

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Federal Responsibility to Aid the Jobless—The War Bonus—Capitalist Logic—Government Ownership—Jails and Strike Relief—The Austro-German Union Blocked—War of the Future

HOOVER CONTINUES TO PLEDGE

WITH redoubled energy Hoover, the business interests, and most of the press, all of them impotent for good in the present emergency, attack by misrepresentation and abuse what they call the dole—as if our bread lines were not the most infamous sort of dole. And their own proposals for private and municipal charities are likewise a dole, inadequate in amount and subject to all sorts of political and other manipulations in administration. There can be no substitute for a great federal appropriation for relief or for increased income and inheritance taxes to pay for it.



NORMAN THOMAS

service in the continuing war against poverty which the workers have always carried on.

CAPITALISM AND ACTS OF GOD

A CURIOUS example of capitalist logic—or lack of logic—is to be found in a recent issue of the *Herald-Tribune*. This paper, discussing the decrease in the volume of transit on New York subways, points out, correctly enough, that this decrease temporarily knocks out the anticipated net profit in Samuel Untermyer's unification plan and affects adversely the estimates of traffic on the new lines. It concludes with this sentence: "Naturally no one will blame engineers or politicians for failing to foresee such acts of God as war or depression; one can only point to the possibility of such failures as a weakness in government ownership." But in the name of all the gods of Wall Street, how would private ownership help the matter? If there are unpredictable losses, private owners can't meet them unless they have first been allowed unpredictable gains at great loss to the public. The real moral of the *Herald-Tribune's* story is the direct opposite of what it thinks. Both war and depression, which at various times adversely affected the New York subways earnings or increased its expenses, are in no sense "acts of God." They are consequences of our crazy capitalist system with its conflicts for profit and its general chaos. Public ownership of subways under capitalism might have its difficulties. They would be less than under private ownership and operation and could be more equitably borne. Moreover as the Socialist principle spread to the establishment of planned production for use and not profit the "acts of God" of which the *Herald-Tribune* complains would become few and far between.

THE TREND TO GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

IN spite of the organized propaganda against public ownership, in spite of misleading speeches against it which directors of the power trust are circulating among their stockholders, there isn't any way out for the railroads or the coal mines except public ownership and operation. Even some of the executives of these sick industries are beginning to admit it. The danger is that they will try to sell out to the government at swollen prices! In a very short time our hard job will not be to argue the necessity of public ownership but to have a proper plan for it. We don't want the kind of public ownership which merely means that the government takes over only sick industries. What we want is the socialization of all key industries, emphatically including banking.

JERSEY AND KENTUCKY JAILS

EVERY jail I have ever seen in any capacity—and I was recently for a few hours the involuntary guest of the Paterson city Bastille—is of a sort to make the normal human being confined in it worse rather than better, more bitter toward society than when he was put in. They are monuments to human stupidity. It is one of the finest testimonies to humanity that men like Mooney and Billings and other heroes of labor can be confined in them so long without being broken in spirit. I have just been hearing how well our comrade, Arnold Johnston and other prisoners in the mine war in Harlan County, Kentucky, are keeping up their spirit. It is magnificent. But the role of the operators and the politicians who serve them is despicable. What they are trying to do by endless postponement is to wear men out and get them to agree to drop the fight and leave the county if they are released.

FOR PATERSON RELIEF

THE Paterson strike is making astonishing progress in face of the difficulties of this time of depression. The need for relief is, however, acute. The Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, of which I am chairman, is now sending relief to Paterson, continuing some relief to West Virginia, and sending relief and defense funds to Kentucky. Contributions are always welcome.

THE CUSTOMS UNION BLOCKED

THAT eight to seven decision of the World Court against a Customs Union between Germany and Austria is as thoroughly bad as some of the five to four decisions of our Supreme Court. The World Court has its uses but this decision emphasizes what sane men always should have known; namely, that international peace and justice can never be achieved simply by setting up some courts. There is certainly no justice, and to a layman not much law, about a decision which in the name of the peace treaties or of the agreements of the nations which made loans to Austria, prevents Austria and Germany from fostering a Customs Union.

As a matter of fact, both Austria and Germany cancelled their plan before the decision of the Court. To this course they were driven by France's economic power. One of the worst features of the present situation in Europe is that with the comparative collapse of British finances France can dictate hard terms for her financial health without any effective opposition. To military power she adds financial power and she uses both in a frantic search for a false security based not upon good will but upon might.

Under these circumstances the most recent French proposal for pooling arms for the League of Nations to use against an aggressor is peculiarly bad business. What it means is that France is now pretty sure that she dominates the League of Nations and can make it as Clemenceau always hoped it would be, an agency for enforcing the Peace of Versailles.

No wonder, then, that the Assembly of the League is opening under cloudy skies and with much pessimism in the hearts of friends of the League who had hoped it would be an agency of internationalism. I do not think the League as such is so much to blame as are the nations which compose it. One of the serious consequences of British difficulty is that the influence of Great Britain, and especially of the Labor Government and Arthur Henderson at Geneva, has been sorely weakened. There won't be a great deal to hope for from the League until the workers are strong enough to compel their home governments to take a new attitude on disarmament, imperialism, debts and reparations, and tariffs.

THE FUTURE WARFARE

OUR American papers give us little news of the causes and program of the Chilean rebels. But it is highly significant that the backbone of their strength, the naval mutineers, broke under an attack. That raises several questions: If a navy can be whipped from the air, why a big navy? Still more important: what kind of violence will be useful in revolution if the air forces are loyal? First Cuba and now Chile raise the question. Evidently fighting from the air will dominate the domestic and foreign wars of the future. Will this make them shorter and hence lessen suffering or will it add to the misery even of non-combatant children?

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Hoover's Pigmy Statesmanship

The President Seeks To Shield the Rich At Expense of Poor

TIME passes and a huddled man sits in the White House watching the clock as the hands slowly move to the noon hour in another cycle of economic and political history. In Germany only a few weeks ago it appeared to be five minutes to twelve. It is almost five minutes to twelve in the United States. The huddled man knows it. He is watching the clock and is worried.

German finances were sinking and the moratorium followed. The huddled man in the White House now faces huge deficits in government finances while millions of the jobless and the hungry must be fed and sheltered. He fed them on words during the campaign of 1928; he has been feeding them words since the collapse of the capitalism he represents.

In the 62 days of the new fiscal year the government deficit is nearly 400 million dollars. He cannot curtail the public building and public works, the chief expense in his relief program, as that would add to the number of the idle. The postal deficit has doubled in two months compared with the same period last year. The estimated deficit by the end of the fiscal year will be two billion dollars.

The President's Dilemma

The one hope of the huddled man in the White House is a recovery of capitalism in the next few months. There is no sign of recovery and within two months snow may be falling. There can be no definite recovery till Europe is out of its financial troubles and these are bound up with German reparations. The German moratorium is a breathing spell, not a solution.

The hands of the clock move slowly to twelve. Shall he borrow more from the world's master usurers, or recommend heavier taxation of great incomes, or advise some sort of a sales tax? There are rumors that he is opposed to increases in corporation and income taxes; that is, taxing the magnates in the upper section of our ruling class. The fat millionaires and billionaires would not like it. Hoover owes something to them for helping to market his campaign in 1928.

But a sales tax! This would increase the cost of living and the increase would be borne by the working masses who are least able to bear it. There is a Presidential campaign next year and Hoover must face these masses in an appeal for their votes. From this point of view shifting a heavier load on our backs and on the eve of an election is a hazardous proceeding.

That Terrible "Dole"

Then there is the terrible "dole" as an alternative. Hoover favored direct Federal aid to feed cattle in the draught area but has opposed such aid for jobless workers. In some way this aid, he assumed, would undermine the "independent spirit" of the unemployed and yet he recommended that states and municipalities should extend precisely such aid!

So the huddled man in the White House landed in a dilemma of his own making. He believed that direct aid by the Federal government would be a "dole" that would undermine our "independence," but similar aid by state and municipal governments would leave our "independence" as solid as a bar of steel.

As the hands approach the hour of twelve



PAPA HOOVER REFUSES TO PERMIT TAXATION OF THE RICH

Hoover knows that acute want and even actual starvation face many in the next few months and he favors "doles" by the states, cities, and private charity organizations. But even here he faces the fact that these agencies are not as able to help as they were last year while the needs that must be satisfied are greater than ever!

It is a queer world in which the huddled man lives. He is like a man lost in an old world town. He turns to the right and turns to the left; he steps forward and moves backward, but he cannot find his way out. His words do not serve even himself. Their echo mocks him as they have mocked the jobless and the hungry for nearly two years.

What's to be done? The huddled man has difficulty in making up his mind. One of his cronies in the House, Chairman Wood of the House Appropriations Committee, was asked the same question. His answer was, "I think we had all better begin praying now and watching for deliverance."

A Way Out Is Sought

So the party that "is fit to govern" has reached the stage of prayer! Perhaps the huddled man has reached the same extremity. One of his predecessors, McKinley, turned to this source when puzzled about what to do about the Philippines. He had said that annexation would be "criminal aggression." He prayed and received light, recommending annexation as "benevolent assimilation."

As McKinley took refuge in words so it is now reported that the huddled man in the White House may do the same thing. Knowing that the burden of relief is too great to be borne by the states and cities he is said to be prepared to consider direct Federal assistance. One newspaper correspondent states that what form this aid would take, "what particular euphemism would be invented to render it palatable to the conservative tongue, is not apparent. The fact is that there is an increasing number of Republicans who consider it inevitable."

Hoover's "New Day"

Let us make this plain. What is meant by "euphemism?" It means the substitution of a pleasing expression in place of one which is offensive. In other words, Hoover may be compelled to look for a word that is more pleasant than the word "dole" in order to mask the "dole" which grave conditions may force him to concede!

McKinley substituted "benevolent assimilation" for the words "criminal aggression." It sounds so much nicer if you want to do something that is "criminal" to call it "benevolent." So the huddled man in the White House may seek consolation in doing something he does not want to do and masking it behind some inoffensive word.

And this is the statesmanship we have in the age of a diseased capitalism that inflicts measureless suffering upon the working class. We drift to five minutes of twelve and face the prospect of a universal charity "dole" when

Winter of Suffering Near, But Executive Offers No Program

legislation for unemployment insurance would have, in part, provided for the grave emergency.

In the past twenty years the masses have heaved nonentities into the chair of the presidents who have arrived there by marketing blessed words. Wilson came heralded as the agent of the "New Freedom" and transformed the nation into a penal colony under the direction of government overseers and spies.

Before him came Roosevelt with his "New Nationalism" which proved to be a loud noise, accompanied with a brass band, ringing the fire alarm, and calling the reporters for a good publicity story.

The sainted Harding came with "Normalcy" and the Ohio Gang who looted at will. He passed and Coolidge was discovered riding the escalator into office. "Keep Cool with Kal" was the best that his backers could offer.

Hoover was next in the line of succession. He also had something "new." The "New Liberalism," Ray Lyman Wilbur called it, or the "New Day," the title of the published volume of his campaign speeches which Stanford University sponsors.

The "New Day!" What a mockery to the millions of farmers and workers. Natural resources, raw materials, tools and machines, factories and great plants in abundance. Millions desiring to use these and barred from using them. Those who own them cannot use them and those who can use them do not own them. Vast productive powers and widespread idleness. A great volume of wheat and many without bread. Too much cotton and millions of ragged children. Famine stalks in the midst of plenty!

With all this as a background the huddled man in the White House looks for a "euphemism" and the agent in charge of House appropriations thinks that we must begin to "pray for deliverance!"

The Workers' Only Weapon

There is one consolation. Every workingman and woman who have a vote, and every other person who shares this ideal of a society, where such wretched conditions cannot prevail, can strike a blow against this decaying system and the politics that sustain it. The Socialist ballot is a powerful weapon that can be used to unseat the witless supporters of this decaying old capitalist system.

The natural resources, the raw materials, the tools and the machines, the factories and great plants can be assembled, can be organized, directed and managed, and made to function for and to serve the welfare of the disinherited millions. A Socialist cooperative world of conscious control can master our industrial powers, bring them under intelligent control, and assure security, leisure and happiness to all.

To win a single seat in a city council or a legislature is a thrust forward in this battle. To win a city is to capture a fortress of this dying capitalism and to encourage others to do the same. One by one as our ballot power increases the seats of power can be occupied and used for this Socialist transformation.

Join this army of emancipation. The doors of the Socialist Party are open to the masses. Enter and make it the instrument of your battles for the liberation of yourselves and your class.

Thomas Defies New Jersey Injunction Judge; Is Arrested On Paterson Picket Line; Will Carry Fight to Highest Court

Socialist Leader Denounces Judge-Made Law—Will Carry the Fight to High Courts

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist leader, focused national attention on the efforts of the courts to break the Paterson silk strike last week when he openly defied an injunction and submitted to arrest.

County Judge Forster Freeman had handed down a decision that the John Hand mill could not be picketed, insisting that no strike was in effect there. Thomas and the strike leaders felt that the court had overreached its authority by interfering in the strike on the side of the employers. The determination to make the test case followed. Thomas was arrested on Thursday. He was released on \$15 bail. The Paterson authorities are

now placing the case before a Grand Jury. It is expected indictments will result. The test case will be carried by Thomas to the highest courts.

This is the second time Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1928, has defied arbitrary Jersey public authorities intent on strike-breaking. The first time was during the Passaic mill strike when he challenged a reign of terror by starting a mass meeting of workers in direct defiance of the local police.

Montross Is Arrested

The Paterson strikers are continuing their fight against judge-made laws and mass arrests, by mass violations of the arbitrary rulings of Judge Freeman. A newspaper interview given by Judge Freeman early last week laid down the opinion that mills not on strike could not be picketed. He made special mention of the John Hand

& Sons mill. That afternoon the police of Paterson dispersed the picket line of the A. F. of L. union at the John Hand mill. The pickets then sent to headquarters for advice, and W. C. Montross, New York Socialist candidate for Assembly, was sent as leader. The picket line of twenty-one was then formed and immediately arrested.

In the preliminary hearing before Judge Freeman, the court allowed a change from the charge of illegal picketing to the charge of "unlawful assembly," under a common law dating back to 400 years ago in England. Illegal picketing in New Jersey must be proved on the individual merits of each case. Unlawful assembly can be proved if intent to do an unlawful act is shown, whether the unlawful act is or is not subsequently committed. The prosecution contended that the picket line was formed to destroy the property of

preliminary hearings do not admit of evidence for the defense, and the twenty-one were released in bail pending action of the Grand Jury. The judge warned all members of unions that picketing mills not on strike was declared by him to be an unlawful act.

Violation Agreed Upon

In a special meeting of the picket committee it was decided to violate the decision of Judge Freeman in mass. The next day a line of 100 was thrown around the John Hand mill, led by Sascha Zimmerman and Montross. From this line sixty-eight were arrested, including all the picket captains and leaders. On arraignment forty-nine pickets refused to accept bail and went to the county jail as a protest against the bench-made laws of Freeman. The gesture of defiance so disturbed the Passaic County politicians that the

the union, saying that the pickets wished to be released. Judge Freeman backed down to the extent of changing bail from cash to property.

While the sixty-eight were being expelled from the county jail, Thomas was being arrested at the John Hand mill for the same offense. Leading a picket line with A. J. Muste, Rev. Bradford Young and Rev. Speare Knebel, Thomas insisted on the right to picket when ordered by the police to cease. A total of forty-six were arrested, including the above named. While being taken away in a patrol wagon the pickets shouted encouragement to their fellow workers left on the picket lines.

Thomas was offered the privilege of walking to the county court for arraignment, but he elected to ride "with the rest of the prisoners." Interviewed as to his attitude toward the police, he stated that the

Several Score Workers Are Jailed in Mass Defiance of No-Picketing Ruling

police were merely following orders. The New York Times made his statement read, "the police are merely doing their duty."

Pickets Unmolested on Friday

The following day, Friday, a longer picket line was thrown around the mill from noon until 5:15 p. m. No arrests were made. Friendly reporters pointed out two informers who were on the line and these were promptly taken off the line by the picket captains. The Paterson newspapers of Saturday announced that the John Hand mill was on an "extended vacation," though his employees insist that it is a walk-out.

Socialists Ask Pinchot Call Special Session

Reading Legislators Demand Governor Act to Aid 900,000 Idle

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
READING, Pa.—The Socialist members of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, Representatives Darlington Hoopes and Lillith Wilson of Reading, Pa., have presented Governor Pinchot with a ringing challenge to summon the Assembly in special session to act on a program to end unemployment suffering and agony among the working class.

The Socialist program for the second wealthiest and the largest industrial state in the Union, the keystone of American capitalism, is set forth in a letter addressed to Pinchot. The letter follows:

"When you discussed the unemployment situation before the Pennsylvania Legislature February 10 you told us of the Pittsburgh plan of the work of the Lloyd committee of Philadelphia and of local committees elsewhere, and said that these committees and private employers had the matter well in hand, and that it was not necessary for the Legislature to take any action. It is now generally admitted that the Pittsburgh plan and the local relief committees have failed utterly and that the total funds distributed to the unemployed have amounted to much less than 1 per cent of the total wages lost by them.

900,000 Jobless in State

"You have recently urged President Hoover to call an extra session of Congress for the purpose of meeting this emergency. You said that there were over 900,000 unemployed in Pennsylvania and that hundreds of thousands will go hungry after every possible penny is secured from private charity and community assistance. Few people believe that President Hoover will act upon your suggestion or recommend any effective action at the regular session of Congress. It is therefore imperative that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania do everything in its power to prevent suffering among its citizens, and, as you are the one who, as Governor of this Commonwealth, has the power to act immediately we are addressing this letter to you to most urgently impress upon you the necessity of calling a special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature to meet not later than October 1, 1931. You have stated that you expect to convene a special session to pass upon public utility legislation, so that it will be only a matter of advancing the time and including the unemployment problem in your call.

"Unemployment is caused by the lack of purchasing power on the part of the workers due to the unjust distribution of our social income. It is agreed by students of the subject that it is not merely a temporary problem, but one that will continue indefinitely and probably with increasing intensity until the cause is removed. As only matters mentioned in your call may be acted upon at a special session, it is very important that you include all phases of unemployment relief and cure.

"The following measures should be submitted to the Legislature:

"1. Appropriations for immediate relief.

"2. Creation of an unemployment indemnity fund to be distributed among the workers unemployed on the basis of the number of dependents.

"3. Income and excess profit taxes to raise funds for relief and indemnity. If the Supreme Court insists that a constitutional amendment is necessary to permit such legislation, we shall have to increase sharply inheritance and other taxes on wealth.

"4. A thorough investigation of the prices of food stuffs, particularly bread. It is outrageous that the unemployed should have to pay 10 cents for a loaf of bread when wheat is selling for 25 cents a bushel.

"5. Establishment of six-hour day and five-day week for all workers.

"6. State ownership of certain basic industries, particularly electric power, including both hydro and mine mouth plants, and a memorial to Congress asking nationalization of coal mines, railroads and banks, as the minimum basis of any effective social planning which is now recognized as the only real cure for unemployment.

"7. Pennsylvania take the lead in this emergency."

Henderson And MacDonald Cross Swords in Debate On British Finance Crisis

Trade Union Congress Shows Resentment Toward Proposed "Economics"

ON Tuesday J. Ramsay MacDonald completed his separation from the British Labor and Socialist movement by obtaining a vote of confidence in Parliament. The vote was taken after an all-day debate in which the class lines were drawn between the Labor party and the Liberal-Conservative coalition. The vote came on a motion after an all-day debate marked by much bitterness, the motion being that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole to devise ways and means to restore the nation's crippled finances by new taxation and economies in government expenditures, including drastic cuts in unemployment insurance benefits.

The motion was approved by a vote of 309 to 250. Only eleven of MacDonald's former Laborite supporters voted with the majority. The cleavage of opinion was marked and while the debate was proceeding several hundred unemployed workers held a demonstration against the new government in Parliament Square.

On Tuesday night the House of Commons was sitting at Bristol, the Trade Union Congress.

The keynote speech was delivered by Arthur Hayday, a Labor member of Parliament and president of the Congress. His speech contained a clear hint that the nationalization of banking would be demanded by a strong group of trade unionists during the coming months.

"Unless we govern the banks they will govern us," he declared, blaming political and financial influences "of a sinister character" for wrecking the Labor government. Echoing the recent labor manifesto, he asserted that Britain's social policy was "about to be violently reversed at the bidding of irresponsible and uncontrolled financial interests whose existence is hardly known to the public."

"Our freedom must be used boldly and constructively for a policy of our own framing, for which we shall be called upon to make many sacrifices in money," he asserted. "The loss we have sustained in the crisis is compensated for by what we have gained in clarity of vision, unity of purpose and strength of will."

The speech avoided any personal reference to Prime Minister MacDonald or his associates in the new government, but asserted they had been "decisively repudiated by the united labor movement."

It was evident from the delegates' reception of Hayday's address that the congress will follow the lead of its general council in rejecting each and all the economic proposals of the leaders in the late Labor Cabinet, of which the council was informed before the rupture with MacDonald, and that several condemnations will be passed upon proposals like the cut in the dole.

Pioneer Youth Sums Up Its Summer's Work

With Discussion at Rifton on Youth Movement

A GROUP of seventy young leaders met over Labor Day weekend at the Rifton Camp of Pioneer Youth to discuss the youth movement here and abroad. A young Pioneer Youth member, formerly a Boy Scout, rose to speak. "The Boy Scouts do a lot of good work so long as they keep to the task of teaching woodcraft and nature lore; but they fail in their political involvement. And they fail because their tendency now is to be too militaristic."

Walter Ludwig told the story of his four weeks camping in a tent colony of evicted miners in West Virginia. He told of an over-night hike with the miners on the "Hunger March" to Charleston. A real Hunger March, with no food in their knapsacks and not enough blankets to go around, so that one boy sat up all night going from camp fire to camp fire. After hearing of the suffering in West Virginia, the campers made a collection of \$7.50 to be sent them for food. Clothing will also be collected.

The group then listened to reports on Pioneer Youth work this summer in the South and in New York City. Charles Fastov of Brooklyn told of the work in Sprague, North Carolina, where 35 children attended a play school of Pioneer Youth. In this town the mill bosses threatened to discharge workers who sent children to the school.

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omy proposals of the leaders in the late Labor Cabinet, of which the council was informed before the rupture with MacDonald, and that several condemnations will be passed upon proposals like the cut in the dole.

There was a disposition to hunt for more scapegoats than those whom the general council was disposed to send into the wilderness, and when Arthur Henderson attended the congress later in the week he will be speaking partly in his own defense against suspicions which were only half formulated in quickly stifled questions.

On Tuesday decisive action was taken when the Congress adopted a resolution declaring its "trenchant and unremitting opposition to proposals to reduce the present meagre benefits of the unemployment dole and reaffirm its adherence to the policy of 'work or maintenance.'" Another resolution urged the abolition of centers for training the unemployed in depressed areas.

One delegate said it was useless to blame Premier MacDonald, Chancellor of the Exchequer Snowden and Dominion Minister Thomas for collaborating with their opponents in the political world because as trade unionists they had collaborated with the employing class.

Silence Meets MacDonald

When MacDonald entered the House on Tuesday he was received with cheers from his new associates in the Conservative and Liberal parties and with dead silence from his old Labor party members, banked solidly in the Opposition on the other side of the chamber.

In his opening address, Premier MacDonald had to content himself with repeating the warnings he has been giving the country for the last three weeks, preparing it for the blow. The only specific cut he mentioned was that of £1,000 (about \$5,000) in his own salary of £5,000 (about \$25,000).

The present condition of national finances, in the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers, calls for the imposition of additional taxation and for effecting economies in public expenditures. His Majesty recommends the matter for consideration by his faithful Commons, and trusts they will make provision accordingly.

Then the Premier offered a motion, which served as the basis for the day's debate, to the effect that on Thursday the House would resolve itself into a committee to devise ways and means to restore the nation's finances. This was the test motion on which the government staked its chances of getting a vote of confidence.

Henderson vs. MacDonald
Henderson, who replied for the Opposition, denied that he had failed to realize the crisis and that he had refused, when a member of the late Labor government under MacDonald, to consent to make any cuts in expenditures.

Riva Stocker of Vassar told of her work in a play school at Danville. Susan Stix also reported on the Danville camp where the children here practically built three cabins. The work in New York City was reported by Dorothy Stall who led a play school.

At the sessions on youth movements abroad, Fannia Cohn told of European youth movements and criticized them because, "Before 1914 they were all against War and when War came on, they were all patriots and went to fight." Mr. K. N. Kini spoke of the youth of India. He said that before Mahatma Gandhi came to India in 1915 the Youth were divided into three groups, none very effective in attempts to free India. Since then, India's youth has been uniting forces until today there is a strong organized movement with Nationalist sympathies. The Indian Youth movement is decidedly anti-militaristic and actively working for the non-violent program of Gandhi.

Ludwig closed the conference by stating, "there is no youth movement started unless there are adults interested who will work toward its development. The attitude toward the uniform worn by Boy Scouts should not be negative, as the uniform merely prepares them more readily to accept the military training they get at college. Pioneer Youth takes no negative attitude toward War. It would develop the capacity for resisting war. Finally, because it believes the labor movement is one means by which social progress is made, in place of having capitalists like Mortimer Schiff, and Gerard Swope on its board, it has the idealists of the Labor Movement."

ABERDEEN, Wash.—(F. P.)—There will be no Washington state police interference in labor disputes if the Washington Bar Association has its way. It has gone on record by a substantial majority as opposed to the creation of such a body. Among arguments against the plan were declarations that state police usually become militiamen fighting against labor in industrial disputes.

"We had agreed on economies in those Cabinet meetings," he said, "aggregating \$56,000,000 (about \$280,000,000), but then were told the next day that was not enough and that \$30,000,000 (about \$150,000,000) more was needed, the bulk of which would have to be taken from unemployment insurance. Not even to avert this crisis would I consent to that. I meant going at the problem from the wrong end."

Whatever the session may have lacked in the financial details of the new reform regime was made up in the interest in Great Britain's political world being turned upside down. It was a remarkable spectacle, MacDonald and Henderson facing each other as Parliamentarian foes, and MacDonald sharing a front government bench with Stanley Baldwin, Sir Herbert Samuel and other Tory and Liberal associates, while Philip Snowden and J. H. Thomas of his lifelong friends beside him.

Thomas Urges Franchises Stipulate Right of Labor To Organize in Unions

Norman Thomas in behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist party, at a hearing before Deputy Comptroller Prial Wednesday, asked him to recommend to the Board of Estimate that all bus franchise or contracts contain a stipulation positively asserting the right of the workers to organize in their own unions and to fix their wages by collective bargaining. This, in addition to endorsing the demand of the City Affairs Committee for the 48-hour week.

"Already figures have been brought out in this inquiry to show that on the face of the terms they propose applicants for bus franchises are likely to make over 100 per cent annually, yet no provision is made for the workers on these lines just as no provision has been made by the city for the workers on subways," Thomas said.

"Not only do they have the seven-day week, they also have a wage scale below that fixed in cities where the union is recognized. It is intolerable that the city of New York is arranging franchises and contracts should take into account everybody except the men who do the work."

Jobs Lasted For Only About a Day or Two

Ninety per cent of the 63,545 jobs which the New York City Free Employment Agency claims it secured for the unemployed since its inception a year ago "lasted from an hour to a day or two," admits Director Edward C. Rybicki.

The report of the agency on its first year attacks employers who cut wages and proposes that "industry shouldn't operate on the five-day week but no employee should be permitted to work more than that period."

After admitting that almost 50,000 persons didn't even get one-hour jobs from the city agency, Rybicki claims "business is on the upturn; we have reached the peak of unemployment; the fall will witness a gradual revival of business."

Andy Mellon Cuts Wages
Rumors of a 10 per cent wage cut by the Mellon-controlled Koppers Seaboard Coke Co. were neither denied nor affirmed by the various subsidiaries of the Koppers Co. in New York. In most cases questioners were referred to the main office of the company in Pittsburgh. Two plant managers, however, admitted the cuts. The manager of the Koppers Seaboard Coke Co. in Brooklyn admitted the 10 per cent wage cut, saying, "That's the cut that's going around." The plant at Kearney, N. J., denied a cut in hourly rates but admitted a cut in piece work rates.

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The total cost for the two-day conference is \$4.25, including the conference fee and camp expenses. For further information apply to Max Delson, Room 1212, 270 Broadway, New York City.

Writer Sees Social Revolution

"To say that civilization is hell-bent for perdition is sheer nonsense. Civilization is merely galloping toward a great and profound change," says Hendrik Willem Van Loon, well-known writer, in the current issue of The Nation. "There is no crisis," he adds.

"There is merely a revolution—a revolution which lives faithfully up to its original definition: a fundamental reconstruction of the whole fabric of society."

Relief Committee Is Principal Source of Coal Strike Relief

In telling of the current developments in the West Virginia coal situation last week, The New Leader noted two addresses where relief funds might be sent. Inadvertently, the name and address of the principal relief committee was omitted. This is the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, of which Norman Thomas is chairman. The Emergency Committee has equalled its record of the last few years by sending more money to the West Virginia strikers than any other agency. It is busy at this time aiding in the necessary relief work which must be carried on to take care of miners and their families who fought valiantly during the strike.

Thomas Urges Franchises Stipulate Right of Labor To Organize in Unions

Norman Thomas in behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist party, at a hearing before Deputy Comptroller Prial Wednesday, asked him to recommend to the Board of Estimate that all bus franchise or contracts contain a stipulation positively asserting the right of the workers to organize in their own unions and to fix their wages by collective bargaining. This, in addition to endorsing the demand of the City Affairs Committee for the 48-hour week.

"Already figures have been brought out in this inquiry to show that on the face of the terms they propose applicants for bus franchises are likely to make over 100 per cent annually, yet no provision is made for the workers on these lines just as no provision has been made by the city for the workers on subways," Thomas said.

Jobs Lasted For Only About a Day or Two

Ninety per cent of the 63,545 jobs which the New York City Free Employment Agency claims it secured for the unemployed since its inception a year ago "lasted from an hour to a day or two," admits Director Edward C. Rybicki.

The report of the agency on its first year attacks employers who cut wages and proposes that "industry shouldn't operate on the five-day week but no employee should be permitted to work more than that period."

After admitting that almost 50,000 persons didn't even get one-hour jobs from the city agency, Rybicki claims "business is on the upturn; we have reached the peak of unemployment; the fall will witness a gradual revival of business."

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1,500 Bonnaz Embroiderers Demand Raise, Cut in Hours

Hattab Predicts Victorious Fight—35-Hour Week Is Demanded to Aid Jobless

THE Bonnaz Embroidery Union, Local 66 of the I. L. G. W. U., declared a general strike of the entire industry Wednesday morning. Fifteen hundred workers responded. The strike was called after attempts with the manufacturers had failed. The old contract had been in force for the last two years ending August 25.

President Benjamin Schlesinger of the International, presided at the first conference the union held with the representatives of the employers association. At that and subsequent sessions, the union was represented by Leon Hattab, manager; Nathan Reisel, assistant manager; William Altman, secretary-treasurer, and Morris Fishman. They demanded the renewal of the old agreement in addition to two new demands. These were, first, a 35-hour week instead of the existing 40, so that more of the unemployed might be put to work. The second demand was for a wage increase of \$5 per week.

The employers refused to agree to these demands. The association, in turn, demanded that the union should not enter into agreement with any shop that did not belong to the association. The union insisted, however, that it would not under any circumstances compel an employer to join the association as long as he complied with union regulations.

The walkout was very successful. Almost 100 per cent of the workers called upon marched from all sections of the garment center to strike headquarters in the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. Hattab is in charge of the strike. The settlement headquarters are located at the Union Square Hotel in charge of Altman and Reisel. Because of his knowledge of the embroidery workers, resulting from long years of experience with them, Hattab is confident that the workers will see the fight through and show their loyalty in this instance as they always have in the past. Quick victory is imminent, he declares.

A mass meeting of the strikers held at the Rand School was addressed by Louis Waldman, counsel for the union and Socialist state chairman; August Claessens, organizer of the Socialist party, Local New York; Rose Schneiderman and Sadie Reisch of the Women's Trade Union League and by L. O. union officials.

The taxing burdens of its war-bitten elders.
"Youth must turn its victims towards a political unit that concentrates its efforts to wrest this government from the forces of capitalism, and its war influences. Youth belongs in that movement which is pledged to usher in a new social order based upon production for use and not for profit."

At the closing session resolutions were adopted demanding the release of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, favoring employment insurance, justice for the Scottsboro boys, opposing military training in the schools, and pledging support to the striking coal miners.

Samuel H. Holland, chairman of the Chicago Youth Committee; Miss Bertha Weiner of Detroit, and M. V. Halushka, director of the Young Circle League of Chicago, presided at the sessions.

To degrade science and intelligence is all that Capitalism has done for brain workers.—Paul Lafargue.

For the youth of to-day carries

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Jobless Veterans Frame Demands For Govt. Aid

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PORTLAND, Ore.—Jobless soldiers of the World War in this city have organized the United Veterans Employment League and have adopted a program and resolutions which include many measures contained in the platform of the Socialist Party of Oregon.

The veterans declare the government officials "from the President down" allow them "to live precariously like unwelcome aliens; homeless in our own home; meagerly clad in second-hand garments, and in a chronic state of semi-starvation although the nation is stocked with food in huge quantities."

They demand a special session of Congress, passage of an unemployment insurance bill, and payment of the balance of the Federal Insurance soldiers bonus.

Certain demands are also made of the local authorities, including a million dollar appropriation for relief, reduction of the salaries of public officials, a tax upon incomes of \$50,000 a year or more, free car fares and lunches for school children of the jobless, no evictions for non-payment of rent, abolition of police stool pigeons who spy upon organizations of the workers and use of the public auditorium for public meetings. The withdrawal of soldiers from class war areas, and the release of class war prisoners who are imprisoned because of their economic and political beliefs are also demanded by the veterans.

Dandelions Fail, Turn To Gold

DENVER.—(F. P.)—The prize jobless relief scheme comes from Denver. Undismayed by the failure of the recent "dandelion chasing" plan, and inspired by Hoover's announcement that he is "preparing to meet the unemployment problem the coming winter," Mayor George D. Begole suggests that Denver's unemployed pan the Colorado streams and abandoned mine dumps for gold.

The beds of many Colorado mountain streams are flecked with minute gold-colored particles. In most cases this is "fool's gold." Among the members of Denver's unemployment committee is Jesse F. Welborn, chairman of the board of Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., which has just cut the wages of its miners 20 per cent. The Denver Chamber of Commerce suggests he is best qualified to head the committee.

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Ky. Miners' Trials Are Postponed

Deputies Prevent Mass Funeral for Slain Worker—U. M. W. Is Aloof

HARLAN, Ky.—(F.P.)—Julius Baldwin, shot through the brain at the miners' relier kitchen at the same time that Joe Moore was killed, died in hospital, and the miners planned a mass funeral for the deputies' two victims. It failed to materialize after deputies tore down all the notices the day before. Family services were held in Jellico, Tenn. A union miners' car, returning from the funeral, was stopped by deputies and searched.

All criminal syndicalism cases arising out of the Harlan County mine war have been postponed till the first day of the November term, which begins Nov. 23. Seven of the men indicted for murder asked for the disqualification of the judge. They were given a change of venue. Four others withdrew the request for disqualification, and will be tried in Harlan the eighth day of the November term. The cases of the ten miners who were arrested with guns at a union meeting near Judge Jones' house, and were charged with "banding and confederating," have also been postponed till the next term. The judge released them on their own bond "for the sake of their hungry families and humanity." The sum of \$500 is to be worked out in jail if they default.

U. M. W. Keeps Hands Off

Two special writers on coal problems for Scribner's Magazine had their car searched and were taken to the sheriff for explanations. They were freed shortly. In the Sept. 1 issue of its Journal, the United Mine Workers of America disavows all responsibility for the situation that has developed in Harlan.

"The United Mine Workers of America had nothing whatever to do with the calling of the strike last Spring, nor did the union have any part in directing the strike," says the Journal. "The men themselves went on strike voluntarily and without organization."

The grand jury which has been busily indicting miners for their union activities in Harlan County has been dismissed until the regular session next November. In its closing days it indicted Ike Lane for criminal syndicalism, W. B. Jones for false swearing, and William Hightower for subornation of perjury. Jones, who is president, and Hightower, who is secretary, of the United Mine Workers of America local have both been in jail for months charged with murder, as a result of the killings near Everts May 5. Four more miners have been indicted for "storehouse-breaking."

Doak To Hail Scab Concern

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—(F.P.)—Secretary of Labor Doak has been designated as representative of President Hoover, for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Endicott-Johnson Co., one of the largest scab shoe manufacturing concerns in the United States. The four towns of Binghamton, Johnson City, Endicott and Owego have also declared a holiday to celebrate the anniversary of the anti-union manufacturer. Speculation is rife as to what Doak, a former union official, can find to say in praise of a notorious scab.

What more crushing proof of human degradation than to sell one's labor of hand or brain? This act, too degrading for any citizen of Sparta or Rome, is the only resource left to the producer in our capitalist society; wage labor is a form of slavery.—Paul Lafargue.

Tamiment and Unity Guests Give Over \$500 to Strikers

Guests spending the Labor Day week-end at Camp Tamiment, the summer camp of the Rand School, and Unity House, summer home of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, contributed over \$500 to be used in aiding the Paterson silk strikers press in their fight for better conditions.

Louis Waldman, N. Y. Socialist state chairman, held the attention of almost 1,000 guests at the noon meal in Tamiment Monday while he told of the conditions of the strike. Most of the campers learned of the facts of the strike for the first time and contributed with enthusiasm.

Communists of Reich Aim Fire At Trade Unions

New Policy Calls for Wrecking of Workers' Economic Organizations

(By a New Leader Correspondent) EIPZIG.—After having failed in their joint efforts with Fascist and Nationalist groups to bring about the fall of the Prussian government that is strongly influenced by the Social-Democratic Party, the German Communist Party Central Committee has decided to continue the alliance with the extreme right groups to wage another war against the Social-Democrats. The defeat of August 9th must be made up for, the Communist followers must not be given time to think over it. Since it proved impossible to destroy the Social-Democratic stronghold in the Prussian Coalition, they will attack another bulwark, the Socialist trade unions. They have issued the slogan, "Break the unions by urging their members to stop paying dues and quit."

So far, the slogan "join the trade unions," issued by Losowski, held good, but from now on the Communist rank and file are ordered to carry out this resolution: "The influence of the wage-cutting trade unions of the German Federation of Trade Unions (ADGB) must be broken in order to knock the Social-Democracy on the head. We issue the slogan: The plebsite was directed against the Prussian bulwark of the capitalist exploiters, now we attack the trade union bulwark of the capitalist exploiters. We double our efforts within the unions and outside to abolish the influence of these criminals heading the ADGB, who being paid agents of the capitalists ever anew organize wage-cuts and mass poverty..."

Not even the papers of the Fascists dare say, as the Communists do, that the auxiliaries of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions, such as the labor banks and the cooperatives with their various enterprises, are facing bankruptcy.

Capital and Fascism pool their forces for the purpose of lowering wage scales and destroying all social achievements of the after-war period, and aim at breaking up the unions who defend the social rights of the workers. This is even too much for the Communist Opposition (Brandler) who in their paper call this newest move of the Communist Party, "doing the job for the worst enemies of labor, striking a fatal blow at the proletariat, a crime against the whole working class."

Here's freedom to him that had read, Here's freedom to him that had written: For there's none ever feared that the truth should be heard, But those whom the truth would indict. —Robert Burns.

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N. Y. to Stage Mooney Rally On October 10

Preliminary Conference Will Be Held at Labor Temple on Sept. 24

AN impressive demonstration to demand freedom for Tom Mooney will be held in New York City Oct. 10th. A preliminary conference will be held Sept. 24th at the Labor Temple to prepare for the demonstration. Byrd Kelso, field representative of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, is being assisted by a committee of Socialists and laborites in planning the demonstration. Kelso left Tuesday for Massachusetts with the "Mooney Hearse." He will return to New York City shortly.

The Mooney Molders' Defense Committee has sought to secure a gubernatorial pardon for Mooney or his release by judicial means. But it seems that the weight of the evidence presented was insufficient to convince the authorities of the State of California, dominated as they are by the open shop interests. For this reason there remains but one logical and effective alternative, namely to rally the broadest possible pressure from the entire labor movement.

The committee acting in co-operation with Kelso recommends that the afternoon of Saturday, Oct. 10, be set aside for a massive labor protest in behalf of Tom Mooney. It is not the intent of this committee to parallel the efforts made by the official labor movement but rather to supplement and consolidate this effort in one effective demonstration in which all forces constructively and honestly willing to help, may do their part.

To make the necessary arrangements for a successful mass meeting the conference has been arranged for Thursday evening, September 24 at 7:30 sharp at the Labor Temple, 239 East 84th street, to which labor groups are urged to send representatives, two being allotted to each organization.

The cooperating committee includes: Forrest Bailey, August Burkhardt, Francis M. Cohen, Tom Connors, Sidney Hillman, Henry T. Hunt, A. J. Kennedy, Abraham Lefkowitz, Charles R. Maute, A. J. Muste and Norman Thomas.

New York Socialists Present Program for Relief of the Jobless

Criticizing both Democratic and Republican proposals for unemployment relief, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, Socialist party leaders, have sent the joint legislative hearing on unemployment relief, an outline of Socialist proposals to meet the present situation. Mr. Thomas, as co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, and Mr. Waldman as Socialist state chairman, urged an emergency law for a five day week in industry; raising the minimum working age for children to 18 and dropping the age at which old age assistance may begin to 60; an increase in state emergency relief funds from \$20,000,000 to \$100,000,000; a petition to the Federal government for a five billion dollar relief loan to be expended in public works; legislation making possible city and state cooperation in slum clearance and housing construction; provision for raising relief funds from taxes on higher incomes and on inheritances; and, the enactment of an unemployment insurance bill.

Petition for Repeal of Sunkist Crimsyn Law

SAN FRANCISCO.—(F.P.)—Petitions for the repeal of the California criminal syndicalism law are being circulated. About 10,000 signatures have been secured in southern California and the same number in the northern half of the state, it is reported.

Leo S. Polling, circulating the petition in Los Angeles, was picked up by cops, who said the petition was not legal and threatened to "break his bones" if he continued to collect signatures, of which he already had 63. Polling told his story to the deputy city attorney, who called down the cops.

If 110,000 signatures are secured, the petition will go on the ballot for referendum vote at the 1932 election.

Solomon to Debate Battle

"Thomas Jefferson or Karl Marx?" will be the subject of a debate Sunday afternoon, Sept. 13th, at 3 o'clock over Station WOR. George Gordon Battle, lawyer and leading Democrat, will espouse Jeffersonianism. Charles Solomon, lawyer and Socialist spokesman, will present the case for Marxism. The debate will mark the resumption of the Forum Hour over Station WOR after the summer suspension.

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Green And 'Doles'

A. F. of L. Head Joins Capitalists in Misrepresenting Question of Aiding the Unemployed — No Charity, But Justice, Should be Demanded

"American workers abhor the imposition of a dole regardless of any guise under which it may be bestowed. They shrink from a consideration of its demoralizing and degrading influence. Self-respecting working men and women, proud in spirit and resolute in purpose, lose much of their pride when hunger and desperation compel them to accept a dole."

Thus spoke William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, on Labor Day. We agree, but it is a striking fact that Hoover, the editors of the capitalist press, and many politicians do not define what they mean by the word "dole." Mr. Green does not define it. As a general rule, the word is used with reference to unemployment insurance and with Great Britain in mind because the enemies of this legislation in that country have given it this name.

This appears to us to be a plain confusion of thought. A dole means giving in charity and nothing else. Now to assert that "American workers abhor the imposition of a dole regardless of any guise under which it may be bestowed" is good labor philosophy providing we define what we mean by the word. President Green did not say what he means and therefore he left his meaning obscure.

It is time that we talked sense. Obscurantism will not help and it is all the more to be avoided considering the tragic situation that faces the working class of this country.

Now, a dole is giving in charity. Mr. Green wants us to avoid it. But giving to the jobless out of private and public funds is a dole. This is the universal method employed in the United States today and millions of workers are dependent upon doles for relief. In the words of Mr. Green, hunger and desperation already "compel them to accept a dole." We do not have to wait for this degradation; that degradation has been with us for two years.

Let us consider the other aspects of this matter. Mr. Green implies that unemployment insurance is a dole. That brings us to this conclusion. Public charity is a dole; private charity is a dole; unemployment insurance is a dole!

All of which is absurd. To classify unemployment insurance with alms handed out by private and public charity is to indulge in nonsense.

Unemployment insurance is a matter of taxation and legislation similar to pensions for teachers, firemen, and other public employees. It is social legislation which provides for economic calamities as other legislation provides against contagious diseases.

To apply the word "dole" to this legislation and to assume that it is degrading for jobless workers to become beneficiaries of it is to do violence to logic.

To divide work equitably and to shorten the work day and the work week and to abolish child labor is all to the good, but when the appeal is made to "management" to do these things we do not expect any important concessions. These are concessions which the organized working class has wrested from the exploiting classes wherever they have been obtained.

They have never been voluntarily handed down by those above. The long fight of the powerfully organized employing class in this country against organization of wage workers indicates the character of the opposition that we face. We have the most reactionary exploiting class in the world. They have opposed concessions which have been won by the working masses in other countries on the ground of the same "individualist" philosophy that many labor chiefs support today. They oppose unemployment insurance legislation on the basis of this same philosophy.

Our reactionary industrial masters occupy common intellectual ground with the "individualist" philosophy of many labor men. It is not about time that we recognized that this philosophy is as dead as the age that gave it birth; that it serves reaction and not labor?

We live in a social system in which the individual is largely a cipher and can accomplish little except through social action with his fellows. The only individual left on this earth is the man who is isolated from civilization.

Let's abandon this fatuous "individualist" talk and become social beings in thought and action. Why should we leave government action to the reigning capitalists and bankers and forfeit all claims upon government and legislation? We are many and they are few. We should have the power that they now have.

We want every measure of relief that we can wrest from reluctant politicians in office but to get it we have to think in terms of this century, not in terms of an age that is dead.

We want no doles but we do want to tax the huge fortunes of our masters and provide a fund for those who are overwhelmed by economic disaster and no weasel words regarding "dole" will help the jobless workers in this hour of hunger and distress.

N. J. Socialists Meet Sunday In Linden; Thomas to Speak

A GENERAL membership meeting of all Socialist party members in New Jersey has been called by order of the New Jersey State Committee to meet Sunday, September 13, 10 a. m., at Linden, N. J., in Progress Hall, Mitchell avenue.

The purpose of this meeting is to devise ways and means for united action in the state campaign and to map out a practical plan for agitation and organization. The state committee finds that there is a great opportunity at hand now for expanding the organization. Every party member in New Jersey is urgently requested to attend this meeting and support this united forward move for Socialism. All members must bring their membership cards to show that they are in good standing. Mitchell avenue and Progress Hall is one block south from Wood avenue, between Edgar road and Pennsylvania R. R. station, Linden, N. J. From Crawford street, Elizabeth, take Wood avenue bus to Linden, which passes near the meeting hall. The Linden comrades will provide lunch for all out of town members at a nominal cost. Norman Thomas speaks in Linden Sunday evening after the business meeting. Andrew P. Witel, state secretary.

Uruguay Party Joins Socialist International

Second South American Socialist Group Affiliates—Gains Made in Recent Years

WITH the decision of the Socialist Party of Uruguay to affiliate with the Labor and Socialist International, it is the second party of Latin-America to join. The other party is in Argentina. The Socialist Party of Uruguay suffers as does the Labor Movement of Central and South America from difficult conditions. The great distances, the unfavorable state of transport, the still very incomplete economic development of most areas only permit the gradual progress of Socialism in Uruguay.

Nevertheless in recent years the party has made considerable progress. While from the time of the Communist split until 1928, it was not represented in Parliament it succeeded at this year's elections, by means of intensive election propaganda, in securing 3,000 votes and a seat in Parliament for the Party Leader, Dr. Emilio Frugoni. Since then, thanks to the development of the Organization, the Parliamentary work of Dr. Frugoni and the active work of Socialist enlightenment, the influence of the Party among the workers has increased still further, so that at the elections in November it hopes to be able to show an increase in its poll. In addition to the seat in Parliament the Party also has two seats in local bodies.

The internal organization of the Party has also been improved. Twenty sections (15 in Montevideo and 5 in the province) with a total of 480 members are affiliated to it. The affiliation of a number of other sections is about to take place. "El Sol," the Party organ, edited by Dr. Emilio Frugoni, appeared weekly until recently. Thanks to the self-sacrifice of the politically organized workers it has become possible to publish the paper as a daily from August 4th, 1931, onwards. The headquarters of the Party paper and the central organs of the Party is the "Casa del Pueblo," Montevideo (Uruguay) Paraguay 1480.

The Party has published its program and constitution in a booklet of 57 pages. The program consists of a declaration of principles and of minimum demands as regards the constitution, local government, education, the law, and in particular as regards agricultural policy.

Hosiery Union Voting on Cut Of 45 Per Cent

"A policy of desperation" dictated the agreement which was submitted to referendum vote of the membership of the American Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers by the union's special convention which met recently in Philadelphia, says John W. Edelman, research director of the union. The agreement calls for reductions in piece rates ranging from 30% to 45%.

The manufacturers agree, if the ballot gives a majority for the contract, to forego all profits. Auditors from the union are given the right to examine their books at the end of each three or six-monthly period. The union will also insist on 100% unionization of all plants. The agreement may be modified or abrogated on short notice.

The purpose of the agreement is to intensify competition with non-unionists, force reductions in their wages and worsening of their conditions, and so stimulate a feeling of revolt which may make it possible to bring them out on strike and organize them in the union, says Edelman. The agreement was drawn up by the negotiating committee and approved by the national executive board of the union. On both bodies there is a majority of rank-and-file members. At the special convention, there was at first a small majority against the proposal, but later the delegates reconsidered by a two-thirds majority and voted to submit it to referendum.

The industry as a whole has over fifty thousand workers, estimates Edelman, of which the union claims nearly 20,000. The Philadelphia section, with 30% of the country's capacity, is strong for the proposal, says Edelman. The feeling is that if Reading, with 20% of the country's capacity, can be signed up, the union will be able to pull an effective national strike. In other unionized sections, the sentiment for the proposal is not nearly so strong.

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Vienna's Homes And New York'shovels

DURING a summer's tour in Europe which included a visit to Italy, Germany, Austria, France and England, Henry J. Rosner, research director of the Socialist Party in New York City, found his visit to Vienna most profitable and inspiring. The Socialist government of the Austrian capital placed one of its chief housing experts at the disposal of Rosner and, together, they made a thorough tour of the new housing developments.

Rosner in this article treats the famous Vienna Socialist housing development from a new point of view. He compares Vienna housing under a Socialist administration with New York housing under Tammany Hall. The analogy might be broadened and almost any city in the United States with its inevitable slum districts might be substituted, in this comparison, for New York City.

By Henry J. Rosner

WORKINGCLASS families are nowhere in the world so well housed as they are in Socialist Vienna. The houses built by the Socialist administration have beauty and comfort which are to be found only in the more expensive sections of American cities.

The chief characteristic of housing built under private enterprise is the overcrowding of the land. The slums of New York have built on 90 to 95 per cent of the land. It is the lack of open space resulting therefrom which makes for dark, dingy, airless, uncomfortable rooms. Most recent regulations limit the building to 70 per cent of the lot, which is a distinct improvement but very far from ideal. Private builders will seldom construct on less than this amount. Vacant land produces no revenue directly. Desiring a maximum of rentable space, there is usually a minimum of open space in houses built under capitalist auspices.

The contrary is the case in the municipal housing developments of Vienna. The maximum building coverage is 30 per cent. In the newest housing, notably at Am Weiner Berg, the coverage is only 18 per cent. There each house fronts on a huge court covering an area five and one-half times larger than the area of the building. The courtyard is the equivalent of a small city park and playground. The municipality provides a gardener who takes excellent care of the flowers, trees and shrubbery within the courtyard. Benches are also placed about so that the workers can rest in the evenings and refresh themselves after a hard day's labor. A development in New York somewhat comparable to it would be the houses fronting on fashionable Gramercy Park. Gramercy rentals, of course, are so exorbitant that only the well-to-do can afford to live there. Even the model housing in New York has a long way to go before it will reach that low coverage as a standard. The new houses built by the Amalgamated on Grand street, under the state housing law, have a building coverage of only 60 per cent.

Reality Speculators Cleared Out

Without the destruction of private landlordism in Vienna in the post-war period these huge courts would have been impossible. Obviously, if land had been very expensive, either the tenants would have had to pay much larger rentals in order to enjoy the advantages of large courts which earn no money directly, or else the municipality would have had to bear the cost thereby greatly restricting the building program by transferring funds needed for building to the acquisition of land. Since neither of these alternatives was desirable, the courtyards would have been considerably reduced in size.

Real estate operations in Vienna are no longer profitable because of rent protection laws and heavy land value taxes. The rent protec-

tion laws limit the rentals in 1931 to about 26 per cent of the pre-war rent. In addition, real estate speculators, when they sell, must pay a tax equal to 25 per cent of the increase in the value of the land. 1903 is the date from which the increase is computed. In reality it is a tax upon fictitious profits. What is seemingly an increase in value over 1903 is not an increase at all. It is caused by the higher level of post-war prices. The combined effect is that virtually no money is to be made in the real estate business in Vienna.

Therefore, the owners of valuable building land within the city limits have been willing to sell to the city at about four cents per square foot. It is virtually impossible to acquire land within the city limits of New York suitable for building for less than \$2 a square foot or fifty times as much. Land at that price in New York would be miles away from the center of the city. The city of New York has paid \$16.45 per square foot for the land which it acquired for Mayor Walker's slum clearance fiasco on Forsyth-Chrystie street. A municipal housing plan drawn up by the City Affairs Committee for Forsyth-Chrystie street indicates that the cost of the land will be equal to the cost of the building. In Vienna the land cost is equal to 5 per cent of the total cost. No wonder it is difficult to build on less than 60 per cent of the land in New York. That is the price we pay for private landlordism.

Higher Rents for Poorer Homes

The rentals for the Vienna apartments are incredibly low. They vary from \$1 to \$6.50 a month. The average apartment for a family of four, consisting of a kitchen, a living room and two smaller rooms serving as bedrooms, rents at \$2.50 a month. A fair comparison with New York rents can be made only by translating the rentals into percentages of the workers' income. In Vienna the average wage is about \$30 a month. The rental is, therefore, equal to less than 10 per cent of the Vienna workers' income. In New York the average wage is \$100 a month and the worker pays a minimum of

Socialist Administration Building 55,000 Apartments for Workers; One-fourth of City Will Be Rebuilt by 1938; How New York Lags

\$25 a month in the poorer neighborhoods. The New York worker, therefore, pays 25 per cent or more of his income for housing accommodations which are much worse than those enjoyed by his Viennese brother in the municipal houses. New York conditions are typical of the conditions to be found in most of the industrial cities of America.

The secret of these phenomenally low rentals is the elimination of capital charges. The only capital charges met by the tenants are the cost of the land. That is paid by the tenants in installments over a five-year or ten-year period. Land being so cheap, it is not a very great burden. Moreover, as soon as the complete cost of the land has been met, rentals are correspondingly reduced.

The cost of the building is paid out of taxes. The most important tax for this purpose is the so-called housing rate, the entire proceeds of which must be devoted to housing. It is a tax payable by all those occupying a dwelling within the municipal area. Those living in municipal houses also pay this tax. It is a percentage of the pre-war rent. The rates, however, are so steeply reduced that the tax levied on the workman is almost negligible. The rates run from 2 to 36 per cent. The result is that he pays a \$1.50 tax a year whereas the moderately wealthy pay a tax of \$250 and the extremely wealthy the moderately wealthy pay a tax of \$750 annually. Eighty-two per cent of the properties (made up of workingclass dwellings and cheaper business premises) pay only 22 per cent of the total tax whereas the 3,470 most expensive properties, equal to one-half on 1 per cent of the whole, pay about 45 per cent.

Contrast that tax with our system of taxation in New York. Our real estate tax is much the same as the Viennese housing rate since both are paid by the tenant. The Park avenue apartment house, however, pays the same rate as the workingclass home owner in Queens. In Vienna the rich are taxed to provide decent housing for the poor. In New York the worker pays proportionately as much as the capitalist to bear the ordinary expenses of government such as police, the administration of justice, the protection of public health, etc. Just another example of the well-known Tammany charity for the poor.

The Cost of Construction

The cost of building the average apartment in Vienna, exclusive of land cost, is about \$2,100. If similar apartments had been constructed by a private corporation, the rate of return on the capital invested would have been at a minimum 10 per cent. That would have meant an additional rental of \$210 per year. With the elimination of capital charges the tenant pays only \$30 a year. Under private enterprise the rental would have been increased eight-fold. Obviously, this rental would be too much for the ordinary Viennese workman. For this reason private enterprise has never been able to house the wage worker decently either in Vienna or New York. Only Socialist administration of Vienna has demonstrated.

Socialized housing is also able to achieve more aesthetic effects than

private housing. Even the better housing developments in New York are very frequently an eyesore. Each private builder constructs his house or group of houses regardless of what his neighbor is doing. The law sets up specifications as to safety but none as to beauty. The result is that a particular section will be standardized so that every house looks alike, achieving a barrack-like monotonous effect. This is to be seen in many parts of Queens. Or an attractive looking apartment house is set among dingy, outmoded structures. This is to be seen along Seventh avenue in the 14th street area. The new buildings look incongruous in their settings.

The Socialist houses in Vienna, on the contrary, are pleasing to the eye. They achieve both variety and harmony at the same time. The reason is that a whole section is built simultaneously. The architects selected by a competitive process vary the architecture but take care that each type shall fit into a harmonious picture. Clearly that is possible only where you have large scale socialized housing.

Social Activities Developed

The Socialists of Vienna are also trying to develop a new way of socialized living focusing about the home. There are attached to the houses kindergartens for children ranging from 3 to 6 years. The youngsters are brought there at 7 in the morning and kept until 6 at night. We visited one kindergarten at a place called Sandeleiten which houses 1,500 families. The kindergarten has facilities for 240 children. We all agreed that it was one of the most beautiful places we had ever seen. The walls are decorated with very lovely mural paintings depicting children at play in field, stream and wood. The children are given every opportunity for self-expression. The exhibits indicated that some of the children possess genuine artistic talent. Socialized games teach the children how to live together. The following inscription on the wall of the kindergarten sums up the spirit of the place, "Give to the child beauty. Childhood incidents

As Vienna Saw Mayor Walker



Carl Josef in the Arbeiter-Zeitung
JIMMY WALKER VIEWS ST. STEPHEN'S TOWER
Walker: "That's a very pretty tower, but where is the roof garden?"

can never be wiped out." Professor McGoldrick of Columbia University, whom I met in Vienna, told me that in his judgment the Sandeleiten kindergarten is more beautiful than the one at Horace Mann in New York which is a model kindergarten in the U. S. A. The latter is a private school whose advantages are only enjoyed by children of the middle class and the rich whereas the kindergarten at Sandeleiten is for workingclass children. Undoubtedly, the foundation for leading the good life is being laid in these kindergartens.

Many of these houses have beautiful concert halls. At the Friedrich Austerlitz house, named after the former editor of the Socialist Arbeiter-Zeitung, which houses over 1,000 families, we saw a concert hall seating 500 people. Here political and educational meetings are held. Talking moving pictures were being installed at the time of our visit. We were told that emphasis would be placed on educational films. In the same building there are four smaller lecture halls in which classes are held in the winter time. All the houses in addition had libraries.

65,000 New Dwellings to be Built

About 55,000 families are already happily lodged in their new homes. Plans call for the completion of 65,000 dwelling by 1933. In that year's election campaign the Socialist administration will make public plans for another

ing there are four smaller lecture halls in which classes are held in the winter time. All the houses in addition had libraries.

Central laundries are also attached to the larger blocks of houses. We visited one at the Karl Marx house while it was in use. Here the housewife does her fortnight's washing in four or five hours. It was evident that the women found their washing a pleasant chore. They chatted gaily with one another while their work was going on. The back-breaking toll of washing under hand methods is completely eliminated by automatic electric machinery. No more scrubbing on wash boards! Little wonder that they enjoyed their washing!

65,000 New Dwellings to be Built

About 55,000 families are already happily lodged in their new homes. Plans call for the completion of 65,000 dwelling by 1933. In that year's election campaign the Socialist administration will make public plans for another

35,000 homes to be completed within five years. By 1938 then, the administration will have rehoused approximately 400,000 people (assuming four persons to a dwelling). That will be equivalent to 25 per cent of the population of Vienna. In other words, the city of Vienna will have been one-quarter rebuilt along lines of beauty and comfort to be found in no other large city in the world. This will have taken place within fifteen years (the housing began in 1923). It is a most extraordinary achievement when we consider the centuries that have been required for the evolution of a city like Vienna. Remember that it has been done by a workingclass administration for the enjoyment of the workingclass. It is a remarkable demonstration of the application of Socialist principles in the creation of a new way of life for the people.

We had the good fortune to interview the man in charge of construction and administration of the houses, Alderman Weber. Vienna has the parliamentary system of government. The city council elects the Mayor and eight administrative Aldermen, each one of whom is entrusted with a particular phase of municipal administration. The Mayor and the Aldermen make up a cabinet which is responsible to the council.

Alderman Weber was obviously a very high type of man—cultured and socially-minded. From his conversation it was clear that he took the same creative joy in the administration of his housing department that an artist takes in his art. Would that our own public officials took the same interest in the opportunity for public service that public office affords!

Although the houses are administered from above, there is a tenants' committee of 25, which consults frequently with the administration and presents the tenants' point of view. The committee is selected by so-called men of confidence who are elected by each staircase. Cultural activities in the houses are usually taken care of by these men of confidence. Capitalism cannot, of course, be

abolished completely from the City Hall. Nevertheless, the Viennese Socialists have shown us what can be done by a city administration to lay the foundation of a new social order within capitalism. They have demonstrated very concretely what the principles of Socialism applied in the field of housing can do to solve the problem of the slum—one of the ugliest and most fearful products of capitalist individualism.

Cotton Pickers Refuse To Work at Low Pay

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—(FP)—A. W. Green, manager of the U. S. employment service bureau in San Antonio, says that wages paid cotton pickers in the surrounding territories are 50c a hundred pounds or 40c if they do not furnish their own sacks.

Pickers who have worked in the field report that the going rate is 35c, 30c and even 25c a hundred pounds to workers who furnish not only their own sacks but also their own transportation and board. A typical day's pick is 100 to 150 pounds, though the working day lasts from 6 a. m. to 8 p. m. So some plantation owners are advertising in vain for help.

U.M.W.A. Locals Strike Against Short Weight

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—(FP)—Two miners' wives are included in the police roundup of picketers in the Connellsville By-Product Coal Co. mine strike. The mine, a Paisley concern, has been charged with cheating its miners of pay on 25,000 tons of coal in 1930, through shortweight. Judge Baker has taken no action on a request for a grand jury investigation.

The United Mine Workers of America claim more than 4,000 on strike in the Morgantown field, with 6,000 signed up in northern West Virginia. Many took cuts in wage scales under the union agreement with operators.

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The Dole System in the Anthracite District

By Louis Stanley

HAZLETON, Pa.—With the certainty that the winter will add to the miseries of the unemployed and partially employed miners of District 7, who together will probably comprise one-third of the coal diggers in the Lehigh anthracite field despite the expected seasonal improvement in production, representatives of the union and other private individuals have created two relief organizations for the district, one in the middle eastern field around Hazleton and the other in the small Panther Creek sub-district from Tamaqua to Nesquehoning, near Mauch Chunk. The objects of the new relief machinery will be to raise funds to alleviate the ever increasing distress and to make it easier for the miners and their friends to demand necessary governmental aid.

Distress in Lehigh Field

The Lehigh coal field to which District 7 corresponds has been extremely hard hit. Orders have been slow and, therefore, collieries have been shut down or placed on a part-time operating basis. Although mechanization of mining has been backward in the Lehigh field because the comparatively great height and the steep pitch or grade of the veins make it difficult to employ the machinery available at the present time there has been enough rationalization of production in other ways to displace large numbers of workers. In the first place, there has been speeding up; in the second place, there have been a growth of central breakers and the abandonment of small breakers for the preparation of coal at each colliery; and in the third place, use of stripping operations whereby coal is stripped from the surface by means of huge steam shovels employing a few men instead of the large number that would be required to mine

Mine Workers Share Major Burden of Relief; Union Officials Feel Government Must Act

equal quantities of coal underground. Throughout District 7 the mountains are cut up by the man-made ravines that mark the strip-pings.

When the depression struck the Lehigh coal field there was practically no private agency to handle the relief work in the region. In Hazleton the United Charities conducted itself almost entirely to social work among maladjusted families, while the Salvation Army was able to do but little. In the Panther Valley, which constitutes sub-district 1 of District 7, there was practically no philanthropic work of any kind. Some material relief was dispensed by the Salvation Army and a few individuals in Tamaqua and by small groups in Coaldale and Summit Hill.

Miners' Assessment

In this emergency the United Mine Workers and the Middle Coal Field Poor District, which covers most of District 7 outside of the Panther Creek section and some other part of Schuylkill County, had to bear the brunt of the chief work. District 7 levied three monthly assessments of fifty cents each upon all members who worked at least five days each month. Conditions have become so bad that out of 11,000 miners in District 7 outside of the Panther Creek sub-district less than 6,000 men worked as many as five days a week in July. An increasing need for relief was met by a decreasing amount collected by the relief assessment. During three months the union disbursed \$12,000 in grocery orders to unemployed miners.

The Middle Coal Field Poor District has found the demands made upon it unprecedented. As compared with last year it is now

granting \$1,500 more per month in permanent outdoor relief to more than 500 additional families, while its expenditures for temporary material relief has increased by more than \$2,000 per month distributed among more than 1,000 new cases. The population of the alms house instead of declining this summer grew. The Poor District is undergoing a heavy strain. Panther Valley is handled by the Poor District of Schuylkill County but Schuylkill has been so severely affected by unemployment that there has been but limited help from that source.

Emergency Relief

In view of the crisis that the miners are facing and the dire consequences that the plight of the largest portion of the population in the Lehigh field will bring to business two relief organizations have just been launched, one for Hazleton and vicinity, the other for Panther Valley. The Hazleton venture is connected with the Community Chest of the Middle Coal Field District. When the welfare and social organizations of the Hazleton section federated into the Community Chest last fall for the purpose of conducting joint financial drives, District 7 of the United Mine Workers frowned upon the move chiefly because the Red Cross, which in this locality is primarily a visiting nurses' association, was to take a large share of the receipts. The miners remembered the refusal of the Red Cross to help the striking miners in the soft coal fields. After the Community Chest campaign the district office established a Welfare Department with funds contributed by members of the union to keep a nurse in the field. This year District 7 officials have agreed to

cooperate with the Community Chest in its campaign in November. A large portion of the funds to be collected will be set aside for a new member of the chest, an Emergency Relief Association which was created at a meeting held in Hazleton on August 15. A survey is now being carried on to determine how much money the new relief organization will need. This week the date for the Community Chest Drive was set for the period, November 10 to 18.

In the Panther Creek section a new relief agency came into being as a result of efforts of a committee of prominent private individuals to induce J. B. Warriner, president of the Lehigh Navigation Coal Company, to re-open No. 11 colliery at Tamaqua employing 800 men. The meeting took place on August 21 after officials of the union sub-district had requested the cooperation of the private citizens. President Warriner claimed that the inferior quality of the No. 11 coal in a bad market made it unprofitable to operate the colliery. At a second meeting of the committee the sub-district officers showed that the union had already distributed to miners' families 475 orders amounting to \$3,047 and that additional funds were urgent. At a third meeting held this week the Panther Valley Relief Association was organized with headquarters in the sub-district office. The guiding committee consists of representatives of the United Mine Worker and of the towns in the Valley, Tamaqua, Coaldale, Lansford, Summit Hill and Nesquehoning. The contract miners will be asked to contribute \$2 per month, the laborers \$1. The companies will cooperate in making the collection effective.

The association of the union of-

will succeed a smoking wilderness of ruins into which will move the black and yellow races of the earth.

In all seriousness, the question is asked, what of it?

What is there about our current civilization that is so worth while that it needs must be preserved? In California, for instance, the fact that two innocent men—Moon and Billings, not forgetting others—are in prison for daring to champion labor's rights, railroaded by mercenary thugs on perjured evidence, with labor failing to rise en masse for their release, is enough to condemn the state and her people to damnation.

According to an ancient maxim, and believed by many, the glory of a state consists of her great men. Who are the great men of California? Who is it that the or-

gans of publicity—the newspapers and the radio—delight to honor? To whom do our college presidents, our ministerial divines, our valorous politicians kowtow with abject and assinine reverence? What, according to our social standard, is the ripe fruit of California civilization?

A gang of industrial thugs and highwaymen residing in Los Angeles and San Francisco, who, by means of an interlocking directorate of crime, dominate this state to her damnation; men who repeatedly have been indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors, but who by virtue of economic control continuously escape just punishment. Their names need not be announced. Cry aloud the name of almost any man high in the councils of industry and finance in this state, and you have revealed the unprincipled scoundrel referred to in this connection. Compared to the activities of these conscienceless scoundrels, the peccadilloes of common shoplifters and those charged with rape pale into insignificance.

Should civilization be saved merely that these gentlemen may flourish?

Perish the thought! Who that cherishes an ounce of honor or has the slightest appreciation of what is just and right will deny that in judicially murdering Sacco and Vanzetti, Massachusetts and her people richly deserve every visitation of terror war can bring, or that Illinois should go free from devastation, with the echo of the Haymarket tragedy ringing round the world? Unquestionably, in the opinion of millions, the Centralia massacre and the continued imprisonment of the victims of that massacre are reasons enough to warrant the utter extinction of the State of Washington. Should Pennsylvania be kept back from the pit, and the iron of agony withheld from her people, when her brutal and bloody labor strikes are recalled? Who will regret the passing of Colorado, when Cripple Creek and the Ludlow outrages are remembered, or flinch from the destruction of Idaho for perpetrating the atrocities of the Bull Pen? North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee within a year have committed crimes against labor which war can never atone. Every Southern state between the Potomac and the Rio Grande, before the bar of righteous justice, stands condemned for its treatment of the Negro; and what war could do to punish those responsible and bring to their homes the desolation of despair, would be no more than giving justice her due. Equally with the South and as fully responsible, is the North for tolerating this treatment of the Negro, and what the South deserves, the North should get.

As a nation the United States is guilty of the monstrous wrong of sending to jail and keeping him there, Eugene V. Debs, for daring to raise his voice in behalf of peace. For that perfidy, there are a few citizens of the world, still alive, who believe that the people of the United States who supported the imprisonment of Debs should be visited with a tornado of fire and sword they will never forget. Imprisoned with Debs, and never released, are multiplied thousands of little children chained to the wheels of industry, war and pain from cheap and joyless labor, denied access to education and a more abundant life, and destined to tramp the treadmill of starved existence until they die. Without fear of contradiction it is declared that a civilization which permits a condition such as this merits a fate worse than annihilation through war.

Within the capitalist system are the seeds of destruction which eventually will develop the inevitable collapse. Mechanically and materially, capitalism is fast becoming impossible. The social process, itself, will automatically eliminate the civilization here so stridently condemned. It is to the moral and ethical phase of the question that attention is called.

Private ownership of property for private profit is not only unscientific and unjust, but it is a crime against humanity for which blood only can atone. The fact that one man has to ask another for a job in order to live reflects a condition that challenges every principle and institution in the civilization which permits it; and some day that challenge will be carried forward with a shout, and civilization will have to answer—and pay.

With private ownership is the wages system—a system of cruelty and greed—from which hearts have ached and tears have flowed. In displacing the labor of chattel slavery, wage labor, if anything, has produced an experience bloodier and more revolting. Paraphrasing Lincoln's denunciation with truth it may be exclaimed, that for every drop of blood drawn from the backs of half paid labor by the rich in their mad pursuit of gain, oceans will be exacted from rich and poor alike when the dogs of war are unleashed upon the world.

As much as blame justly attaches to the rich for the reign of graft now devastating the United States, and as much as the rich must share responsibility for social and industrial injustice, the rich are not alone. By their stupidity and indifference the poor are as guilty as the rich, and with the rich, the poor have refused to profit from the lessons of history; with the rich, the poor are worshipped at the shrine of tradition and allowed themselves to be guided and directed by precedent; with the rich, the poor have clung to their prejudices, closed

their minds to truth and hesitated to hazard an advance. If anything, the poor have outdone the rich in adhering to things as they are and refusing to countenance change. If possible the poor have outstripped the rich in the matter of surrendering gloom timidity and fear. For not being men like gods, mashing from conquest to conquest in the intellectual and material arena, both rich and poor face an impending war that shall engulf them both and punish both alike.

The people of this generation need not lay the flattering unction to their souls that history will not repeat itself, so long as the economic foundations of society are what they are. The causes that led to the overthrow of ancient dynasties abide. Those causes are operating today, and with the inexorable logic they will produce their effect. Nature is not mocked. Whatsoever is sown is reaped. Men and nations have planted the seeds of private property, class stratification, social and economic injustice, and they can not escape the harvest of their planting. Whether of nature, or Jehovah, it is written:

"He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

"He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword; "He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat; "He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat; "His truth is marching on!"

Certainly there is going to be a war. It is as unavoidable as capitalist injustice. The wheels of capitalism are grinding, and was it not natural, grist. Why seek to delude ourselves? Shall we, like ostriches, hide our heads in the sand for fear of facing facts? Capitalism depends upon war for its continuance. Another year of peace like that just endured in all probability would witness the collapse of capitalism. The masters in charge will not permit the end to come so tamely and so miserably. Will Soviet Russia constitute the target of attack? That depends upon the manner in which the diplomatists of Europe deploy their strategy. Nowhere will the voice of the people be heard in the councils preliminary to an open declaration of war.

In the midst of a world gone mad, behind the armies dying at the front, if enough men and women can be found who have preserved sanity and courage sufficient to start back fires of revolution in the home lands, it is not unlikely that these may develop into rallying centers to which will be drawn sources of strength that will overcome the disasters of war; and that from these revolutionary centers may spring the beginning of what may generate the society of the future. It is a hope. If that hope fails, the white races may as well quit, and let their places be taken by Negroes, Chinese and the Islanders of the sea. For scientists are agreed that the next international war will wipe this civilization from the earth.

Goodbye Summer

HERE comes the autumn. Deep blue skies with high clouds sailing through them, scent of wood-smoke at twilight, the whirr of leaves along the brick walks of small New England towns, the rasp of corn stalks beneath the new moon above the prairies.

And with all this, trouble, folks, oodles of it for yours fraternally. For the cold, clammy hand of depression reaches out even into politics, as far as I am concerned. Three years ago at this time I was running for the high and exalted office of United States Senator. And look at me now. I have tapered down to running for Alderman. Hard times, folks, hard times.

Still, running for Alderman has its compensations. It is good to sit before the fire and think of oneself as a City Father of the greatest city in the world—numerically, I mean.

Also it was pretty provident of me to save up running for Alderman for a rainy day. Now that there is a deluge, it will come in handy, that five thousand a year. Five thousand a year for going down to City Hall every Tuesday except when there is a ball-game, a good horse race, or it rains, or it snows, or it is hot, or muggy, or foggy or whatever. And all you have to know, if you are a Tammany Alderman is just one little word—"Yes."

If, by any freak of nature, you are a Republican Alderman in New York, you have to reverse your usual Party role and say, "No." But you always say it in a still, small voice so as not to rile your Democratic buddies across the way.

And anyhow it isn't so bad going down to the City Hall once in awhile. You can meet the boys and hang around the corridor and kid the sappy reformers and put the double-dyed, deepest black jody on Seabury, the old scoundrel. That is, you do all this, if you are an old line Alderman.

And then you get passes to the ball games and the races and when you promenade the avenue, people bow to you and say, "Good evening, Alderman." Especially people whose relatives are gun-fighters, pick-pockets and racketeers, because there is always the chance that it may be necessary to ask you to get little Willie, (who was training to be an altar-boy but who was caught climbing over the transom of the nearby tailor-shop) out of the house-gown.

Speaking of altar-boys, we have noticed a slight inconsistency on the part of our Catholic friends up New York State. You remember what the Pope said about Socialism in his famed encyclical. He said that no one could be a good Catholic and a Socialist. Yet up in Utica and Lackawanna good, kosher Democratic Catholics are raising Heaven and Hell in their frantic endeavors to get on the Socialist ticket. I wonder if anybody has told the Pope about this and if so, what he will have to say the next time he goes out riding on his shiny, new encyclical.

Whoever does the real work of editing "The American Photo-Engraver," of which deeply intellectual publication Matt Woll is official editor, will have his hand ripped off him the next time Matt gets around to the office. On page 1004 of the September issue of "The Photo-Engraver" there is a reprint of an article from the Philadelphia Labor Record, headed, "What is a Dole?" The writer says that "America's soup and bread lines really are the 'doles' of charity and not of legislation" and proceeds to point out the difference between the "dole" and unemployment insurance with words of high praise for the latter system. On page 1022 of the same issue under the heading, "Don't fool or be fooled," Matt spits on his pencil and tears off an editorial in which he says, "Those who argue for unemployment insurance have a sentimental advantage. It is easy to argue for alleviation of suffering. But it is utterly foolish to argue for a method of alleviation that can only end in disaster and more acute misery. Unemployment must be abolished, not coddled and nursed. If unemployment insurance could be made to work and survive it would constitute the most powerful ally of those whose object is continued exploitation." Let's see. Isn't there an outfit called "The Union Labor Life Insurance Company?" And isn't the President of this, one Matt Woll, salary unknown? And if the government should go into the insurance field, mightn't that start dangerous precedents? You're right. Go to the head of your class.

We have a flat taste in our mouth and a soggy feeling of gloom. We have just finished reading the Labor Day speeches of Brothers Green, Lewis et al. The New York Times printed them in the space that is usually reserved for the Sunday sermons. An appropriate place. We haven't yet decided which is the greater depressant. A sermon by the Reverend Dr. Omigod on "Gin, Jazz and Autos, Cause of Latterday Godlessness" or a drool by Pop Green on, "Wage Cuts Must Not Go On."

We have embarked upon an ambitious undertaking. We want to write a book on "Work." It's a lot easier to write about than to do work. But just the same we figure that this might be a real contribution if it were done thoroughly and well. We mean a sort of running history of work through the ages. All the general outlines of history, even the most modern, and the huge bulk of economic writings, somehow seem to leave out of the picture just what men and women did from the dawn days clear down to the present to keep alive and out of the wet. And how what they did affected their thinking and acting, colored all their days and all their dreams. I know of course, the references in Marx to the various developments which preceded modern industrialism. I know how brilliantly he documented his conception of the materialistic basis of history. But since his time, archaeologists and anthropologists, biologists and psychologists and the researchers and diggers into obscure corners of history have unearthed a great wealth of material on the ways of work. It will be a fascinating job to get some of that between book covers. If any of you boys and girls have any suggestions for making this book something worth while shoot them along to me. I'm just starting out and while I know that a lot of it will be tough sledding, I still think it can be done, if not by me, by someone more competent. And the result should be a book that would button down a lot of things we all suspect but can't put our hands on.

Now we're off to the Camp Eden Conference of the youngsters who are rarin' to go into the heat of the struggle this coming winter. We have looked forward to this conference for many moons. If it doesn't come out ahead of all the many conferences we have attended this past Summer, we miss our guess.

In our humble and by no means infallible judgment what is said and done at Camp Eden may have a most important bearing upon the future of every individual attendant and the Party as well. One of the charms of this conference is that it doesn't cost a young fortune to get there and back. See you at Eden.

—McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

British Labor Back to Socialism

By Fred Henderson

I AM breaking into the usual monthly interval between these letters, for reasons which will be obvious to you. For the Big Thing has happened. It has happened with dramatic suddenness, and with a completeness that almost takes one's breath away. Between the Friday and Monday of a single week-end—with Parliament scattered on holiday and no visible sign of the coming of the crisis until it was upon us and over at a stroke—the whole political situation in Britain has been transformed, and we are in a new world of changed outlooks. If your capitalist press is anything like ours, you will probably know the facts as they show on the surface of things, but it is very doubtful whether you will have got the truth of the matter, or any real appreciation of what it means for the future of the Labor movement here.

In a sense, of course, it is not a thing which has come about suddenly. You remember Shelley's great verse?

"The sun-awakened avalanche,
Whose mass,
Thrice sifted by the storm, had
gathered there
Flake after flake—in heaven-de-
fying winds
As thought on thought is piled,
Till some great truth
Is loosened, and the nations echo
round."

The metaphor applies to this, as it does to all big things. Their climax may be and generally is sudden and eruptive; but there has always been a long process of flake piled on flake in preparation for the avalanche. And the present new situation cannot be seen clearly or understood aright without dwelling for a moment on the preparatory process, and how the forces, now let loose, have been piled up in readiness for their hour of decisive action.

A Glance Backward
During the past year or more my letters, now that one looks back upon the period of office of the Labor Government in the light of these closing scenes in its history, seem to have been a continuous record of flake piling on flake to some such end as has now happened. Just to throw your mind back in a brief review of these two years, beginning with the last General Election; the declaration of Socialist policy; the assurance to the people in "Labor and the Nation" that our purpose was not to patch up a collapsing capitalism, but to bring about the change-over to the Cooperative Commonwealth; the great response of the nation to that appeal, sending us to Parliament as the strongest single party, and within but a few votes of an absolute majority in the British Parliament; and then,

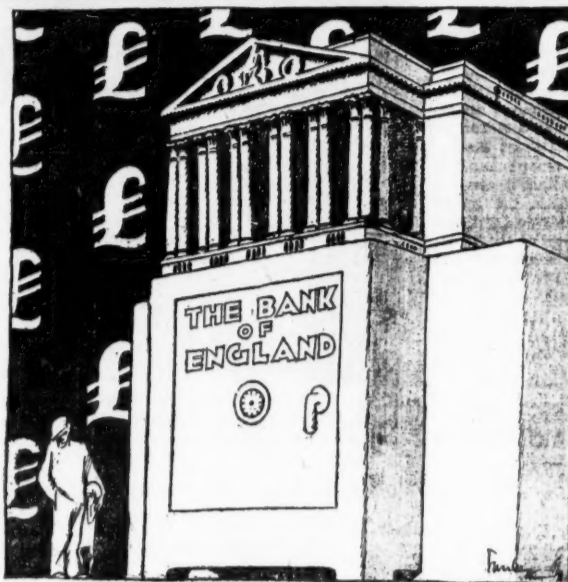
Devitalizing Subservience to Capitalist Policies Ended by MacDonald Bolt From Party

the two years of steady disillusionment as we discovered that the price of clinging to office without a majority to make our own purposes effective was the disheartening of the rank and file of our workers who had hoped so much and found so little coming of it. Bye-election after bye-election has shown the decline of our strength in the country. And as our hold on the nation's mind has weakened, the insolence of our capitalist opponents has grown. During the past year they seem to have become convinced that the Labor Government was so determined to hang on to office at all costs that any capitalist policy could be forced upon them under threat of a Parliamentary defeat. The development of the attack on wages and on social services became more and more intense; and the capitalist and finance interests apparently came to the conclusion that there was no limit to what they could get by such pressure, and that they might as well go out for the whole hog.

Working through a democratic system of political election, the capitalist parties, with the fear of the working-class elector in their minds, would probably not have dared to do through a Government of their own what they decided to demand from the Labor Government. The calculation evidently was that with a Labor Government taking the odium of making all-round reductions in the standards and amenities of working-class life, these desired ends could be achieved more safely than if an avowedly capitalist Government had set about the task. And so, in the name of national economy, the demand was made for what, in effect, was nothing other than a wholesale surrender of all our purposes, delivered practically as an ultimatum by the finance interests to the heads of the Labor Government.

The calculation that MacDonald and Snowden would fall to it turned out to be correct. But the further calculation that MacDonald and Snowden could carry the rest of the Government with them in this scared surrender to finance, and that the Government would as usual be able to command the lame acquiescence of the general Parliamentary party, miscarried. The limit had been reached and overstepped. The long intolerable strain of supporting capitalist policies against our own purposes for the sake of office had reached a breaking-point.

Labor's Patience Ends
My letters during the past year have, I think, made it clear to you that this support from the general Parliamentary party to the Government has never been a willing support. It has been given with



THE NEW BRITISH CABINET. As "Het Volk," organ of the Dutch Socialists, views the new "national government" of Great Britain headed by former Labor Premier, Ramsay MacDonald.

much grumbling and questioning; and in the main has been a sacrifice to a mistaken idea that party loyalty demanded support for men and Governments rather than for ideas, principles, and the real things we stand for. But this latest demand was too much. It involved wage-cuts all round, depriving the unemployed of a percentage of their scanty allowance, reducing social services; and generally making the Labor Government the political agent of the employers' federations and the banking interests in a complete reversal of all its own purposes.

And so we come to the dramatic swing of the events of the last week-end. With that story the ordinary newspapers will have made you familiar: MacDonald's and Snowden's isolation in a Cabinet which they could not carry with them; the end of the Labor Government; and the reappearance of MacDonald as head of a new Conservative and Liberal coalition government formed for the express purpose of carrying out the lowering of working-class standards of life.

Into all the detail of that drama I need not enter. The effective comment upon it, the thing which sums up its meaning most clearly, is the remark made by one of the ex-members of the Labor Government on leaving office: "The Labor Party has saved its soul."

For indeed that is what has happened. When MacDonald's Premiership in a new Coalition Govern-

ment was announced, it was hailed for a day or two in the reactionary Press as a new "National" Government, representing all parties.

That dream of the capitalists of roping Labor into an unholy combination for attacking working-class life has been thwarted. It was the whole purpose of the combination. That there might be a revolting section of the Labor party, small and insignificant enough to be called a mere faction, was expected; but the reckoning was that the party in the main would go with MacDonald, and that the resulting Government could have been claimed to be a Government in which Labor was consenting to the policy of making the whole national life subservient to the interests of finance. And MacDonald himself shared that expectation.

Never was a scheme more completely upset. The capitalist interests have got MacDonald and Snowden; but, thank heaven, not the Labor Party. On the contrary, the scheme which was to wipe out party on this finance issue has only succeeded in putting the Labor Party into a move clearly authentic and fighting position than ever before. Instead of confusing the national mind into believing that finance is a national issue about which no real controversy arises in defense of its claims, what has happened is the creation, for the first time, of the real cleavage in the national mind between the claims of finance to be supreme over human life, and the claim on

behalf of human life that finance must be made the servant instead of the master of human needs. On this issue the Labor Party comes out of the crisis solid and unbroken. There is not even a sufficient following for MacDonald to be described as a split in the Party. At the joint meeting of the three bodies responsible for Labor Party policy—The Trades Union Executive, the Executive of the Labor Party, and the representative committee of the Parliamentary group—held the day after the announcement of the new Government, the declaration of a united Labor front against the Wage-cutting and Social-service Destruction Government was adopted with complete unanimity.

Labor's Chains Broken
The Labor Party has achieved its release from the living death of the past two years. The intolerable suppression of its own purposes is over and done with. It stands at last unfettered, and with its own real fight to wage on a clear issue. Unfettered and purged of the influences which fettered it. It is an occasion for jubilation. No such satisfactory ending of the impossible position into which we had drifted seemed conceivable. That best of many of us had dared to hope for during the past year was that we should get out of office and devote the next few years to building up again what the past two years had lost for us. And now, almost by a miracle, the ending of our minority office has taken place in such a fashion as to provide in itself, the occasion for an immediate and unmistakable rally of our old strength.

At the moment of writing, the thing which impresses one most of all is the new courage and hope which one finds expressed everywhere amongst those of our own people who have been losing hope and confidence during the two disheartening years of sterile office. The things that have been crippling us, the pursuit of office for the sake of office, the damping down of all the working enthusiasm of the rank and file; these things are now things of the past, and the Party emerges from them unbroken to a degree which would have seemed incredible only a week or two ago. It has lost office by upholding its faith; and already finds, perhaps a little to its own surprise, that it has lost nothing but what were its chains, and that it is gaining a world of new strength and of re-born vitality. It has all its enemies in one camp; and it has a real fighting issue entrusted to it. The impasse into which we had drifted could not have been more effectively broken. The summing up of the whole matter is, I repeat, that the soul of the Labor movement here has been saved.

For one man to do good to another is good for both. For one man to do ill to another is bad for both.—Indian Proverb.

For the reduction of armaments as a prerequisite for security. The essential part of the resolution adopted by the Congress calls for an "immediate and general reduction of armaments," covering all sorts of war equipment. Chemical and aerial warfare must be made impossible.

In opposition to this standpoint, some delegates held national defense justifiable. They wanted to see the treaty of peace maintained in their existing form, at least for the present, because any shaking of the system at this moment would mean a heightening of the war danger. No matter how poor an opinion these comrades have of the European situation created by the Treaty of Versailles, still they see no advantages in a change at this time.

The decision arrived at in conference represented compromise making it possible for nearly all parties, with the exception of the Independent Labor Party, to vote for the resolution presented to the Congress. The commission on disarmament was presided over by J. W. Albarada of Holland. Vice President Leon Jolux of France and Secretary Jolux Scheyens of Belgium represented the International Federation of Trade Unions during the discussions. De Brouckere made the report. Among those participating to a considerable degree in the discussions were W. Gillies, Noel Baker (Arthur Henderson's Parliamentary Secretary) of Great Britain; Rudolf Breitsch of Germany; Jean Zyromski and Pierre Renaudel of France; Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch of Austria; Philipp

(Continued on Page Seven)

UPTON SINCLAIR'S
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The WET PARADE

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The Chatterbox

Sonnet For Angry Ladies

If you should fall upon a sullen hour
Because your whims are unattended then,
And all the sweets of expectation sour
Because he proves to be like other men
Ardent with desire when unfulfilled
And absent when his hunger is allayed,

Remember wisely when the storm is stilled,
The peace that follows finds you overpaid
For all the fret and petulance you bore
And all the terror that you trembled through.

Then you will greet him softly at the door
And ask him in . . . a proper title to do,
And light the hearth and make the dull air sweet
By breathing balm upon his raw conceit.

FROM this light mood allow me to shunt over to another by the way of a letter from a farmer's wife, whose exceptional talent as a worker's balladist has been mentioned here before. She writes:

"Dear Comrade: It has been a long time since I have annoyed you with my attempts at poetry. I am enclosing one now which I hope you may find appropriate. Surely if the workers ever needed to stand by each other, it is now."

"My heart aches for the striking miners, but there is nothing I can do to help. We are now four in our family, and our farm is too small to pay for itself. Nor can we even make a living at it. We have always depended on outside work to help out. And until two weeks ago there had been no job of any kind. Just now my husband is breaking stone for the township roads at thirty five cents per hour three days a week and glad of it."

"Last fall he worked on another road, a contract job for thirty cents per hour. He worked from six in the morning until dark using the headlights of cars to finish the day's stretch. You see it was contract work and had to be finished within a certain time. The men were ordered to work Sundays as well under penalty of being canned, all for thirty cents an hour and no extra for overtime."

"Protest? Of course, but to what use when there were idle men about who had walked fifty miles, and stood waiting for some work out worker to quit his tools and so take his place."

"The harvest is bountiful in Northern Pennsylvania. The apple trees are burdened to earth with bright fruit, and thousands of bushels will lie on the ground and rot. The same thing is true of peaches and has been true of cherries."

"I would that some of your city dwellers had access to this surplus, to the milk that is fed to hogs, because there is no market. . . ? And today I read about 20,000 Paterson strikers and their children being undernourished."

"If one ponders too much upon the way this crazy system is run he is soon fit for the madhouse. I have probably tired you again, but ever so often I must get rid of my anger, futile as it is at that."

"Anyway, please read the poem. . ."

Shoulder to Shoulder

Let us forget for the moment
Our difference in doctrine and creed,
Let us remember only
Humanity's crying need.

Together we can rescue
Mankind from poverty's plight,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight.

Let us forget for the moment,
Our difference in color and breed,
Let us remember only
That rebels are slave-men freed.

Together we can conquer,
And out of the dark bring light,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight.

Let us forget for the moment,
If rural or urban we be,
But join our legions together
And strike for humanity.

Together we can vanquish
The powers of Gold and Might,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight. . .

Port Allegeny, Pa. FRIEDA FISHER.

May I at this time refer you to that excellent syllabus of the Rand School of Social Science issued for the coming autumn and winter sessions. Those of you who are near enough to New York to attend any or all of the splendid courses offered you this year and next, owe yourselves an educational debt it will be a distinct pleasure to pay. Send to the Rand School office at 7 East 15th Street, New York City, and look over its intellectual and self-educational offerings to your own profit. . .

Nor is this in any sense a subtle way to announce my own course to the aching void. True it is, that for three dollars you are entitled to listen to my students and me for eight lectures on Poetry, how to write, read and enjoy it. Commencing October 8th, Tuesday, evening at 8:30 P. M. But really, I'm just an also-ran alongside of Dave Rosenberg's comprehensive course on literature. I only make this side note in case some of my valued contributors would like to know why I have rejected so many of their creative efforts, and also to afford them the chance to give their judge all the hell they have a mind to.

And judging by my last year's receipts and rejections I would have to hold sessions in the main hall, if my much abused public came to attend en masse.

However, I have vowed to go through with this course, even if it means going back to musty text books and ancient treatises to sharpen up on authoritative facts, figures and judgments. And if one at my age is forced into such servitude, well may the Rand School say . . . "Greater love hath no man. . ."

In all seriousness, however, those of you who like poetry either as an art or for mental recreation, both my plan of self-criticism and discussion will be useful and I hope, pleasurable. . .

—S. A. de Witt.

The main job of American Socialists is to build the Socialist Party. For us with our tiny membership to counsel and guide the Socialist movements in all other countries, with their tens and hundreds of thousands of members almost exclusively of the working class, would be a case of the flea on the hair of the tail of the dog. When we reach the stage of the mastiff in influence and power we will also be so busy with our own responsibilities that the working class abroad will have to do without our advice because we will have no time to give it.

The Work Of The Socialist Congress

By Benedikt Kautsky

Vienna, Aug. 7.

THE fourth congress of the Socialist International, which closed on Aug. 1, was held in the midst of numerous demonstrations and processions showing how closely the international idea is linked with proletarian thought and sentiment today.

The second Olympiad of the Socialist Labor Sport International brought huge masses of foreign workers to Vienna. Most of them came from Germany and other countries bordering on Austria, but there were big delegations from distant lands, those from the Scandinavian and Baltic States deserving special notice. Two countries were represented by emigrés—Italy and Russia. This was due to the fact that these countries had excluded themselves from the circle of civilized European peoples by their dictatorships. The Fascists held aloof from the international fraternal meet of the sportsmen and the Communists tried to disturb it by all kinds of senseless demonstrations which were absolutely nullified by the admirable discipline and inspiring enthusiasm of the masses.

The congress, which was preceded by a two-day international women's conference, was mainly occupied with three problems—the international economic crisis, disarmament and the present political situation. Rare unity was displayed in the handling of all these questions. Of course there were delegations not in agreement with the views of the majority, but their number and importance were too slight for them to be able to exercise any material influence upon the proceedings. The principal opposition to the majority of the congress was furnished by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, which called for the condemnation of coalition, or any other kind of collaboration, with bourgeois parties. This opinion was shared by only some of the smaller groups, such as the Bund (Jewish Socialist League) of Poland, and a few individual members of various delegations. The majority which the I. L. P.'s proposals

Decisions on Coalition, Unemployment, Disarmament, Militarism, Fascism and Control of Industry

were rejected by the congress always was overwhelming.

Unity On Economic Problems
The least differences of opinion were developed during the discussion of the economic problem. Here the Brussels Congress of 1923 and a joint commission of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, which met in Zurich last January, already had done valuable preliminary work.

It was agreed that the congress must demand control of the national and international trusts, abolition of international trade barriers and development of social-political measures against unemployment, particularly through unemployment insurance. There also was unity in the demand for the reduction of working time, although in this case there were some tactical discussions as to the advisability of welcoming the British Labor and International Labor Organization of the League of Nations and at the same time demanding the forty-hour working week. But the congress decided almost unanimously, in favor of both actions, largely in the interest of countries lagging behind in social legislation, where the legal establishment of the eight-hour day would constitute a material improvement over present conditions. But the resolution was also welcomed by countries with well developed social policies, such as Austria and Germany, because it furnished a much firmer basis for the struggle for a further reduction of working time.

The question of wage adjustment, raised in this connection, was also the subject of serious consideration. Some delegates opined that the forty-hour week would be nothing but a kind of organized part-time, unless it were linked with a proportionate increase of the hourly wage rate. Here Peter Grassmann, leader of the German trade unions, supplied an effective answer by pointing out that already the "spreading out" of work means the freeing of hundreds of thousands of German workers from year-long idleness. Furthermore, he drew attention to the fact that at the Paris Congress of 1929,

which had launched the slogan of the eight-hour day, nobody had raised the question of a possible reduction of wages in line with the shortening of the working day, and that, just as the proletariat had won wage raises together with the eight-hour day, so would it succeed in attaining the forty-hour week together with wage improvements through constant struggle with capitalism.

To Prepare for Socialism
Nevertheless, the happenings of the last few months compelled the Congress to supplement the former resolutions. It couldn't stop with merely demanding measures for the reduction of unemployment and for the assurance of the existence of the unemployed. It had to lay down the Socialist solution of the problem, at least in its general outlines. Here is the most important sentence of the resolution on this subject adopted by the Congress:

"The Congress emphatically demands public democratic control of industry, especially of monopolistic combinations of all kinds. The prerequisite for the complete success of such control consists in a change of ownership of the means of production as well as of industrial methods. The Congress sees an important step in this direction and also a transition toward Socialist systematic planned economy in the socialization of the key industries, the establishment of State or cooperative trading monopolies, administered in the interest of the whole people, and the nationalization of the system of banking and credit. It calls upon the Socialist parties to make these demands the central point of the battle against the crisis, to create the conditions necessary for the carrying out of an international public control of industry by realizing them on a national scale, and to prepare the ground for the realization of Socialism."

At the same time the resolution emphatically points out that the struggle against the capitalist crisis coincides with the struggle for the attainment of political power. The shaking of the capitalist system which, as the resolution says, "has shown itself incapable of or-

ganizing industry and of administering the property it has obtained so as to serve the general welfare," has caused wide circles, some outside the proletariat, to doubt the justification for the existence of capitalism, so that the proletariat no longer stands alone in its battle against capitalism. It is necessary to make the best of this chance and to prepare the ground for Socialism.

The commission which prepared the economic resolution was presided over by Cornelius Mertens of Belgium. Robert Grimm of Switzerland presented the report. Among its members were F. M. Wibaut of Holland, Karl Renner of Austria, Toni Sender and Peter Grassmann of Germany, Mary Hamilton of Great Britain and Morris Hillquit and Jacob Panken of the United States.

Differences On Disarmament

There was more difficulty during the discussion in the commission on disarmament. Here it was first of all the Independent Labor Party, but to some extent the Swiss delegation also, that represented views differing from those of the majority of the Congress. While the majority was inclined to assure the British Labor Government of the support of the whole proletariat when it appeared at the disarmament conference in Geneva in 1932, the representatives of the minority took the position that the disarmament conference was sure to be a failure and that, consequently, the International ought to carry on the struggle against war outside the League of Nations and, under certain circumstances, even against the League.

On the other hand, however, it must not be overlooked that there were tendencies within many of the delegations which drew different conclusions than those of the majority from the threatening menace of war. Louis De Brouckere of Belgium certainly voiced the convictions of the great majority of those present when he denounced the increase of armaments as a war menace. In so doing he placed himself in opposition to the official French policy, which demands security first and disarmament afterwards. The Congress declared

Vienna's Homes And New York'shovels

DURING a summer's tour in Europe which included a visit to Italy, Germany, Austria, France and England, Henry J. Rosner, research director of the Socialist Party in New York City, found his visit to Vienna most profitable and inspiring. The Socialist government of the Austrian capital placed one of its chief housing experts at the disposal of Rosner and, together, they made a thorough tour of the new housing developments.

Rosner in this article treats the famous Vienna Socialist housing development from a new point of view. He compares Vienna housing under a Socialist administration with New York housing under Tammany Hall. The analogy might be broadened and almost any city in the United States with its inevitable slum districts might be substituted, in this comparison, for New York City.

By Henry J. Rosner

WORKINGCLASS families are nowhere in the world so well housed as they are in Socialist Vienna. The houses built by the Socialist administration have beauty and comfort which are to be found only in the more expensive sections of American cities.

The chief characteristic of housing built under private enterprise is the overcrowding of the land. The slums of New York have built on 90 to 95 per cent of the land. It is the lack of open space resulting therefrom which makes for dark, dingy, airless, uncomfortable rooms. Most recent regulations limit the building to 70 per cent of the lot, which is a distinct improvement but very far from ideal. Private builders will seldom construct on less than this amount. Vacant land produces no revenue directly. Desiring a maximum of rentable space, there is usually a minimum of open space in houses built under capitalist auspices.

The contrary is the case in the municipal housing developments of Vienna. The maximum building coverage is 30 per cent. In the newest housing, coverage is only 18 per cent. There each house fronts on a huge court covering an area five and one-half times larger than the area of the building. The courtyard is the equivalent of a small city park and playground. The municipality provides a gardener who takes excellent care of the flowers, trees and shrubbery within the courtyard. Benches are also placed about so that the workers can rest in the evenings and refresh themselves after a hard day's labor. A development in New York somewhat comparable to it would be the houses fronting on fashionable Gramercy Park. Gramercy rentals, of course, are so exorbitant that only the well-to-do can afford to live there. Even the model housing in New York has a long way to go before it will reach that low coverage as a standard. The new houses built by the Amalgamated on Grand street, under the state housing law, have a building coverage of only 60 per cent.

Real Estate Speculators Cleared Out. Without the destruction of private landlordism in Vienna in the post-war period these huge courts would have been impossible. Obviously, if land had been very expensive, either the tenants would have had to pay much larger rents in order to enjoy the advantages of large courts which earn no money directly, or else the municipality would have had to bear the cost thereby greatly restricting the building program by transferring funds needed for building to the acquisition of land. Since neither of these alternatives was desirable, the courtyards would have been considerably reduced in size.

Real estate operations in Vienna are no longer profitable because of rent protection laws and heavy land value taxes. The rent protec-

Socialist Administration Building 55,000 Apartments for Workers; One-fourth of City Will Be Rebuilt by 1938; How New York Lags

\$25 a month in the poorer neighborhoods. The New York worker, therefore, pays 25 per cent or more of his income for housing accommodations which are much worse than those enjoyed by his Viennese brother in the municipal houses. New York conditions are typical of the conditions to be found in most of the industrial cities of America.

The secret of these phenomenally low rentals is the elimination of capital charges. The only capital charges met by the tenants are the cost of the land. That is paid by the tenants in installments over a five-year or ten-year period. Land being so cheap, it is not a very great burden. Moreover, as soon as the complete cost of the land has been met, rentals are correspondingly reduced.

The cost of the building is paid out of taxes. The most important tax for this purpose is the so-called housing rate, the entire proceeds of which must be devoted to housing. It is a tax payable by all those occupying a dwelling within the municipal area. Those living in municipal houses also pay this tax. It is a percentage of the pre-war rent. The rates, however, are so steeply reduced that the tax levied on the workingman is almost negligible. The rates run from 2 to 36 per cent. The result is that he pays a \$1.50 tax a year whereas the moderately wealthy pay a tax of \$250 and the extremely wealthy of \$750 annually. Eighty-two per cent of the properties (made up of workingclass dwellings and cheaper business premises) pay only 22 per cent of the total tax whereas the 3,470 most expensive properties, equal to one-half on 1 per cent of the whole, pay about 45 per cent.

Contrast that tax with our system of taxation in New York. Our real estate tax is much the same as the Viennese housing rate since both are paid by the tenant. The Park avenue apartment house, however, pays the same rate as the workingclass home owner in Queens. In Vienna the rich are taxed to provide decent housing for the poor. In New York the worker pays proportionately as much as the capitalist to bear the ordinary expenses of government such as police, the administration of justice, the protection of public health, etc. Just another example of the well-known Tammany charity for the poor.

The Cost of Construction

The cost of building the average apartment in Vienna, exclusive of land cost, is about \$2,100. If similar apartments had been constructed by a private corporation, the rate of return on the capital invested would have been at a minimum 10 per cent. That would have meant an additional rental of \$210 per year. With the elimination of capital charges the tenant pays only \$30 a year. Under private enterprise the rental would have been increased eight-fold. Obviously, this rental would be too much for the ordinary Viennese workingman. For this reason private enterprise has never been able to house the wage worker decently either in Vienna or New York. Only Socialist administration of Vienna has demonstrated.

Socialized housing is also able to achieve more aesthetic effects than

private housing. Even the better housing developments in New York are very frequently an eyesore. Each private builder constructs his house or group of houses regardless of what his neighbor is doing. The law sets up specifications as to safety but none as to beauty. The result is that a particular section will be standardized so that every house looks alike, achieving a barrack-like monotonous effect. This is to be seen in many parts of Queens. Or an attractive looking apartment house is set among dingy, outmoded structures. This is to be seen along Seventh avenue in the 14th street area. The new buildings look incongruous in their settings.

The Socialist houses in Vienna, on the contrary, are pleasing to the eye. They achieve both variety and harmony at the same time. The reason is that a whole section is built simultaneously. The architects selected by a competitive process vary the architecture but take care that each type shall fit into a harmonious picture. Clearly that is possible only where you have large scale socialized housing.

Social Activities Developed

The Socialists of Vienna are also trying to develop a new way of socialized living focusing about the home. There are attached to the houses kindergartens for children ranging from 3 to 6 years. The youngsters are brought there at 7 in the morning and kept until 6 at night. We visited one kindergarten at a place called Sandeleiten which houses 1,500 families. The kindergarten has facilities for 240 children. We all agreed that it was one of the most beautiful places we had ever seen. The walls are decorated with very lovely mural paintings depicting children at play in field, stream and wood. The children are given every opportunity for self-expression. The exhibits indicated that some of the children possess genuine artistic talent. Socialized games teach the children how to live together. The following inscription on the wall of the kindergarten sums up the spirit of the place, "Give to the child beauty. Childhood incidents

can never be wiped out." Professor McGoldrick of Columbia University, whom I met in Vienna, told me that in his judgment the Sandeleiten kindergarten is more beautiful than the one at Horace Mann in New York which is a model kindergarten in the U. S. A. The latter is a private school whose advantages are only enjoyed by children of the middle class and the rich whereas the kindergarten at Sandeleiten is for workingclass children. Undoubtedly, the foundation for leading the good life is being laid in these kindergartens.

Many of these houses have beautiful concert halls. At the Friedrich Austerlitz house, named after the former editor of the Socialist Arbeiter-Zeitung, which houses over 1,000 families, we saw a concert hall seating 500 people. Here political and educational meetings are held. Talking moving pictures were being installed at the time of our visit. We were told that emphasis would be placed on educational films. In the same build-

ing there are four smaller lecture halls in which classes are held in the winter time. All the houses in addition had libraries.

Central laundries are also attached to the larger blocks of houses. We visited one at the Karl Marx house while it was in use. Here the housewife does her fortnightly washing in four or five hours. It was evident that the women found their washing a pleasant chore. They chatted gaily with one another while their work was going on. The back-breaking toll of washing under hand methods is completely eliminated by automatic electric machinery. No more scrubbing on wash boards! Little wonder that they enjoyed their washing!

65,000 New Dwellings to be Built

About 55,000 families are already happily lodged in their new homes. Plans call for the completion of 65,000 dwelling by 1933. In that year's election campaign the Socialist administration will make public plans for another

35,000 homes to be completed within five years. By 1938 then, the administration will have rehoused approximately 400,000 people (assuming four persons to a dwelling). That will be equivalent to 25 per cent of the population of Vienna. In other words, the city of Vienna will have been one-quarter rebuilt along lines of beauty and comfort to be found in no other large city in the world. This will have taken place within fifteen years (the housing began in 1923). It is a most extraordinary achievement when we consider the centuries that have been required for the evolution of a city like Vienna. Remember that it has been done by a workingclass administration for the enjoyment of the workingclass. It is a remarkable demonstration of the application of Socialist principles in the creation of a new way of life for the people.

We had the good fortune to interview the man in charge of construction and administration of the houses, Alderman Weber. Vienna has the parliamentary system of government. The city council elects the Mayor and eight administrative Aldermen, each one of whom is entrusted with a particular phase of municipal administration. The Mayor and the Aldermen make up a cabinet which is responsible to the council.

Alderman Weber was obviously a very high type of man—cultured and socially-minded. From his conversation it was clear that he took the same creative joy in the administration of his housing department that an artist takes in his art. Would that our own public officials took the same interest in the opportunity for public service that public office affords!

Although the houses are administered from above, there is a tenants' committee of 25, which consults frequently with the administration and presents the tenants' point of view. The committee is selected by so-called men of confidence who are elected by each staircase. Cultural activities in the houses are usually taken care of by these men of confidence. Capitalism cannot, of course, be



Carl Josef in the Arbeiter-Zeitung
JIMMY WALKER VIEWS ST. STEPHEN'S TOWER
Walker: "That's a very pretty tower, but where is the roof garden?"

abolished completely from the City Hall. Nevertheless, the Viennese Socialists have shown us what can be done by a city administration to lay the foundation of a new social order within capitalism. They have demonstrated very concretely what the principles of Socialism applied in the field of housing can do to solve the problem of the slum—one of the ugliest and most fearful products of capitalist industrialism.

Cotton Pickers Refuse To Work at Low Pay

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—(FP)—A. W. Green, manager of the U. S. employment service bureau in San Antonio, says that wages paid cotton pickers in the surrounding territories are 50c a hundred pounds or 40c if they do not furnish their own sacks.

Pickers who have worked in the field report that the going rate is 35c, 30c and even 25c a hundred pounds to workers who furnish not only their own sacks but also their own transportation and board. A typical day's pick is 100 to 150 pounds, though the working day lasts from 6 a. m. to 8 p. m. So some plantation owners are advertising in vain for help.

U.M.W.A. Locals Strike Against Short Weight

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—(FP)—Two miners' wives are included in the police roundup of pickets in the Connellsville By-Product Coal Co. mine strike. The mine, a Paisley concern, has been charged with cheating its miners of pay on 25,000 tons of coal in 1930, through shortweight. Judge Baker has taken no action on a request for a grand jury investigation.

The United Mine Workers of America claim more than 4,000 on strike in the Morgantown field, with 6,000 signed up in northern West Virginia. Many took cuts in wage scales under the union agreement with operators.

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The Great Need For Sanity In A Mad World

End the Capitalism That Imprisons Labor Martyrs and That Fosters the Catastrophe of War

By George H. Schoaf

FROM many quarters of the world, not excepting the United States, warnings are sounded by men prominent in public affairs that another war is brewing, that it may break any time, and that when it does it will probably mean the beginning of the end of civilization. The tremendous strides in military science since the World War and the immeasurable superiority of present day military equipment over that of yesterday is so great, it is claimed, that when the engines of mass murder wheels into execution, and fighting starts, whole nations will be battle fields and cities will become charnel houses of the dead. The sufferings of the peoples involved in this terrible catastrophe will be so acute, it is predicted, that for its history will have no parallel. Upon the termination of hostilities, where once flourished an active, if unhappy civilization, there

will succeed a smoking wilderness of ruins into which will move the black and yellow races of the earth.

In all seriousness, the question is asked, what of it?

What is there about our current civilization that is so worth while that it needs must be preserved?

In California, for instance, the fact that two innocent men—Moon and Billings, not forgetting others—are in prison for daring to champion labor's rights, railroaded by mercenary thugs on perjured evidence, with labor failing to rise en masse for their release, is enough to condemn the state and her people to damnation.

According to an ancient maxim, and believed by many, the glory of a state consists of her great men. Who are the great men of California? Who is it that the or-

gans of publicity—the newspapers and the radio—delight to honor? To whom do our college presidents, our ministerial divines, our valorous politicians kowtow with abject and assinine reverence? What, according to our social standard, is the ripe fruit of California civilization?

A gang of industrial thugs and highwaymen residing in Los Angeles and San Francisco, who, by means of an interlocking directorate of crime, dominate this state to her damnation; men who repeatedly have been indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors, but who by virtue of economic consumption continuously escape just punishment. Their names need not be announced. Cry aloud the name of almost any man high in the councils of industry and finance in this state, and you have revealed the unprincipled scoundrel referred to in this connection. Compared to the activities of these conscienceless scoundrels, the peccadilloes of common shoplifters and those charged with rape pale into insignificance.

Should civilization be saved merely that these gentlemen may flourish?

Perish the thought!

Who that cherishes an ounce of honor or has the slightest appreciation of what is just and right will deny that in judicially murdering Sacco and Vanzetti, Massachusetts and her people richly deserve every visitation of terror war can bring, or that Illinois should go free from devastation, with the echo of the Haymarket tragedy ringing round the world? Unquestionably, in the opinion of millions, the Centralia massacre and the continued imprisonment of the victims of that massacre are reasons enough to warrant utter extinction of the State of Washington. Should Pennsylvania be kept back from the pit, and the iron of agony withheld from her people, when her brutal and bloody labor strikes are recalled? Who will regret the passing of Colorado, when Cripple Creek are remembered, or flinch from the destruction of Idaho for perpetrating the atrocities of the Bull Pen? North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee within a year have committed crimes against labor which war can never atone. Every Southern state between the Potomac and the Rio Grande, before the bar of righteous justice, stands condemned for its treatment of the Negro; and what war could do to punish those responsible and bring to their homes the desolation of despair, would be no more than giving justice her due. Equally with the South and as fully responsible, is the North for tolerating this treatment of the Negro, and what the South deserves, the North should get.

As a nation the United States is guilty of the monstrous wrong of sending to jail and keeping him there, Eugene V. Debs, for daring to raise his voice in behalf of peace. For that perfidy, there are a few citizens of the world, still living, who believe that the people of the United States who support the imprisonment of Debs should be visited with a tornado of fire and sword they will never forget. Imprisoned with Debs, and never released, are multiplied thousands of little children chained to the wheels of industry, man and pale from cheap and joyless labor, denied access to education and a more abundant life, and destined to tramp the treadmill of starved existence until they die. Without fear of contradiction it is declared that a civilization which permits a condition such as this merits a fate worse than annihilation through war.

Within the capitalist system are the seeds of destruction which eventually will develop the inevitable collapse. Mechanically and materially, capitalism is fast becoming impossible. The social process, itself, will automatically eliminate the civilization here so stridently condemned. It is to the moral and ethical phase of the question that attention is called.

Private ownership of property for private profit is not only unscientific and unjust, but it is a crime against humanity for which blood only can atone. The fact that one man has to ask another for a job in order to live reflects a condition that challenges every principle and institution in the civilization which permits it; and some day that challenge will be carried forward with a shout, and civilization will have to answer—and pay.

With private ownership is the wages system—a system of cruelty and greed—from which hearts have ached and tears have flowed. In displacing the labor of chattel slavery, wage labor, if anything, has produced an experience bloodier and more revolting. Paraphrasing Lincoln's denunciation with truth it may be exclaimed, that for every drop of blood drawn from the backs of half paid labor by the rich in their mad pursuit of gain, oceans will be exacted from rich and poor alike when the dogs of war are unleashed upon the world.

As much as blame justly attaches to the rich for the reign of graft now devastating the United States, and as much as the rich must share responsibility for social and industrial injustice, the rich are not alone. By their stupidity and indifference the poor are as guilty as the rich, and with the rich must pay the price. With the rich, the poor have refused to profit from the lessons of history; with the rich, the poor are worshipped at the shrine of tradition and allowed themselves to be guided and directed by precedent; with the rich, the poor have clung to their prejudices, closed

their minds to truth and hesitated to hazard an advance. If anything, the poor have outdone the rich in adhering to things as they are and refusing to countenance change. If possible the poor have outstripped the rich in the matter of surrendering to timidity and fear. For not being men like gods, marching from conquest to conquest in the intellectual and material arena, both rich and poor face an impending war that shall engulf them both and punish both alike.

The people of this generation need not lay the flattering unction to their souls that history will not repeat itself, so long as the economic foundations of society are what they are. The causes that led to the overthrow of ancient dynasties abide. Those causes are operating today, and with the inexorable logic of logic they will produce their effect. Nature is not mocked. Whatsoever is sown is reaped. Men and nations have planted the seeds of private property, class stratification, social and economic injustice, and they can not escape the harvest of their planting. Whether of nature, or Jehovah, it is written:

"He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

"He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible wrath; sword; "He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat; "He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat; "His truth is marching on!"

Certainly there is going to be a war. It is as unavoidable as capitalist injustice. The wheels of capitalism are grinding, and was it not natural grist. Why seek to delude ourselves? Shall we, like ostriches, hide our heads in the sand for fear of facing facts? Capitalism depends upon war for its continuance. Another year of peace like that just endured in all probability would witness the collapse of capitalism. The masters in charge will not permit the end to come so tamely and so miserably. Will Soviet Russia constitute the target of attack? That depends upon the manner in which the diplomats of Europe deploy their strategy. Nowhere will the voice of the people be heard in the councils preliminary to an open declaration of war.

In the midst of a world gone mad, behind the armies dying at the front, if enough men and women can be found who have preserved sanity and courage sufficient to start back fires of revolution in the home lands, it is not unlikely that these may develop into rallying centers to which will be drawn sources of strength that will overcome the disasters of war; and from these revolutionary centers may spring the beginning of what may generate the society of the future. It is a hope. If that hope fails, the white races may as well quit, and let their places be taken by Negroes, Chinese and the Islanders of the sea. For scientists are agreed that the next international war will wipe this civilization from the earth.

The Dole System in the Anthracite District

By Louis Stanley

HAZLETON, Pa.—With the certainty that the winter will add to the miseries of the unemployed and partially employed miners of District 7, who together will probably comprise one-third of the coal diggers in the Lehigh anthracite field despite the expected seasonal improvement in production, representatives of the union and other private individuals have created two relief organizations for the district, one in the middle eastern field around Hazleton and the other in the small Panther Creek sub-district from Tamaqua to Nesquehoning, near Mauch Chunk. The objects of the new relief machinery will be to raise funds to alleviate the ever increasing distress and to make it easier for the miners and their friends to demand necessary governmental aid.

Distress in Lehigh Field

The Lehigh coal field to which District 7 corresponds has been extremely hard hit. Orders have been slow and, therefore, collieries have been shut down or placed on a part-time operating basis. Although mechanization of mining has been backward in the Lehigh field because the comparatively great height and the steep pitch or grade of the veins make it difficult to employ the machinery available at the present time there has been enough rationalization of production in other ways to displace large numbers of workers. In the first place, there has been speeding up; in the second place, there have been a growth of central breakers and the abandonment of small breakers for the preparation of coal at each colliery; and in the third place, use of stripping operations whereby coal is stripped from the surface by means of huge steam shovels employing a few men instead of the large number that would be required to mine

Mine Workers Share Major Burden of Relief; Union Officials Feel Government Must Act

equal quantities of coal underground. Throughout District 7 the mountains are cut up by the man-made ravines that mark the strip-pings.

When the depression struck the Lehigh coal field there was practically no private agency to handle the relief work in the region. In Hazleton the United Charities confined itself almost entirely to social work among maladjusted families, while the Salvation Army was able to do but little. In the Panther Valley, which constitutes sub-district 1 of District 7, there was practically no philanthropic work of any kind. Some material relief was dispersed by the Salvation Army and a few individuals in Tamaqua and by small groups in Coaldale and Summit Hill.

Miners' Assessment

In this emergency the United Mine Workers and the Middle Coal Field Poor District, which covers most of District 7 outside of the Panther Creek section and some other part of Schuylkill County, had to bear the brunt of the chief work. District 7 levied three monthly assessments of fifty cents each upon all members who worked at least five days each month. Conditions have become so bad that out of 11,000 miners in District 7 outside of the Panther Creek sub-district less than 6,000 men worked as many as five days a week in July. An increasing need for relief was met by a decreasing amount collected by the relief assessment. During three months the union disbursed \$12,000 in grocery orders to unemployed miners.

The Middle Coal Field Poor District has found the demands made upon it unprecedented. As compared with last year it is now

granting \$1,500 more per month in permanent outdoor relief to more than 500 additional families, while its expenditures for temporary material relief has increased by more than \$2,000 per month distributed among more than 1,000 new cases. The population of the alma house instead of declining this summer grew. The Poor District is undergoing a heavy strain. Panther Valley is handled by the Poor District of Schuylkill County but Schuylkill has been so severely affected by unemployment that there has been but limited help from that source.

Emergency Relief

In view of the crisis that the miners are facing and the dire consequences that the plight of the largest portion of the population in the Lehigh field will bring to business two relief organizations have just been launched, one for Hazleton and vicinity, the other for Panther Valley. The Hazleton venture is connected with the Community Chest of the Middle Coal Field District. When the welfare and social organizations of the Hazleton section federated into the Community Chest last fall for the purpose of conducting joint financial drives, District 7 of the United Mine Workers frowned upon the move chiefly because the Red Cross, which in this locality is primarily a visiting nurses' association, was to take a large share of the receipts. The miners remembered the refusal of the Red Cross to help the striking miners in the soft coal fields. After the Community Chest campaign the district office established a Welfare Department with funds contributed by members of the union to keep a nurse in the field. This year District 7 officials have agreed to

cooperate with the Community Chest in its campaign in November. A large portion of the funds to be collected will be set aside for a new member of the chest, an Emergency Relief Association which was created at a meeting held in Hazleton on August 15. A survey is now being carried on to determine how much money the new relief organization will need. This week the date for the Community Chest Drive was set for the period, November 10 to 18.

In the Panther Creek section a new relief agency came into being as a result of efforts of a committee of prominent private individuals to induce J. B. Warriner, president of the Lehigh Navigation Coal Company, to re-open No. 11 colliery at Tamaqua employing 800 men. The meeting took place on August 21 after officials of the union sub-district had requested the cooperation of the private citizens. President Warriner claimed that the inferior quality of the No. 11 coal in a bad market made it unprofitable to operate the colliery. At a second meeting of the committee the sub-district officers showed that the union had already "distributed to miners' families 475 orders amounting to \$3,047 and that additional funds were urgent. At a third meeting held this week the Panther Valley Relief Association was organized with headquarters in the sub-district office. The guiding committee consists of representatives of the United Mine Worker and of the towns in the Valley, Tamaqua, Coaldale, Lansford, Summit Hill and Nesquehoning. The contract miners will be asked to contribute \$3 per month, the laborers \$1. The companies will cooperate in making the collection effective.

The association of the union of-

Goodbye Summer

HERE comes the autumn. Deep blue skies with high clouds sailing through them, acent of wood-smoke at twilight, the whirr of leaves along the brick walks of small New England towns, the rasp of corn stalks beneath the new moon above the prairies.

And with all this, trouble, folks, oodles of it for you fraternalists. For the cold, clammy hand of depression reaches out even into politics, as far as I am concerned. Three years ago at this time I was running for the high and exalted office of United States Senator. And look at me now. I have tapered down to running for Alderman. Hard times, folks, hard times.

Still, running for Alderman has its compensations. It is good to sit before the fire and think of oneself as a City Father of the greatest city in the world—numerically, I mean.

Also it was pretty provident of me to save up running for Alderman for a rainy day. Now that there is a deluge, it will come in handy, that five thousand a year. Five thousand a year for going down to City Hall every Tuesday except when there is a ball-game, a good horse race, or it rains, or it snows, or it is hot, or muggy, or foggy or whatever. And all you have to know, if you are a Tammany Alderman is just one little word—"Yes."

If, by any freak of nature, you are a Republican Alderman in New York, you have to reverse your usual Party role and say, "No." But you always say it in a still, small voice so as not to rile your Democratic buddies across the way.

And anyhow it isn't so bad going down to the City Hall once in awhile. You can meet the boys and hang around the corridor and kid the sappy reformers and put the double-deed, deepest black jody on Seabury, the old so-and-so. That is, you do all this, if you are an old line Alderman.

And then you get passes to the ball games and the races and when you promenade the avenue, people bow to you and say, "Good evening, Alderman." Especially people whose relatives are gun-fighters, pick-pockets and racketeers, because there is always the chance that it may be necessary to ask you to get little Willie, (who was training to be an altar-boy but who was caught climbing over the transom of the nearby tailor-shop) out of the house-gown.

Speaking of altar-boys, we have noticed a slight inconsistency on the part of our Catholic friends up New York State. You remember what the Pope said about Socialism in his famed encyclical. He said that no one could be a good Catholic and a Socialist. Yet up in Utica and Lackawanna good, kosher Democratic Catholics are raising Heaven and Hell in their frantic endeavors to get on the Socialist ticket. I wonder if anybody has told the Pope about this and if so, what he will have to say the next time he goes out riding on his shiny, new encyclical.

Whoever does the real work of editing "The American Photo-Engraver," of which deeply intellectual publication Matt Woll is official editor, will have his hand ripped off him the next time Matt gets around to the office. On page 1004 of the September issue of "The Photo-Engraver" there is a reprint of an article from the Philadelphia Labor Record, headed, "What is a Dole?" The writer says that "America's soup and bread lines really are the 'dole' of charity and not of legislation" and proceeds to point out the difference between the "dole" and unemployment insurance with words of high praise for the latter system. On page 1022 of the same issue under the heading, "Don't fool or be fooled," Matt spits on his pencil and tears off an editorial in which he says, "Those who argue for unemployment insurance have a sentimental advantage. It is easy to argue for alleviation of suffering. But it is utterly foolish to argue for a method of alleviation that can only end in disaster and more acute misery. Unemployment must be abolished, not coddled and nursed. Unemployment insurance could be made to work and survive it would constitute the most powerful ally of those whose object is continued exploitation." Let's see. Isn't there an outfit called "The Union Labor Life Insurance Company?" And isn't the President of this, one Matt Woll, salary unknown? And if the government should go into the insurance field, mightn't that start dangerous precedents? You're right. Go to the head of your class.

We have a flat taste in our mouth and a soggy feeling of gloom. We have just finished reading the Labor Day speeches of Brothers Green, Lewis et al. The New York Times printed them in the space that is usually reserved for the Sunday sermon. An appropriate place. We haven't yet decided which is the greater depressant. A sermon by the Reverend Dr. Omigod on "Gin, Jazz and Autos, Cause of Latterday Godlessness" or a drool by Pop Green on, "Wage Cuts Must Not Go On."

We have embarked upon an ambitious undertaking. We want to write a book on "Work." It's a lot easier to write about than to do work. But just the same we figure that this might be a real contribution if it were done thoroughly and well. We mean a sort of running history of work through the ages. All the general outlines of history, even the most modern, and the huge bulk of economic writings, somehow seem to leave out of the picture just what men and women did from the dawn days clear down to the present to keep alive and out of the wet. And how what they did affected their thinking and acting, colored all their days and all their dreams. I know of course, the references in Marx to the various developments which preceded modern industrialism. I know how brilliantly he documented his conception of the materialistic basis of history. But since his time, archaeologists and anthropologists, biologists and psychologists and the researchers and diggers into obscure corners of history have unearthed a great wealth of material on the ways of work. It will be a fascinating job to get some of that between book covers. If any of you boys and girls have any suggestions for making this book something worth while shoot them along to me. I'm just starting out and while I know that a lot of it will be tough sledding, I still think it can be done, if not by me, by someone more competent. And the result should be a book that would button down a lot of things we all suspect but can't put our hands on.

Now we're off to the Camp Eden Conference of the youngsters who are rarin' to go into the heat of the struggle this coming winter. We have looked forward to this conference for many moons. If it doesn't come out ahead of all the many conferences we have attended this past Summer, we miss our guess.

In our humble and by no means infallible judgment what is said and done at Camp Eden may have a most important bearing upon the future of every individual attendant and the Party as well. One of the charms of this conference is that it doesn't cost a young fortune to get there and back. See you at Eden.

—McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondents

British Labor Back to Socialism

By Fred Henderson

I AM breaking into the usual monthly interval between these letters, for reasons which will be obvious to you. For the Big Thing has happened. It has happened with dramatic suddenness, and with a completeness that almost takes one's breath away. Between the Friday and Monday of a single week-end—with Parliament scattered on holiday and no visible sign of the coming of the crisis until it was upon us and over at a stroke—the whole political situation in Britain has been transformed, and we are in a new world of changed outlooks. If your capitalist press is anything like ours, you will probably know the facts as they show on the surface of things, but it is very doubtful whether you will have got the truth of the matter, or any real appreciation of what it means for the future of the Labor movement here.

In a sense, of course, it is not a thing which has come about suddenly. You remember Shelley's great verse?

"The sun-awakened avalanche, whose mass, Thrice sifted by the storm, had gathered there— Flashed after flake—in heaven-declining winds As thought on thought is piled, till some great truth Is loosened, and the nations echo round."

The metaphor applies to this, as it does to all big things. Their climax may be generally sudden and eruptive; but there has always been a long process of flake piled on flake in preparation for the avalanche. And the present new situation cannot be seen clearly or understood aright without dwelling for a moment on the preparatory process, and how the forces, now let loose have been piled up in readiness for their hour of decisive action.

A Glance Backward
During the past year or more my letters, now that one looks back upon the period of office of the Labor Government in the light of these closing scenes in its history, seem to have been a continuous record of flake piling on flake to some such end as has now happened. Just to throw your mind back in a brief review of these two years, beginning with the last General Election; the declaration of Socialist policy; the assurance to the people in "Labor and the Nation" that our purpose was not to patch up a collapsing capitalism, but to bring about the change-over to the Cooperative Commonwealth; the great response of the nation to that appeal, sending us to Parliament as the strongest single party, and within but a few votes of an absolute majority in the British Parliament; and then,

Devitalizing Subservience to Capitalist Policies Ended by MacDonald Bolt From Party

the two years of steady disillusionment as we discovered that the price of clinging to office without a majority to make our own purposes effective was the disheartening of the rank and file of our workers who had hoped so much and found so little coming of it. By-election after by-election has shown the decline of our strength in the country. And as our hold on the nation's mind has weakened, the insolence of our capitalist opponents has grown. During the past year they seem to have become convinced that the Labor Government was so determined to hang on to office at all costs that any capitalist policy could be forced upon them under threat of a Parliamentary defeat. The development of the attack on wages and on social services became more and more intense; and the capitalist and finance interests apparently came to the conclusion that there was no limit to what they could get by such pressure, and that they might as well go out for the whole hog.

Working through a democratic system of political election, the capitalist parties, with the fear of the working-class elector in their minds, would probably not have dared to do through a Government of their own what they decided to demand from the Labor Government. The calculation evidently was that with a Labor Government taking the odium of making all-round reductions in the standards and amenities of working-class life, these desired ends could be achieved more safely than if an avowed capitalist Government had set about the task. And so, in the name of national economy, the demand was made for what, in effect, was nothing other than a wholesale surrender of all our purposes, delivered practically as an ultimatum by the finance interests to the heads of the Labor Government.

The calculation that MacDonald and Snowden would fall to it turned out to be correct. But the further calculation that MacDonald and Snowden could carry the rest of the Government with them in this scared surrender to finance, and that the Government would as usual be able to command the lame acquiescence of the general Parliamentary party, miscarried. The limit had been reached and overstepped. The long intolerable strain of supporting capitalist policies against our own purposes for the sake of office had reached a breaking-point.

Labor's Patience Ends
My letters during the past year have, I think, made it clear to you that this support from the general Parliamentary party to the Government has never been a willing support. It has been given with



THE NEW BRITISH CABINET. As "Het Volk," organ of the Dutch Socialists, views the new "national government" of Great Britain headed by former Labor Premier, Ramsay MacDonald.

much grumbling and questioning; and in the main has been a sacrifice to a mistaken idea that party loyalty demanded support for men and Governments rather than for ideas, principles, and the real things we stand for. But this latest demand was too much. It involved wage-cuts all round, depriving the unemployed of a percentage of their scanty allowance, reducing social services; and generally making the Labor Government the political agent of the employers' federations and the banking interests in a complete reversal of all its own purposes.

And so we come to the dramatic swing of the events of the last week-end. With that story the ordinary newspapers will have made you familiar; MacDonald's and Snowden's isolation in a Cabinet which they could not carry with them; the end of the Labor Government; and the reappearance of MacDonald as head of a new Conservative and Liberal coalition government formed for the express purpose of carrying out the lowering of working-class standards of life.

Into all the detail of that drama I need not enter. The effective comment upon it, the thing which sums up its meaning most clearly, is the remark made by one of the ex-members of the Labor Government on leaving office: "The Labor Party has saved its soul."

For indeed that is what has happened. When MacDonald's Premiership in a new Coalition Govern-

ment was announced, it was hailed for a day or two in the reactionary Press as a new "National" Government, representing all parties. That dream of the capitalists of roping Labor into an unholy combination for attacking working-class life has been thwarted. It was the whole purpose of the combination. That there might be a revolting section of the Labor party, small and insignificant enough to be called a mere faction, was expected; but the reckoning was that the party in the main would go with MacDonald, and that the resulting Government could have been claimed to be a Government in which Labor was consenting to the policy of making the whole national life subservient to the interests of finance. And MacDonald himself shared that expectation.

Never was a scheme more completely upset. The capitalist interests have got MacDonald and Snowden; but, thank heaven, not the Labor Party. On the contrary, the scheme which was to wipe out party on this finance issue has only succeeded in putting the Labor Party into a more clearly authentic and fighting position than ever before. Instead of confusing the national mind into believing that finance is a national issue about which no real controversy arises in defense of its claims, what has happened is the creation, for the first time, of the real cleavage in the national mind between the claims of finance to be supreme over human life, and the claim on

behalf of human life that finance must be made the servant instead of the master of human needs.

On this issue the Labor Party comes out of the crisis solid and unbroken. There is not even a sufficient following for MacDonald to be described as a split in the Party. At the joint meeting of the three bodies responsible for Labor Party policy—the Trades Union Executive, the Executive of the Labor Party, and the representative committee of the Parliamentary group—held the day after the announcement of the new Government, the declaration of a united Labor front against the Wage-cutting and Social-service Destruction Government was adopted with complete unanimity.

Labor's Chains Broken

The Labor Party has achieved its release from the living death of the past two years. The intolerable suppression of its own purposes is over and done with. It stands at last unfettered, and with its own real fight to wage on a clear issue. Unfettered and purged of the influences which fettered it. It is an occasion for jubilation. No such satisfactory ending of the impossible position into which we had drifted seemed conceivable. The best that many of us had dared to hope for during the past year was that we should get out of office and devote the next few years to building up again what the past two years had lost for us. And now, almost by a miracle, the ending of our minority office has taken place in such a fashion as to provide in itself, the occasion for an immediate and unmistakable rally of our old strength.

At the moment of writing, the thing which impresses one most of all is the new courage and hope which one finds expressed everywhere amongst those of our own people who have been losing hope and confidence during the two disheartening years of sterile office. The things that have been crippling us, the pursuit of office for the sake of office, the damping down of all the working enthusiasm of the rank and file, these things are now things of the past, and the Party emerges from them unbroken to a degree which would have seemed incredible only a week or two ago. It has lost office by upholding its faith; and already finds, perhaps a little to its own surprise, that it has lost nothing but what were its chains, and that it is gaining a world of new strength and of re-born vitality. It has all its enemies in one camp; and it has a real fighting issue entrusted to it. The impasse into which we had drifted could not have been more effectively broken. The summing-up of the whole matter is, I repeat, that the soul of the Labor movement here has been saved.

For one man to do good to another is good for both. For one man to do ill to another is bad for both.—Indian Proverb.

The Work Of The Socialist Congress

By Benedikt Kautsky

Vienna, Aug. 7.

THE fourth congress of the Socialist International, which closed on Aug. 1, was held in the midst of numerous demonstrations and processions showing how close to the international idea is linked with proletarian thought and sentiment today.

The second Olympiad of the Socialist Labor Sport International brought huge masses of foreign workers to Vienna. Most of them came from Germany and other countries bordering on Austria, but there were big delegations from distant lands, those from the Scandinavian and Baltic States deserving special notice. Two countries were represented by emigres—Italy and Russia. This was due to the fact that these countries had excluded themselves from the circle of civilized European peoples by their dictatorships. The Fascists held aloof from the international fraternal meet of the sportsmen and the Communists tried to disturb it by all kinds of senseless demonstrations which were absolutely nullified by the admirable discipline and inspiring enthusiasm of the masses.

The congress, which was preceded by a two-day international women's conference, was mainly occupied with three problems—the international economic crisis, disarmament and the present political situation. Rare unity was displayed in the handling of all these questions. Of course there were delegations not in agreement with the views of the majority, but their number and importance were too slight for them to be able to exercise any material influence upon the proceedings. The principal opposition to the majority of the congress was furnished by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, which called for the condemnation of coalition, or any other kind of collaboration, with bourgeois parties. This opinion was shared by only some of the smaller groups, such as the Bund (Jewish Socialist League) of Poland, and a few individual members of various delegations. The majority

Decisions on Coalition, Unemployment, Disarmament, Militarism, Fascism and Control of Industry

were rejected by the congress always was overwhelming.

Unity On Economic Problems
The least differences of opinion were developed during the discussion of the economic problem. Here the Brussels Congress of 1928 and a joint commission of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, which met in Zurich last January, already had done valuable preliminary work.

It was agreed that the congress must demand control of the national and international trusts, abolition of international trade barriers and development of social-political measures against unemployment, particularly through unemployment insurance. There also was unity in the demand for the reduction of working time, although in this case there were some tactical discussions as to the advisability of welcoming the British Labor and International Labor Organization of the League of Nations and at the same time demanding the forty-hour working week. But the Congress decided almost unanimously, in favor of both actions, largely in the interest of countries lagging behind in social legislation, where the legal establishment of the eight-hour day would constitute a material improvement over present conditions. But the resolution was also welcomed by countries with well-developed social policies, such as Austria and Germany, because it would furnish a much firmer basis for the struggle for a further reduction of working time.

The question of wage adjustment, raised in this connection, was also the subject of serious consideration. Some delegates opined that the forty-hour week would be nothing but a kind of organized part-time, unless it were linked with a proportionate increase of the hourly wage rate. Here Peter Grassmann, leader of the German trade unions, supplied an effective answer by pointing out that already the "spreading out" of work meant the freeing of hundreds of thousands of German workers from year-long idleness. Furthermore, he drew attention to the fact that at the Paris Congress of 1929,

which had launched the slogan of the eight-hour day, nobody had raised the question of a possible reduction of wages in line with the shortening of the working day, and that, just as the proletariat had won wage raises together with the eight-hour day, so would it succeed in attaining the forty-hour week, together with wage improvements through constant struggle with capitalism.

To Prepare for Socialism
Nevertheless, the happenings of the last few months compelled the Congress to supplement the former resolutions. It couldn't stop with merely demanding measures for the reduction of unemployment and for the assurance of the existence of the unemployed. It had to lay down the Socialist solution of the problem, at least in its general outlines. Here is the most important sentence of the resolution on this subject adopted by the Congress:

"The Congress emphatically demands public, democratic control of industry, especially of monopolistic combinations of all kinds. The prerequisite for the complete success of such control consists in a change of ownership of the means of production as well as of industrial methods. The Congress sees an important step in this direction and also a transition toward Socialist systematic planned economy in the socialization of the key industries, the establishment of State or cooperative trading monopolies, administered in the interest of the whole people, and the nationalization of the system of banking and credit. It calls upon the Socialist parties to make these demands the central point of the battle against the crisis, to create the conditions necessary for the carrying out of an international public control of industry by realizing them on a national scale, and to prepare the ground for the realization of Socialism."

At the same time the resolution emphatically points out that the struggle against the capitalist crisis coincides with the struggle for the attainment of political power. The shaking of the capitalist system which, as the resolution says, "has shown itself incapable of or-

ganizing industry and of administering the property it has obtained so as to serve the general welfare," has caused wide circles, some outside the proletariat, to doubt the justification for the existence of capitalism, so that the proletariat no longer stands alone in its battle against capitalism. It is necessary to make the best of this chance and to prepare the ground for Socialism.

The commission which prepared the economic resolution was presided over by Cornelius Mertens of Belgium. Robert Grimm of Switzerland presented the report. Among its members were F. M. Wibaut of Holland, Karl Renner of Austria, Toni Sender and Peter Grassmann of Germany, Mary Hamilton of Great Britain and Morris Hillquit and Jacob Panken of the United States.

Differences On Disarmament
There was more difficulty during the discussion in the commission on disarmament. Here it was first of all the Independent Labor Party, but to some extent the Swiss delegation also, that represented views differing from those of the majority of the Congress. While the majority was inclined to assure the British Labor Government of the support of the whole proletariat when it appeared at the disarmament conference in Geneva in 1932, the representatives of the minority took the position that the disarmament conference was sure to be a failure and that, consequently, the International ought to carry on the struggle against war outside the League of Nations and, under certain circumstances, even against the League.

On the other hand, however, it must not be overlooked that there were tendencies within many of the delegations which drew different conclusions than those of the majority from the threatening menace of war. Louis De Brouckere of Belgium certainly voiced the convictions of the great majority of those present when he denounced the increase of armaments as a war menace. In so doing he placed himself in opposition to the official French policy, which demands security first and disarmament afterwards. The Congress declared

for the reduction of armaments as a prerequisite for security.

The essential part of the resolution adopted by the Congress calls for an "immediate and general reduction of armaments" covering all sorts of war equipment. Chemical and aerial warfare must be made impossible.

In opposition to this standpoint, some delegates held national defense justifiable. They wanted to see the treaties of peace maintained in their existing form, at least for the present, because any shaking of the system at this moment would only mean a heightening of the war danger. No matter how poor an opinion these comrades have of the European situation created by the Treaty of Versailles, still they see no advantages in a change at this time.

The decision arrived at in conference represented a compromise making it possible for nearly all parties, with the exception of the Independent Labor Party, to vote for the resolution presented to the Congress. The commission on disarmament was presided over by J. W. Albarada of Holland. Vice President Leon Joubaux of France and Secretary Wouter Schevelens of Belgium represented the International Federation of Trade Unions during the discussions. De Brouckere made the report. Among those participating to a considerable degree in the discussions were W. Gillies, Noel Baker (Arthur Henderson's Parliamentary Secretary) of Great Britain; Rudolf Breitschied and Wilhelm Dittmann of Germany; Jean Zyromski and Pierre Renaudel of France; Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch of Austria; Filippo

(Continued on Page Seven)

UPTON SINCLAIR'S greatest novel The WET PARADE
Just published, \$2.50
FARRAR & RINEHART
Publishers, 9 East 41st Street, New York

The Chatterbox

Sonnet For Angry Ladies

If you should fall upon a sullen hour
Because your whims are unattended then,
And all the sweets of expectation sour
Because he proves to be like other men
Ardent with desire when unfulfilled
And absent when his hunger is allayed,

Remember wisely when the storm is stilled,
The peace that follows finds you overpaid
For all the fret and petulance you bore
And all the terror that you trembled through.

Then you will greet him softly at the door
And ask him in . . . a proper thing to do,
And light the hearth and make the dull air sweet
By breathing balm upon his raw conceit.

FROM this light mood allow me to shunt over to another by the way of a letter from a farmer's wife, whose exceptional talent as a worker's balladist has been mentioned here before. She writes:

"Dear Comrade: It has been a long time since I have annoyed you with my attempts at poetry. I am enclosing one now which I hope you may find appropriate. Surely if the workers ever needed to stand by each other, it is now.

"My heart aches for the striking miners, but there is nothing I can do to help. We are now four in our family, and our farm is too small to pay for itself. Nor can we even make a living at it. We have always depended on outside work to help out. And until two weeks ago there had been no job of any kind. Just now my husband is breaking stone for the township roads at thirty five cents per hour three days a week and glad of it.

"Last fall he worked on another road, a contract job for thirty cents per hour. He worked from six in the morning until dark using the headlights of cars to finish the day's stretch. You see it was contract work and had to be finished within a certain time. The men were ordered to work Sundays as well under penalty of being canned, all for thirty cents an hour and no extra for overtime.

"Protest? Of course, but to what use when there were idle men about who had walked fifty miles, and stood waiting for some worn out worker to quit his tools and so take his place.

"The harvest is bountiful in Northern Pennsylvania. The apple trees are burdened to earth with bright fruit, and thousands of bushels will lie on the ground and rot. The same thing is true of peaches and has been true of cherries.

"I would that some of your city dwellers had access to this surplus, to the milk that is fed to hogs, because there is no market. . . ? And today I read about 20,000 Paterson strikers and their children being undernourished.

"If one ponders too much upon the way this crazy system is run he is soon fit for the madhouse. I have probably tired you again, but ever so often I must get rid of my anger, futile as it is at that.

"Anyway, please read the poem. . ."

Shoulder to Shoulder

Let us forget for the moment
Our difference in doctrine and creed.
Let us remember only
Humanity's crying need.

Together we can rescue
Mankind from poverty's plight,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight.

Let us forget for the moment,
Our difference in color and breed,
Let us remember only
That rebels are slave-men freed.

Together we can conquer,
And out of the dark bring light,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight.

Let us forget for the moment,
If rural or urban we be,
But join our legions together
And strike for humanity.

Together we can conquer
The powers of Gold and Might,
Shoulder to shoulder, comrades,
And into the fight.

Port Allegheny, Pa. FRIEDA FISHER.

May I at this time refer you to that excellent syllabus of the Rand School of Social Science issued for the coming autumn and winter seasons. Those of you who are near enough to New York to attend any or all of the splendid courses offered you this year and next, owe yourselves an educational debt it will be a distinct pleasure to pay. Send to the Rand School office at 7 East 15th Street, New York City, and look over its intellectual and self-educational offerings to your own profit. . . .

Nor is this in any sense a subtle way to announce my own course to the aching voids. True it is, that for three dollars you are entitled to listen to my students and me for eight lectures on Poetry, how to write, read and enjoy it. Commencing October 6th, Tuesday, evening at 8:30 P. M. But really, I'm just an also-ran alongside of Dave Berenberg's comprehensive course on literature. I only make this side note in case some of my valued contributors would like to know why I have rejected so many of their creative efforts, and also to afford them the chance to give their judge all the hell they have a mind to.

And judging by my last year's receipts and rejections I would have to hold sessions in the main hall, if my much abused public came to attend en masse.

However, I have vowed to go through with this course, even if it means going back to musty text books and ancient treatises to sharpen up on authoritative facts, figures and judgments. And if one at my age is forced into such servitude, well may the Rand School say . . . "Greater love hath no man. . ."

In all seriousness, however, those of you who like poetry either as an art or for mental recreation, both my plan of self-criticism and discussion will be useful and I hope, pleasurable. . . .
—S. A. de Witt.

The main job of American Socialists is to build the Socialist Party. For us with our tiny membership to counsel and guide the Socialist movements in all other countries, with their tens and hundreds of thousands of members almost exclusively of the working class, would be a case of the flea on the hair of the tail of the dog. When we reach the stage of the mastiff in influence and power we will also be so busy with our own responsibilities that the working class abroad will have to do without our advice because we will have no time to give it.

"Karamazov" Opens the Tobis-Vanderbilt

The Gale Quadruplets



Again the famous quadruplets appear in a George White venture; this time in his famous "Scandals," a new edition of which opens at the Apollo this Monday evening.

"The Guardsman" With Lunt and Fontanne at The Astor Has a Fine Surrounding Program

The supplementary program at the Astor Theatre where "The Guardsman" is now on view, will comprise a Laurel-Hardy comedy, "Come Clean," and a new release of the Sport Champion series, "Wild and Woolly." In addition to the latest issue of Hearst Metro-tone News, "The Guardsman," a picture of the same name, is the initial screen vehicle for Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, stars of the Theatre Guild for many years, and was directed by Sidney Franklin at the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios.

"Waterloo Bridge" Moves to Cameo—Finely Acted and Directed Picture

Mae Clarke, who plays the lead in "Waterloo Bridge" now at the RKO Cameo Theatre, is coming out of the engagement with the prospect of being one of the most talented of the newer stars of the screen. The public seems tremendously impressed with her work, and now comes Robert E. Sherwood, the author declaring her interpretation of the role ideal. The story concerns the adventures of an American chorus girl in London during the war. The breaks go against her, and from artist model she finally becomes an almost hardened girl of the streets. Making the last stand of the evening, on Waterloo Bridge, where all soldiers on leave are bound to pass, an air raid throws her with a young Canadian soldier, with whom she later falls in love. He sees her in a glorified role that she attempts to live up to, fooling only him, however, as develops when he takes her to meet his family. Kent Douglass plays opposite Miss Clarke, with a supporting cast which includes Doris Lloyd, Enid Bennett, Frederic Kerr, Ethel Griffies, Bette Davis and Rita Carlisle. James Whale, who directed "Journey's End," is responsible for the direction.

"A Student Song of Heidelberg" Has Its American Premiere At Ufa Cosmopolitan

For the first time in a feature production by UFA, fifty per cent of the leading parts are given over to American roles in "A Student Song of Heidelberg," the European musical comedy success which has its American premiere at the Ufa Cosmopolitan Theatre, to-day. Both dialogue and plot link New York with Heidelberg in the new Ufa film and sound romance. Miss Betty Bird, light opera star, who is making her debut in sound pictures, plays the part of a New York girl who has gone to the famous university town to complete her education, including the learning of the German language. Her father, played by Ernst Stahl-Nachbaur, and a New York bill collector, impersonated by the famous German comedian Hermann Blass, complete the English-speaking trilogy in a series of scenes which make the plot perfectly comprehensible to a non-German speaking theatre-goer.

ERLANGER'S (Even. 8:30, Mats. 2:30, Wed. & Sat. 2:30) Fall & Winter Season of the CIVIC LIGHT OPERA COMPANY FRANK LEHAR'S "The Merry Widow" Greatest of all operettas with DONALD BRIAN as "PRINCE DANILO" Roy Cropper, Will Philbrick, Manilla Powers, Edward Orchard, Milton Tully, Dean Dickens, William White. And featuring the immortal "Merry Widow" Waltz. Nights, 50c to \$2.50. Wed. Mat. 50c. Sat. Mat. 50c. In Preparation "THE CHOCOLATE SOLDIER" with Charles Purcell

EARL CARROLL VANITIES 75 OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL GIRLS IN THE WORLD at the EARL CARROLL THEATRE, 30 St. SEATS FOR FIRST 7 WEEKS PROMPT ATTENTION TO MAIL ORDERS.

Heywood Broun Shoot the Works! "A swell show"—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror. "I shall go to 'Shoot the Works' again and again."—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune. Dances staged by Johnny Boyle at the George M. Cohan Theatre BROADWAY AT 42ND STREET Even. 8:30, \$1 to \$3; Mat. Sat., \$1 to \$5; Midnight Show Wednesday.

In Highly Praised Film at the Cameo



R. E. Sherwood's successful play "Waterloo Bridge" has been picture-ized and is now at the Cameo. Mae Clarke has the feminine lead and is supported by an able cast.

Dostoyevsky's "Karamazov" to Open Tobis Vanderbilt Theatre on Friday, Sept. 18—Fritz Kortner and Fine Cast in German Film

Dostoyevsky has been honored in many ways. He died commanding the love and respect of his country. In death he lives commanding the honor and homage of literate people the world over. His works have been translated into every language. His greatest book "The Brothers Karamazov" was made into a triumphant play produced a few years ago by The Theatre Guild. Now Dostoyevsky, who lived in the shadow of disease, hounded by poverty, willfully misunderstood by the oppressive powers of Imperial Russia; Dostoyevsky, who only won respect in the last few months of his life—now Dostoyevsky lives again in a third medium. Having triumphed in print and on the stage; the Germans have translated Dostoyevsky into talking pictures... a medium never even dreamed of when he worked against the greatest odds a writer ever had to contend with. Yes, Dostoyevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov" has been made into a talking picture called "Karamazov." The name has not been changed to give it any greater "box office value" than the name.

Geo. White's "Scandals" Opens Monday Evening At the Apollo Theatre

The eleventh edition of George White's "Scandals" will open Monday evening, September 14th, at the Apollo Theatre. Heading the cast are Rudy Vallee, Ethel Merman, Willie and Eugene Howard, Everett Marshall, Ray Bolger, the Gale Quadruplets, the Loomis Sisters, Barbara Blair and Ethel Barrymore Colt.

New York Salutes Its New Sensation!

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

"AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY" Based on Theodore Dreiser's novel with Phillips Holmes, Sylvia Sydney and Frances Dee. Directed by Josef von Sternberg.

CRITERION Broadway at 44th

"Bad Girl" Now at "Hipp," Healy and Cross Top Stage Bill

After three sensational weeks on Broadway "Bad Girl" with James Dunn and Sally Eilers moves to the Hippodrome where coupled with a triple headline vaudeville show, makes this week a banner one for the big Sixth Avenue playhouse. The public's acclaim of this screen production of Vina Delmar's novel of impulsive and daring youth has elevated its leading characters to immediate stardom.

Ed Healy and Allan Cross offering the smartest styles in songs; Medley and Duprey serving a heaping dish of fun and the Rimaca, a colorful Cuban dance team accompanied by their Havana Rumba Orchestra top the inviting eight act vaudeville program. The remainder of the bill consists of Lou Kay with Margaret Miller; Al Gordon's comedy canines; Terrell and Fawcett, the fall guys; the Lordens treading trampoline lane and Doris Gorton with Cannon and Lee.

Wheeler and Woolsey Are Together Again in "Caught Plastered" at The Mayfair and Albee

"Caught Plastered," an RKO Radio feature comedy, marking the reunion of Robert Woolsey and Bert Wheeler, has its east coast premiere at the Mayfair Theatre and at the Albee Theatre to-day. After each having been solo-starred, their latest comedy is reported to be bubbling over with their natural enthusiasm at being together again.

On the stage at the RKO-Albee Theatre, Bessie Love, known on the stage as "Hollywood's original talking and singing screen star," headlines five leading act of RKO vaudeville.

In the New Ufa Film at the Cosmopolitan



Betty Bird in a revue from "Songs of Heidelberg" the new Ufa film which has its first American showing at the Cosmopolitan Theatre.

"Das Cabinet des Dr. Larifari," Satire on the Movies, at Little Carnegie Playhouse

Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, which already enjoys the distinction of having presented our town with many a cinematic novelty, has again offered an innovation in its new German film, "Das Cabinet des Dr. Larifari," which had its premiere before a distinguished audience last Thursday evening. This picture is claimed to be the first travesty on the

talkies since the inception of the audible screen, and according to advance reports, it misses none of the potent opportunities of its subject. Ranging from broad farce and even slapstick comedy to a sly spoofing of well-known contemporaries, the picture, directed by Robert Wohlmut, is said to include numerous examples of acoustical as well as optical humor and to be readily understandable even to those whose knowledge of German is limited to "ja" and "ein Glas Bier."

Paul Morgan and Max Hansen are featured in "Das Cabinet" along with Carl Jooken, Marianne Stanior and Vienna's Polly Moran, Gisela Werberzik.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE MAYFAIR THEATRE RUN OF THIS SENSATIONAL PICTURE WILL BE HELD AT THIS THEATRE

WATERLOO BRIDGE

A UNIVERSAL PICTURE WITH MAE CLARKE KENT DOUGLASS

R K O CAMEO 42nd St. & B'way ALWAYS COOL All Seats to 1 p.m. 35c

WILLY FORST and BETTY BIRD in UFA's European Musical Hit **UFA Cosmopolitan Theatre** Broadway at 39th Street

ROXY The World's Theatre 7th Av. & 59 St. Janet GAYNOR Charles FARRELL in **Merely Mary Ann** From ISRAEL ZANGWILL'S play with HENRY MERCEUR-J. M. KERRIGAN A Fox Picture Directed by Henry King —ON THE STAGE— "BLUES" in 4 scenes, Jascha Zayde, Patricia Bowman—Ensemble

FAIRBANKS JR. "I Like Your Nerve" with LORETTA YOUNG New York and Brooklyn **STRANDS** N. Y. 35c to 1 P. M. Mon. to Fri.

TRIUMPH! The aristocrats of the American stage are winning new plaudits on Broadway—

Alfred LUNT Lynn FONTANNE By courtesy of the Theatre Guild, Inc. In a picture of their greatest stage success

The GUARDSMAN

METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER'S distinguished presentation with ROLAND YOUNG—ZASU PITTS. From the play by Ferenc Molnar. Screen play by Ernest Vajda. Directed by SIDNEY FRANKLIN.

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NEW LEADER

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

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of opinion, but a newspaper of action. It is not a newspaper of the past, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the few, but a newspaper of the many. It is not a newspaper of the rich, but a newspaper of the poor. It is not a newspaper of the privileged, but a newspaper of the oppressed. It is not a newspaper of the past, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the few, but a newspaper of the many. It is not a newspaper of the rich, but a newspaper of the poor. It is not a newspaper of the privileged, but a newspaper of the oppressed.

SALE: SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1931

Our Socialist Job

SOCIALISTS may well give consideration to the new situation that confronts them in this country. Throughout the post-war years the masses paid little or no attention to us. They do now. The attendance at open air meetings and the gratifying increase of sales of *The New Leader* indicate that if we had the funds and workers in the field we could make a big thrust forward in organization and propaganda. Even with our limited resources we are making progress.

On the other hand there are elements in the economic crisis that conceal a revolutionary situation and this may come to a head next winter. Should the hunger and desperation release an elementary fury in many cities we Socialists will face tremendous responsibilities. That this situation is possible let us consider two important phases of our sick capitalism.

There is no denying that the cities will be able to do less for jobless relief than in any other year. In fact, many cities are on the verge of bankruptcy. Hoover's idea of "local responsibility" means a shifting of much of the taxation burdens to small home owners of the cities while national responsibility would mean increased taxation of the upper section of our ruling class. If a national sales tax is on the program at Washington it will also make a bad situation worse by increasing the cost of living.

On the first page of this issue we also give attention to some phases of Federal finances. As Germany went through a blood transfusion, the fluid being supplied in part by our ruling bankers, so other nations have been wheeled to the operation table. British finances reveal the same symptoms although the disease is not acute. At Washington, as we show elsewhere, the same disease in national finances is evident. With the prospect of a two billion dollar deficit at the end of the fiscal year and mortgaging the government to the financial spiders, rather than forcing the upper section of the capitalist class to disgorge, we may be drifting to a catastrophe.

In view of all this there is just one job and one job alone that faces the Socialists of this country and that is to concentrate with all of our resources and abilities upon propaganda, education, and organization. A working class that does not know its own best interests may easily fall under the leadership of potential Fascist demagogues when suffering intense privations. It rises blindly, acts blindly, and becomes an easy prey to the tools of reactionary intrigue.

Sound Socialist education alone will guide resentment into intelligent action. On the other hand, to the extent that this education does not reach the masses to that extent will this dangerous reaction have a free field for its intrigue. Moreover, as the masses respond to our educational work the sentiment will penetrate local trade unions and this is especially true where Socialist agitation has won the allegiance of large numbers of workers in any city.

It is well for Socialists to look ahead and endeavor to anticipate possible events and this is what we are trying to do. American capitalism rests upon a volcano of discontent and American Socialists may be tested in a crisis as grave as that which faced us when the United States entered the World War. Millions of leaflets must be distributed, every speaker must give his utmost service, those of us who have employment must contribute funds as we never did before, and mobilize for the one job of educating the masses for intelligent and disciplined action.

The Electric Eye

THE revolution in industry years ago entered the offices of business firms with many devices intended to displace clerks and accountants and to increase the volume of work turned out. The mechanical robot has entered the office and

taught the white collar worker that he cannot be immune from the general economic trends that have revolutionized the factory and great plant.

The latest device is called an "electric eye" which sorts the stubs on paid electric light bills into a hundred classifications at the rate of 2,500 per hour. Six clerks have been required to do the work which this robot now does and it is reported that it has not been developed anywhere near the speed of which it is capable.

The invention is already a success and it is only a question of time when it will be in general use throughout the country. One by one the robot will enter every office of large business firms, order clerks out on the sidewalk, and proceed to do the work of these clerks. The masters of great enterprises will reap the benefit while the workers will have time to think of what hit them.

This tragedy has been repeated over and over again, especially in the post-war years. The continent is filling up, there are not the villages and towns to build which formerly absorbed displaced labor and there is no great new industry, like automobiles, in sight to welcome the idle.

When one thinks of what is possible under intelligent arrangements it is all the more tragic. Machines should decrease the hours of labor and keep all at work but capitalist ownership gives the benefits to the corporation kings and turns workers adrift. A Socialist world would make the machine a blessing, not a curse.

Communist Madmen

IN the New York Times of June 18 its Moscow correspondent wrote that Stalin had shelved the idea of world revolt as Russia required peace to carry out its economic program. Now the Communist International sends orders to each national section to plant cells and on every occasion "to perform acts of sabotage in order to disorganize food supplies and other essential public services." Communists are ordered to form "combat groups" and instructions to these groups include "acts of terrorism such as assassination of hostile politicians, police heads and all other leaders considered dangerous enemies of the working classes."

Here is the old force anarchy of the eighties and nineties, the "propaganda of the deed," finally emerging from international Communism. Its proposed excesses exceed anything which it urged ten or more years ago. Its blackleg alliance with the Hitler Fascists in Prussia a few weeks ago is also an example of how far Communist madmen will go. It supported the Fascist referendum under banners reading, "Fight for the Red Referendum." This was followed by ordering a destructive war against the German trade unions at the moment when the organized working class is trying to ward off assaults by the capitalist class. It orders obstruction of any Franco-German economic understandings in order to further European chaos in the hope that it will obtain something for itself.

We submit that these revolting proposals, wherever they are carried out, will place the workers at the mercy of police spies and put many heads in the noose. Moreover, they foster reaction against all other organizations of the workers by providing a pretense for arbitrary decrees and legislation against the masses. Madmen could not do worse. As many Communists in Prussia revolted against the insane orders they received there we may be sure that more will desert in other countries as an answer to this latest folly.

IN A NUTSHELL

A few years ago the A. F. of L. Executive Council reported that a majority of both houses of Congress belonged to the workers. This accounts for the extraordinary activity of Congress in meeting the problems of the unemployed.

Labor Day comes next week but the most conspicuous celebrations will be workers in the breadlines receiving their doles.

Then we will summon the great Theodore Roosevelt from his tomb. The Big Noise once said that "Socialism means a glorified free lunch counter." Pass it on to those who are in the Hoover breadlines.

But never mind. The Democrats are keeping the fire burning for us should you decide to leap out of the Republican frying pan in the next election.

Perhaps the muckhead "liberals" will also help us to choose the proper candidate for President next year. They are neutral. They don't care which party skins us.

In any event they do not want us to throw away our vote. They want it to count, just who or what it counts for doesn't matter.

Join the Socialist Party. It is your agency to fight your way out of the wretched collapse of capitalism to power, security and freedom.

Labor Day has come and gone and President Green of the American Federation of Labor is on record against the dole. Some ten million workers will now step forward and receive their dole in the breadlines.

There is one form of the dole that Hoover heartily favors. He would feel very distressed if millions of workers declined to dole their votes out to him next year.

Of course there is no class struggle in holy America, but Brother Capital loves to employ the injunction against Brother Labor just to show him his place in the family.

Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble, like a declaration of independence, or the statutory right to vote by those who have never dared to think or act.—Emerson.

The last line of capitalism will be a Socialist rope to strangle it to death.



Drawn by George Bellows

Who Pays For Relief?

President Hoover's "Dole" System Transfers Burden to Those Least Able to Contribute

EVER since unemployment became acute, the Hoover administration and the business interests supporting it have set their faces like iron against any use of federal money for relief of those out of work. Such appropriations are condemned as a form of "dole." The experience of Great Britain with the "dole," is freely referred to. What is meant by a "dole" is usually not precisely defined, but these arguments indicate that it is used to denote support given to unemployed persons from public funds, as distinguished from private charity.

If this is the meaning of the term, we have our own form of dole in the United States. Figures from the Russell Sage Foundation indicate that over 70 per cent of the money paid out for unemployment relief in this country has come from public funds. This is a larger percentage of our relief total than that contributed by British taxpayers to sustain the British unemployed.

Our public funds devoted to unemployment relief come almost entirely from municipal treasuries. They are thus paid out of taxes, just as the British "dole" is. The real struggle of those who have been directing unemployment relief policies in this country has therefore been, not to prevent the need from being met out of taxes, but to assess it against municipal taxpayers rather than against federal taxpayers.

The Burden of Local Relief

The new drive, under the committee called together by President Hoover, and headed by President Gifford of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., emphasizes again that "the responsibility for relief is local." The money raising campaign will be "co-ordinated," and appeals will be made nationally, but there will be no national pooling of funds. Thus the money raised by charity will be confined for use in the localities where it is raised, just as local municipalities have to furnish the public funds.

How just and effective is this policy? City revenues are raised largely by taxes on real estate. Such taxes are passed on the general public in the form of higher rents and prices. Moreover, they are not distributed according to ability to pay. A man who has a large income derived from stocks and bonds, but who directly owns no real estate, will pay little or no tax to the city. A small householder, who owns his own house and is just able to make ends meet, will suffer from an increase of municipal taxes. So will those who rent the cheapest tenements, and those who buy in the cheapest stores. Cities may, of course, borrow to meet the emergency, but the borrowed money must eventually be paid back out of taxes. And many cities have borrowed all they can, under the law. Unemployment relief paid out of municipal taxes is a burden on those least

able to pay rather than on those most able, even if enough can be raised in this way to meet the need.

Heavy Income Escape

Another defect of this policy is that the unemployment may not exist in the same city with the wealth derived from the industry in which the unemployment occurs. Detroit, for instance, which has had an extremely heavy unemployment burden, does not include within its city limits many of the automobile factories in which the unemployment has arisen. It cannot tax them. Moreover, the assessed value of the factories which it does include bears little relationship to the incomes which are derived from them. These factories are taxed as so much real estate, not as a source of income. And the income may go to the people in New York or Chicago.

Even supposing the burden of relief were localized by entire states, still it would not be equitably adjusted. Most great industries carry on their operations in many places throughout the country. Their profits come from sales to everybody. Their owners, or the headquarters of their corporations, may be, and often are, in other states than those in which their plants are located. Taxes raised in the localities of those plants are burdens on the local population, not on those who are responsible for the industries and profit from them—those who, consequently, should bear the principal burden of relief for unemployment.

How true this is may be seen from a few figures. The money raised by the Federal government from income taxes levied on corporations and individuals totalled, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, \$1,860,201,641. Of this almost one-third, or \$614,977,000, came from New York. This means that individuals or corporations paying one-third of the income taxes were "domiciled" in New York, but it does not mean that the plants or other activities from which these incomes were derived are in New York. Nor does it mean that one-third of the unemployed of the nation are in New York. On the contrary, according to the Census of April, 1930, not quite 13 per cent of the unemployed total were found in that state. New York has nearly three times as large resources out of which to meet her unemployment needs as the nation at large has.

Michigan, on the contrary, had six per cent of the unemployed and paid only one-half of one per cent of the total income taxes. Similar inequalities are found all along the line.

The Charity Drive

The British "dole" is assessed nationally against income taxes, levied according to ability to pay. The American "dole" is assessed against local populations, without relation to ability to pay. And how about that part of relief which does not come from public funds? In Great Britain,

this is principally derived from regular contributions to the insurance fund, made under the law by employers and employees according to the members employed in the several plants and industries. Instead of making such regular payments, we depend on charitable contributions, raised by spasmodic and expensive "drives," and taken not only from the surplus of the rich but from virtual assessment against those employees who still have jobs. The proportion of our charity funds contributed by those of small income is not definitely known, but is undoubtedly large. Moreover, these local funds are not pooled nationally. New Yorkers, for instance, will have to contribute much less per capita than the rest of the country in order to furnish the same measure of relief.

If federal funds were used for relief, federal income taxpayers would have to pay their proper share. The money would be raised where it exists in greatest quantity, and would be spent where it is most needed. Those responsible for unemployment would have to carry the burden. By preventing the application of this policy and insisting on "local responsibility," Mr. Hoover, Mr. Gifford and the rest are transferring the burden of relief as far as possible from the rich to the poor. And they are probably also restricting the total amount of money available. In order to protect the big incomes, they are running a large risk of allowing many unemployed to starve.

The New Leader Mail-Bag

DEBS MEMORIAL WINDOW

The New Leader:
Respecting the memorial window which I proposed some six months ago to perpetuate the memory of Eugene Debs, please permit me to state that after hearing reports from various sources on the subject I am reluctantly obliged to say that there seems no likelihood of pushing it through to a successful conclusion for the present.

While it is true that there is widespread distrust and thousands literally unable to subscribe a single dime (more's the pity) to this object, yet I am convinced (I know) that there must be hundreds who could easily give the single dollar that was asked for and never miss it, in spite of hard times. I refrain from comment, but would ask you, Mr. Editor, as treasurer of the fund, to return to the original donors the few donations that were sent in. These were sent for a definite purpose and as that purpose cannot be carried out, it seems to me only right that the amounts should be returned whence they came.

W. BLENKO.

Milton, W. Va.

SOCIALIST POLICIES

Editor, The New Leader:
These past few weeks I have been doing a great deal of thinking about the many problems of interest to Socialists. To these days when one can almost reach out and touch the carcass of capitalism in an active process of decay, it behooves Socialists to show a more noteworthy spirit of realism. In view of their familiarity with the rise, development and consequent fall of this historical development in human society.

In these days of the twilight of capitalism, one would expect that Socialist publications and leaders would show the way to clarity to the vast hordes of organized and unorganized workers. Instead of which, it seems to me, that Socialist leaders and publications, like their non-Socialist counterparts, are drifting with the current, hazarding the same guesses and predictions like their capitalist friendly enemies, seeming to be held in the grip of titanic forces, not knowing any more than others, the direction or purposes of these forces.

To be specific, take the present English situation. Here we see an administration, calling itself Labor and Socialist, trying to apply all of the palliatives and nostrums of a defunct capitalist statesmanship to truss up and keep on its feet a failing capitalism. We have the sorry spectacle of a MacDonald and a Snowden trying, in a Hoover or a Brüning, to bolster up a sick budget at the expense of the workers' pitiful dole or unemployment insurance and other capitalist expedients. Could a Baldwin or a Lloyd George manifest more concern to save a decaying and bewildered capitalism than MacDonald or Snowden? And all this by a Prime Minister who was put where he is by

Seven Work Days A Week Underground

By Paul Blanshard

WHILE liberal leaders are preaching for the five day week, New York City has thousands of workers employed seven days a week, many of them working underground for ten hours a day. This amazing condition has continued on New York subways, street cars, and buses for many years because of the tremendous political power of the financial masters who control New York's traction lines.

The subway guards who martial the sweating mobs under Times Square and Grand Central every day in the terrific heat and suffocation of the world's worst passenger traffic, work seven days a week and ten hours a day. Outside on the sidewalks three-quarters of a million men are walking the streets looking for work.

Low Pay Forces Sunday Work

The subway moles and surface slaves who are the victims of these working conditions dare not take their normal holiday because they are paid by the hour and their weekly income is so low that often they cannot support their families without Sunday labor. Even the members of the New York Legislature may see the glaring inconsistency of these conditions in a time of unemployment. Both Governor Roosevelt and the members of the Legislature were asked by the City Affairs Committee last week to take notice of the slavery of New York transit workers, and to amend Article 5 of New York's labor laws so as to give subway, bus and street car workers one day of rest in seven. Already factory and store employees are guaranteed this right.

The wages of the subway moles are conspicuously low. I. R. T. ticket agents get 49 cents an hour, guards receive 57 cents, and conductors 62 cents.

The most pathetic of the seven day workers of New York are these subway moles who burrow in the earth underneath New York City. Recently a study of the life of these men and of other transit employees has been made for the City Affairs Committee by George P. Bischof. Mr. Bischof shows that thousands of employees of the B. M. T., the Interborough, the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, and the independent bus lines work ten hours a day and seven days a week. There is no regular day off for many workers on the B. M. T. or I. R. T. systems. The workers on these lines receive a weekly allowance of one day at their own expense if they ask for it. They are not compelled to work seven days a week, but the system of pay by the hour and the low wages encourage the workers to work seven days in order to keep their families alive.

Ten Hour Days Usual

In the Interborough system last year (the year ending June 30th, 1930,) statistics submitted to the Transit Commission show that after the six standard holidays of the year are accounted for, the average Interborough wage earner has only twenty-seven days of rest instead of the seventy-eight days

which he would receive if he were released from duty on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. These figures mean that the average Interborough wage worker has the equivalent of only half his Sundays free during the year.

On the New York Railways Corporation system and the Fifth Avenue bus system, the seven day week is even more pronounced. The standard practice of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company is to work its drivers and conductors ten hours a day and seven days a week while on the New York Railways Corporation the seven day week and the ten hour day exist for conductors, motormen, starters, inspectors, and even building and maintenance employees.

On the I. R. T. the workers who are permitted to work ten hours a day and more than six days a week include starters, depot masters, gatemen, platform men, cash collectors, and watchmen. On the B. M. T. subway the workers who may be employed ten hours a day, and many of whom work approximately seven days a week, include brakemen, conductors, dispatchers, car drillers, inspectors, lamp men, motormen, porters, platform men, gatemen, switchmen, train clerks, watchmen, and yard men. To force these thousands of workers who are now employed seven days a week to cut their schedule to six days would be for many of them a tragedy unless wage increases were granted to them sufficient to cover the lost day. Surely the great transit companies of New York can afford to give an increase sufficient to cover this loss of pay. They have no moral right to employ human beings unless they can pay them standard weekly wages for six days of work each week.

New Legislature Urged

The responsibility of the state for the continuation of the seven day week of subway, bus, and street car workers is particularly great because these industries are public utilities existing with the consent and cooperation of the state and municipal governments. An amendment to Article 5 of the labor laws of New York State to guarantee the weekly day of rest to these transit workers would be relatively simple and has ample legal precedent. Steam railroads already are limited in their hours of labor and the State of Michigan has made effective a law giving motormen and conductors of street cars six day week. The New York State factory laws limiting employees to six days a week have been tested and found constitutional on grounds of public health.

RENT, INTEREST, PROFITS

Editor, The New Leader:
D. L. McGeorge has interested me because his experience is similar to my own. I never was a Republican though most of my friends were, and was not a Democrat though a free-trader and a supporter of the reform. I learned something of greenbackism and still think that a currency based on the wealth of the nation is sounder than one based on a metal which may be found in this or any other country in greater or lesser quantity. I saw General Coles start on his march on Washington and was a Populist until I found myself in the belly of the tiger—or was it the jack-ass?—and, like a modern Jonah, emerged, and entered the Socialist party after Mussolini de Leon had ceased from troubling and the S. T. and L. A. was at rest. And then came Gompers and Green and Woll and rewarding our enemies and punishing our friends. I also learned something of Henry George and his philosophy, in which I thought there was some meat. As I understand the aims of the Socialist Party, they are, eventually to abolish Rent, Interest and Profit, either of which, left intact, would ruin the effects of the abolition of the other two. If all these are abolished, what do we care what the landlords and bankers and masters of industry and commerce do?

To this end we must stick to, and build up the Socialist Party, and work toward the completion of the program, ignoring any differences that may arise among its members along the road, although friendly comment and discussion should help us find paths through mountains and to ford rivers which bar the way. As the school-boy used to declaim, —Excellior!

WM. EDWARDS.

Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.

JOSEPH N. COHEN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.
Comrade Cohen is one of our best party workers and we are at loss to understand some sections of his letter. As for foreign news and articles, The New Leader, beginning about 18 months ago, obtained the services of a number of Socialists abroad who have kept our readers informed of the problems and struggles facing the working class abroad. In relation to England, the articles by Fred Hender-