

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

THERE is a pleasant little village in New York where for many years men have worked and played and lived. After this month it will be like a village of the dead. The only industry in the village was a mill where textile goods were finished and printed. Since the collapse of the post-war boom in textiles the mill, save for a few brief periods, has been losing money. This year it has lost heavily and with panic suddenness the great corporation which owned it sold it to a Southern firm which will move out so much of the machinery as it wants and leave the deserted village behind. As things go one cannot much blame the owners. There was a time when the mill had various welfare or partnership features including if I am not mistaken some kind of fund to mitigate the evils of unemployment. This sort of thing, of course, is never kept up on a deficit. There is no help for the workers. From the management down they will have to be "rugged individualists" and shift somehow for themselves.

Now this sort of story which can be repeated elsewhere in other parts of America is proof of the sickness of our economic order. It is also proof of the cruel and fantastic folly of President William Green's notion that any voluntary agreement between employers and employees can effectively relieve unemployment or take the place of a nationwide scheme of unemployment insurance falling upon industry generally and upon the recipients of great profits so that it cannot fall like private schemes. Is there any worker in the country capable of honestly facing the facts who will care to line up with President Green and say that for the workers of the village I have described unemployment insurance would be only a "paternalistic dolt"?

At Geneva representatives of most of the nations of the world joined in discussion of world-wide depression. Some of the spokesmen had fear in their hearts as they thought how impotent were their governments in the face of economic despair. Yet more than a policy of destruction is necessary. Mere revolt will not help the world. It will not pay the farmers for a five hundred million bushel surplus of wheat. It will not of itself solve the financial difficulties inherent in a world-wide shortage of gold. These latter difficulties, given a little common sense and international cooperation, ought not to be insoluble. Gold is not necessary properly to manage currency. It is logically an obstacle to such a currency because of its own fluctuations in value. If psychologically we need a fetish like gold it ought to be internationally managed.

The wheat surplus is inherently a more serious problem. How much of it is due to the fact that the world cannot wisely use more wheat for food and how much to the very different fact that the world cannot pay for it? No figures on wheat are worth much that do not answer this question.

It is quite evident that the economic and political rulers of America and Western Europe who have made a botch of farm relief are eager to jump at a chance to make Soviet Russia a scapegoat. The rest of us will do well to keep from getting excited. What are the facts? So far as the American market is concerned it would appear that the Soviet Government has sold short on the Chicago market a considerable amount of wheat but scarcely enough greatly to affect the price. Short selling is a common practice. I am inclined to think it is a bad practice even under capitalism. But it is no worse when done by Russia than by any grain operator, and capitalist economists usually justify selling shorts. At any rate, sooner or later the Soviet Government must cover its sales by buying in the American market. For it can scarcely ship in Russian grain against the American tariff. By itself these transactions do not seem serious.

It is alleged, however, that in addition to this Russia is dumping real grain, some of it adulterated, on the European market at a price below the cost of production in Western Europe or America. This is more serious if true. It can be explained in two ways: One, as the expression of a malicious desire to make trouble in Western Europe. The Russian Government may have such a desire but it is doubtful if it would take such an expensive way to gratify it at a time when its own people are short of food. The second explanation is therefore more probable. It is that in its desperate effort to carry out its five year program Russia is seeking money by exporting everything that it can export even at cost to its own people. This sort of thing cannot go on forever and is likely to rectify itself by pressure from hungry folks at home.

The danger as I see it is that bad economic conditions create fertile soil for hate and suspicion. A war would temporarily absorb food surplus stocks and bring its own kind of prosperity though at a frightful price. There may be men mad enough to want war or at least to tolerate it. There may be Americans who would like to grow rich supplying another war. The mingled fear and fanaticism of the Communist rulers in Russia and the stupid shortsighted self-interest of the rulers of most other nations make it far easier than it ought to be to create a situation in which war may be the result. If America is to do her part in avoiding war between Russia and some capitalist nation or between two or three capitalist nations we will have to show more statesmanship than is suggested by the Fish Fishing Committee or Senator Oddie's proposed embargo on Russian products or President Hoover's notion that much can be done to help unemployment by the cheap device of cutting further down on immigration without any cost to the bankers and manufacturers who own the Republican Party.

UNQUESTIONABLY the German Fascists create one of the danger points in Europe. Hitler may be guilty of treason but the government's threat to try him for it will take a degree of courage and strength that it has not heretofore shown. In commenting recently on the radical and semi-socialistic hodge-podge of economic proposals that Hitler's National Socialists put out I took them more seriously than I should have. Clearly they were meant to catch voters and I have since learned that the only important member of the party who tried to act on them was expelled. The Fascists are simply anti-Semite jingoes who are financed, it is said, by certain big industrialists. Nevertheless it is somewhat significant that in order to catch votes they have to make a hypocritical pretense of an unscientific socialism.

WHEN my friend Lawrence Hogan went to the chain gang in North Carolina because of his part in the Marion strike it was justice itself that once again became the victim of the class struggle in its rawest. In the long strike at Marion no one was seriously injured and scarcely anyone was bruised except the striking workers. Many of them were massacred but the Sheriff's men were acquitted and only some leaders of the strikers were sent to jail. Hogan's term, fortunately, is short. The chain gang will not break his spirit or dull the intelligence with which he seeks to teach the lesson of sound labor organization in the South.

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By HEYWOOD BROWN:

## "Why Can't America Lead"

Independent Reduction Of Armaments would Be An Example  
Other Peoples Would Force Their Governments To Follow

### THE WRONG PERSON BOMBED

I'D like to consider the problem of peace. Of course, we have the Kellogg treaties which are supposed to insure universal peace. Yet peace hasn't been exactly what you might call universal. There's been bickering here and bloodshed there. The marines have landed now and then on some distant shore. And other peoples have had even bigger fights. Next to war one of the worst things in the world is rumors of war. We've had them. There's been plenty of fist shaking. And every now and then somebody sits down to write a novel about the next war and what it will be like.



Brown, by Auerbach-Levy

A friend of mine wrote one and when he was half way through he called me up one afternoon and said, "In my next chapter New York is bombed from the air and I'm using real names all through this book so if there's any one you'd like to have killed just let me know."

I managed to think up a few names. Not many. As I remember there were not more than two or three people that I had a real strong grudge against. And anyhow this was only fiction. It wouldn't do the people much harm to get killed in this war because I think it was slated for 1930. So I made out a list of victims and sent it to my friend and author. Just to help him out, you understand. As long as he was imagining an air raid some body had to get bombed and the folk on my list would do as well as any others. Much better.

At that he double-crossed me. When the book came out all the people that I'd marked for slaughter weren't even mentioned. And in the very second paragraph about the enemy attack he had me snuffed out by a gas bomb. Guess it served me right. Maybe it wasn't even a good thing for me to fool around with the idea of annihilating my enemies. Getting killed by that gas bomb was a good lesson for me.

### SWITCHING TO THE SERIOUS

One good way to get rid of war is to put aside warlike thoughts and warlike things. There's no point in being too pious about it, of course. I tried that on my son. He was out in the sandpile with another kid playing war with lead soldiers. They had a couple of boxes for forts and cannons pointing at each other. I stopped and endeavored to get them interested in a new game.

"Let's pretend," I suggested, "that these wooden boxes aren't forts. We'll call them churches. They look just as much like churches as they do like forts. Now the game is to see which

### Disarmament by Example Is Socialist Plank

(From the Platform of the Socialist Party)  
MILITARISM

We demand the abandonment of the dangerous policy of aggressive militarism and big navy building in competition with other nations and the rapid reduction and ultimate abolition of military and naval armaments. Since all attempts at limitation of armaments by general international agreement have heretofore failed because of the insincerity of capitalist diplomacy and, since the United States is in less danger of attack than any other nation, we believe that our government would further and insure the cause of universal peace by setting an example of voluntary disarmament regardless of the military or naval policy of other nations.

preacher can get the largest number of parishioners into his church. But of course he can't actually grab them by the collar. He's got to talk them into his church."

I got two vetoes on that game right off. And I'll admit that I wasn't serious then and that I'm not serious now. But here's where I change. From now on unless I change my mind I am serious—absolutely, and in earnest. It might be a good rule for anybody who wants to help in getting worthwhile things done in the world to abstain pretty much from humor. If I had my life to live over again I think maybe I'd be practically a total abstainer—as far as humor goes. In the long run you save yourself a lot of trouble.

As a matter of fact I never was very funny. I'm not good at puns or wisecracks. But I have tried. I'll admit that. And bad jokes will hurt you almost as much as good ones. Just get even the shadow of a reputation for ever having said anything witty and the whole world will say "Hah hah" in your face the minute you take off your coat, roll up your sleeves and start in bing bang to try and fight against any evil thought or law or custom.

People are very fond of making jokes about people who don't believe in war. They always want to know what you would do if somebody came into the house and started to chastise your aunt. That's a silly question. It would be even sillier if you knew my aunt.

### A BEAUTIFUL FRIENDSHIP

And the people who believe in great big navies and armies and constant preparation and training for war are not quite immune from being laughed at either. Let's take the Kellogg Peace

Pacts. They can mean a great deal for the peace of the world—or nothing at all. They mean a lot just as long as nations behave in a manner to indicate that they have abandoned the thought of war. We have agreed to arbitrate our differences with all the great powers. And yet we are planning to spend in the next few years a vast fortune on cruisers and submarines and all kinds of naval weapons.

Does that sound sensible to you? It doesn't to me. If we signed the treaties in perfect good faith and if we respect the faith of other nations which signed them then we ought to be working to scale down our naval and military forces and not to build them up or even maintain them at the present level. If we didn't mean what we said when we signed and if we think foreign nations didn't then we shouldn't have taken the bother to put ink on paper.

The situation which exists right now is a little as if two men were talking to each other across a table. We'll call one Sam and the other John.

"You know," says John, "you're a nice fellow, Sam. I don't see why you and I should ever have a row. We're much too friendly. In fact, let's agree that we won't ever get into a scrap. And while you're signing the agreement right down there where there's a dotted line—while you're signing I hope you won't mind if I go out and get my blackjacks out of my overcoat so that I can have it here with me at the table."

"Not at all," says Sam. "But that reminds me that I checked two pistols and a shot gun with the boy at the door and as long as we're so nice and friendly it might be a good idea for me to get them and have them here on the chair beside me just in case."

"I certainly like you, Sam," says John swinging the blackjacks idly in his right hand.

"This is a beautiful friendship," replies Sam and draws the pistols just a little closer to his trigger finger.

### WHY CAN'T AMERICA LEAD?

If two men, Sam and John, behaved in that fashion everybody would say that they were certainly going about the promotion of peace in a very queer way. And that all the show of arms and talk about arms wouldn't lead to peace but to distrust and finally bloody conflict. Yet many of the great powers including us are behaving precisely the same way in the matter of international peace.

We say that we want peace, that we're all for it, we won't have anything else and immediately after we send representatives to sit down and argue just which country should have the biggest navy and why. And even a deadlock is accounted a kind of triumph.

I'm all for America being a leader in everything. I'm for us being a leader in reduction of armies and navies and I think it would be a proud and a fine thing for us to show the way and say:

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### Karlin Lines Up Party Workers In Four Cities

### Candidate for Attorney General Lays Ground for Fighting Campaign

WILLIAM KARLIN, candidate for Attorney General, made a flying trip last week to a number of upstate cities to strengthen party organization and campaign work, stopping in Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Syracuse and Utica.

At Niagara Falls the local Labor Party is supporting the state candidates of the Socialist Party and further cooperation was arranged as a result of a conference called by Karlin. A big mass meeting will be held, campaign headquarters will be established on the main street, and a large banner will display the names of the state and local candidates.

At a meeting of conferees in the Walters Hall consisting of Laborites and Socialists a resolution was adopted to support the Socialist state ticket. Complete arrangements were also made for financing these activities in Niagara Falls.

A similar program was worked out by Karlin in conferences with Socialist party members in Buffalo, Syracuse, and Utica. In addition to establishing headquarters on a prominent street in Buffalo, branch campaign headquarters will be opened in the Polish, Hungarian, and Jewish sections of the city. An executive committee of seven representing a general campaign committee will be in charge of the work. About \$180 was subscribed to this work, and details were to be worked out at another meeting on Thursday of this week.

In addition to a similar program worked out in Syracuse, Karlin lectured on injunctions at a forum

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### Dabbling Droolidge Says:

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SOUTHAMPTON, Mass.—Oftentimes leisure can be profitably employed and unless employed profitably there can be no leisure. Of course, there are some people out of work but if they were profitably employed this would not be. Many of them were displaced because they lost their jobs. This shows the fallacy of those who say they lost their jobs because they were displaced.

As our complex life becomes more industrial our complex industrialism becomes more difficult for machinists who must turn to digging clams. That is the main reason why high wages require a high earning capacity. The reason this is not generally known is that it isn't.

But all this will be remedied by the extension of correspondence courses. What we need is intellectual training to increase the capacity of the workingman to understand. The main value of a wage earner is his mind. With the right kind of a mind he will mind, and the nation will continue to be safe for leisure and those virtues that have made us a great people.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

### Campaign Handbook Gives Party Workers Ammunition

FOR the first time in the history of the Socialist Party in New York State a Socialist campaign handbook has been issued in addition to the leaflet literature. It sets a standard which future campaign books will be hard to reach. It is called "Campaign Issues—1930" and although it contains more than one hundred pages it sells for only twenty-five cents.

It can be obtained from the New York State Campaign headquarters of the Socialist Party, 45 West 45th street, New York City, and the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street, New York City, and all Socialist Party locals and branches. "Campaign Issues—1930" was prepared by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of which Nathan Fine is Director. It not only contains contributions by the candidates on the State ticket but also factual articles on the main planks in the State platform, the platform itself, a biographical sketch of Louis Waldman, candidate for Governor, and a concluding appeal by Morris Hillquit, National Chairman of the Socialist Party entitled "Forward to Socialism."

Louis Waldman writes on a Reconstruction Program for New York. Interest attaches to his point of view. He declares: "The struggle between the Socialist Party and the Democratic and Republican Parties thus revolves around a conflict of social theory. The old parties place at the disposal of the industrial autocracy the governmental machinery of city, state, and nation. The Socialist Party demands that the agencies of government be used in the interest of the producers and consumers, the overwhelming majority of the people. Intelligent voters, therefore, must decide in this election between the forces of reaction or false liberalism, represented by the Republican and Democratic Parties, and the party of progress and social justice, the Socialist Party."

He then takes up various campaign issues and winds up with the

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### 13 Day Tour Through State For Waldman

### Gerber Announces In- tensive Plans to Fight Campaign North of City Line

G. AUGUST GERBER, manager of the Socialist state campaign in New York, this week announced plans for a Socialist invasion of up-state New York which will keep the campaign there on par with the efforts of the districts in New York City. The results of the trip of William Karlin, Socialist candidate for attorney general, last week-end have enthused campaign headquarters to undertake more elaborate work than was contemplated.

Louis Waldman, the party's candidate for governor, will make a speaking tour of thirteen days through the state, from October 9th to 21st. At a number of his meetings he will be accompanied by such speakers as Norman Thomas, Heywood Brown and Jacob Panken. A number of organizers and publicity workers will precede Waldman on his trip.

Following is a list of the places throughout the state at which it is expected to have meetings for the candidates on the state ticket:

Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Tonawanda, Lockport, Niagara Falls, Lackawanna, Dunkirk, Batavia, Jamestown, Salamanca, Olean, Hornellsville, Waverly, Elmira, Ithaca, Owego, Binghamton, Ogdensburg, Poughkeepsie, Peekskill, Mt. Vernon, Tarrytown, New Rochelle, Port Chester, White Plains, Chatham, Saratoga Springs, Hudson, Kingston, Newburgh, Middletown, Port Jervis, Nyack. Places on Long Island in Nassau and Suffolk counties.

In order to make this work most

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## Waldman Spurns Secret Parley With Roosevelt

Socialist Candidate Writes Governor Unemployment is Matter for Public Discussion—Socialist Demands Answer on Plea for Special Session to Aid Jobless

A REQUEST from Governor Roosevelt that Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for governor, meet him for a private discussion of the unemployment situation, has been declined by the Socialist nominee.

Replying to Governor Roosevelt's invitation, Mr. Waldman declared unemployment is a matter of public concern and felt that a private discussion with the Governor at this time might tend to limit discussion of the issue during the campaign as "violative of personal confidences."

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## YOUR PLACE IS AT TOWN HALL NEXT SUNDAY

Sunday, September 28th

OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN OPENING

Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street; 2 p. m. Doors Open 1 p. m.

Speakers:

Louis Waldman Jacob Panken Heywood Brown  
Norman Thomas William Karlin Morris Hillquit

Friday, October 3rd

166th St. and Boston Rd. 8 p. m.  
MORRIS HIGH SCHOOL  
BRONX OPENING

Speakers:

Louis Waldman Samuel Orr  
William Karlin Louis Hendin  
Heywood Brown Esther Friedman  
Henry Fruchter

Sunday, October 5th

BROOKLYN OPENING  
ACADEMY OF MUSIC  
Lafayette Ave., nr. Flatbush

Speakers:

Louis Waldman B. C. Vladeck  
William Karlin Heywood Brown  
Norman Thomas Henry Neumann  
Rev. John H. Melish



## Banquet for Thomas This Sunday

**Solomon Joins Congress  
Nominee in Opening  
Fight on Radio and at  
Meeting**

SEVERAL hundred persons have already made reservations for the banquet sponsored by the Norman Thomas for Congress Non-Partisan Committee, to be held Sunday evening, at 7 p. m., at Park Manor, Eastern parkway and Rogers avenue, Brooklyn. A strong representation of members of the League for Independent Political Action, independent voters and Socialists in the 6th Congressional District, Brooklyn, where Thomas is running, will be present.

Speeches will be made by Mr. Thomas, Charles Solomon, candidate for State Senator in the 8th district; Heywood Broun, candidate for Congress in the 17th district, Manhattan; Louis Waldman, gubernatorial candidate, and E. C. Vladeck, Congressional candidate. Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society and chairman of the Non-Partisan Committee, will be chairman. Reservations are still being received at the campaign headquarters at 1110 Eastern parkway, corner Utica avenue, Telephone President 1155.

**First Meeting Held**  
Norman Thomas attacked the McCooey regime and outlined the legislation he would urge at Washington if elected Friday night at a ratification meeting in Public School 167 Eastern parkway and Schenectady avenue. The other speakers were Mr. Solomon and Jacob Axelrad, Assembly candidate in the 18th district, Manhattan. Norman Studer of the League for Independent Political Action was chairman.

The radio campaign was opened Thursday night by Thomas and Solomon over WEVD. Solomon called Governor Roosevelt a time-serving politician, declaring that he had ordered the investigation of judicial corruption in New York City only under the pressure of public opinion and that his old age pension laws and other social legislation were mere gestures, shadows of the Socialist proposals.

He cited the increase since the first of the year in the number of cases in the psychopathic wards of the Bellevue Hospital and the Kings County Hospital as one of the results of unemployment and the pressure to make a living. Aside from the 5,000 jobless in the state, he added, there are thousands of professional men without work.

**Gerber Heads Campaign**  
Julius Gerber, veteran leader of many Socialist campaigns, is in charge of the fight in the 6th Congressional district. Under his leadership the ground work is being rapidly laid for a victorious effort. Canvassing and literature distributing squads have been organized and their work is already underway.

Meetings are being held throughout the 18th Assembly district in the homes of persons who invite their friends from the neighborhood. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Solomon and Mr. Axelrad have already addressed about eight of these meetings, attended by over 800 persons. Special appeals have been made for canvassers and watchers.

One hundred members of the Youth League of Brooklyn, a non-Socialist organization, heard Mr. Axelrad last week at 55 East 49th street, and many decided to join the Socialist Party. Mr. Axelrad has spoken at several street meetings this week, stressing the seriousness of unemployment and the need for state legislation enabling the city to erect municipal housing projects.

President Hoover was asked in a letter from Norman Thomas last week to take steps to investigate Major Campbell's charges in the New York World of corrupt prohibition enforcement, involving Samuel S. Koenig, head of the New York County Republicans, Charles D. Hillis, leading member of the Republican state organization, and other Republicans.

**Thomas Assails Geraghty**  
Mr. Thomas also assailed the city department of licenses in a letter this week to James F. Geraghty, Commissioner of Licenses. He charged that there was "repulsive leniency" toward private employment agencies which are noted for lulling job-seekers.

As a result of 1,900 complaints in 1928, said Mr. Thomas, but seven licenses were revoked, while in 1929, when there were 2,004 complaints, four licenses were revoked. He charged that agencies which have had their licenses revoked are permitted to return to business unmolested. He cited the reopening of the Ferrari agency, which had been denounced by the department as "the worst in the city," and of the Majestic Employment Agency at Third avenue near 13th street.

A large public school meeting will be held next Friday night at Public School 164, 42nd street, 15th avenue, Brooklyn. The school house is on the border of the 6th and 8th Congressional districts and candidates in both districts will speak, including Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, E. C. Vladeck, Hyman Nemser and William Feigenbaum.

## Heywood Broun Pledges Opposition To All Wars

**500 Honor Socialist  
Candidate at Dinner—  
Woolcott Pledges His  
Support**

BEFORE more than 500 non-partisan and Socialist supporters gathered at a dinner in his honor at the Level Club, West 73rd street, last Sunday night, Heywood Broun, Socialist candidate for representative in the 17th (Manhattan) district, announced the Socialist national platform will contain a plank calling for reduction of armaments by the United States independent of other nations and without waiting for international disarmament treaties.

Coupled with his announcement of the Socialist plan for independent reduction of armaments, Mr. Broun declared himself an unequivocal opponent of all wars. "Just being a little choosy about war won't help. I hate wars—all wars," Mr. Broun said. "We all say that we hate it, that we want it outlawed and that it never must happen again. And yet wars have happened again. Sometimes they are bootlegged in on a people. Somebody explains that after the fact."

**by Heywood Broun**  
**"Why Can't America Lead"**

(Continued from Page One)

"Here we will curtail, this ship we will scrap, this one we will not build. We urge a similar course on the rest of the world. But this isn't going to be a haggling affair of arguing and bargaining. Even if you do not reduce your navy by a single rowboat, we intend to reduce ours. We don't have to call on anybody for permission to cut down. We will lead the way here and now and we call on the nations of Europe to follow our leadership." I think that the peoples of the world would be fired by such an American example and demand like action on the part of their rulers and leaders. No cabinet could stand for a moment if it opposed such an invitation.

But I do fear that concerted action for limitation of armament will always proceed slowly and uncertainly if it continues to be a matter of negotiating and bargaining. We'll do this if you'll do that. So much for so much. Even a horse trade brings out some unpleasant qualities in human beings and when admirals and diplomats get to trading off cruiser strength and gun elevations I always have a sneaking suspicion that all of them, from every country, are looking for advantages much more eagerly than they're looking for peace.

### A WAR PLAY AND AN AUDIENCE

I don't suppose you could find ten men or two women in your community who would stand up boldly and publicly and say, "I think that war's a good thing." In fact, I'll wager you can't find one man or one woman.

It's a funny thing about war. We all say that we hate it, that we want it outlawed and that it never must happen again. And yet wars have happened again. Sometimes they're bootlegged in on a people. Somebody explains that, after all, this particular war is just a little bit of a war. And if it's too big for any such explanation it will be called a righteous war, or a holy war, or a war to end war.

You see we'll never have peace just by taking the stand that some wars are better than others. Just being a little choosy about wars won't help. Every nation which has ever fought since the beginning of time has been wholeheartedly and sincerely convinced that its side of the quarrel was right and just and that the other fellow was wholly in the wrong. I hate war—I mean all wars. But I'm not going to underrate the strength of the warlike spirit. It's a hard thing to down and it can't be licked without constant vigilance.

I remember a play we had in New York several years ago. It was a play which was written to satirize the way in which wars are brought about. It was called Spread Eagle. There was a villain in this play who thought it would help his fortunes if the United States should fight against Mexico. He started fomenting this conflict. Of course the audience sat in on even his most secret moves. All of us in the orchestra seats could watch the way he built up ill feeling and the silly yams he put out to inflame ignorant people in both countries. At times his devices were so barefaced that we all laughed. That was all right. We were supposed to laugh. The author wanted us to laugh. His play was a satire.

But the villain got his war. The war for which there was no cause except lies and invention and propaganda. The whole machinery had been exposed before our eyes. But then there came a scene which ruined the play. It was a scene which has always frightened me. War had been declared. Suddenly a screen and sound pictures were introduced into the play. War had been declared. Trumpets sounded. Men in uniform marched down Fifth avenue. Bands blared popular tunes. There came the soldiers marching, marching as to war. And suddenly a man in the audience applauded. Another took it up. A woman in a back row shouted out something. In a few seconds almost everybody in the theatre was applauding. They weren't applauding because these were particularly good pictures. They knew that this wasn't a righteous war that the playwright was telling about. It was the spirit of war which had seized them. The spirit of brass bands and trumpets and watch your neighbor and my country right or wrong.

One man laughed out loud. Maybe it was the author. The laugh brought the audience back to its senses. Suddenly they realized that they had made fools of themselves—that they had allowed themselves to be worked up to warlike fervor just as the characters in the play had been.

If a fake war in a play could do that just consider what a real war can do. And in the case of a real war there never will be anybody to laugh and bring us back to our senses. We wouldn't let him laugh.

### KEEP THE WAR SHOUT DOWN

That's why I say that next to war the greatest menace is rumors of war and talk about war and preparation for war. We're not good enough—most of us—to stand out once the bands begin to play. And so I say that not only should we steel our hearts against war but that we should never be willing even to come close to it. The duty of this generation and the next and the next is to build up the Socialist party and through it the spirit of the Kellogg Peace pacts to make paper tougher than armour, to make ideas more powerful than big guns and good will more exciting than a brass band.

A brass band invariably rouses me. It doesn't have to be a good band. People marching excite me. It doesn't make much difference whether they're Elks, or Republicans, or policemen, or soldiers or what not. Whenever a lot of men or women get together and start swinging down a city street I have a feeling that they're going somewhere. But mostly they're not.

I don't know why the sight of five hundred letter carriers and two bands should start me to feeling fearful. That was the last parade I saw. I don't think they were even protesting at anything. They weren't bringing me bills or letters for the Hot Press For Broun File and yet I felt as if my heart would break. They were marching.

And so I suggest that we build our Socialist Party. It can be a stone wall over which the war-makers can never pass. In our growing party lies the greatest hope for a warless world. We've got to see that our party grows up bigger and stronger. Its strength will be and must be the protection of your child and mine in the days to come.

I don't want those lead soldiers in the sandpile to come to life.

## Panken Asks Foes to Share His Platform

**Socialist Congressional  
Nominee in 14th Of-  
fers to Give Oppon-  
ents Hearing**

THE Tammany and Republican candidates for Congress in the 14th Congressional district will have an opportunity to meet their Socialist opponent, Judge Panken, at a meeting in Cooper Union, Monday evening, Oct. 6.

The old party candidates will be asked to share the platform with Judge Panken in what will be the nature of a symposium as to which man and party can best represent the district in Congress.

If the old party candidates fail to appear to defend their views and party position, the voters will proceed to ratify the nomination of the Socialist candidates, after listening to speeches from nationally-known Socialists. If they do appear a symposium will be held.

At 20 rallies held Friday, Sept. 19, Judge Panken, leading a list of over 30 speakers, lost no time in coming to grips with his opponents, and his assurances to the audiences, which were exceptionally large even for the East Side, that he would neither give nor seek quarter in the fight were greeted with cheering.

**Canvassing Preparations**

Working towards the most comprehensive canvass of voters undertaken in many years, Socialists of the 14th Congressional district, aided by various trade unions and progressive organizations, will devote the next five weeks of the campaign to bringing the Socialist message into the homes of approximately 25,000 voters, 9,000 of whom are needed to send Judge Panken to Congress.

Under the arrangement that is being made, organizations will assume responsibility for certain election districts, finance the printing of literature and the postage necessary to reach those voters by mail, and furnish committees to conduct the canvass. Organizations to whom the suggestion of election district responsibility was made, have adopted the plan as the most effective method of canvassing and campaigning.

It will take approximately 20 organizations to cover the 38 election districts on the East Side of the district. On the West Side of the district, there will be 16 election districts, which will be covered by more than 100 members of the Chelsea branch of the Socialist Party.

**Home Meetings Arranged**

The first canvass will take place next Sunday morning, Sept. 28, from the campaign headquarters, 133 Second avenue. From 10 o'clock in the morning until 2 o'clock in the afternoon the voters of five or six of the 38 election districts will be visited by approximately 100 canvassers who are being enrolled this week for this work.

Next week the first of the home meetings that are being scheduled in each of the election districts will be launched. Beginning with a dozen meetings the first week of this activity, the number will be increased as times goes on. During the day home meeting of women will be held under the direction of the Women's Committee of the 14th Congressional district.

Special organizers have been named to direct the work in the Italian and Polish sections of the district. V. Vacirca, former Socialist member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, will be in charge of the work in the Italian section, with headquarters at 12th street and Avenue A. Special leaflets and a special edition of the Nuovo Mondo, the Italian Socialist daily, will be used to appeal to the Italian voters.

In the Polish section, headquarters will be established at 6th street and Avenue A, with Joseph Dempski, Polish organizer in charge. The first of a series of Polish mass meetings was held on Friday evening, Sept. 26, at Arlington Hall, 19-21 St. Marks place, Antoni Pajak, Socialist member of the Polish Sejm, Leo Kryzski, prominent Polish Socialist, and Judge Panken addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting. Socialists were confident that with the plans they are making they will get more than an even break among the approximately 600 Polish voters in the district.

Young Socialists are planning their own canvassing squad, under the direction of their own organizer. The most important drive of all will be made by the women, who are planning to get our progressive women to register. If as a result of their efforts 25 additional women can be registered from each election district, it will mean a net gain of 1,000 votes for the Socialist candidates.

On Friday evening, Oct. 17, representatives of the various organizations with which Panken has been actively identified—and they run into hundreds—and his numerous friends and admirers will give him a testimonial dinner at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. At the last dinner given Judge Panken, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, reservations could not be made during the last few days, due to the extraordinary number of requests. It is expected that the interest will be as large in this banquet.

## Phila. Mayor Urged to Aid Unemployed

**Socialist Party De-  
nounces Indifference  
to Plight of the 200-  
000 Jobless**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—Dr. Jesse P. Holmes, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, sent a letter to Mayor Mackey this week pointing out the deplorable lack of action of the city government in regard to the unemployment problem in the city and calling upon the mayor to take immediate steps to remedy the situation.

Holmes urged the mayor to provide facilities in the schools and other public buildings for sleeping quarters inasmuch as the city has no free municipal lodging house. An appropriation for food and clothing was also declared to be an immediate necessity. It was urged that the city health service be extended. And finally, the city officials were told that old age pensions and unemployment insurance were an absolute necessity to help us out of our present depression.

Needless to say the present unemployment situation in Philadelphia—there are at least 200,000 out of work and many of them are forced to sleep in the parks and subway stations—is constantly emphasized by the party's campaign speakers. All of the meetings are well attended and the speakers are invariably asked by the audiences to return. Quantities of literature are being distributed in the districts where the speakers are concentrated. In addition to the candidacies of Comrades Schwartz, Ryan and Biemiller mentioned in the last issue there has been a gratifying response to the campaign waged by Comrade Emanuel Kline for State Assembly in South Philadelphia. "Red Mike" Shulman is expected in town this week to lend his powerful voice to this campaign. A full list of street corner meetings will be found on page seven of The Leader.

In addition to the street corner meeting the Socialist Literary Society started last Sunday to hold educational meetings on City Hall plaza. Bob Fitch of New York; Franz Daniel, Sam Bakely, Joe Schwartz and Leo Stern spoke to a crowd of three hundred. These meetings will be continued unless the city authorities revoke the permit. The Pennsylvania state election law prohibits political meetings on Sunday, and the authorities have been loath to give their sanction to the meetings, maintaining that they were campaign meetings. This matter will be fought out legally if necessary.

## 7,000 Attend Opening Rally For Vladeck

**Stadium Houses Enthusiastic Demonstration—  
Two School Meetings  
Friday, Sept. 26th**

OVER 7,000 men and women gathered at the Coney Island Stadium Saturday night for an enthusiastic opening of the campaign of B. C. Vladeck, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 8th (Brooklyn) district. Vladeck was in fine form and stirred his audience to great heights with an impassioned appeal for a loyal army of supporters to carry the Socialist party campaign to victory. Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Heywood Broun and others joined with Vladeck in inspiring appeals, Broun dwelling particularly on the subject of world peace and disarmament.

The next large meeting will be held on Friday evening, September 26th, at Public School 96, (West 11th Junior High School), 26th 11th street and Avenue O, Brooklyn. Speakers: B. Charney Vladeck, William M. Feigenbaum, Alexander Kahn, Harry W. Laidler, Hyman Nemser and Joseph Stein.

On the same evening, the Bay Ridge section of the district will be invaded. A meeting has been arranged at the Bay Ridge High School, 4th avenue and 57th street. Speakers: B. C. Vladeck, William M. Feigenbaum, Alexander Kahn, Harry W. Laidler, Robert Bobrick, and Joseph Stein.

Canvassing throughout the district is being carried on energetically, and the army of canvassers is growing in number and in enthusiasm. A loud speaker has been engaged for outdoor meetings, and with this instrument, it is hoped to hold successful meetings throughout the district.

Arrangements are also being made for house-party meetings with Comrade Vladeck and other candidates. As many of these meetings will be arranged as are requested.

(Note: The headline in last week's New Leader predicting an attendance of 70,000 at the opening Vladeck rally was due to a printer's error.)

## Jimmie Higgins Contest Scoring Basis Announced

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—In compliance with the regulations of the Post-office a mathematical calculation to determine the winner of the Jimmie Higgins contest is announced. No attempt was made to make an exact judgment of the relative values of the three points on which contestants are to be judged, but an arbitrary scale corresponding roughly to the value of each class of points was set up.

Each new member of the party secured will count 5 points. Each new member of the Y. P. S. L. will count 3 points. Each new subscriber to a Socialist publication participating in the contest will count 1 point. The arithmetic total of the points will determine the winner of the contest beyond any dispute.

For instance, a contestant with 50 members, 100 League members, and 80 subscribers to his credit would receive 250 points, plus 300 points, plus 80 points, or 630. There can be no doubt about the winner under such a system, which is arbitrary, but exact.

During the week, Illinois overlook Pennsylvania and is now in second place. Otherwise, the rank of the states in the contest remains the same as last week. New York is in the lead. The membership blanks and subscriptions are now beginning to come in and next week we will start giving the ranking of the states by number of points scored by contestants in each state.

The Young People's Socialist League in conjunction with the Young Circle League, Young Poale Zion and the Rand School will celebrate International Youth Day on Saturday afternoon, October 4, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

Morris Hillquit, who has arrived last night from a meeting of the International Socialist Executive meeting will present a first hand picture of the European situation especially the conditions in Germany. Hillquit took an active part in the German elections for the Social Democratic Party.

Paul Blanchard of the League for Industrial Democracy, will

## The Campaign Calendar

**Sunday, Sept. 28**

2 p. m.—Conference, Poale Zion, International Auditorium, 3 West 16th street. Speakers, Norman Thomas, G. August Gerber.

2 p. m.—Ratification meeting, Town Hall, 43rd street, between 6th and Broadway. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Heywood Broun, Jacob Panken, William Karlin, Howard Williams.

7 p. m.—Banquet to Norman Thomas, Park Manor, 450 Eastern parkway, Brooklyn. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Heywood Broun, Charles Solomon, Henry Neumann.

8:30 p. m.—Junior League of the Free Synagogue, 40 West 68th street. Speaker, Louis Waldman.

**Monday, Sept. 29**  
8:30 p. m.—Joint meeting, Jewish Socialist Verband, Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway. Speakers, Louis Waldman, B. C. Vladeck, A. Litwack.

**Tuesday, Sept. 30**  
9:15 to 9:30 p. m.—Radio Station WMSG, Louis Waldman.

**Thursday, Oct. 2**  
7:15 to 7:30 p. m.—Radio Station WEVD, James Oneal.

**Friday, Oct. 3**  
8 p. m.—Bronx ratification meeting, Morris High School. Speakers, Louis Waldman, Heywood Broun.

Samuel Orr, Esther Friedman, Dr. Louis Hendin, William Karlin, Henry Fruchter, chairman; Mrs. John Herman Randall, Jr.

8:30 p. m.—Brownsville ratification meeting, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. Speakers, Samuel Friedman, Louis Sadoff, Louis Waldman, Norman Thomas.

10 p. m.—Local Big 4, A. C. W. A., Irving Plaza. Irving Plaza, Speaker, Louis Waldman.

**Saturday, Oct. 4**  
Youth Flower Tag Day—Arranged by Abe Belsky, 7 East 15th street.

9 p. m.—Yorkville Branch Labor Temple "Get-together," 243 East 83rd street, New York. Speakers, Heywood Broun, Morris Hillquit, Edward F. Cassidy, George Steinhart, Julius Gerber.

Banquet—23rd Assembly District. Speakers, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon.

**Sunday, Oct. 5**  
Youth Flower Tag Day—Arranged by Abe Belsky, 7 East 15th street.

2 p. m.—Brooklyn ratification meeting, Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue. Speakers, Louis Waldman, Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, B. C. Vladeck, William Karlin, Dr. Henry Neumann, chairman; Rev. John Howard Melish, Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

**Up State New York  
Tour Is Arranged**

(Continued from Page One)

effective there are a number of field workers operating throughout some twenty-eight counties up the state. We expect to have effective work done in thirty-six counties, including the Metropolitan district. Two non-candidate speakers will collaborate their work with the field workers in order to develop the meetings of the State candidates. The primary work of the field workers will be to build up permanent local organizations in their respective territories.

A tour has been arranged for Louis Waldman, beginning October 9th and continuing to the 21st. The following is the itinerary:

October 9, Saratoga Springs and Troy; 10, Schenectady; 11, Utica; 12, Rome and Syracuse; 13, Binghamton; 14, Ithaca and Elmira; 15, Jamestown; 16, Dunkirk; 17, Tonawanda and Niagara Falls; 18, Lockport; 19, Rochester; 20, Albany; 21, Kingston and Poughkeepsie; 25, a meeting has been scheduled for Buffalo.

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## Wis. Socialists Forcing Fight On Schafer

**Labor Aroused by  
Building Bosses' At-  
tack on Socialist Party  
Ticket**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Increasing requests being received by Socialist headquarters each week for information as to qualifications for membership show that the Socialist Party campaign is also helping party organization. One inquiry came by long distance telephone from Racine. Out in the state the "Red Auto Van" is also receiving requests for membership information.

One of the features in the meetings of the southern half of the city was the expose given Congressman Schafer by Judge William F. Quick, Socialist candidate for congress in the fourth district. Quick had the record of some of the voting achievements of Schafer down in Washington, little votes for the plutocrats that the people at home would scarcely hear about in the way in which the capitalist press handles news accounts.

**Schafer Draws Fire**  
The revelations of a voting record that was distinctly against the interests of the workers produced a lively interest on the part of the crowds at the several meetings Quick addressed.

The election of Al Benson, Socialist candidate for sheriff, over Edward J. Mitten, who is endorsed by the rabidly anti-labor Milwaukee Employers' council, was enthusiastically advocated by a number of non-Socialist delegates at a recent meeting of the Federated Trades council.

**Thurber Starts Fireworks**  
Charles S. Thurber, president of the Building Trades council, started the fireworks off with a bang by reading an article in the September issue of the Employers' council publication, published before the primary, in which this anti-union organization endorses Mitten as its choice for sheriff.

The article as read by Thurber in part is as follows:

"The Socialist candidate has no monopoly on decency in this election. There are at least two Republican candidates and the Democratic candidate who are his equals. And a Socialist sheriff is entirely useless when it comes to keeping the peace in a labor disturbance. Vote for Mitten at the primary, Sept. 13."

"Labor, organized as well as unorganized, should ask itself the question—what does the Employers' council mean when it says, 'a Socialist sheriff is entirely useless when it comes to keeping the peace in a labor disturbance,' and then urges support for Mitten?" Thurber said.

"It can mean only one thing and that is that they know that Benson will not take orders from them and that he will give labor a fair deal while they must feel that Mitten will do what they ask of him."

"They are asking the people of this community to put the policeman's club of authority into the hands of a man who can be depended upon to see it in the interests of the open shop employers against the workers."

**Workers Must Act**  
"This action of the Employers' council should convince all workers that if they expect to get a fair shake they will have to get out and work for and elect Al Benson."

J. F. Friedrich of the Machinists' union pointed out that even though the progressive Republican state of state officers carried Milwaukee, most of the Republican assembly and senatorial candidates from the county are reactionary. He stressed the importance of the state legislature to labor and urged support of the Socialist candidates in opposition to the reactionary candidates.

The delegates showed these talks had gone home by asking for lists of candidates and for campaign cards and literature after the meeting.

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# LENINGRAD AND MOSCOW UNDER THE SOVIETS

By Harry W. Laidler

AFTER leaving England, the League for Industrial Democracy group started for Russia via Helsinki on the Finnish Oberon. At the Finnish capital we found all the visas awaiting the party with the exception of that for the group's progressive minister. Some officials in Russia had recently decided to limit the number of ministers entering its borders. Through the intervention of a British Labor M.P., however, the ban on this twelfth member of the party was raised a few days later and he joined the group—following an air flight—as we were leaving Leningrad.

Before we started on the road to Russia, we saw the film portraying the advance of Helsinki a short time before, staged by the Finnish White Peasant Army for the purpose of ridding the Finnish Parliament of Communist members. The political situation in Finland was tense and all were speculating regarding the final results of the putsch. Finland was said to have little unemployment at the time of the visit, as industrial workers out of a job could usually be put to work in the forests. The paper industry there was extensive. The country was attempting to prohibit intoxicants and, as in America, Finnish hotel keepers were loud in their whippers that liquor could easily be obtained—at a price.

## Across the Border

The next morning, after a ride through many miles of farm and wooded country, we passed into Russian territory. On the Finnish side of the border was a small white flag. On the Russian side, a small red flag fluttered in the breeze. At the border town we had to take out our valises for inspection. The Soviet officials gave particular attention to books and papers. They inspected our ten minutes in glancing over a history of Russia to decide whether it was safe to permit the entrance of this book into the Soviet Republic. My article of last year on "Vienna Socialists House their Workers" was thrown on a scrap heap without any ceremony, although we finally persuaded the Soviet official to return it. Another article on the MacDonald government was banned. Books were carefully searched also to discover whether they contained letters to foes of the Soviet government. One woman not able to explain satisfactorily how she needed twenty-five pair of stockings during her short stay in Russia found herself separated from these possessions.

The inspection ended, we continued on our way to the former Russian capital. The scene differed not materially from that in numerous other European countries. Here and there we found workers lying in the sun, while other men and women were at work in the fields, leisurely driving their primitive carts to the villages or selling goods at the state stores. The workers who were found loafing were informed, were not necessarily soldiering on the job; they were merely the fifth of the working population enjoying their weekly holiday. For Russia had adopted a five day week; every day was a holiday for a portion of the population.

Many of the boys and men coming down to the train were closely shaven. Women, who were working on the roads and at various other tasks the same as men, wore variegated scarfs for hats and many were bareheaded. Here and there were the Soviet soldiers with their red stars on their caps.

## In Leningrad

We arrived in Leningrad an hour or so late and were met by Ruth Pickering, representative of the Open Road. We discovered that meal hours for travelers in Russia were far more flexible than in other countries—breakfast from 9 to 10:30, lunch anywhere from 2 to 7 P. M., and supper from 7 to midnight.

We rumbled along through the wide spaces of Leningrad in a bus to our hotel—the Angle Terre, and had lunch in the restaurant of the House of the Soviet, opposite St. Isaac's Cathedral, now used for museum and sight seeing purposes. There is one first class hotel in Leningrad—the Europa—where service conforms with general European standards, although prices for isolated meals are exceedingly high. Leningrad is building other hotels, we were told, to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. At present the second class hotels—including all except the Europa—are old, stuffy, poorly equipped and not overclean and give an air of being distinctly "run down," although some of the rooms—occupied before the revolution by Russia's elite—are unusually spacious.

The restaurant where we ate was crowded with workers and little attempt was made to give proper ventilation. The freest thing in Russia is air—but Russians have not as yet learned the value of this necessity and in this restaurant the windows were tightly closed and the smells in the air—the days were hot—did little to increase the appetite. The meals usually lacked variety, but the portions were ample. Our Moscow suppers and breakfasts a few days later usually consisted of black bread, tea, eggs, cheese and, at times, of kaviar or tomato. The

## Fleeting Impressions of the Two Great Cities of New Russia; "The Russians on Rations"; A Visit to a Factory

lunch generally began with cabbage soup, followed by meat or fish, one or two vegetables and a compote. In Leningrad the meals were somewhat more varied, although fresh fruit and fresh vegetables were extremely rare. It was dangerous to drink unboiled water and one had to be somewhat careful of eating, without thorough cleaning, the fresh vegetables that were available. In Moscow the price of small green apples during our stay was 15 cents a piece or more.

Several years ago Leningrad was described as a city of the dead. After the revolution it lost much of its population. Today that population is returning, although it is rumored that the Soviet government is aiming to build up smaller cities in the vicinity of Leningrad rather than to reconstruct the northern metropolis. The wide, straight streets and open spaces in this city of revolutionary struggles make it a place of great possibilities as far as its physical properties are concerned. At present, however, most of its buildings have a rather dilapidated appearance, while its roadways are greatly in need of repair. Considerable repairing is in the true being done, and men and women in various parts of the city were found on top of brick piles breaking bricks in a rather primitive fashion, digging up the streets and adding layers of wooden blocks to the highways.

## The Russians on Rations

Both here and in Moscow, there was a drabness about the appearance of the city. Few colors appeared in the clothing either of men or women, and the lack of contrasts in clothing was most striking. The worker usually wore a black, blue or brown blouse, tight at the neck, dark trousers, pulled together with a belt, a cap, if any headgear, and indifferent shoes. Once in a while at night he wore a white blouse adorned with needle work for which the Russians have in the past been justly famed. Albert Rhys Williams, who was in Moscow this summer, stated that the reappearance of some color on garments was one of the things he had most noted on his present visit but to one who had not been in Russia before, colors seemed few and far between. In Leningrad the dress of foreigners—particularly women travelers—was most conspicuous against the background of the

Russian populace, and attracted wide attention. Most of the attention given to our group in the crowded cars was decidedly friendly, especially when the workers found that we were from America and questions came thick and fast. For America seemed to fascinate them. It was the one country whose mechanized production they were anxious to emulate.

Wherever we went, we saw long lines of workers and housewives before state or cooperative stores with their ration cards, waiting for a chance to be served. The workers here are still on rations, the industrial workers being entitled to about two pounds of black bread a day and the "employees" or clerical workers, to one pound. They can secure a certain quantity of meat, potatoes, clothing, etc., with their cards. The quantity of food is generally large enough to satisfy their needs, although the variety is decidedly limited. The workers can buy other food and clothing products from private stores in addition to that allowed on their ration cards, but usually the prices charged by the private vendors are beyond the reach of the workers. While we were in Russia, a pound of butter, sold at from \$1.50 to \$2.50. One of the Russian guides had paid \$27.50 for a pair of women's shoes which, she insisted, were not of very good quality. The tariff on many imports was prohibitive.

## Sight-Seeing in Russia

The Soviet government a few years ago organized a government travel bureau, the Intourist Agency. The Intourist has practically a monopoly of tourist travel. A guide for our party was supplied by it. Our guides in Leningrad and Moscow were able and sincere. They were not members of the Communist Party, but they were ardently for the Soviet government and were defenders of its policies in every way. Before they are appointed guides, they undergo a course of training and must show their sympathy with the Stalin regime. A number of Russians who, from the standpoint of general intelligence and knowledge of English, would make excellent guides, are not employed because their point of view is suspected.

No effort is made to prevent foreigners from going around unattended or attended by people of their own choosing, but, as most foreigners do not speak Russian, they need guides, and the only or-

ganized service is that controlled by the Soviets. Few can get into Soviet institutions without a permit and, of course, a permit is more readily granted if the applicant is to be conducted by the right agency. Naturally the Intourist Agency was anxious to show visitors the institutions of which the Soviets were most proud, while other institutions—prisons for political prisoners, for instance—were not on the preferred list.

In Leningrad and environs we saw the usual things seen by the general run of sightseers, including the former palaces of the Czar—perhaps the most magnificent in all Europe—the Winter Palace, the Fortress of Peter and Paul, where so many of the older revolutionists, including Kropotkin, were imprisoned, the Smolny Institute where Lenin directed the Bolsheviks before the November revolution, the modern art gallery, the Hermitage and some of the great cathedrals. In all of these institutions fiery young communists were leading around groups of workers and peasants and losing no opportunity to drive home to them the lessons of the revolution from the Bolshevik angle.

## A Russian Factory

We visited one factory, a textile factory. The building was put up some 40 years ago. Its construction was thus not of the latest type. The machinery did not seem to be protected so well as in the best factories of the States; the ventilation was not particularly modern, and there was considerable lint in the air. The workers were on two shifts, one from 7 A. M. to 2:30 P. M. and the other from 3:30 to 10 P. M. They were working on piece work and were getting anywhere from about 50 to 125 roubles a month, we were told, or, in American dollars, between \$25 and \$60, an average of perhaps between \$35 and \$40 a month (or between \$8 and \$10 a week).

The political director received perhaps 250 roubles a month (\$125), while the chief engineer was paid four or five hundred roubles. Members of the Communist Party cannot earn more than 300 roubles a month, although they might secure a supplementary income from their writings. Boys 16 years of age worked some four hours at the factory, the manager of one of the departments declared, and studied four hours at a special school attached to the

factory. The technical manager was appointed by the textile industry, while a so-called political director represented the Communist Party. The workers in the factory likewise had a representative who conferred with the technician in reference to questions of discipline, of safety, etc. The trade unions conducted an educational work and helped in securing increased productivity in the factory.

Attached to the factory were nurseries, where employed mothers took their children. We visited one nursery where infants between 2 months and 3 years of age were cared for. When they were taken to the nursery at, say 6:30 o'clock, physicians would give them a physical examination. They then received a bath, clean clothes, and, at 8 o'clock, milk and a bun for breakfast, while mothers who were feeding their babies would be given time off to visit them. Exercise, a dinner, a rest period and more exercise followed. During fine days the children were outside in the sunlight, playing on sand piles or with toys until their mothers came for them. Those we saw seemed a sturdy and happy lot. There were other nurseries for those above three years of age. A small charge of \$4 a month was made for this service, which amount covered only a part of the overhead. While attending to the baby, the nurses also took occasion to instruct the mothers regarding the proper care of the child.

In case of unemployment, the worker secured a contribution from the government and, if ill, he continued to obtain his wages in whole or in part.

## Home Life in Russia

The same day we visited the factory, we went to some of the new houses built by the city in Leningrad. The government was charging sixteen roubles, or \$8 a month for two rooms, a kitchen and a lavatory. One room was occupied by a policeman newly on the force, and his wife and child and another by a family with several children. The policeman was receiving \$35 a month and his eyes opened wide when he heard of the salaries of the New York police. The head of the police force in the district, he declared, secured some \$100 a month. The rooms in the municipal houses were light, were supplied with electricity, but no gas. The courts between the houses were wide. Across the

street, near an old house, celebrated as a home of Lenin before the revolution, I went into one of the older tenements of the workers. Here I spoke with one worker's family of five who lived in one room and used a kitchen together with several other families each of whom occupied adjoining rooms. There were lavatories on the same floor, but not in the apartment and of a very inferior character. The father was working in a tractor factory. His pay had been recently raised from \$55 to \$80 a month and the family was hoping to move into one of the newer municipal houses when the supply permitted. The rent of the one room with kitchen privileges in this slum tenement was between six and seven roubles a month.

The institutions which the Russians showed in Leningrad with the greatest pride were the Houses of Rest for the workers. They are usually former homes of the aristocracy or of the bourgeoisie and some of them were of a very luxurious character. The statues and paintings and various adornments were preserved and often furniture brought in from other homes of the old aristocrats. Paintings, busts and statues of Lenin and Marx and Stalin—but chiefly of Lenin—were everywhere in evidence and in the rooms and in the halls and great red streamers with quotations from Lenin regarding the need for solidarity with the peasants, the need for culture and learning for the workers, the danger of religion to social progress, etc. There were also frequent exhibits depicting the physiology of the human body, and containing warnings against over-drinking and over-indulgence of many kinds. There was likewise the library containing pamphlets and newspapers and magazines; the dormitories and the spacious dining halls.

In those Houses of Rest workers from the various industries around Leningrad were sent on two weeks' vacations. Here they exercised, played games, listened to lectures, prepared "wall newspapers" in competition with their fellows and discussed. Our guides emphasized the fact that, whereas in the old days, these spacious homes and gardens gave enjoyment to a single family, at present they accommodated scores of workers.

## A Factory Kitchen

Another institution of a rather

unique nature in Leningrad was the Factory Kitchen, owned by the government and located on Karl Marx Street. Here some 18,000 meals were prepared daily, of which about 10,000 were sent out in containers to Leningrad factories and restaurants and about 8,000 were eaten in the large dining rooms on the premises. An increasing number of workers' families in which the mother went to work were utilizing the kitchen factory for the chief meal of the day, instead of preparing the meal individually in their own homes. A separate room for children was about to be opened when we were there. A meal of soup, cutlets, one or two vegetables, stewed fruit soup could be secured here by workers for about a half rouble (25 cents).

Another institution of social significance to which the group was taken in the former capital was the House of Culture, a center of educational activity. Here there were three halls for concerts, lectures, moving pictures, mass meetings, plays, etc. accommodating 8,000 people; a library of many thousand economic books, rooms for classes on social and cultural questions and exhibits of the Five Year Plan and other plans and achievements of the Soviet government. Adjoining the House of Culture was a park developed by the younger workers for recreational purposes.

A final institution to which attention was called during our stay was a sanatorium for children near the former palace of the Czar to which children between the ages of three and eight were taken to recuperate and given all possible care for a six weeks' period. The things most impressive to me at this sanatorium was the devotion shown by the head physician and his assistants to his little charges; the utter cleanliness of the institution and the manner in which the children were learning almost from the cradle to worship at the shrine of Lenin. In one room would appear a rather benign picture of Lenin as a man; in another, a portrait of Lenin as a child, with the inscription "Learn as Lenin learned," and in others mottoes from Lenin regarding education, solidarity and the revolution. The religion of Lenin is rapidly catching on over one-sixth of the world's surface.

The children of the workers were here treated free; those of the professional classes, on the other hand, had to pay some 75 roubles a month.

## We Visit Moscow

We left Leningrad Thursday night, arriving in Moscow near noon the next day and were met by Rosa Laddon Hanna, the Open Road's representative and the first executive secretary of the I. S. S. The compartments in the train were comfortable, except that the rather modern water tanks in the individual compartments lacked the necessary water. Nor do the Russians show the same strictness about retaining separate compartments for men and women as do those in other countries. The Communist porter on the train here refused all tips although the party did not find the same revolutionary spirit in all other cases.

A thousand golden domes were glittering in the sunlight as we entered Moscow. Moscow seemed more alive, more up-and-coming, more the center of life than Leningrad. It had a few more taxis, although these were scarce as compared with other European cities. There were here as in Leningrad many representatives of the last school of individualists in Russia—the drozky drivers. Sitting on their shaky old drozky, bewildered, unkempt and ill-clothed, they were alert to size up

the approaching applicant for a ride and to demand all that the traffic would bear. And their demands for a sleepy ride to the hotel were usually far higher than those of New York's taxis. The trolleys were overcrowded and the walks usually from trolleys to your destination considerable.

Here as in Leningrad there are many fascinating sights to see outside of those of a strictly political and economic nature—old palaces and churches, art galleries, the Kremlin, Tolstoy's home and some delightful concerts and dances and we took in these sights.

Factories then open to the public were scarce around Moscow, and the group missed seeing a brand new factory for the production of machinery said to be most modern in its equipment.

We were unable to learn anything about the present situation regarding political prisoners. Our guides, the correspondents and writers whom we met declared that any estimate of the number of "politicals" would be mere guesses. No available statistics were made public as far as I was able to learn. Less was heard about the older politicals—the Social Revolutionists, the Mensheviks, etc.—more about the more recent politicals—the Trotskyites, the Bolsheviks of the right, the farmers who had resisted collectivization, etc.

## A Moscow Prison

We were taken at our request to a prison in Moscow for crimes ranging from embezzling funds from the Soviet government to murder. In this particular prison, while there were guards, the discipline seemed much less severe than in the average prison in America. The inmates were working at various trades and were paid regular wages. There were two shifts, the first from 7 to 3, the second to 11 P. M. After three o'clock, we were informed that the first-shift prisoners could learn trades, spend their time in reading, in attending clubs, etc. They had loud speakers in the rooms and seemed able to leave the room during the day as the spirit moved. Many of them were allowed leave of absences and during the summer some of them went to the country to work on the farm. The aim seemed to be to adjust the inmates while in prison to normal life rather than revenge and to restore them to the rights of citizenship following their prison terms. Many of the guards were former prisoners.

Of greater interest to students of penology was the Rehabilitation Colony outside of Moscow, containing about a thousand former street waifs whose desperate situation during the days after the revolution, received world wide publicity. Those in the colony had been convicted of crimes of greater or less degree and, before entering the colony, had been passed upon by a committee of inmates. They were self-governed—the motto of the colony being self-activity and industry—and only a few of those in charge came from outside the ranks. They were engaged in manufacturing skates, sweaters, tennis rackets and other sport goods and had associated with them in these trades some 1,300 others coming from surrounding villages. No guards tried to keep them in the colonies. Most of them, however, preferred the communistic life here to the outside world and stayed from year to year. Most of them ranged from 17 to 24 years. They paid some \$17 a month for their "keep." Their wage was, it was stated, around \$150 a day. Those desiring to get married had to submit their case to the colony and permission was given if they were capable of supporting a family and if their fellows felt that they would not return to a criminal life.

# ON TOUR FOR SOCIALISM

## Socialist Students Visit Finger Lakes District; Impressions of Tendencies and Men

By Andrew J. Steiger

RARE is the person who can combine his work and play in pleasurable proportions; rarer still is the chance to mingle labor and enjoyment. In our industrial life today there are men who work and are so regimented by the machines they operate and produce by that while they labor they despair; there are other men who do not work and are so corrupted by parasitic living on the goods of others that while they rest they rot; there are still others, a most pathetic group, who would work but do not and are so enervated by enforced idleness that while they are at leisure they enjoy not

## The C. P. L. A. And The Socialists

Editor, The New Leader:

Your analysis of C. P. L. A. policies in the September 20th issue of the New Leader comes to my attention just after I have sent in my contributions to a couple of the Socialist Party campaign funds and acceded to a request from Comrade Marx Lewis to make some speeches in the present campaign.

You will recall that at the C. P. L. A. conference at Brookwood over the Labor Day week-end at the same session at which "two ex-Communists" to whose addresses you give great emphasis in your article "had the floor twice," I stated that I would do all in my power to promote the campaign of Socialist Party candidates this fall, and you are of course well aware of the fact that among C. P. L. A. members are a large number of very active, militant and loyal young Socialists. Accordingly, we do not feel that we want to enter into a discussion of matters which might prove controversial in the midst of an election campaign. In justice, however, we feel that your brief letter so that your readers may not be misled by complete silence on our part into the notion that we accept in toto your version of C. P. L. A. activities and policies.

Since, furthermore, you quote at some length from an article of mine in the June issue of Labor Age and yet omit portions of that article the inclusion of which would have thrown an entirely different light on the whole matter, may at this time call attention to those omissions? The section of the article from which you quote begins with a statement that within any labor party which may be formed there must be a militant left-wing group committed to a

thorough-going program of Socialist reconstruction. It goes on to say that "the logical thing would be for the Socialist Party to fulfill here the role which the Independent Labor Party has played in Great Britain," that "in certain instances it is playing that part now" and that "there are many ardent and active young spirits in the Socialist Party who are working to that end." Then I suggest, modestly enough it would seem, that there may be certain grounds for doubt as to whether the Socialist Party will play such a role, which ought to have the consideration of its members and friends.

And then follows the sentence on the basis of which you accuse me at length of advising "careless planning," etc. This is the sentence: "The Socialist Party is not a new and young movement free from past ties and traditions, able to launch forth with the energy, the courage and, perhaps, the carelessness of a newcomer on the political scene." I leave it to your readers to judge to what extent that sentence advises carelessness as to research, planning, formulation of policy, etc.

Some time after the election campaign we shall hope to have the opportunity to set before New Leader readers our version of C. P. L. A. policies and activities.

Yours for militant promotion of progressive laborism and Socialism by the young, middle aged and aged.

A. J. Muste.  
Chairman, Conference For Progressive Labor Action

We shall also be glad to consider these questions further after the campaign as we believe that it will be of benefit to all concerned.—Editor.

## One Industry Towns

Two facts occurred with sufficient frequency to impress us with their social significance. The one had to do with the industrial life of the cities. Excepting Naples, a town of unpurged grapevines and deserted wine cellars, reminiscent of pre-prohibition Italy, we found most every town was supported by some basic industry. In Rome the Steel and Wire Co. maintained its non-union factory and segregated to its poorest section the immigrant employees; in Cortland the Crescent Corset Factory was run by under-paid women who pushed cloth under sewing needles and kept time on time clocks; in Corning the town boasted of its glass works famous for many miles; in Auburn, a town notorious for the prison riots of last Fall, it was still remembered that some years ago, striking employees of the Columbian Rope Co. threatened the owner with death and he was so frightened that a few months later he did die.

Enumerating the obvious is rather superficial unless you be more certainly impressed by the simple truth made apparent to us. In all the communities visited there is a serious problem of finding employment to keep a majority of the population busy a majority of the time. Employers assume this to be desirable, yet the majority of the time they can only employ a minority of the available workmen and still produce more than enough goods to meet the current demand. In all industries,

even the Oneida Community Plate Co., a silverware factory, run by people nurtured in a Utopian socialist tradition have had to not only reduce their working force from one-quarter to one-half but have also cut down the working day from six per week to three and four and five per week. Various causes contribute to this condition. The introduction of new machinery has resulted in some places displacing three men by one man. The migration from rural to urban centers has been so heavy that in the counties surrounding Utica there are three thousand farms vacated in the five years past. The stock market break and the general depression has reduced the consumptive capacity of most people. While the causes are found to appear on the surface of the local situations, for remedies we sought in vain among the local bosses and petty tyrants who ruled them. No measures adequate to deal with so general a fact as unemployment can be significant except they be nation-wide and international in scope. The remedies advocated by the Socialist platform appeal to one on the instant. There is a need for accurate facts about the number of men out of work; we need to introduce a shorter work-day and employ more men; we must develop a social conscience that looks upon unemployment as a social and not an individual problem, a conscience sensitive enough to provide social insurance for workers unable to extricate themselves from the clutches of a social improvidence beyond their individual control.

## Signs of a New Party

The second line of facts which presented themselves pointed to the political complexion of the district we were traveling through. As a source of information newspaper editors are unexcelled, this is especially true when the man is editing a struggling Democratic weekly in a stronghold of Republicanism. One such person gave out that there were no particular local issues stressed by his paper; on state issues he followed closely the policies of the Democratic convention which met separately from the Republicans. He then asked, what could be done. He could not see that the handful of Socialists counted at all. In another community of thirty thousand, the editor of the only paper, a non-partisan news agency, spoke unguardedly of his affiliations with the Republican leaders who controlled some twenty-one thousand

votes; he pointed to his brother working in the same office and said he had been appointed by Governor Roosevelt to the county chairmanship of the Democratic Party with an enrollment of seven thousand voters. The Socialists numbered less than a hundred, yet he admitted the fact that a minority in power could not deny the right of criticism to a minority out of power. The Socialists were necessary but ineffective.

In the political situation as in the industrial situation the surface of things is deceiving, there is apparently an unusual handicap in favor of the Republicans, yet underneath can be found seething elements whose force may overthrow the uneven balance. In one town where the Democrats and Republicans were of about equal strength, a consistent and unscrupulous attempt was made to capture the Socialist nominations with a resultant victory for the Party which secured the favorable endorsement. The Socialists count here as friction points between

(Continued on Page Five)

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## The Socialist Campaign

THE vaudeville actor goes up behind his partner and taps him on the shoulder.

"You're a crook," says he, "you're wanted in Washington."

"What do they want another crook in Washington for?" is the response that invariably elicits cynical chuckles from the audience.

And when you think it over, this is the tragedy of the thing—the cynical attitude of the man on the street towards political corruption.

Indeed corruption has come to be so accepted a by-product of the political machines of both old parties that an honest man in public life is as rare as a February thunderstorm.

"By-product" is not the word. The blunt fact is that corruption is the end-product of the political machine. When Oscar Ameringer said, "The fine art of politics consists of extracting campaign contributions from the rich and votes from the poor on the ground that you are going to protect one from the other," he made a keen summation of the causes for corruption in public life. One need not be a Marxist with rigid insistence upon economic determination to realize that it is what the frank-spoken Wobblies used to call, "the belly urge" which is the dominating motive of the parasitic horde of placemen and favor-seekers and dealers who have steadily dragged politics in America into its present disrepute.

It is a caustic commentary on the low estate of public service that newspapers the country over should express surprise that men of the high standing of Louis Waldman, Norman Thomas, Jacob Panken and Heywood Brown should even consider running for office. When Roy Howard, editor of the Scripps-Howard papers said in connection with Brown's nomination for Congress, "It has been our boast that in more than half a century of our existence few Scripps-Howard editors have gone to jail and no Scripps-Howard editor or important contributor has gone to Congress," he was but echoing the almost universal contempt for politicians which is held by most intelligent citizens.

Now, unlike well-meaning liberals who naively assume that corruption in politics can be ended by the "good man" technique (which in the long run consists of substituting one group of rascals for another), Socialists waste little time in lamentations over political corruption. For their concern is not merely with "good government" by which is usually meant fair-to-middling honest administration of public funds, but with a political, social and economic reconstruction which shall bring with it a new conception of the function of the state, a new point of view on the part of the individual citizen towards his other relations to the state. In short, a revolution in the public mind and conscience far more significant and far-reaching than any fantastic matter of barricades and street fighting.

With such a philosophy Socialists conduct their warfare against corruption not as a one-time sniping of certain individual sinners, but as an overnight social-evangelical revival, not as a part of a far-flung and continuous onslaught upon a system which has its very roots and draws its sinister strength from bribery, fraud and the debauching of public office.

If at the present time it is corruption in New York City and under the shadow of the new Tammany Hall which attracts nation-wide attention, it is not to be assumed that New York under Walker is in any degree freer of corruption than a number of up-state cities where Republicans are in complete control. Gamblers at Saratoga, check by jewel, jury-bribery in Schenectady, riggers and "fixers" in Rochester, Syracuse, Albany and Buffalo—one and all are repeating in miniature the large-scale skulduggery of their metropolitan co-fractions.

It so happens that New York City lies constantly under the fierce light of world publicity and that what goes on in its colorful life has its repercussions in every corner of the earth. So if in this campaign we deal chiefly with political corruption in New York City it is not because we regard it as in any way an isolated phenomenon. Nor are the present instances of individual dishonesty unique in the history of the city or the state. As Louis Waldman so well put it in an interview with the press last June:

"Our campaign to awaken the civic conscience and to arouse the people to the fact that we are back in the days of Boss Tweed would not be necessary if Judge Mancuso, Magistrate Vitale, Judge Vause and Dr. Doyle were merely isolated instances of corruption in public office and that justice would be done either by having them resign or imprisoned for any of the offenses of which they may be guilty."

We are not fighting Vause but Vauism, not Doyle but the system of which Doyle is a product and of which he may or may not eventually become a victim. They represent symptoms of a virulent disease which is destroying the very vitals of our government and, what is worse, the civic conscience of our people who have come to regard a long series of scandals with complacency. Resentment is now beginning to show itself and it will be a calamity if Vause's resignation, or the resignation of any of the others under suspicion should permit the same conclusion to these scandals as has occurred in the others."

Socialists in this campaign have a double-edged sword with which to strike at corruption. They can and must lash out fiercely at the individual grafter but at the same time they must make it clear that he is but part of a larger system of fraud which stems directly from the capitalist system.

In the old days of the Socialist Party, when the propaganda of the idea itself was the sole business of our spokesmen, little or no attention was paid to current affairs. That phase has definitely passed. In New York City, in Philadelphia, in other large centers, the Socialist Party has become the recognized opposition to the powers that be. Research into figures have taken the place of vague denunciation, municipal government, the collection of facts and Socialist Party headquarters are today literally clearing-houses for information, up to the minute, authentic and fundamental to an understanding of those hidden forces which operate day in and day out to exploit those who create the wealth of the city by work of hand and brain.

The emergence of the Socialist Party into the dust and heat of everyday political combat has captured the imagination of men and women from all walks of life. Far more effective than any generalized appeal is such a record of practical achievement as has been set by the Socialists in New York City in this last crowded year.

Heywood Brown has said, "The old parties will steal the Socialists' thunder but they dare not touch our lightning." Proof of the guilty conscience of the Republicans, who know that they cannot come into court with clean hands is their obvious unwillingness to tackle this matter of Tammany corruption with anything approaching genuine zeal. It remains for the Socialists and the Socialists alone to carry on the fight for common decency not only in New York City but throughout the state.

McAlister Coleman

## From Our Foreign Correspondent

# Economic Crisis in Austria

By Benedikt Kautsky

Vienna.

THE economic crisis is bearing down harder on Austria from month to month. At present there are almost 200,000 unemployed—approximately 20 per cent of the total number of workers and clerical employees—and the question of how great their number will be in the winter and what will be their fate is becoming more and more pressing.

Whole branches of industry are dead. Some are suffering from causes common to the whole world, while others are afflicted by conditions peculiar to Austria.

Which make their rehabilitation almost impossible. When, for example, today only one of the five Austrian locomotive shops, some of which can look back upon an existence of almost a century, is in operation, the reason is to be found in the fact that these shops used to furnish locomotives to what is now Polish, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Italian territory, while today not a single locomotive can be sent there. And if the Austrian scythe industry, which is, perhaps, five hundred years old and thus one of the very oldest industries of Europe, is going to ruin today, this is the result of technical progress which replaces the scythe with the moving-machine.

But the thousands who are losing their jobs through the ruin of the old industries are not the only ones who are suffering. The government stands idle before this frightful situation. Although it has been in possession of the funds from the investment loan for weeks, it has not even worked out a plan for their use, let alone increased the State orders. So the Social Democracy has seized the initiative and come out with a program at least calculated to minimize the worst evils of the economic crisis. Its main demands are an increase in the State's investment activities, a lowering of the National Bank's interest rate—something quite feasible in view of the fact that the bank's circulation is covered up to more than 80 per cent—, a change in foreign trade policy so as to put an end to the present sacrificing of the export of industrial products in the interest of agrarian tariff demands, the setting up of a grain monopoly and an increase in welfare work from the public treasury.

Now it must be admitted that the present financing of the unemployment insurance, which is done merely through contributions

## Depression and Widespread Fascist Spirit Calls for Vigilance by Socialists

though it has been in possession of the funds from the investment loan for weeks, it has not even worked out a plan for their use, let alone increased the State orders. So the Social Democracy has seized the initiative and come out with a program at least calculated to minimize the worst evils of the economic crisis. Its main demands are an increase in the State's investment activities, a lowering of the National Bank's interest rate—something quite feasible in view of the fact that the bank's circulation is covered up to more than 80 per cent—, a change in foreign trade policy so as to put an end to the present sacrificing of the export of industrial products in the interest of agrarian tariff demands, the setting up of a grain monopoly and an increase in welfare work from the public treasury.

But, as the party is well aware of the fact that, so long as we live under the capitalist system of industry, the crisis can only, at the best, be minimized by such measure, but never ended, it is fighting against attempts to deprive the jobless workers and clerks of the scanty benefits they now enjoy and for decent old age pensions for the aged and incapacitated who never can find any more work. This task is all the more urgent because Parliament has before it a bill aimed at robbing 70,000 unemployed persons of their benefits.

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by the workers and employers, represents a heavy burden upon industry. Consequently, the Socialist Party demands that the State, which has had its budget relieved through the receipts from the loan, make an appropriation for unemployment insurance, and at the same time, through similar appropriations, make possible the coming into force of old age and invalidity pensions.

In order to put through its demands, the Social Democracy has decided to make use of a provision in the constitution never before resorted to. The constitution of Austria provides that any party may submit a proposed law to a popular referendum if it can get 200,000 signatures in favor of it. Sept. 14 was the day fixed for the beginning of the collection of signatures and it seems certain that the necessary 200,000 names will be gathered, with plenty to spare.

It is true that the popular referendum will then be a bitter struggle between all the forces of conservatism and reaction and those of social progress, a struggle which will have a powerful effect upon the result of the Parliamentary elections due next Spring.

Our opponents are well aware of the importance of the decision. The Central Association of Industry, the most powerful employers' organization in Austria, has issued a public "warning" that the unemployment benefits must be restricted and the Minister of Social Welfare asserts that it is impossible to allow the continuance of the "improper conditions" which enable all sorts of "ignoble

elements" to draw benefits. Just as if he didn't have control of the insurance organization himself and couldn't avoid all improper conditions!

In these days, which indicate the forming of a united front by all the reactionary forces, an important move has been made in the Heimwehr. The former management, which sympathized with the expelled Kapp Putschist Pabst, has been deposed, after a lengthy dispute, and replaced by Herr Starheimberg, who, despite the abolition of the nobility, still calls himself "Prince" and whose name is expected by the Heimwehr to possess special drawing power because one of his ancestors, 250 years ago successfully defended Vienna against the Turks. Starheimberg is an unstable young man in the twenties who was a follower of Hitler (the Austrian-born chief of the German would-be Fascists), but who during the past weeks has come entirely under the influence of Monsignor Seipel, (the reactionary Clerical leader). Consequently, his election as leader completes the development of the Heimwehr which we foretold and which has brought it to the Christian Social Party. This means the definite failure of the attempt to build up an extra-Parliamentary Fascist movement in Austria. On the other hand, however, the governing Christian Social Party will become still more impregnated with the Fascist spirit and the Heimwehr leaders will not change their character—or rather their lack of character—if they sit in Parliament.

At all events the working class has no reason to relax its watchfulness.

For this exceptional service to mankind, he is treated like a conquering hero when his toy is brought over here for a few spins around the American waters. All Newport turns out in its palatial yachts and expensive power boats. The millionaires have a holiday. The poor read about it from newspapers found in ash cans and on park benches . . . Sir Lipton loses . . . America is magnanimously sad . . . Yes, even great tears of affection and sympathy well up in eyes that wouldn't wink at a workman broken to bits after a fall from a scaffold, or shattered in soul and hope on the breadline.

It is just this inhumanity of the public spirit consolidated from public men like Will Rogers and the newspaper editors that irks one into bitter revolt.

Oh, it will be said . . . why not take the people away from their worries and give them, even for a spell, somebody else's sorrow to grieve over. It is just as the old Hebrew proverb has it . . . Some weep because their lives are bitter . . . others because their ropes of pearls are thin . . . I want to see that day come when this horrible formula is of no use any more in human mathematics . . . And Socialism is the only way out . . .

## The Chatter Box

For Norman Thomas  
(After hearing him at a campaign meeting.)

Sometimes his indignation at a world  
Less than it might be  
Welled up into his eyes  
Where flame consumed  
And molten hues remained  
To show how even  
Devastating wrath can help  
To build . . .

ISABEL FRIEDMAN.

I like printing poems about Norman here, and heaven knows how many folks who hear him are hurled into singing. Most of the efforts I receive are joyous and noble in concept although too crude in technique for inclusion in this space . . . In fact I write a poem or so every now and then about him myself. I trust it will be able to do for him what was done for Debs by the poets of the land.

Somehow, I never feel halcyon about praising Comrade Thomas. He is so unspoilable. No man I know receives more genuine plaudits and love from those who know him, and none carries through it with less concern and real modesty . . . He will pardon this outburst too, I am sure . . .

Fishing last Tuesday brought me close to water. And water on lake or stream or sea has a way of drawing contemplation. The utter peace of it gives the mind a chance to play boy.

And the rowboat made me think of boats in general. I thought of yachts. This time, the yacht races that have so absorbed the public mind. And I pondered on that fine suggestion from Will Rogers to have the public raise a fund for Sir Thomas Lipton as a token of being the world's best loser.

Tragic play indeed for a country so depressed industrially and in spirit to perk up with interest on the matter of raising thousands of dollars for a thoroughly useless gift to a thoroughly useless person like Sir Lipton.

I passed the breadlines today. I passed the unemployment bureaus. I passed the Ghettoes and the slum sections of the city. Misery leered down on every side. And yet to my small mind the poor are the world's best losers. Day in and day out they trudge the hopeless ways for a means to live on in an unlivable world. No one of these humorists, not one of these big newspapers ever bother about making a public subscription for buying them a consolation cup or so . . .

A millionaire sportsman, exploiting his business organization, which consists of no doubt of thousands of British workmen, has nothing to do except to spend millions upon frail playthings like sailboats. This at a time when all England is in the doldrums, when millions are living on a dime, when hopelessness stares the whole nation in the face.

For this exceptional service to mankind, he is treated like a conquering hero when his toy is brought over here for a few spins around the American waters. All Newport turns out in its palatial yachts and expensive power boats. The millionaires have a holiday. The poor read about it from newspapers found in ash cans and on park benches . . . Sir Lipton loses . . . America is magnanimously sad . . . Yes, even great tears of affection and sympathy well up in eyes that wouldn't wink at a workman broken to bits after a fall from a scaffold, or shattered in soul and hope on the breadline.

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## Words for a Flute

If you should want to measure  
My life upon a span,  
Then mark for the beginning  
The night our love began.

When stretch the pale horizon  
Unto the farthest sun,  
And use that length for telling  
When you and I are done.

If you should want to measure  
My life by any span,  
Then end it when your love is dead . . .  
You know how it began . . .

The street corners these nights and their Socialist meetings are very happy ones. Those that I have attended as speaker and spectator in the last week or so hold forth promise such as I have not known in many weary years.

The people are looking for a way out of their uncertainty . . . I see it in their careful attentiveness. Their attitudes while listening are indicative of seriousness.

Years ago when times were better, I used to attribute the sparseness of the crowds at times to the fact that they still could afford the price of movies. Today their unpaid-for radios are unpleasant means for indoor amusement. And whether the Tom Thumb game has pulled into its obvious idiosyncrasy, or they simply cannot afford to go to the movies, we have much to be thankful for in these dog days of public welfare . . .

In Rockaway the other night, a combined audience of workers and small business men listened to George J. Friedman, their Socialist Assembly candidate and myself for over two hours. Fully four hundred men and women crowded the square near the Far Rockaway station. Firemen, policemen, local politicians all listened in as well. When the speech making was over, I called for questions from the audience. Most of those asked were pertinent and honest. I did the best I could with many perplexing ones. Literature was grabbed up. The New Leader was advertised. In fact for the first time in local history . . . Socialism was heard in that summer resort.

And brethren, I say Socialism. We kept away from public scandal and personal political reference. We hammered home the whole Socialist message from the war between the haves and the havenots down to the materialistic viewpoint of history. Gosh, how they drank in the story of how the whole stock market debacle sprang out of the system where private ownership of public wealth has the strange hold on worker and little business man alike.

A Communist somehow had smuggled himself into the meeting. He asked no questions. Strange indeed. Only on the dispersing of the crowd, I heard him remark disappointedly to his companion . . . "Hell, that wasn't a Socialist speech . . . he spoke Socialism . . ." Smart alecky . . . you might say . . . but perhaps . . . it held some grain of critical truth . . .

Let us hope for more Socialism in our speech making . . . I promise that in all of mine . . .

S. A. de Wit

# The Blackshirt Tribunal

## Fascist Justice In Operation In The Trial Of 74 Slovenes "Confessions" Only Evidence

By Filippo Turati

Paris, Sept. 2.

THE Special Tribunal has left Rome, its habitual residence, for Trieste, and the monster trial, or rather series of trials, of the 74 Slovenes accused of felony against the regime which oppresses and dishonors it—began in the great hall of the Assize Court of Trieste yesterday, the 1st of September.

Twenty-eight of these 74 have succeeded in escaping, and will be tried in their absence. Yesterday the first group of 18 defendants were brought before the disguised hangmen.

It is a universal rule in civilized countries to remove trials from places where fear, passion or exasperation could disturb their serenity. Fascism has reversed this rule.

When the Tribunal moves its seat, experience has taught us that this always means that the executioner follows. We can remember the case of Della Maggiora, and that of Vladimir Gortan, the Slovene peasant who, because he had attempted to turn aside his countrymen, who were allowing themselves to be escorted by Fascists to give their vote in the famous plebiscite, was shot the morning after being sentenced, before his appeal for pardon could be laid before the King. This made Gortan a national hero of Yugoslavia!

The present defendants are accused of having combined to bring about the violent separation of Istria from Italy to which it was given by the War, in order to hand it over to Yugoslavia, and that by means of armed insurrection, devastation and massacre, as members of a secret military organization which is also ready to attack the national army from behind in case of war.

The indictment explains that this organization had its roots in secret Yugoslav associations, and operated by the distribution of pamphlets, with the assistance of foreign Consulates in Italy—this means Yugoslav Consulates—who financed it, and to whom it had to give an account of the money spent. Accordingly, the Yugoslav Government is directly involved.

In addition, various groups are held responsible for the burning and devastation, attempted or achieved, of Italian schools, children's homes and military buildings. They are blamed, among other things for the bombs deposited near the Victory Lighthouse and near the office of the Fascist organ "Popolo di Trieste," which exploded and killed one of the editors and seriously wounded three printing employees.

In this connection it should be noted that with regard to the bomb at the office of the "Popolo di Trieste" the general impression was that the fact was to be imputed to certain Fascists who were following their method of organizing crimes to be attributed to their enemies in order to provoke and justify the most ferocious collective reprisals. Indeed, the police found it necessary to arrest one of the Fascists who is in the greatest disrepute for his criminal activity. Needless to say, he was soon released.

But what is most astonishing

in reading the indictment is that the specific proofs against the defendants are almost entirely drawn from the confessions of the defendants themselves. One would say that they were all attacked by a wild passion to denounce themselves and their accomplices. We therefore have the queen of proofs—the confession of the accused!

Unfortunately, this queen's crown is considerably damaged in view of the systems of scientific torture, the frightful torments to which political prisoners are submitted in the Fascist prisons with a view to extorting false confessions and false denunciations from them, which they would not deny at their hearing for fear that they would make their position still worse.

Moreover, the fact that this is an execution and not a trial is proved by the commentary which all the papers of the Kingdom were forced to publish on August 26th.

"Never," said the commentary, "has the Special Tribunal had to try criminals who had more cruelly attacked, not only the regime and all the most sacred expressions of the State, but the whole Italian nation in its unity. The defence of this unity can only be absolute and extremely severe."

These words are, under the dictatorship, a formal order, and their sound anticipates the crackling of the firing party's shots. If there were any doubt of this, it would be removed by the announcement of the same papers, which hasten to add with ostentation that all the members of the Tribunal, whose names and rank are given, are officers of the Fascist militia, who are wearing the black shirt as a toga.

One can be opposed to all nationalisms: we ourselves are, although, in truth, there is a distinction between the nationalism of the Irredentists, who aspire to recover their nationality, and that of the . . . denationalizers. The Italian Government, which by the solemn acts of its Parliament—when a Parliament existed—undertook to respect the autonomy and the culture of the national minorities, and which, having fallen into the hands of the Fascists, has denied all its undertakings, has added to the general tyranny a special tyranny against the annexed populations, has carried this oppression to the point of depriving the children of their own language in the schools and of changing the names of countries and the names of families, even to the epitaphs in the cemeteries, could hardly expect anything but rebellions. And how can we avoid being astonished to hear such a Government—which made itself the centre of all the discontent and deceptions of the Peace Treaties, the revision of which it is demanding for its own benefit—how can we avoid being astonished to hear it expressing itself in the following words in the compulsory commentary which we have just quoted:—

"What principle of international law would justify in Europe today the violent separation of one part of the territory of a State? Even in the States upon which the Treaties impose a special regime for the minorities, the first condition is that they should be absolutely loyal towards the State to which they belong."

On this question of loyalty one is tempted to reply: "Let the assassins begin."

In any case, we repeat, it is necessary at least that the essential guarantees of the right of defence be respected, that the independence of the judges is not a falsehood, and that the trials shall be trials and not massacres.

All this is happening in the twentieth century, in the country which used to be called the Fatherland of Right, under the indifferent eyes of the League of Nations, to which Italy belongs, and which is supposed to safeguard international justice and the peace of nations.

A merchant in Italy has been sentenced to five months' hard labor and a fine of 500 Lira for telling a joke against Fascism in a cafe. The public prosecutor asked for a year's imprisonment.

Justice and truth alone endure and

the fact that in this sense nothing equals the terror which surrounds the Tribunal. As there is no longer a single newspaper in Italy which is not the organ of the police, we ask the correspondents of foreign papers who are still in Italy, whichever Party they belong to, if there is a single one of them who could penetrate into the pretorium and send sincere impressions on the trial; or, if he should succeed in doing this and his copy escaped the clutches of the censor, whether, in the best hypothesis, he would not be certain to receive an order to cross the frontier within 24 hours.

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## On Tour For Socialism

(Continued from Page Four)

the major parties. Nor is it true that Republicans and Democrats alone occupy the best houses in town. In many communities the Socialists also reside there and are recognized in the social as well as in the political life of the town. In one community with a rich Socialist background, the owners and managers of the factory were the most important social leaders as well as being Socialists. In another city where newspapers placed Socialist news on a par with Republican and Democratic news, the cause of Socialism found its adherents with the prestige of membership on a university faculty. These emerging signs of a new political alignment should be placed in the foreground of the situation in this district where we found one community so overwhelmingly Republican that the voters on Primary Day went to the polls with no other alternative than to vote for the Republican nominee. Political life was so throttled by the Republican machine that ballots were not even printed for other parties to write in the names of opposing candidates.

Against the background of the situation outlined above it can be asked, what can a group of green students do to crystallize public opinion and precipitate action. The recital of a few experiences will reveal how we entered into the situation and produced a new social element by reaction. In Whitesboro we confirmed the decision of a local committeewoman to invite a Socialist speaker to their next meeting; before our visit she had hesitated, after it was decided. At Oneida, we arranged a street meeting in which the Socialist from Oneida Community and the Socialist from the town of Oneida cooperated for the first time since a split in the party some years ago.

At Cortland we met with a minister and a Socialist and helped to organize a monthly forum to deal with political and social problems. At Geneva we secured the collaboration of a college professor in arranging a street meeting and on the discontent of individuals

used a second professor from a nearby school to deliver a speech. At a county fair we distributed many leaflets to farmers on a holiday. At Syracuse we met with a group of students given to long-winded discussion



# Shubert's Surge With The Season

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## "The Bad Man" Comes to the Strand



Walter Huston, one of our most distinguished stars of the stage, is repeating his success in the talkies. This week he gallops across the Strand's screen as "The Bad Man."

## The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### ROUSING FARE

"NINA ROSA." By Otto Harbach. Music by Sigmund Romberg. Lyrics by Irving Caesar. At the Majestic.

THE new Shubert musical offering, "Nina Rosa," has more good music, more lively plot, and more swift spangled color than the run of musical comedies. It is provided, as well, with a good gathering of players in various moods, who help make the evening amusing and pleasing. In the more sober aspect of the play's plot, there is Guy Robertson, handsome, valiant, and well-voiced, as the hero, who will save the mine for the girl he intends to marry (and no one, of course, dreams of pointing out that thus he too grows rich—for after all, he's an American of the United States, and who has a better right to wed South American fortunes?).

For the proper pursuit of love and duty, Ethelred Terry comes as Nina Rosa to reward him. The villain who would prevent all this is Leonard Ceely, whose Douglas Fairbanksian ways and fine voice make him a close competitor, and who—being not really a bad villain, is rewarded at the end with the hand of the heroine's friend, archly played by Armida.

The comedy—of two distinct and successful varieties—comes mainly from Jack Sheehan and Don Barclay; Cortez and Peggy dance vigorously through two of the colorful scenes; and the worship of the Aztec Sun-god is an impressive piece of musical comedy staging. Altogether "Nina Rosa" should unquestionably be a success.

Yet this is but another of the many plays (with or without music) recent seasons have more often and more daringly displayed, the main function of which is to maintain a pleasant sex titillation in the audience. The heroine's long hair hangs down her back, presumably to show she's still a maid; and it is remarked that she's "different" from the other girls around. Happy Jimmy (is he partly copied from our Mayor?) boasts that "every virgin sees he's a strong silent man in emergencies." The chorus, as is its wont, display first one leg, then the other; then,

with a flourish, discloses both together; then turns around to give the view from the other side. W. S. Gilbert said he wanted no woman to do or say in his plays anything she'd be ashamed of in her mother's drawing-room; his comedies will be delighting thousands long after our leering vulgarities are dead. The Greeks, without the Victorian strait-lacing, were equally unashamed: witness "Lysistrata," of which the present production gives some, but inadequate notion. Sex may be taken as a matter of course, as a responsibility, as a bore; it may be taken with an earnest sense of serious consequence, or as the source equally of life's wide comedies: most plays expect us to take it with a snigger. But the theatre can hardly be expected to mature earlier than the public that attends it and brings it forth.

### At the Little Carnegie



Enacted by a cast of 1,000 Maoris, "The Devil's Pit" will begin a run at the Little Carnegie this Saturday.

### UPSTAIRS AND DOWN

"SYMPHONY IN TWO FLATS." By and with Ivor Novello, At the Shubert.

Deft playing and much delightful foolery, good dialogue and an easy grace of movement, make the evening at "Symphony in Two Flats"—despite several sharp failings—continuously pleasant. These Londoners act with a casual off-hand manner that alone makes for a friendly warmth across the footlights; the prelude covers its sentimentality with a light and swift humor; and there are several Dickensian figures well captured. Mabel the maid, Salmon Pryde the super-realist, Mrs. Plaintiff herself (and Lillian Braithwaite makes her acting equally effective caricature.)

Benita Hume and Ivor Novello present more solid performances, because their roles are serious studies: "the floor above" sounds the more solemn notes of the symphony. There a musician is go-

## "The Devil's Pit," a Maori Legend, by Maoris At the Little Carnegie

At the Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th street, "The Devil's Pit" will be the principal attraction for the four days commencing Saturday, September 27th. This unusual film is entirely enacted by a cast of over 100 Maori natives who reproduce an ancient legend of their people. The picture was made with the cooperation of the government of New Zealand and interestingly depicts the domestic life, strange customs and ceremonial dances of the Maori of a century ago. The native music of these stalwart Polynesians has been recorded with the picture and is one of its most fascinating features.

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of next week, Little Carnegie will offer "Our Blushing Brides" with Joan Crawford in the leading role.

ing blind; his wife loves him, yet he will not have her sacrifice herself to eternal drudgery beside him. Downstairs, a merrier, more farce-like movement runs along, knocking at the gate of the castle upstairs—yet unfortunately never opening the upper door. The failure to link these two actions is one of the two weaknesses of the play. The other lies in the fact that Lesley Kennard does open the door of her apartment, opens it and goes out, at a moment when no wife, especially a loving wife, would leave her husband's side. She comes back, of course, but the damage is done; the play cannot come back. It is not as a good drama, therefore, that one enjoys "Symphony in Two Flats"; but throughout its course the good humor, the deft and the earnest acting, the moments of nonsense and other fun, keep one always expecting something very worth while—and give one continued entertainment.

### ARMS OF LOVE AND WAR

"A FAREWELL TO ARMS." Ernest Hemingway's novel arranged for the stage by Lawrence Stallings. At the National.

There are sincerity and strength in "A Farewell to Arms." There is excellent acting by Elissa Landi as the nurse who loves and dies, by Crane Wilbur as the sensitive Italian who masks his feelings with bawdy jokes; and by Glenn Anders as the tough lieutenant whom love traps—though Anders has been given too many roles that demand the voice that chokes a sob; he too swiftly meets our expectations. The play has passages of intense, swift dialogue, with underplay of strong emotions. It has several very effective scenes, the soldier groups, the new hospital at Milan, the lieutenant (and the nurse). What more, it may be queried, can one ask?

One can ask for fewer lagging moments in the middle of the acts, between swift beginnings and strong ends; one can ask for a greater sense of gathering power: this play seems to strike twice in the first scene, and then must begin over; and one can ask that the figures grow more real. Despite the complete frankness of the picture of soldier life, and the conversations of the men and the women, the early "Strange Interlude" psychology—O'Neill kept those moments offstage—does not win us to accept that fantasy—transfer of the nurse's affections from her dead hero. Regretting that she had not given herself to him, she makes up for it with the lieutenant; but her labor offstage, and her coming onstage, after the baby, to die, while half a dozen men fuss about in the face of the Austrian army's advance, are not made require a novel's greater length, and the absence of visible presentation, to make them imaginatively acceptable; on the stage, they have produced a sincere and intelligent, but only occasionally moving, drama.

### ARTHUR HOPKINS presents

## "ROAD-SIDE"

A new comedy by Lynn Riggs. Settings by Robert Edmund Jones. Staged by Mr. Hopkins.

Longacre 1818 St. W. of B'way. Evs. at 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30.

### SHUBERT Theat. 44th W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30.

The MESSRS. SHUBERT Present

## IVOR NOVELLO SYMPHONY IN TWO FLATS

In His London Success  
With LILLIAN BRAITHWAITE  
BENITA HUME  
And the Original Cast  
from the APOLLO THEATRE, LONDON

## In Arthur Hopkins' Second Production of the Season



"Road Side," a comedy by Lynn Riggs, makes Arthur Hopkins' second production of the season. Ruthelma Stevens, above, has one of the leading roles. Robert Edmund Jones designed the settings and Mr. Hopkins staged the play which is now at the Vanderbilt Theatre.

## George Engels Announces Fall and Winter Plans of NBC Artists

The American premiere of Jan Smeterlin, Polish pianist, is scheduled for October 29 in Carnegie Hall.

Walter Damrosch will give another series of five dramatic recitals on the Wagnerian operas at Town Hall, presenting a different group from those of last season. The dates of these recitals have been announced as February 10 and 17, March 10, 17 and 24.

Paderewski's tour will open in Syracuse October 21. His two New York recitals will be on November 9 and November 29.

The tenth consecutive season that Paul Kochanski has been concertizing in the United States will include forty recitals, largely in the middle west. He will play at Carnegie Hall January 24. John Charles Thomas will undertake his heaviest season in a number of years, making seventy appearances both in opera and concert. His New York recital will be on November 30.

The Gordon String Quartet will undertake an extensive tour of six cities beginning October 6. This ensemble will give a series of three concerts in New York. Victor Chenkin, Russian singing actor, will fill twenty engagements during a six week period beginning in Boston, November 13. His only New York appearance this season will be at the Guild Theatre November 16. Rudolph Ganz will appear at Carnegie Hall February 28.

"A smash hit . . . one of the happiest theatre evenings I ever experienced." —Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

## JOE COOK

In his Newest Maddest Musical FINE and DANDY

ERLANGER'S THEATRE 44th St. W. of B'way, Phone Fe. 7963 Evs. at 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

## The Greeks Had A Word For It

A New Comedy by ZOE AKINS Presented by William Harris, Jr.

Sam H. Harris Theat., 42nd St. W. of B'way Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

## THEATRE GUILD Presents THE NEW GARRICK GAIETIES

Guild Theatre 52nd Street, West of Broadway Evs. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

## "The Office Wife" With Dorothy Mackaill At the Winter Garden

"The Office Wife," featuring Dorothy Mackaill and Lewis Stone, began an indefinite run Thursday night at the Winter Garden Theatre. Personal appearances by Miss Mackaill and by Walter Winchell and Mark Hellinger, who are featured in two of the Vitaphone shorts on the supplementary program, was a feature of the Eastern premiere of this picture, which has been shattering box-office records throughout the west.

Besides the Winchell and Hellinger shorts, titled respectively "The Bard of Broadway" and "At the Round Table," there is a Vitaphone number called "The Heart-breaker," featuring Eddie Foy, Jr., and Olive Shea, noted Broadway beauty. In "At the Round Table," Hellinger shares screen honors with James J. Corbett, De Wolf Hopper and Damon Runyon.

## "The Dawn Patrol" Held Over at the B'klyn Strand

"The Dawn Patrol," starring Richard Barthelmess and featuring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Nell Hamilton and two-score world war flyers, is being held over for a second week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre, Fulton street and Rockwell place.

## Henry Hadley to Conduct a New Singing Society in New York

The Manhattan Choral Club, consisting of 350 mixed voices, has been formed as an auxiliary to the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra. The first concert will take place at Mecca Auditorium on February 8th, at which Dr. Hadley will conduct his choral work "Myrtill in Arcadia." Following the principal adopted by the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, an American composition will be performed at each Choral concert and novelties which have not before been heard in New York, will be given preference. The opening concert of the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra will be under the auspices of the American Federation of Music Clubs which opens its convention in New York on November 16th. At this concert Luisa Silva will make her New York debut, singing an aria with the orchestra.

Charles K. Davis has again been appointed as manager of the concerts and Faith von Valkenburg Vilas is elected chairman of the Ladies Auxiliary Committee for the coming year.

## "With Privileges," a Psychological Study of Human Impulses

"With Privileges," the new drama by Ruth Welty, which Hyman Adler is sponsoring, and now at the Vanderbilt Theatre, under the production management of Adler and Gerton, is a play written by a woman who resigned as associate professor in psychology at Columbia University to write the play.

Hyman Adler, the producer, it will be recalled, was former head of the Jewish Theatre Guild, and the cast includes several who are known favorably to Broadway.

## MAJESTIC Theat. 44th W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

## NINA ROSA

NEW MUSICAL ROMANCE By Harbach-Romberg-Caesar with GUY ROBERTSON and ETHEL TERRY Armida Leonard Ceely and 100 OTHERS

44th St. Theatre West of Broadway Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

## MOROSCO Theat. 45th W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

## WALTER WOOLF AND HEMING

In ELMER HARRIS' American Version of FRANCES BIBESCO'S New Comedy Hit

## LADIES ALL

"Delightful . . . acted to perfection . . . should endure until long after Christmas."—Bride Dudley, Eve. World.

## Earl Carroll Vanities

8th Edition All New 67 Glittering Scenes—1,000 Laughs HERB WILLIAMS JIMMY SAVO JACK BENNY Most Beautiful Girls in the World Prices Evs. \$1 to \$6. Mats. \$1 to \$3.50 & Tax 402 GOOD BALCONY SEATS at \$1.00 NEW AMSTERDAM Theat. W. 42nd Street Nightly & Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. Theatre Delightfully Cool—Filtered Air

Vanderbilt Theatre 48 STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY Evs. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

## A Well Known and Popular Maestro



Jeno Bentel, the famous Hungarian orchestra leader, swings his baton now at the New Yorker Hotel. Mr. Bentel may do something in the musical comedy field this season.

## The "Sea Wolf" with Sills, All Star Stage Bill At the Brooklyn Fox

A smash hit show that can easily be termed an all-star bill is current at the Fox Theatre, Flatbush and Nevins. There's the late Milton Sills' "Sea Wolf" on the screen; with Eddie Peabody, Fifi Dorsay, Bob West and Singer's Midgents all appearing in person.

That sparkling and vivacious French dandy, Fifi Dorsay, whose picture work has made her so popular in these parts, takes top place on the stage program. Her quaint accent, her naughty eyes and her vivid personality all go to make her songs and comedy numbers reasons for countless encores.

Eddie Peabody, also a familiar figure, enters as new master of ceremonies and heads Fanchon & Marco's "Miniatures" Idea, presenting Singer's Midgents, the world-famous organization of lilliputian performers.

There's a sea-going atmosphere at the Fox with the showing of the

first talking version of Jack London's immortal "Sea Wolf." Milton Sills plays the title role and plays it superbly. Plenty of fighting on land and sea, plus a hurricane of breathless adventures have been cleverly mixed by Director Alfred Santell with an unusual sort of romance.

## ROXY

7th AVE. and 50th ST. Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAUFEL (ROXY) 2ND SENSATIONAL WEEK

## "All Quiet on the Western Front"

Based on Erich Maria Remarque's World-Famous Novel, with LEWIS AYRES - LOUIS WOLHEIM - JOHN WRAT A Carl Lennelle, Jr. Production, presented by Carl Lennelle

— ON THE STAGE — A Sensational Prologue with entire Roxy Company participating: Roxy Symphony Orchestra, Chorus, Ballet, The Roxyettes.

## New! Different!

## "The Devil's Pit"

An Extraordinary Picture Entirely Enacted by Cast of Maori Natives

Their strange customs, tribal enchanting native music authentically reproduced. Made with cooperation of New Zealand Government.

Little Theatre Playhouse 13th St. E. of 7th Ave.

## CAPITOL Broadway and 51st Street Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir. The World's Most Famous Entertainers

## AL JOLSON (In Person)

AND ON THE SCREEN ROBERT MONTGOMERY In M-G-M's Happy Hit

## "LOVE IN THE ROUGH"

with DOROTHY JORDAN, BENNY RUBIN, J. C. NUGENT from the play "Spring Fever" by Vincent Lawrence. MR. JOLSON appears at 12.33, 2.45, 5.00, 7.32, 9.55

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1930

## Capitalism in Education

THAT the clammy hand of the dead reached into the schools of New York City has been known for years and now the itching palms of the living are known to receive "honest graft" by providing text books to the schools. Board of Education figures show that the city has purchased 600,000 of Superintendent O'Shea's spellers and other officials have also raked in royalties from the sale of text books of which they are the authors. O'Shea has been so uncompromising in his noble fight for "patriotism" within the schools that the disclosure of this extra income need surprise no one. He runs true to form.

Here is an alliance between "patriotism," Tammany politics and a private snap. It is capitalism at its worst in our educational institutions. One does not even have the compensation of knowing that those who attend the public schools are receiving an education. The whole tendency of the system is to turn out youngsters whose capacity for thinking is destroyed. The teacher who is really a teacher, one who endeavors to awaken the spirit of inquiry, becomes a suspect. Nearly four years ago an Associate Superintendent reported that Abraham Lefkowitz was "a master of the technique of teaching," but because he did not stuff students with the ideas of the herd he was denied promotion.

In Chicago private dealers in paints, oils, varnish in alliance with nursery interests, actually used the school system to put over an annual Clean-Up-Plant-Up-Plant-Up campaign. Thus Chicago "education" became an agency for selling the merchandise of capitalist firms. The working people are the bulk of the victims of this prostitution of education and Tammany politics is the carrier of it.

## Hoover's Sweatshop

HOW much reliance can be placed upon the promises of politicians in or out of office is evident by the attitude toward the unemployment problem by the Hoover Administration. The post-office department has been reducing the working force throughout the country and postal workers are bitterly complaining of this heartless policy which is in violation of the promise which Hoover obtained from employing capitalists months ago, a promise which they have not kept.

From Montana comes another important item of news. James D. Graham, president of the state Federation of Labor, calls attention to the fact that the carpenters at work on a new postoffice at Havre are on strike against a wage reduction of three dollars a day. The wages of laborers have also been reduced from 50 to 30 cents an hour. Plasterers at work on an Indian school are also striking against a wage reduction. All these workers were employed by the government and Graham declares that the order for wage reductions came from Washington.

This policy would be bad enough if followed during a period of brisk employment but it is contemptible when millions of wage workers have no employment. It means that government policy does not differ from the sweatshop policy of private employers who take advantage of unemployment to reduce wages. Government capitalism is no better than corporation capitalism and if the masses want to be treated as human beings they will have to administer government through a party of their own.

## Unstable Europe

AMERICAN Socialists have too often not taken that interest in international affairs which they should. This is largely due to our long isolation from Europe but the World War showed that we are a part of the world system of capitalism, diplomacy, imperialism, and war. Any menacing situation abroad is of as much concern to us as though it happened across our borders.

The rise of Fascism in Germany is a case in point. While the parties supporting the republic remember the Fascists and Communists two to

one, still the Fascists are a dangerous group and they will have the support of the Communists on many matters while each looks forward to the time when they will settle accounts with each other in civil war.

In Vienna the armed Socialist workers have beat back the Fascists a number of times in recent years and after a period of quiet the Fascists are again active. In France the Nationalists and imperialists have been encouraged by the German elections and French foreign policy is likely to become reactionary. We may also look forward to some bragging yawns from Mussolini and a general strengthening of anti-Semitism in Europe.

The Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* is of the opinion that the Fascists will give prominence to their anti-Semitic program which consists of nothing more than charging the Jewish people with "corrupting" German life and ascribing Germany's economic conditions under the peace treaties as due to "Jewish international high finance." To be sure, all this is a plea to morons but it has its effect with some people just as the "Nordic" dogma in this country afflicts some poor souls.

We have no doubt that German Socialists appreciate the new problems that have come to them and that they will use their power to the best interests of the workers whom they represent. However, the whole situation in Europe is unstable and surprises may be in store for those who watch the conflict of opposing forces.

## Modern Dinosaurs

THE struggle between two big steel corporations reminds us of the prehistoric age of the dinosaurs, the giant mammals that dominated the scene ages ago. The two great steel dinosaurs are the Bethlehem Steel Company and the United States Steel Corporation. The Bethlehem company is after the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and a royal battle is being fought in the court jungles of Cleveland with trained lawyers guiding the struggle of the giants. Lawyers' fees are expected to run as high as \$1,500,000.

The tendency of the capitalist system of production is for the big animals to eat the little ones. In addition to this there is the social cleavage and group antagonism that follows such struggles. A *New York Times* dispatch declares: "That the trial is still a matter of deepest excitement has been denoted, it is said, by marking of new social lines in Cleveland and Northern Ohio generally, which grows out of the cleavage of wealth and erstwhile friendships by the attachments to one or the other of the contending sides."

The same trend was evident in the old slave oligarchy in the South. At the outbreak of the Civil War most of the great estates and the slaves were owned by about 5,000 families. This brought a class antagonism in southern society. The small slave owner and the non-slave owner had no affection for the powerful slave kings who were reducing others to a position of dependence and social inferiority. The greater slave masters enjoyed eating the lesser masters but they finally passed from the scene.

For the present our ruling capitalists are enjoying a similar feast but they are also undermining the system itself. They are continually reducing the number of those who have any stake in capitalism and they in turn will be swallowed and disappear. Mankind will be the happier when their holdings and power are taken over by a Socialist Commonwealth.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Isn't it possible to recall the "prosperity" chorus which entertained the nation for so many years? It would be as good as vaudeville in these days of Hooverdom.

Things will right themselves in time if those who know what they want to do, and can do, persevere unrelentingly in work and action.—Goethe.

Rockefeller has built a model community of homes in Cleveland for his executives and a labor leader in that city urges other millionaires to do likewise. Perhaps workingmen will be happy when the bosses in the industrial plants are all comfortably housed.

From the Labor standpoint, university mis-education is worse than no education at all. It "stabilizes" the mind. It blurs the vision and limits the horizon. It refuses to "move on." It regards capitalism as without end, and gives men and women bad history, good English, a perfect accent—and little else. Dan Griffiths.

The latest news from the Tammany front is that Jimmie Walker and John F. Curry were on the "preferred calendar" of magistrate Ewald, now under indictment. Preferred stock, no doubt.

It is necessary to make it clear that the appeal is to reason rather than force, and that force will not be used until capitalists become a small band of turbulent rebels against democratically enacted laws.—Bertrand Russell.

The most costly luxury that a member of the working class cannot afford is to vote for the parties of the class that lives on his labor.

A man is a poor man if he is shut out from any of the possibilities of human life within the range of the general existing resources of the world. —Fred Henderson.

If all the Latin-American revolutions throw out American exploiters of Latin-American peoples we shall look for a pious protest from Washington on the score of "national honor," the honor being in proportion to the number of American dollars at stake.

The working class is not, properly speaking, a class at all, but constitutes the body of society. —August Comte.

The only difference between white shirt and black shirt Fascists is that you can see the dirt on the first and not on the second.

Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants and the creed of slaves.—William Pitt.

## Have You Courage To Think?

(An Editorial in the Toledo Union Leader)

SINCE 1861 the Republican party has been in control of the government almost continuously. And now, after all these years, we find 90 per cent. of the wealth of the country in control of less than ten per cent. of the people; we find 87 per cent. of the farms under mortgage; we find a concentration of wealth and power that is crushing out the economic life of the great mass of the people and making them industrial slaves and agricultural serfs."

The above quotation is from a speech made by W. W. Durbin at the Democratic State Convention at Columbus, O., Sept. 12th. Mr. Durbin had been a candidate for U. S. senator at the Democratic primaries. He comes out wholeheartedly for his successful opponent on the Democratic ticket and delivers a fine speech at the state convention.

While we agree with his statement as above quoted, we would ask, "What does either the Democratic or Republican party propose to stop the making of industrial and agricultural serfs?"

The truth is, it is now the time for all kinds of political bunkum.

You dear workman and you honest but besotted farmer will be very much in the limelight from now until Nov. 4th. Tons upon tons of literature will be dumped upon your doorstep. Your radio (if you happen to own one) will be bleating and blating the wonderful ability of this or that candidate for office. Speeches galore will be carefully written and delivered in order to capture the vote of the dear workers, farmers and small business men. Oh, yes, you dear people will be the whole cheese until that one big day, election day, Nov. 4th, 1930.

All kinds of promises will be made by candidates of both the old dominant parties. All of the mud possible will be used in this wonderful battle for power. Names of men and women that have been looked upon as fairly good law-abiding and peaceful citizens will be accused of being everything from bootleggers to grafters. The public press will be reeking with odious insinuations and slimy slander according to their political bias.

Yet, with all of this contemptible political rot, you find back of the scenes the powerful hand of entrenched capital handing out its dole to the political machines to just the extent that one or the other party dominates in that particular section.

In the rock ribbed Republican states the powerful grip of capitalism relaxes to a much greater extent its hold upon its purse strings in favor of Republican campaign funds. In those sure Democratic states this same powerful grip is loosened in favor of a Democratic campaign fund. In doubtful states it becomes a careful study and the money is so judiciously given, that no matter which side wins, the interests of big capital will be carefully safeguarded and the whole fight of the two old parties is over who shall be "it" at the political pie counter.

Now you dear members of the common herd, there is no use getting hot under the collar over these plain statements about your particular political affiliation. You are only a number anyhow, and the political boss waxes fat and powerful by controlling numbers.

Now, Mr. or Mrs. Cipher, just glance at the indictment at the beginning of this editorial. What do you think the Republicans will do to stop the concentration of wealth? Look at our good Republican state of Massachusetts, where Cool Cal. Coolidge won fame, and the presidency by crushing the right of policemen to organize. Look at the Republican state of California where Mooney and Billings are still consigned to a living hell upon earth, because big capital says, "Guilty or innocent, they stay in jail." Then look at our Democratic South where hirelings of the capitalist mill owners can shoot down innocent men and women whose only crime is belonging to a union, and still go unpunished by law while union men are cast into jail for daring to preach the doctrine of union cooperation to the poor underpaid, under-nourished workers.

Yes, the will of capital must be done and you dear Ciphers, place your "X" upon these acts by your "X" upon the ballot. The solution to all of the detestable inequality can be a peaceful one. One that can be fought out at the ballot box. It can come through the present Republican or Democratic parties as they are only anxious for a place at the "pie counter." It must come from a new political party that can embrace the workers, farmers and all in the same boat and are daily being crushed under the powerful hand of entrenched capital, supported and fostered by a subsidized Republican, Democratic political party.

After this election comes the party of the common people. An emperor in his nightcap would not meet with half the respect of an emperor with a crown.—Goldsmith.

Help us to have free conscience from the paw of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw. —Milton.

# Louis Waldman: A Tribute

## Socialist Candidate For Governor An Important Factor In The Public Life of New York State

By Edward Levinson

AT the conclusion of a three-cornered political debate before a huge Brooklyn audience, Clarence Darrow, relentless political opponent, strode over to the Socialist opponent. "Well, Mr. Waldman, you won the debate," Darrow drawled. And it was probably the first and the last time the great liberal attorney ever admitted defeat in an exchange of ideas. The third debater, Meier Steinbrink, then as now an influential Republican leader, had dropped out of the fight in its earlier stages.

Winning is a habit with Louis Waldman, the Socialist Party's candidate for Governor of New York State. He is unique among Socialists in that most of his contests for political office have seen him victorious. In the building of a minority party to a position where it challenges and finally takes over the power of government, there are countless scores of sturdy campaigners who take the count for decades before they win.

Mr. Waldman entered politics in 1916. In 1917 he was elected to the New York State legislature; then reelected three times in lightning succession at regular and special elections. The most important of Louis Waldman's victories have not been his triumphs at the polls. There is no man in private life without the power of a legislative, administrative, executive or judicial officer—except if it be Norman Thomas, Waldman's constant co-worker and associate—who has fought as many battles for political morality and public welfare as has Louis Waldman. The field of his interests has been as broad as the problems of the people of his state. Water, power, public utilities, agriculture, political honesty, housing—these are but few of the subjects in which Waldman is an acknowledged authority. Yet his interest in them has not been merely academic. He has translated these issues into matters of vital concern to the people and has fought these issues through in the legislative halls, in the public press and on the public platform.

When a lad of eleven Louis Waldman was at work as a clerk, little dreaming that a short span of 27 years would find him 5,000 miles from his native village leading one of the three major political parties in a contest for Governor of the Empire State of the Union.

Louis Waldman was born 38 years ago in a Ukrainian farming village and on its tides rode hundreds and thousands of sturdy tree trunks felled in near-by lumber camps. Waldman found his first employment "bookkeeping" for a lumber company. His education until the age of 16 was confined to the instruction of a private tutor; schools and libraries were heard of but never seen. He worked 14 hours a day. His eager and growing mind had no opportunity to expand. The young clerk at 18 left Russia for the United States. Within three weeks after his arrival in New York, in September of 1909, Waldman was a student in a public night school. Simultaneously he set out to learn his living, working as a clothing cutter. His first real contact with Socialist figures came in 1910 during the famous strike of cloakmakers in which Waldman joined. Former Congressman Meyer London was the leader and ideal of all the strikers. Earlier in the year he had heard a Socialist speech for the first time—from Jacob Panken. He was beginning to be politically interested but not in any active sense.

From night high school in 1910, Waldman entered Cooper Union in 1911 to study civil engineering. His five years at Cooper Union supplied a valuable technical training. All this time Waldman worked at his trade by day and studied by night. In 1911 for seven months he felt acutely for the first time the harsh clash of industrial injustice. He had objected to working side by side with non-union workers. As a result his employer declared a lockout of union members.

During those seven months, Waldman was literally on the point of starvation. However, he found some consolation in the leisure afforded him, and under the grueling circumstances of his joblessness made the public library his second home. Now for the first time he began to read the political literature of America. In 1912, Waldman had made up his mind that his ideas squared with those of the Socialist Party and he became one of its active workers. In 1916, his district, the 8th Manhattan, picked him as its standard bearer. With a campaign fund of \$200 and with his party's press frankly skeptical of any possible good results, Waldman came within 200 votes of election in one of Tammany's strongest districts.

In the meantime Waldman was by no means satisfied that his education was completed. Having finished his work at Cooper Union in 1916, he went to work as a junior engineer on the New York subway system then under construction. His engineering study was followed by his entrance in the New York Law School. His subsequent political and public activities ran concurrently with his nightly studies to enter the legal profession.

The World War made a profound impression on Waldman's mind, as it did on every young man and woman alert to the implications of a conflict that engulfed all the leading nations of the world. With his fellow-Socialists and with the leaders of progressive thought, Waldman took up the real battle for a warless world. The people of his assembly district were with him and they sent him as their spokesman to the conference of the People's Council for Democracy and Peace. Waldman was then in the employ of the Public Service Commission and his direct superior, Clifton Holland, builder of the great tunnel that spans the bottom of the Hudson River, preferred charges

of "activity unbecoming a public employee." Oscar Strauss acted as referee, listened to the charges and to the defense—and dismissed the complaint as unwarranted. His right to the job established, Waldman handed in his resignation.

At that time the people of his district had more important work for Waldman. The 8th Assembly district in 1917 elected him to the legislature for the first time. He was barely 25 then and his election was a tribute to the level head of an exceedingly vigorous young man. He was elected in 1917 by a larger vote than that given both his Democratic and Republican opponent. In 1918 it required a fusion of both old parties to keep him out of office. At that time he was defeated by 100 votes; 150 votes—more than enough to elect him—had been stolen by a bit of bi-partisan vote-stealing in which the Democratic and Republican organizations combined. In 1919 Waldman was re-elected. Refused his seat because he was a Socialist, Waldman triumphed in the special election of 1920, and was again unseated.

Louis Waldman may well be proud of the part he and his party played in the now infamous Albany ouster. Elected by uncontested majorities, returned again and again by his constituents, Waldman was nevertheless refused a seat because he belonged to the Socialist Party and refused to change his loyalty. Waldman fought a battle for representative government that has won him the thanks of liberty-loving American men and women of all political parties.

In the legislature, Waldman was a fearless champion of the people's good, an assemblyman of matchless logic, of impenetrable factual arguments. In the Assembly Waldman proposed the first social insurance bill that ever saw the light of day in Albany. It proposed insurance of the workers against losses due to unemployment, disability and maternity. In it was embodied the idea of the old age pension agitation of today. Ten years after Waldman first proposed an old age pension, the old parties took it up, emasculated it and placed Mastick's poor relief law on the statute books. Waldman's water power bill was endorsed by the State Conference of Mayors in 1915 though its author was a member of the Socialist Party. Another feature of Waldman's legislative service was his bill on the high cost of living which would have cut the price of food necessities to the consumers by eliminating the parasitic middlemen and creating state purchasing and selling agencies.

From 1921 to 1928 Waldman was a no less valuable public servant than during his legislative years on Capitol Hill. No just cause sought his services but he gave freely of his time and his energy. In the course of these years he was admitted to the bar and his fights in the courts of the city are liberally sprinkled with incidents of hard-fought battles for labor, for civil rights, for consumers' interests.

Waldman's greatest service has

been rendered however as a private citizen who though unattached to any political payroll, considered public affairs the concern of all forward-looking citizens.

As co-chairman with Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party committee on public affairs, Louis Waldman recently brought to a halt the attempted looting of the consumers by the New York Edison Company which under the false guise of a rate reduction actually attempted to boost rates for 57 per cent of the consumers of electricity. He has fought unceasingly for the development of New York's fabulous power resources by the state for the people, rather than by the state for the private utility companies as Governor Roosevelt proposes.

In the height of last winter's unemployment and again this summer, Waldman urged on the governor a special legislative session to plan relief for the hundreds of thousands of jobless who were starving in silence, borrowing or begging, because they were out of jobs through no fault of their own.

When the New York Old Age Pension Security Committee brought in recommendations for a bill which would make degraded paupers of the aged poor, Waldman traveled to Albany and fought for a real pension law adequate to the needs of the aged and cleansed of the stigma of charity.

Waldman has fought with his characteristic vigor for honest election laws and for a more democratic apportionment of political power.

While Governor Roosevelt has closed his eyes to the debauchery of New York City by Tammany Hall, Waldman fought through the press and on the platform for an investigation which would seek out the corruptionists and turn the spotlight on their systematic milking of the greatest city of the world.

These battles have forced results. Governor Roosevelt was at first inclined to accept the Edison Company's fraudulent "reduction." After Waldman's criticism, he turned cold to the idea. Under pressure of Louis Waldman and other Socialists, the Governor admitted the possibility of state distribution of electricity as well as state ownership. Three months after Waldman espoused a program of unemployment relief, including unemployment insurance, Governor Roosevelt announced his discovery of the idea. But the Governor was careful to wait until the legislature had adjourned and until he was outside of the state before he declared himself. After ignoring Waldman's plea for an investigation of New York City's government, the Governor was finally forced to accede in part.

In offering Louis Waldman as its candidate for Governor the Socialist Party does so in the belief that what the State of New York needs is not a timid pupil who learns only as the pressure of practical politics forces him to, but rather a political leader of fearless statesmanship, clear vision and constructive social policy.

## NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

### SOCIALIST STUDENTS

Editor, The New Leader:  
In behalf of the French-Belgian section of the International Socialist Students, I wish to invite American students to enter into correspondence with French and Belgian students. The purpose of such correspondence is to exchange experiences and ideas and to exchange books and literature. Correspondence may be in either English or French. For Belgium, address letters to Jean Allard, Rue Chafnay, 59, Jupille, Liege, Belgium. For France, write to Groupe d'Etudes Anglaises, 17 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris 6, France.

The official monthly journal of the French-Belgian section, "L'Etudiant Socialiste" invites students to submit articles dealing with the labor or student movement in the U. S.

Those desiring to enter into correspondence with German students may write to the Sozialistische Jugend International, Bismarck, S. W. 61, Belle-Alliance Platz, 8 Germany.

ROBERT SHOSTECK,  
912 F. St., N. E.,  
Washington, D. C.

### A PROTEST

Editor, The New Leader:  
In the Chatterbox of August 30, Comrade De Witt's chatter is full of innuendo and accusations against the party, without mentioning anything clear or concise, and accusations against individual party members without mentioning names and what crimes they committed.

As to the criticism against the party that it is not revolutionary enough, etc., one is accustomed to that. We have heard that from the anarchists long ago, the impossibilists later, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the I. W. W., the Left Wingers and the later saints, the Communists of all shades. And now we have the militants, whatever their means.

As the accusation of not being revolutionary enough was thrown at all Socialist parties in every country and their leaders like Lassalle and Wilhelm Liebknecht in Germany, Guesde and Jaures in France, Hyndman and Keir Hardie in England, and even our own Gene Debs was not forgotten in the mud-throwing, so one does not take this seriously even when it comes from an otherwise good comrade like De Witt.

But what irritates is when De Witt, in trying to use his poetic license, makes veiled accusations against party members without giving facts and mentioning names, makes one believe that comrades, party members, are guilty of all kinds of crimes from

picking pockets to highway robbery and from rape to murder, he is going too far. If De Witt knows that any party member has done something that would throw reflection on the party, it is his duty to submit charges to the party in writing and to submit the evidence. Give names and state what the comrades have done, and I am sure the party will find ways of dealing with the organization of such elements. But to make wholesale accusations by innuendo is not befitting one who calls himself a revolutionist and is not an anarchist.

I have no objections to criticism directed against the party policy or party members, but veiled accusations of a nature contained in that article are no longer criticism but plain libel, and I do not think that The New Leader should give space to it.

Personally, I feel I do not belong to the classes he finds fault with. But who knows? From his writing every party member is under a cloud, and I think that De Witt and The New Leader have overstepped their bounds in printing these accusations, and I hope that De Witt will, if he has any charges against any party member, prefer them in the usual way so we can clean our house, or forever keep peace.

To me, the Socialist Party is more than a mutual admiration society. It is the party, to hit no matter whom it may hurt.

JULIUS GERBER,  
New York City.

### THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM

Editor, The New Leader:  
A phrase in the Congressional Platform suggests the old yarn about the Irishman reading the epitaph "Here lies a lawyer and an honest man." And his astonished remark "Begorra! Here's two min buried in one grave!" It appeals to "the workers of hand and brain." Are they two different kinds of people? Adam Goodwiter is Adam Goodwiter. Is it two min or one man?

As an old-timer I can understand De Witt's position, but the question is, is the Socialist Party a political party or a school of philosophy? If the latter, we should refuse to seek political positions, but stand aloof from the "maddening crowd" and criticize. If the former, we must work for the election of official representatives and use all legitimate means of getting votes.

But I don't like this hand and brain

stuff. I don't know whether it is McDonaldesque or Thomasonian. I don't think it is Shawian, and he never did much manual work for a living. Is it intended to show that we have shelled the Marxian idea of the "class struggle"? The Leader's editorials and the articles of other writers would not say so. Is it intended to coax votes from Morgans and Melons and Rockefeller's? Fat chance! Unlike wage and "salary" workers, they are "class conscious."

I give Mr. Thomas credit for higher ideals than turning the rascals out and confining himself to "immediate demands." I think he would consider these a means not an end. Then what and why is this distinction? Why not appeal to those who work for a living and those in sympathy with them as against those who live on the workers?

As for ideals, the most well grounded Marxian scholar must recognize that, as politicians, the best we could do, at first, would be to show, as we have done in a few instances, that we can do a better job of running capitalist institutions than capitalists do. But let us not forget that the ideal is Socialism not the new capitalism. Though it may be "State Socialism" to begin with. This is stressed in Clarence Seniors' article. And though we seek the votes of reformers let us not have platforms that look as though they wrote them. It may be a straw but you know the connection between straws and the direction of the wind. We may yet have a labor party with a Green for president but as long as we have a Socialist party let it be one.

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### NEGROES IN INSURRECTION CASE SLATED FOR TRIAL

ATLANTA.—(FP)—After several postponements, the cases of six Communist organizers facing electrocution for "inciting to insurrection" under an 1861 law have been revived. The two Negroes, Herbert Newton and Henry Storey, have been out from the white defendants, Joe Carr, M. H. Powders, Mary Dalton and Anna Burack, and scheduled for trial Sept. 30. No date has been set for the other four.

He has not learned the lesson of life who does not every day surround

a fear.—Emerson

Though it is the working class which fights all the world wars, it is not the working class which profits by them.—William Russell.

The healthy natural man is a republican.—H. G. Wells.

## Dad's Wages And Baby's Life

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S Commission on Child Health and Protection began work in New York last week. It is devotedly to be hoped the commission will study the close relation between the health of children and the wages of their "dads."

Some years ago the Children's Bureau made such an inquiry and found that a baby's chances of life can be pretty well foretold from a peep at its father's pay envelope. Studies made in seven cities summed up this:

Where the father reported "no earnings," which means unemployment, 211 babies out of each 1,000 born died before reaching the age of one year.

Where earnings were \$450 per year or less, 167 babies died out of each 1,000.

Where earnings were \$450 to \$549 inclusive, 127 babies died out of each 1,000.

Each hundred dollars added to the father's income reduced the number of baby funerals, until where earnings were \$1,250 or more, only 59 babies died out of each 1,000.

In other words, the difference between unemployment and decent wages is 152 babies out of each 1,000.

A new and broader study at this time would bring these figures up to date, both as to wages and death rates; and no more important work than this can be performed by any commission dealing with child welfare.

Money is not the only factor, of course. But, nevertheless, the chief protection to the baby's health and life is dad's pay envelope.

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