are in the Party a number of comrades whose intelligence and courage I vastly admire who disagree with Heywood's stand. They believe that Socialists should be concerned with the humdrum, everyday matters of municipal administration. They are temperamentally miles apart from the revolutionary attitude that the time is rotten ripe for intensive agitation for "Socialism in our times," personally I think the time is here for such propaganda. I do realize the value of an intimate knowledge of the machinery of government on the part of every Socialist candidate. But the danger is, in my opinion again, that we are so likely to get caught up in a discussion of that machinery as to leave the impression, upon some of our auditors at any rate, that we are chiefly exercised over patching the machine. Heaven knows we can stand a lot more efficiency in government, and honesty as well. But these things are not at the end of any Socialist quest on which I am willing to embark. For our significance is revolutionary or it is nothing.

Malister Coleman

From Our Foreign Correspondents

Socialists And Coalitions

By Joseph Baskin (General Secretary, Workmen's Circle)

VICTOR ADLER once remarked that the ministerial chair exerts a hidden influence even over its most respectable occupants; whoever becomes a minister of state sooner or later is compelled to act like a rascal. If this observation isn't true literally it certainly is true psychologically.

When you contemplate the present debacle of Ramsay MacDonald you can't help comparing it to similar episodes in recent history. One is tempted to utter a platitude but none the less a truth, that history repeats itself.

The case of Millerand is still vivid in our memories. Remember what consternation his desertion caused among Socialists all over the world! Millerand was the first Socialist who accepted a bourgeois cabinet post, without the consent of his party. It was in the stormy days of the Dreyfus affair when France was in the hands of the militarists and reactionaries.

"To save the Republic," they said, "Socialists may set aside their opposition to bourgeois governments and unite with them to stave off the clerical menace."

Socialists passionately debated this question but as there was no practical significance in the Millerand controversy to the Socialists of other countries in those days it was soon forgotten.

The next episode involving a Socialist renegade was that of Briand, the present minister of France. Briand, the eloquent speaker and syndicalist, joined a bourgeois ministry as Millerand did and his fate was the same.

The British Situation Since the days of Millerand the world has experienced grave catastrophes. The map of the world

MacDonald's National Government Recalls Other Instances of Collaboration

has been redrawn and the economic structure also has undergone a radical change. The Socialist parties have grown considerably and in some European countries the bourgeois parties have been compelled in time of crisis to call upon the Socialist parties to participate in their governments. Wherever Socialists entered the bourgeois governments they did so as a result of instructions from a united party. Where Socialists participated in the governments of Sweden, Belgium and Germany they did not do so as individuals.

A glance at the current British budget reveals the following outstanding facts: Interest on debt... \$1,514,000,000; Repayment of debt... 260,250,000; Army... 199,650,000; Navy... 258,025,000; Air Force... 90,500,000; Education... 291,905,000; Unemployment and Health Insurance... 596,990,000; Old Age and Widows' Pensions... Counting all other expenses there would be a deficit of about Six Hundred Million.

The Extent of the Crisis Along comes the "economy commission" and recommends a series of slashes in the budget. The axe falls on the education fund which it proposed to cut by seventy millions and the unemployment insurance fund which is to be cut by ten per cent while the army and navy expenditures are to remain inviolable.

The meagre relief of the British working class was thus singled out for sacrifice while British investments abroad that amount to billions were left untouched. The large landowners at home, too,

step. The bourgeois parties of the other countries as well watched that government with great concern. So long as the MacDonald government did nothing that threatened directly the interests of the other parties, they permitted it to remain in office. Besides, the Conservatives were in no position to assume control and had no desire to be faced with the well-nigh impossible task of leading the country out of the crisis. And like crafty politicians they chose to remain in the opposition rather than to run the risk of failure in office. It was better politics to permit the Labor Government to continue and lose in prestige because of its inability to apply Socialist measures to solve England's economic troubles. Conditions continued to become worse.

Why, it would never occur to anyone to suggest that New York City, which incurs deficits of millions from time to time, is in any danger of bankruptcy. New York City could live an increased tax on real estate to cover its deficit. If New York can find a way out why cannot England?

A Traitorous Act Thus we find the Labor government cut of office because it could not sanction a reduction in unemployment insurance to help meet the deficit. The Labor government resigned because it would not betray the interests of those who put it in office. Had all the labor ministers come to the British workers and said to them, "Brothers, we were in the government because you put us there. The time has come when all hostile interests are lined up against us, unless we betray your interests. We have decided to resign and continue the fight for Socialism together with our comrades in the ranks." That would be understood and approved by the rank and file. That, too, would have been applauded by Socialists all over the world. Had the MacDonald government chosen this course it would have had excellent chances to be returned to office with a clear majority.

But here history repeats itself. MacDonald, Snowden and J. H. Thomas chose to remain in office, believing, and no doubt honestly,

that a "higher duty" to their country dictated that they remain in office to help England out of its morass. Their personal opinions do not interest us. MacDonald's entry into a coalition (so-called "National government") together with Baldwin and Chamberlain the arch enemies of labor, is a traitorous act. And that is how organized British labor regards it.

How empty are MacDonald's phrases about the duty of the workers to share in the sacrifices! Grated that the plan for balancing the budget had to be carried out with the help of Baldwin and Chamberlain what need is there for MacDonald to remain in the government? MacDonald could very well have left the job to the Conservatives and the Liberals.

It is heartening to note in the days since the fall of the Labor government that the capitalist parties have seen a demonstration of labor's solidarity. The decision of the Trade Union Congress and the vigorous and determined stand of the Labor Party should be adequate answer to the enemies of labor. A few of labor's leaders have betrayed it. So it renounces them and marches onward. British Labor emerges stronger by its decision to stand united against the onslaught of its enemies. MacDonald is no more ours. He is just one more renegade added to the list of Viviani, Millerand, Briand,

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And when you come to think of it, isn't that building symbolical of the crazy scheme under which all of us have suffered these years? Here is a tremendous maze of intricate creation, perfect in every detail, ready for good use to the needs of a civilized community, hardly half filled and destined perhaps for a long time to remain so, all because rent, interest and profit to a non-creative group of investing parasites. You could house perhaps a thousand families comfortably in that obelisk of steel and stone with little alteration, maybe five thousand families... the figures elude me somewhat. You could move all of the slums into the vacant apartments in the better parts of the city. But again, rent, interest, and profit. You could feed the unemployed on all the eggs that outlast storage charges, on all the milk that is given to swine, on all the wheat, cereals, fruit and vegetables that wise men on top suggest farmers to burn up, and which market buccaneers dump into the seas in order to keep prices high. And what of cotton, wool and leather... and what of lumber, brick, steel and other building materials?

Boys, it's so funny, that it hurts. And all of us, seven million already ready for the bread line, and seventeen million more half-way there are sitting over our newspapers to-night worrying about England's fall from the grace of gold, and who killed Mr. Collings.

That trinity, rent, interest and profit must go. Or we go soon to that poetical place from which no traveller ever returns. Lawyers can be patient and accurately procrastinating about our methods for doing away with the unholy three. Preachers may dally and dabble and drool about pie in the sky, politicians may sing about that mythical time when the mythical majority will rise in their might and make things right. Bankers and well-to-do investors may shout Pollyanna until the sad moan grins... but our jobs as plain, everyday Socialist agitators is clear.

Out on the street corner, know your stuff and don't be careful how you say it. We want our pie now. We can show them how to get it. Get out with a hundred million leaflets that blister and sting the whole story in language that even a reader of the Graphic can understand. House to house, neighbor to neighbor, shop to shop, wherever workers live, work or congregate, there must we be today, to-night, to-morrow and until the day comes. Let's get away from Tammany, from Jimmy Tight Rope Walker, and Seabury the Scourge. To Hell with Reform. You can't cure a rotten egg of its smell and make it fit for even a cast iron stomach. We want a city, a state and a nation run by producers of hand and brain, in the sole interest of those who are socially useful, economically indispensable and do the chores of civilized life. Away with the five per cent owners of eighty per cent of the wealth. Just as soon as seven million men and women are out of work, see what happens... Bankers worry, investors worry, stock exchanges close, banks close... hell breaks loose... in this greatest of all worlds. Only the workers count then... And the more workers who stop working, and consequently eat less, wear less and live in lower standards of existence, the more miserable things get everywhere.

Then up, comrades, let's teach and work for a world where only those who work eat, and when everybody works, everyone eats and lives in freedom, peace and plenty... That's simple, isn't it? —S. A. de Witt.

Today one half of the laborers can produce more than sufficient to supply the markets of the world, and the other half, the major part of the time, are compelled either to beg or starve.—Dr. H. S. Alley.

How can you have justice when you put private robbers in prison while public robbers are seen in purple and gold?—Cato.

American Socialists And The International

Report of Delegates to Vienna Conference Gives Cross-Section of Opinion in the American Party

SOME 500 members of the Socialist Party in New York City followed with close interest last Friday night the report of the party's delegates to the recent Vienna congress of the Socialist and Labor International. Every available seat in the Debs Auditorium was filled and there were many standees.

The meeting brought out sharp differences of opinion on the work of the congress, differences which were reflected in the discussion from the floor. Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, Algernon Lee, Jacob Panken and Julius Gerber felt that the congress represented a movement meeting tremendous responsibilities in thorough Socialist fashion. On the other hand, Jessie Wallace Hughan and Dr. Louis Sadoff felt that the action of the International on disarmament was weak and insufficient to meet the war danger. Dr. Sadoff was critical of the entire proceedings.

Hillquit declared the Vienna congress was the largest ever held. It had 700 delegates from 30 nations, representing many party memberships of 6 1/2 millions and over 25 millions of voters. The parties have 1,200 members in national parliaments and over 300 daily papers.

Cites Austrian Revolt "The first impression gathered from the congress," Hillquit declared, "was that of power. Many of the parties run their governments others exert tremendous negative influence. This congress then was no mere body that could content itself with resolutions. It represented parties of the workers, actually, not abstractly as we do. The delegates remembered that if they called on their followers to rise in revolt they would do so. In the nations where Socialism is weak, we may be as revolutionary as we please. But in Europe our sister parties must think of what will be the consequence of their every act and resolution. This seeming slowness, actually a sign of responsibility, showed the maturity and determination of the movement."

"Austria the other day offered a demonstration and the responsibility of the movement. When the Fascist coup was attempted, the government hesitated between putting it down and allowing it to go on. The Socialist Party stepped in and declared that if the government would not act, it would. Under this pressure, the attempted Fascist revolution went down to complete defeat. This was a demonstration of the power and determination of this so-called conservative Socialism."

The depression period and its international complications, Hillquit continued, made responsibility more necessary than ever. It was felt that this was no time for meaningless phrases, since pressing immediate problems had to be met.

Some of the American delegates, new and unfamiliar to Socialist congresses, may have felt that this made the deliberations drab and without fire. It was true, Hillquit said, that the movement is not so romantic as it was; yet there was an organized, disciplined force which gave greater guarantee than ever of Socialist success. No one could doubt that the Socialist movement was moving on though seemingly it was making slow progress.

Miss Hughan Critical Jessie Wallace Hughan devoted most of her time to describing the actions of the Congress on disarmament. The majority of the congress, she felt, was more conservative on this subject than it should have been. The position of the Independent Labor Party, Miss Hughan felt, was closer to Socialism. The League of Nations or a group of Liberals could have subscribed to the official resolution, she said. This resolution called for intensive propaganda which would lead the February meeting of the League's disarmament commission to take drastic action.

The American delegation was divided on the disarmament resolution. Four or five opposed the official resolution, but since the unit rule of voting prevailed, there was little opportunity for presentation of the minority position. It was asserted that if this resolution failed, no resolution might be passed. It was therefore decided that Hillquit, for the delegation, would indicate its dissatisfaction with the resolution but that the votes would be cast for it rather than have the American party placed in an obstructionist position.

Miss Hughan said she was greatly disappointed in the congress. In general, the American delegation as far as the left hand of the body of the congress. It was her impression that the large European parties were afraid to "disturb a dying capitalism." Rather, she said, it tended to prop up the system. Concluding, Miss Hughan urged that at the next Congress the American Socialists have a satisfactory resolution on disarmament and stick to it.

Lee on Political Work Algernon Lee felt that Miss Hughan had not given an adequate report of the proceedings in the disarmament commission. The Congress, he said, met in the shadow of the possible collapse of the German republic and this danger largely dominated the proceedings. The German crisis held within it the possibilities of civil and international war. Disarmament was only a part of the great work. On disarmament, Lee felt that there might have been more inspiring rhetoric to inspire

the movement against war. But the world knows the Socialist International stands for disarmament and what was more necessary was a plan of action adopted by responsible and instructed delegates. The determination was that disarmament should not be postponed again on any pretext. In the agitation to force the League of Nations to take effective action, the Socialist Party of the United States must join with all its energy or else it will have fallen short of its Socialist duty. Failure of the American delegation to vote for the majority resolution would have enabled reactionaries to say that the U. S. Socialists were against disarmament.

Turning to the work of the political commission, Lee spoke of the commission's work to defeat the forces of Fascism, and of its efforts to cement the solidarity of French and German Socialism. Open expression of fears or resentment on the part of the German and French Socialists might have given impression of a rift which did not exist. In the closed sessions of the commission, views were freely voiced which stressed the responsibility of the parties in both nations to the International.

Lee declared it was of the highest importance that no mistakes should be made which might play into the hands of Bolshevism, of Fascism or of the existing reactionary governments. The Socialist parties and the International would not chance the lives and interests of the workers in civil war when the odds were against the workers. The workingclass parties would continue to use democracy. If the use of democratic avenues were denied, however, then the ruling classes must accept the consequences. But it must not be assumed that the democratic roads were closed until they had been tried.

Sadoff Attacks Congress Dr. Sadoff criticized the efforts to mobilize a left wing point of view around the I. L. P. position. He said the congress was not only dull, but painful. While in the streets hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated for peace and disarmament, the Congress lagged behind and was cautious and backward. He could not sit in a Congress that was intent on putting props under a falling capitalist system. He decried a Socialist Congress which could appeal to the bankers of the world to save Germany. The resolution on Germany represented the spirit of "gradualism" which had brought the British Labor party near disaster. Otto Bauer's declaration that if the workers found demagogic paths barred to them they would use extra-legal means, was dismissed by Dr. Sadoff as a gesture. It was not the duty of the

Socialist parties to wait until they were attacked, he said, but rather to press forward. The American delegation, Dr. Sadoff complained, was neither elected by the membership of the party nor instructed by it.

Judge Panken, who served on the economics commission, said he was in a minority on it. He didn't think the main business of the Congress should be with disarmament. The replacing of Capitalism with Socialism was the proper business of the Congress and, he felt, it was handled in satisfactory fashion. Judge Panken assailed Dr. Sadoff for not attending the entire session of the Congress, pointing out that he had left Vienna after the opening meeting. The report of the economics commission was a great Socialist document, he said. Panken reiterated the position taken by Bauer that the Socialist movement would not hesitate to show its power should the democratic structure of the nations be menaced by the reactionaries.

Ester Friedman described briefly the international of women Socialists. There was nothing spectacular about it, she said, but the exchange of experiences, the pledges of solidarity were inspiring. They gave one a feeling of the determination of the women Socialists to fight to the end against war and hunger. Miss Evelyn Hughan said the best thing met in Vienna where a concrete illustration of the power and accomplishments of Socialism could be seen on all sides. Gerber took the floor to reply to Dr. Sadoff, pointing out that the latter's decision to leave the Congress was not a sudden one but had been reached before he had an opportunity to see what the Congress would be like. Disarmament, Gerber added, was largely a European problem and therefore it was natural that the views of the European Socialist parties should prevail in the International.

Hillquit Speaks Again Hillquit, summing up the reports, said the American delegation was neither more to the left than the rest of the Congress, nor more active. It was, he said, "a little raw, a little less experienced, a little more ignorant" than the other delegations, but in other respects similar. Replying to Miss Hughan, Hillquit said she was a pacifist first and a Socialist second. Her report neglected to tell of the circumstances under which the disarmament resolution had been adopted. He challenged her to offer the Socialist international program to the League of Nations and see what would happen to it. Aside from the absence of more striking rhetoric, the resolution adopted was an out-and-out Socialist

statement. Hillquit denied that the International had appealed to bankers to save Germany. It had, he said, urged the workingclasses to bring pressure on their governments to aid Germany. "I do not want to be personal, but it seems to me that Comrade Sadoff is typical of the left wing. He did not attend the conference because he was disgusted with it. If I were disgusted with the Socialist International I wouldn't remain among you. We are not the best party in the International, but we are the ones to sit back and give lessons to the Social Democratic party of Germany. To go to Camp Eden and lay down the law for the Socialist parties of the world, is to make yourself ridiculous and childish."

Discussion From Floor A vigorous discussion followed, most of the speakers from the floor being critical of the position taken by the party's delegation. Theodore Shapiro felt that the delegation should have spoken and voted for a resolution urging complete disarmament. Laurence Rozin felt that the European parties should not be guided only by political expediency and a desire to maintain power at any cost. Nathan Fine listed a number of accomplishments of the Socialist International. Edward Levinson urged that in the future international Socialist issues be discussed before congresses are held, and that delegates be elected by referendum vote or by national convention rather than haphazardly and on their own request as they now are. Referring to Hillquit's description of the delegation as "raw, ignorant," Jack Herling said the delegation might be classed as "innocents abroad."

Bela Low, chairman of the party's educational committee presided. The meeting had been arranged by that committee. A collection taken by August Claessens netted the party over \$100. —E. L.

The Chatterbox

IT took a long time to get around to see Heywood Broun's "Shoot The Works" still playing at the Cohan Theatre, and after ye scribe and his spouse had done so to our hearts full of enjoyment, we reason it will be a long time before we will see another of these vaudeville jamborees with anything like equal profit. I'm not given much to theatre at best, in spite of a natural bent for play-boyish pranks at socialies and party conventions; so that my critical appraisal here ought to bear heavier importance.

I like the whole atmosphere of co-operation, the utter lack of playing up stars, the almost proletarian flavor of so many of its numbers, and the peppery tempo with which satire and song and dance is tripped off through two long and wholesome sessions. Aside from the evident social value of giving work to actors and actresses by your patronage, your attendance will carry the famous double blessing. I'm all for a whole winter's run of Broun's Revue, if his aldermanic crusade fails...

Which brings me to the gist of this little talk on current events. The night I attended "Shoot The Works", George Jessel, an old East Side contemporary of mine in street corner jiggling and yodelling "Sweet Adeline," was the guest artist. The most side-shattering of his jokes will bear repeating since it falls in with pertinent subject matter here...

Jessel told about his running across a little Hebrew real estate right in front of the Empire State Building... "Oh, oi, vhay is meer," that genial orthodox intonation. "Oh, oh vhay is me," is perhaps the nearest translation of a phrase that carries with it all the suffering of Israel through five thousand years. This he kept repeating until George And at the rentals demanded and necessary to pay godfathers and sugaraddies.

Now, I'm not happy about this at all. Except that I see in that splendid result of engineering genius and the magic of workmen, a real tombstone to the corpse of capitalism. Someday, and not so soon perhaps, workers will occupy it for governmental bureaus, and laugh softly as tales are told on how real estate agents, politicians and financiers expected to rent its spacious offices to other real estate sharks, bootleggers and bankers in the golden age of dog eat dog...

And when you come to think of it, isn't that building symbolical of the crazy scheme under which all of us have suffered these years? Here is a tremendous maze of intricate creation, perfect in every detail, ready for good use to the needs of a civilized community, hardly half filled and destined perhaps for a long time to remain so, all because rent, interest and profit to a non-creative group of investing parasites. You could house perhaps a thousand families comfortably in that obelisk of steel and stone with little alteration, maybe five thousand families... the figures elude me somewhat. You could move all of the slums into the vacant apartments in the better parts of the city. But again, rent, interest, and profit. You could feed the unemployed on all the eggs that outlast storage charges, on all the milk that is given to swine, on all the wheat, cereals, fruit and vegetables that wise men on top suggest farmers to burn up, and which market buccaneers dump into the seas in order to keep prices high. And what of cotton, wool and leather... and what of lumber, brick, steel and other building materials?

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Chester Erskin Puts On Two Superb Stagings

Plays Leading Role in Proving Popular at the Fox B'klyn and 'Hipp' "Did I Say No?"



Anna Appel has the star part in Elizabeth Miele's latest play, "Did I Say No?" which opened at the 48th St. Theatre last Tuesday.

"Tabu," the Beautiful Polynesian Love Story Filmed in South Seas, Is Now at the Cameo

"Tabu," the picture that recently played on Broadway for an extended run at \$1.50 top, is now at the first time at popular prices. The story is a romance of the Polynesians with all their primitive spirit and passionate love. The chief, Old Hiti, announces that the Gods have chosen Reri as "Tabu" which meant that she would have to leave her lover, Matahi and become a possession of the Gods. When the lovers learn that they are to be separated, Matahi steals Reri from the old priest and they set out to a far island and make their home there.

They were very happy, until Hiti appeared at the hut one night and told Reri, the Matahi will be killed within three days unless she gave herself up to the tribal leaders. Hiding the news from her lover she urges him to go away to Papeete, a port hundreds of miles away. Matahi is persuaded, and purchases his ticket only to have it taken from him in lieu of payment for champagne. Reri is panic-stricken when she learns that their escape has been thwarted. When he reaches the hut Reri has been captured again by Hiti and Matahi pursues the chief's boat across the inlet and then when he is within swimming distance he leaves his canoe and follows the ship, catching on to a tow rope and holding on until the chief cuts the rope and Matahi sinks below the waves of the South Seas. "Tabu" was directed by F. W. Murnau, and the entire production was staged in the South Sea Islands.

"Merely Mary Ann" and Entire Stage Revue Held Over at the Fox B'klyn

In its second week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre, "Merely Mary Ann" continues to bring more and more popularity to the acknowledged sweetheart of the screen, Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell.

This film romance is set first, in a cheap London boarding house, then a cottage by the sea, and finally with a London opera house as the background. The stars have been expertly cast by Director Henry King. Also held over a second week is the Fanchon & Marco stage show, "Broken Dolls" Idea. Featured in this unit are Charles Bennington and his famous New York Newsboys Harmonica Band, reproducing the novel "Peter Stuyvesant Peg-leg Number" from the musical success, "Dearest Enemy". Mowat & Hardy, The Three Comets, Edward Hill, Gautier's Hot Dogs and a bevy of Sun-kist Beauties are also featured. Ron and Don continue at the organs, while Sam Jack Kaufman as master of ceremonies directs the band.

The Movies Are Moving Forward

The success of "The Guardsman" at the Astor Theatre should be hailed as a welcome sign of progress by persons interested in the development of the motion picture.

Both the stars of the photoplay, Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt, must have felt something of this spirit of progress when they were working in the film. For, in a recent interview, Miss Fontanne said: "Motion picture producers are not the comedy characters portrayed in 'Once in a Lifetime'. They are alert, forward-looking persons whose daring and initiative is only curbed by the fact that huge sums of money are at stake. When they learn, as theatrical men have learned, that there are two classes of theatre-goers, they will lose their hesitancy to do good things on the screen for fear of financial failure. In every community there is a group of thinking persons who are willing to support entertainment which interests, and they will support just as whole-heartedly and at the same price which the tired-business-man pays for his girl shows and bawdy skits in revue. "Both my husband and myself were astonished to find such a progressive attitude in Hollywood. The people in charge are young and courageous. We should see wonderful things coming from Hollywood in the next decade," the actress concluded. "The Guardsman," an adaptation of a Ferenc Molnar comedy, was directed by Sidney Franklin. Roland Young and a notable cast appear in support of the Lunts.

"HE" A Theatre Guild Production

Elizabeth Miele and Her New Play, "Did I Say No?"

Elizabeth Miele's new play "Did I Say No?" which stars Anna Appel, opened at the 48th Street Theatre last Tuesday night. Miss Miele will be remembered as a Jersey woman, having been a newspaper woman in Newark for a number of years. Later she successfully practiced law in Newark.

Two Famous Theatre Guild Stars in Their First Screen Production



"The Guardsman" at the Astor Theatre marks the premiere talking screen appearance of Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt.

"Die Lindenwirthin vom Rhein" ("The Inn At the Rhine"), Romantic German Screen Operetta, Is Successor to Long Running "Zwei Herzen" at the Europa Theatre

"Die Lindenwirthin vom Rhein" ("The Inn at the Rhine"), a romantic German screen operetta, had its American premiere at the Europa on Wednesday, Sept. 23rd. Most of the action in this picture takes place in a picturesque inn, nestled in the hills by the Rhine. Its story is concerned with the romance of a jolly young woman, the proprietress of the "Linden Inn," with a young professor of the nearby college. Kaethe Dorsch, famous German musical comedy star, makes her film debut in this German screen operetta. In the part of the "Lindenwirthin" she has ample opportunity to sing a number of original German melodies for the entertainment of her guests at the inn. The songs for this production were composed by Michael Krausz, brilliant young colleague of Strauss, Kalman and Lehár. This German film, which has been one of the most popular pictures of the past season in Europe, was taken at the Berlin studios of the Ufa Co. and its outdoor scenes at its actual locale on the River Rhine. Kaethe Dorsch is supported by a large cast of German screen and stage stars, amongst them the famous German opera and radio tenor, Hans Heinz Bollmann, who likewise makes his screen debut in this production; Oskar Sabo, Fritz Schulz, Maria Elsner, Ida Wuest, Leo Schuetzenendorff, and Eugen Rex, who has appeared with Max Reinhardt in his recent American tour.

"East of Borneo," Novel and Entertaining, at The Mayfair and Albee

Every so often a producer makes a picture that not alone he, but the exhibitor, raves about. It may be the result of an accident—but it is conceded to be a picture. Universal is said to have such a picture in "East of Borneo," which is now at the Mayfair and the Albee Theatres. It is a powerful romance, filmed in part in the jungles of Sumatra—with incidental scenes of native and animal life, spectacles of the jungles almost unbelievable. The cast includes Rose Hobart, Charles Bickford, Lupita Tovar and Georges Renavent. George Melford is credited with the direction.

"The Best of the New Season's Openings" Robert Garland—World-Telegram.

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Alfred Lunt Lynn Fontanne

The Guardsman
with ROLAND YOUNG, ZASU PITTS
from the play by FERENC MOLNAR
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Dostoyevsky Honored In Karamazov Film, Now in Second Week At Tobis Vanderbilt

That featherweight phrase—one refers to "genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains"—continues to fall down in the face of fact. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, according to one of his most highly thought of translators, gives the lie to the aphorism. According to Constance Garnett's preface to the Modern Library Edition of "The Brothers Karamazov", Dostoyevsky "was weighed down by debts, his brother's family was dependent upon him, he was forced to write at heart-break speed and is said never to have corrected his work."

Possibly working against the cruel exigencies of poverty and the ravages of disease can be construed as "taking pains". More accurately it is taking punishment. The brilliant Dostoyevsky took plenty of that. Judging, then, from his life, genius is an infinite capacity for suffering. The aphorism should stand as amended. Those who are familiar with Dostoyevsky's works and especially those who have read and liked his "The Brothers Karamazov" will be glad to learn that it has been translated to the screen; made into a German talking motion picture. Thus Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who never even re-read his own manuscripts still lives after a half a century . . . not only in print but on the talking screen in the Tobis presentation of his monumental work—"Karamazov", now at The Tobis-Vanderbilt Theatre.

Gaynor and Farrell in "Merely Mary Ann" at The Hipp; All Comedy Vaudeville Program

Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell, the screen's beloved lovers are seen in their newest romance "Merely Mary Ann" at the Hippodrome this week in conjunction with a stage show brimful of laughter and merriment. The great comedy vaudeville program features such sure-fire comics as Harry J. Conley in a new act by Dr. Rockwell; Fred Sanborn with Walter Kane and Dorothy Henry combining music with fun; Benny Ross in "Broadway Celebrities" and Earl LaVere with Mildred Byram telling stories in songs and steps. Dolores Farris, featured dancer of "Good News" and "New Moon," introduces a smart revue with her Hill Billy boy friends.

In Screen Version of Elmer Rice's Pulitzer Prize Play, "Street Scene"



Acclaimed by the critics as one of the finest pictures of the year, "Street Scene" with Sylvia Sydney and William Collier Jr. goes into its seventh week at the Rivoli Theatre where it has broken all house records.

B. S. Moss' "Varieties" Held Over 2nd Week

Scoring an unprecedented and overwhelming success with his policy of presenting Broadway musical extravaganzas in conjunction with first-run talking pictures at a top price of 85 cents, B. S. Moss, veteran showman, announced today that Joe E. Brown, famous stage and screen comedian, and the entire cast of "Varieties" would be held over for an additional week at the Broadway Theatre. The feature picture, "Pagan Lady," in which Evelyn Brent is starred, will also be held over as an added attraction.

Mr. Moss' producing staff consists of representative craftsmen in the \$5 revue field on Broadway. Alexander Leftwich, who directed the "Little Show," staged "Varieties." The songs are by Mack Gordon and Harry Revel, who wrote many of the tunes in the Ziegfeld "Polies." Sid Silvers, author of Ed Wynn's forthcoming show, "Laugh Parade," contributed the sketches and Albertina Rasch is the dance director. In addition to Joe E. Brown, the cast of "Varieties" includes Jack Pepper, the Maxellos, the Brox Sisters, Dorothy Dare, Maxine Carson, William Langan and twenty-four Albertina Rasch dancers.

"TABU"

with RERI Beautiful Star of Ziegfeld Folies
"It should be seen"—World-Telegram.

R. K. O. CAMEO 42nd St. All Seats 35c To 1 P.M.

NEW BROADWAY Varieties

Held Over for 2nd Week! An Original Stage Revue 12 Scenes—Company of 50 starring B. S. MOSS
B. S. MOSS IN BROWNE PERSON and on the Screen First N. Y. Showing "PAGAN LADY" with Evelyn Brent UNTIL CONTINUOUS 35c 1 P.M. 11 A.M. to MIDNIGHT

ROXY ZANE GREY'S IMMORTAL STORY RIDERS OF THE PURPLE SAGE

On the Stage . . . A Dazzling Musical Show Black & White Revue Orchestra Ballet Corps 32 Roxyettes Singing Ensemble

Willy Forst and Betty Bird in UFA's

European Musical Hit UFA Cosmopolitan Theatre Broadway at 39th Street

THEATRE PARTIES

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

Begins Popular Price Run at the Cameo



Here, the Polynesian beauty, as she appears in "Tabu," the beautiful Romance of the South Seas.

NEW LEADER

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

James O'Connell, Editor; Edward Levinson, Assistant Editor.

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SAURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1931

The War and Wages

WITH wage reductions of 10 per cent in the steel industry that affect about 300,000 workers, the drive being led by the United States Steel Corporation, the hypocritical formula of "equality of sacrifice" has come to the United States.

This drive against wages by a great industry is not the first one. Wage slashing has been going on for more than a year but with this leading-capitalistic oligarchy assuming the leadership we may expect other masters of American industries to follow the example.

Moreover, these industries are anti-union concerns. Organized pressure by the workers against exploitation is almost impossible. They are disfranchised in industry. They are serfs bound to their feudal masters as were the bondsmen of feudal owners several centuries ago in Europe.

Who won the war, anyway? In all countries the workers who were sent as conscripts to the front have lost and the steel magnates who have ordered reduced rations in their plants fattened on extortionate profits while the workers were being mutilated and killed at the front.

Japan in Manchuria

WHILE the other big powers are occupied with their own domestic troubles Japan, on the pretext that one of her army officers was shot as a spy by Manchurian soldiers, has invaded Manchuria. A dozen points have been occupied, one of them, Tsingtao, through which Japan invaded and occupied the province of Shantung about four years ago.

The Japanese Government has pretended that its army has acted without orders but this is obviously false. It is necessary to assume this innocence to avoid the charge of having violated the Kellogg-Briand pact forbidding war as an instrument of international policy.

That Japan has started another imperialist adventure is obvious. The other Powers are by no means innocents and their agreements regarding China are not prompted by any holy considerations. The pacts are intended to prevent one power from getting too much in China and most of them have despoiled China in one way or another. Should Japan hold Chinese territory

it would mean that she stole a march on the international thugs while the latter were too sick to take care of a breach of faith by one of their pals.

The Disinherited

EXPECTATION of hunger riots sweeping over industrial districts throughout the country induced Edward F. McGrady, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, to say, "If we have to choose between hunger and riot, we are not going hungry."

E. C. Davidson, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists, is also pessimistic after a journey through the western Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia coal fields. What he observed recalls the travels of Arthur Young in France on the eve of the French Revolution.

Anticipating the hell that may come with the first blast of winter suggestions are made that Congress urge the Navy and War departments to make their millions of reserve blankets and tents available for the jobless millions and that the army kitchen equipment be mobilized to provide meals for the unfortunates.

So the whole capitalist system drifts, a system concealing the greatest powers of production the world has ever known and yet in its shadow are millions of starvelings. The Socialist indictment never had such tremendous force as it has today and we must do our utmost to reach the masses with our message.

Municipal Capitalism

OBSERVING that an exceptional rainfall supplied New York in 122 days with water having the sale value at meter rates of \$8,500,000, the New York Evening Sun declares that "Here is a dividend payer to fill Wall Street with envy."

In passing it may be said that community councils throughout Greater New York are being urged by local groups to establish a municipal electric light and power plant to provide the service at cost. Many of these local groups consist of home owners but they also have a large percentage of business men who are opposed to the rates they are compelled to pay the Edison crowd and they would have themselves served at a low cost.

We have not anywhere seen in this propaganda any reference to the claims of the workers. It is the old idea of municipal capitalism as opposed to municipal Socialism. The former has in mind only cheap service and this is often obtained at the expense of cheap labor.

For example, if we obtained the municipal plant in New York City our first concern would be the wages, hours and conditions of the workers. Instead of reducing the service to a cost basis we could cut the rates in half and still accumulate a surplus which would be available for unemployment emergencies.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

Many of the relief jobs intended to aid the jobless in New York City have been distributed to the advantage of the Tammany heblers and workers. "Vote Tammany and be relieved" is the slogan.

It isn't a simple problem for the Socialists in Germany. Imagine the United States having a parliamentary system, based upon the most accurate system of proportional representation in the world; a multi-party system which brings about a dozen parties into the field, Socialists, Communists, Clericals, Fascists, and so on. The government changes not according to the calendar but according to the changing shift of opinions and parties.

There are many people who are afraid of modern thought. I am not. What I am more afraid of is modern thoughtlessness. So many put out their thinking to be done by their newspaper; they act more from prejudice or passion than as the result of thought and thinking. The call to repent is the call to think—and think again. Repentance is not simply a matter of the emotions; it is a matter of the mind.—Dr. Charles Brown.

Abject faith is barbarism; reason is civilization. To obey is slavish; to act from a sense of obligation by the reason is noble. Ignorance worships mystery; reason explains it; the one grovels, the other soars.—Ingersoll.

By Henry J. Rosner

ALTHOUGH the Tammany-Walker administration has been in office almost seven years, virtually no progress has been made in that time toward the solution of New York's rapid transit muddle. Its policy has been characterized by a total disregard of both the interests of the riding public and labor.

A sound transit program would involve: (1) the elimination of subway congestion by the provision of more adequate facilities; (2) the betterment of conditions for the terribly exploited employees; and (3) a guarantee of the preservation of the 5-cent fare.

Badly-Needed Lines Unfinished

New York's long suffering subway riders would have obtained some relief if the city's new subway system had been completed within a reasonable period. In 1925 the construction of a new system of subways was begun. That program included a new West Side Subway along Eighth Avenue extending into the Bronx, a new subway in Queens, a new cross-town subway in Brooklyn along Manhattan and Lafayette Avenues.

B. M. T. Has Cheated City

The turning over to the B.M.T. of a billion and a half dollars worth of transit property, which will be the value of the unified system when the new subways are added, is particularly outrageous. B.M.T. relations with the city have been such that it has long since forfeited public confidence. It has cheated and defrauded the city, its partner in subway operation again and again.

The companies today have the upper hand because the city has fallen in the last four years to give notice of its intention to recapture the subways which it built. If the city recaptures the East Side line of the Interborough and operates it in conjunction with the new Eighth Avenue subway, the Interborough will be left with a less profitable West Side line because of the competition of the Eighth Avenue and the unprofitable Manhattan Elevated lines.

It is argued that recapture of the B.M.T. subways means dismemberment of the rapid transit system in Brooklyn because the city lacks the power to recapture lines like the Brighton Beach and Sea Beach which feed into the city-owned subway. The shrewd gentlemen who control the B.M.T. cannot be unaware that their elevated lines will become unprofitable as soon as they face the competition of the new Brooklyn Crosstown and Fulton street subways which are nearing completion.

Classes and Class Ideals

By Werner Sombart

In "Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century"

What we must now hold fast as the result of our investigation is this, and it is a true Marxian thought, that social ideals are only utopianism so long as they are merely evolved in the head of the theorist. They obtain reality only when they are united to actual economic conditions, when they arise out of these conditions.

But why must the way towards the realization of this aim lie through class strife? To this we answer in brief: modern society presents itself to us as an artificial medley of numerous social classes—that is, of certain groups of persons whose homogeneity arises out of their attachment to specific forms or spheres of economic life.

This attachment to a social class works decisively in two directions. It implants in the mind of each individual member of a class the conception of the world and life characteristic of that group of men whose thoughts and feelings tend to become identical through the uniformity of the external circumstances that control them; similarity of aspiration and ideal is created.

Labor Puts Legion To Sincerity Test

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Will the Detroit convention of the American Legion make good on the Legion's annual pledge of friendship to the American Federation of Labor, by formally de-

manding another \$5 or \$10 million dollars. Samuel Untermyer labor to agree upon a plan for escape from the economic depression? From what they observed during the meeting in Washington, Sept. 14, of the Employment Commission of the Legion, labor spokesmen gained no hope that the annual good-will talks by Legion national commanders would result in any help to labor in this specific attempt to get work divided among more people, with shorter hours of toil. Their pessimism was deepened by a statement issued Sept.

Worst Evils of Private Ownership Aggravated by Tammany Policy — The Socialist Program

ownership and operation with the five cent fare; therefore would not only make money available for bettering working conditions but would also considerably improve the city's own financial position. It would make another 9 million available for health and educational services. It would give the city an additional \$30 million dollars borrowing power. Under the State Constitution, a city's debt incurring power is limited to 10% of the assessed value of taxable real property.

Public ownership and operation of a unified rapid transit system under the terms outlined above would make available 6 million dollars annually for bettering labor conditions. Five million dollars a year would be sufficient to reduce the work week to 48 hours for all rapid transit employees without a cut in pay. Revenues would also be sufficient to pay the fixed charges on the 300 million dollar investment of the city in existing lines which have never been self-sustaining from the earnings of the system.

The Workers Mistrusted

The workers on the rapid transit lines have been treated just as unfairly as the riding public. Thousands work 7 days a week, ten hours a day. They can have a day off at their own expense but the low wages forces many to work seven days in order to support their families. To earn \$35 a week the men have to work 60 hours a week. To earn \$40 they must work 7 days. Subway employees should have a shorter week than most workers because of the underground and therefore, unhealthful character of their employment. A reduced work week, moreover, would give a great many now unemployed jobs.

Every attempt on the part of these workers to organize and improve their conditions has been bitterly fought by the companies with the brutal assistance of the city's police department.

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Price of Private Ownership Recapture followed by public

The "Dole" in Action

By William Blenco

SO MUCH has been printed in the American press generally condemnatory, that perhaps a few words from one who has seen it in action may not be out of place. First, though, I would like to ask why "dole"?

I was in London for about six weeks and on an average of about four days a week, passed along a street which could not be accused of being aristocratic. It was in fact the "East India Dock Road" at Poplar, and the name itself should give one an idea of the people to be found there. Years ago before I came to the United States, I knew this place and I can say that if one wanted to find some tough characters, here was the place to find them. It was impossible to find a native with a collar and tie; the general newswear was a black silk scarf knotted around the throat.

What a difference now! They are the same tough lot as they always were, but with this difference: Only a few of the older ones wear the black "choker" of bygone days; the vast majority wearing collars and ties. A small matter but very significant.

In this same East India Dock Road I found hundreds, if not almost say thousands, of the unemployed lounging along the street corners, hands in pockets, smoking cigarettes. While there were no signs of plentifullness, the men as a rule appeared neatly dressed, but clothing well worn, and certainly not hungry looking.

Let us see what is understood by real equality. It has for its basis two essential conditions—work in common; enjoyment in common.—Babeuf. It is to labor, and to labor only, that man owes everything possessed of exchangeable value.—McCulloch ("Principles of Political Economy.") Brave deeds are the monuments of brave men.—Napoleon I. I heard the bells on Christmas Day Their old, familiar carols play, And mid and sweet The words repeat Of peace on earth, good will to men! —Longfellow.