

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

New for This Winter—The A. F. of L. Proposals  
—Booze and Bread—"Coin" Harvey's Panacea—  
The Soft Coal Industry—Mr. Hoover's Promises

### WINTER'S OUTLOOK

operate is the outlook for next winter that it is no wonder we have a few last minute cures, some of them quick proposed for our help. I should like to inquire into these



NORMAN THOMAS

et us begin with the A. F. of L. suggestion that modification of the Volstead Act may be our saviour, making unemployment insurance and any plan like our Socialist proposal for a \$5,000,000,000 Hunger Loan unnecessary or worse.

Frankly, the idea is boah. Modification of the Volstead Act of itself is a good thing for a lot of reasons. It is far better to have beer and light wine legally available than to have them and much stronger liquors supplied by racketeers. It is better to have the legitimate employment that the sale of light wine and beer might make possible than the illegitimate employment of gangs of beer runners and alley brokers. But to say that such an arrangement will go far to ending unemployment, making compulsory unemployment insurance under the state unnecessary, is worse than childish. For one thing, the wets can't have it both

If as a nation we are drinking as much as, or more than, to drink legally instead of illegally, won't make much if any work. Besides, isn't it far fetched to suppose that if people had money to buy food, furniture, clothes and good houses can find it in abundance to buy beer? Are they to buy on or the installment plan?

### ECONOMICS OF PROHIBITION

ECONOMISTS are by no means unanimous on the economic effect of prohibition, but a recent study by Prof. Harry Miller of Iowa University—who is no professional dry—seems to show that the whole lessened drinking in the working class of the later years of prohibition made for more, not less, prosperity. No economist who isn't a wet first and economist afterwards or will not—like Matt Woll—to duck the dose talks by modifying the Volstead Act to restore prosperity. If it will, why aren't England or Germany, both of them floating in beer, more prosperous?

In spite of the absurd claims for it, I repeat, I should support the modification of the Volstead Act. What I chiefly regret is the fact that the A. F. of L. leaders are so much more in earnest about this change than about supporting adequately certain strikes, of organizing workers, or making effective their demands for the five day week and a larger share of the national income.

I have been recently at Allentown, Pennsylvania, where an heroic textile strike has been going on since April. The workers are sorely divided by a Communist minority which seeks to rule or subordinates union to party strategy. The Communists could never have had their chance if the A. F. of L. had really been on the job of relief and leadership. This job is the A. F. of L.'s shiest ahead of modifying the Volstead Act.

### "COIN" HARVEY RE-APPEARS

THE second quack remedy for depression is by our old friend, "Coin" Harvey. Once more as in the 90's he would save the world by tinkering with money, and he is going to have a convention in Arkansas to start a new party on this basis. Jim Oneal, in The New Leader, has had some interesting criticism of this.

The point is not that Harvey is wholly wrong, some of his critical points on money and banking are good, but he jumbles them up with so many Bible texts and quotations from church fathers, so many purely biblical figures, that he makes himself and his readers quite too drunk on words to understand what he is talking about in his constructive proposal. Primarily this is a proposal for free coinage of gold and silver, plus some paper money, no interest, some government ownership, and an arbitrary limitation of fortunes. Private ownership of the means of production, rent and operation of business for profit up to the limit he sets are still left. There is no proposal for natural planning, no vision of the fact that juggling money won't go to the root of capitalist evils. There is no recognition of the necessity of a fundamental appeal to the workers, and in an interdependent world he would make world trade almost impossible! In short this quack remedy is dangerous demagoguery.

### THE COAL OPERATORS' PLAN

THIRD proposal for better times comes, or is said by the newspapers to be coming, from none other than those feudal barons, America's worst exploiters of labor, the coal operators. Besides starving their employees they have outrageously mismanaged their own business. Few of them are making money. So they propose either to sell to the government—at their own price, of course—the bad mines or set up some vague Federal control. "The Greeks bearing gifts" aren't half as much to be feared as operators asking the federal government to take the losses and leave them the profits.

What is essential is straight naturalization, paying no more than the unprofitable mines are worth to owners who cannot afford, as can the nation, to conserve them for the future. Then there must be unemployment pensions for extra miners until they can be placed in other industries. There must be a plan for the industry, conservation for the future, dam and expert and non-partisan administration, recognition of the union, and mine committees to discuss local administration problems. The coal industry must, of course, be correlated with the oil industry, the electric power industry and railroading, all of which must be socialized to make proper planning possible. The operators will fight this to the bitter end. We cannot be satisfied with less, nor will our mining camps at places for free men until this is done.

### DISPOSING OF OUR WHEAT

ONE minor but by no means unimportant suggestion was made within the week that was good. It came from a man who knows China. There, he says, some ten million people face actual starvation and he proposes that our Farm Board sell its surplus wheat to China on long term credit. A fine idea. It will not mean competition with wheat now on the farmers' hands which would force the price farther down. It will not mean dumping in world markets with all the international hatred dumping implies. It will not mean letting golden grain rot while millions starve. It will mean, even if we are not sure of financial repayment in full, a degree of Chinese gratitude, which in the long run will pay in dollars and cents.

### THE MAIN PROBLEM REMAINS

BUT of course this disposition of wheat is no extensive answer to the miseries of the unemployed of whom Mr. Hoover or his spokesman says they will be as well taken care of as last winter! And we all know how well that was, Mr. Hoover! Really the President has in his heart hate of any "dole" but private charity and indecent bread lines. He hopes to avoid public action by the federal government by private and municipal charity. He has no plan. There is and can be no plan even for emergency relief that does not require federal action. More than thirty states are prevented by their constitutions or their poverty from effective action for relief. The federal government is not so handicapped. Again we repeat our Socialist demand for a Hunger Loan of \$5,000,000,000 to be repaid by heavy, graduated income and inheritance taxes, the proceeds to be spent on public works—some of it, if necessary, for direct relief. There is nothing else to do.

That doesn't mean that cities need do no more. On the contrary, we New Yorkers ought to ask budget director Kohler what he is putting into the budget for the unemployed and what waste he is cutting out. The mayor and his Republican henchman (except when they fight about buses) George Harvey of Queens, between them forgot all about appropriating money to keep some Queens employed at work. The Mayor went to Europe, the workers went on the street. A special meeting of the Board of Estimate patch this thing up after weeks of unnecessary suffering, but New York, as in the nation, there is no plan. Speaking of Harvey of Queens, a man who can find the vindictive remove him from office, but sharply criticizing him, is lost name. What a commentary is his record on reforms and reforms who don't go beneath the surface!

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## PRESIDENT HOOVER: How Long Will You Keep Doak in the Cabinet?

Secretary of Labor Has Broken the Law--He Has Outraged  
Every Code of Humanity and Justice--He Must Go!

THE Department of Labor as administered by Secretary William Doak stands convicted as an agency of attempted murder, of brutal inquisition and of lawless invasion of the homes and persons of men and women.

The verdict has been pronounced by the Wickersham Commission, a body of conservative men appointed by President Hoover.

There must be a house-cleaning in the Federal Department of Labor. The house-cleaning must bring in both new policies and new personnel.

SINCE SECRETARY DOAK IS THE FRANK SPONSOR OF THE NEW POLICIES OF LAWLESSNESS, HE SHOULD BE THE FIRST TO GO. WORKERS AND ALL AMERICANS WHO LOVE LIBERTY AND JUSTICE SHOULD BEGIN AN INSISTENT DEMAND ON THE PRESIDENT: "MR. HOOVER, HOW LONG WILL YOU KEEP THIS MAN DOAK IN THE CABINET?"

### The Wickersham Report

Not since A. Mitchell Palmer staged his infamous series of attacks on the constitution has any cabinet minister been so indifferent to the legal rights of workers as has been Secretary Doak. The Wickersham report tells enough of the story to prove this, though the families of hundreds of workers could add more eloquent testimony.

The Wickersham Commission finds that the Department of Labor under Doak "insisted on making deportation a death penalty." The reference is in general to Doak's boasted policy of ordering "undesirable radical aliens" sent back to despotic countries for inevitable punishment. In particular, the report refers to the case of Guido Serio, Italian anti-Fascist whom Doak insists on deporting into the clutches of Mussolini, henchman of Italian liberty. Before Doak took office, the Department of Labor would occasionally permit deported aliens to go to the country of their choice. With the coming of Doak as Secretary of Labor, the policy changed.

"A recent and startling exception to this practice has caused international comment," the report proceeds. "The case of Guido Serio was one of 453 studied, but is too important in its implications to be omitted from this report, particularly if it is to be the precursor of a change in this government's traditional policy."

Serio's case, including the undisputed plea that he would be killed if deported to Italy, is taken up fully, and quotations from the federal district attorney and district court in New York are given, showing how they appealed in vain to Doak to show mercy.

"Despite all this," it concludes, "the board of review insisted upon making deportation a death penalty."

### The Inquisition Revived

The Wickersham Report then turns to "inquisitorial examinations" and adds a new count to the indictment against Doak. The report declares that labor department inspectors often searchingly cross-examine aliens in private and without giving them the right of counsel, as to their "private beliefs and personal morality." Upon the statements extorted in this way from the alien, through fear, restraint of liberty and "in some cases, duress," the suspect may be later deported or sent to prison on criminal charges. Not only is the alien wronged by failure of the inspector to warn him that anything he says may be used against him, but "the nature and scope of the questioning to which many suspects are put can only be described, in the phrase of Mr. Justice Brewer, as a star-chamber



Drawn by Maurice Becker.

AMERICANISM—DOAKIZED

proceeding."

The report quotes from legal writers on the method of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, and remarks: "A reference to the description of some of the preliminary examinations in deportation cases shows the appropriateness of the comparison. As in the Inquisition, the inquiries in deportation cases often search every aspect of the suspect's life and thought."

### Illegal Raids Perpetrated

Raids without justification in law—rather in violation of constitutional safeguards—"oppressive and unconstitutional" apprehension, illegal deportations are every day practices of Doak's Department of Labor, the report indicates. In a chapter dealing with the conclusions and recommendations, the commission declares:

"The execution of the deportation laws involves most important rights of personal liberty; the processes of deportation reach over 100,000 persons a year, many of whom are aliens lawfully in this country or United States citizens. In the administration of these laws one agency of the U. S. Government acts as investigator, prosecutor and judge, with despotic powers. Under the present system not only is the enforcement of the law handicapped but grave abuses and unnecessary hardships have resulted.

"(a) The apprehension and examination of supposed aliens are often characterized by methods unconstitutional and oppressive.

### Many Strikers Seized

"(b) There is strong reason to believe that in many cases persons are deported when further development of the facts

or proper construction of the law would have shown their right to remain.

"(c) Many persons are permanently separated from their American families with results that violate the plainest dictates of humanity."

Doak's recent raids are described as having for their chief purpose the apprehension of seamen who have overstayed their time here, rather than radicals, but "It is a short step from these raids to the breaking up of any meeting which a Government official may not approve. . . . Considerations of practical expediency cannot be urged to defeat constitutional rights." The fear expressed by the Commission has already become a reality. Doak's agents have conducted many raids on meetings and headquarters of strikers on the spurious grounds that the strikes were "un-American" or anti-governmental.

### Doak Asks More Repression!

The comment of Secretary Doak on this damning report points more than anything else to his complete unfitness for the important post he holds. Doak has the effrontery to ask that he be granted new and additional powers to deport aliens. As though he has ever stopped at the legal limitations placed on him! "There are hundreds of thousands whom we have not been able to reach with our staff," says Secretary Doak. He adds: "I know of no more important work before the country than to rid it of alien criminals." And among criminals, Doak includes every workingman who dares raise his voice or strike against poverty and exploitation. In the White Plains road builders strike, Doak caused a score of alien strikers to be seized because they refused to work for \$18 a week! "We could do the job better if our laws on deportation were stronger," Doak promises.

The United States and other nations have a way of recognizing the claims of justice years after its victims have suffered the torments of the injustice. In the post-war years we had Attorney General Palmer who perpetrated hideous brutalities on aliens and radical workers. Socialists and progressives denounced Palmer, demanded his removal. The pleas fell on deaf ears. Palmer was allowed to finish his term of office before he dropped into the pit of obscurity he so richly deserved. Today Palmer's regime is officially stamped as "outrageous."

### Doak Must Go Now

The same report of the Wickersham Committee which studied the methods of Secretary Doak, has its own comment to make on Palmer's reign of terror.

After dealing with the fact that the courts have upheld the rights of aliens, and pointing out that their rights are violated by the methods now employed by the immigration inspectors, the report recalls Palmer's general deportation raids of 1920, "when outrageous methods were used in the apprehension of supposed deportable radicals. This episode has been discussed in detail by Prof. Zachariah Chaffee in his book on Freedom of Speech, in the Report upon the Illegal Practices of the U. S. Department of Justice, issued by the National Popular Government League in May, 1920, and in the Deportations Delirium of 1920, by Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor from 1913 to 1921. The methods involved in making these 'Red Raids' were denounced by several Federal courts."

Doak should not be allowed the grace which an indifferent nation gave Palmer. The time to end injustice is when it is being done. Post-mortem regrets may save the national conscience but by the time they are uttered the victims will have suffered irreparable harm. That's why the Department of Labor should have a house-cleaning now. That is why Doak must go!

## Strike Ties Up Hoover Dam Construction at Boulder

By James Gallagher

(Chairman, Boulder City Strike Committee)  
(Special Despatch to The New Leader)

BOULDER CITY, Nevada.—The workers on the Hoover Dam are out on strike in protest against a wage cut and atrocious living conditions.

The first intimation of the now solid front of the workers came when the cut was announced to some of the tunnel crews working out of the Six Companies river camp. The crews walked off the job and called upon other shifts to support them. Shift after shift followed until all work was tied up in the river camp. The workers then held a meeting and elected a committee to go to Boulder City camp and call upon the workers there to support them. The committee came to Boulder City, called a meeting of the workers in camp and placed the situation before them.

The response was spontaneous. Immediately a committee was elected to join one of the river camp to act as a strike committee.

Crowe, superintendent of the Six Companies, made the statement to the press that the situation was not serious and probably not more than 50 to 100 men would be effected. The next day dawned upon well over a thousand men who had laid down their tools and by ten in

the morning, when the committee were to meet the company officials, every man, except those needed to keep the camp running, had ceased work.

The committee met with Mr. Crowe, Six Companies superintendent, and presented the demands voted by the men.

The demands were as follows:

We ask that the company continue to carry on as rapidly as possible to better living conditions.

We ask for iced or cold water on the job until frigidaires are installed, because we have suffered from the warm water and lack of water at several times.

Andersen has been charging \$2.00 per day board for those on the graveyard shifts. We ask a flat rate of \$1.50.

We want 8 hours, camp to camp, or as near as we can get to it. We are willing to split—one way on company's time—one way on our time.

We want strict enforcement of Arizona and Nevada safety laws and a safety inspector or miner in every heading.

We ask that no employee who is in this meeting be discharged.

Mr. Crowe asked for twenty-four hours to

consider the demands, which was agreed upon.

The evening of August 8, the company moved in a small arsenal, including shot-guns, rifles, tear gas guns, etc., and deputized a crew of company gunmen.

The day and night passed quietly. The spirit of the men was that of a holiday, though tempered with an undercurrent of grim determination, which was heightened by the presence of the gunmen in spite of the workers having guaranteed there would be no violence tolerated.

During the night, United States government officials, including the U. S. District Attorney, U. S. Marshals and county officers came to Boulder City in response to a telegram from the workers asking for protection against deportation.

They confiscated the company arsenal and announced that they were in charge of peace maintenance and would maintain it. They did.

At 10 o'clock the committee met Mr. Crowe, who made a terse rejection of all demands, stated the wage reduction would stand and announced the job was closed down indefinitely. In other words, he declared a lockout. He also stated that men would be paid off and trucks would be furnished to take the men to town.

On returning the committee reported to the

men and asked that they refuse to leave until compelled to by legal papers served by the right authorities.

They cautioned the men against allowing any violence to start. The general vote was to follow that plan. The United States and county officials took the box and said that they were here in an impartial position and would guarantee us legal protection as well as the company.

During the day, company men tried to deport men from the river camp with the aid of shot guns. They were stopped by United States authorities and one of the gunmen was arrested. This voluntary gunman was working as a shift boss in the river camp and his name is Gus Britten.

The cook-house was ordered closed down in an endeavor to starve the men out. Andersen Co., who has the feeding contract, served two free meals to the men on August 9, but was closed this morning, the tenth.

The men sent a committee into Las Vegas to collect relief funds and food to establish a picket camp if evicted by the company.

Later: We have been forced to abandon our camp and move it to the desert hills, five miles away.



## Troops Ready For Strikers, Pinchot Says

Other News from the Coal Strike Fronts in Three States

By ARTHUR G. MacDOWELL  
(New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, reputed "Progressive," has announced that he will call out the state militia to quell any disorder during coming winter of worker starvation. Turning his back on all his previous utterances of sympathy for striking miners of Western Pennsylvania the "liberal" Governor in a speech to officers of the Pennsylvania National Guard at their summer encampment ignored the fact of utter starvation to which his own investigators attributed the present strike, and loaded the responsibility on the hoary scape goat of "outside agitators." The Governor said:

"There are rumors flying on the possibility of disorder during the coming winter. If these rumors should be verified the cause will not be with Pennsylvanians, but with agitators from other states."

"We know already such agitators have been attempting to make trouble, but we do not believe they will succeed. However, if they succeed, I shall have no hesitancy calling out the Pennsylvania National Guard, providing of course, their services shall be required by the scope of the emergency."

"We propose to handle our own affairs in a peaceful and orderly manner no matter who attempts to incite disorder among our people. This is our state and we Pennsylvanians propose to run it along the tradition of William Penn."

Protests Are Made

The National Miners Union has denounced the announced plan of the liberal executive. The Pennsylvania-Ohio Relief Committee joined in the statement, bitterly attacking the Governor's sudden ignorance of starvation and misery.

Governor Pinchot's only contribution to the solution of the present breakdown in coal has been to send all available members of the state militia force into the area, none of whom are Quakers as far as is known. Major Lynn Adams, head of the state militia, has dared to come forth with the proposal that the number of men in his army be increased from around 400 to 2,000 at the annual cost of \$60,000 per year during the present coal strike. The present Governor is known as a particular advocate of the state police.

Operators Want U. S. Aid

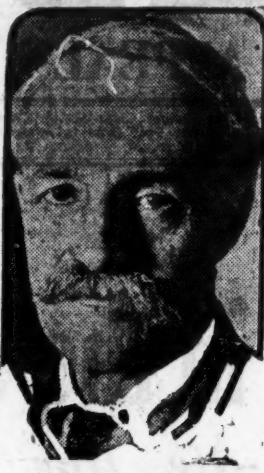
Announcement of the Mellon Pittsburgh Coal Company and the United States Carnegie Coal and Iron Company, the two largest concerns in the district, that these two Bourbon operators seek Federal aid through regulation of the coal industry, is the coal news of the week. The Mellon and United States Steel interests intend to present to the Secretary of Commerce plan for purchase of high cost mines and undeveloped mine lands by the Federal government, these to be added to the national domain as a coal reserve, enabling the present principal operators to again operate at a genuine profit. That the plan is fairly complete in the minds of the operators is shown by the fact that the round sum of \$25,000,000 is suggested as necessary to meet the needs of Western Pennsylvania's industry. President J. D. A. Morrow of the Pittsburgh Coal, has stated that it is useless to discuss wages until the fundamental evil of overproduction is cured.

The Pittsburgh coal company is now producing coal at the lowest unit cost in history but is still unable to pay dividends. This admission coming from Morrow is important as the Mellon interests specially installed him at the head of the great coal corporation in 1927 to attempt to make the company pay by breaking with the CIO and leading in the attack that drove the miners' union out of the industry in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky.

While the operators are seeking a subsidy and Federal protection from the results of their own sins in mismanaging the industry, the striking miners continue their bitter struggle against starvation unaided. Pittsburgh with the ghastly misery at its front door pictured daily in the public press remains unresponsive to appeals to its sympathies. The Penn-Ohio Relief Committee and the Socialist party miners' fund are the sole agencies attempting to aid the miners and support for the work of both of these funds comes almost exclusively from outside of the Pittsburgh district and largely from outside the state.

While sporadic bombings that managed never to do any harm or seriously injure any one and bore all the marks of the "agent provocateur" have been constantly taking place in such a way as to cast suspicion on the strike leadership, it remained for unknown forces to completely wreck the house of a National Miners Union leader near the Warden mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Company and injure seriously

## Promises Militia



"LIBERAL" GOVERNOR, Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, who declared he is ready to send troops in mine fields and other strike centers this winter.

four people, one of whom, a woman may die. Roma, the NMW miner whose home was totally destroyed was active in the popular agitation that recently forced local government officials to recall their action commissioning a former coal and iron policeman as a special policeman to guard the Pittsburgh coal mine. Inate citizens of the Elizabeth township forced the supervisors to revoke all special officers commissions.

## More Socialists Jailed For Aiding Ky. Miners

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

EVARTS, Ky.—For distributing food and clothes to striking miners, W. H. Mahan and Allen Keedy, local Socialists, have been charged with "inciting to riot" and forced to leave Everts. Vincent Elliott, another member of the relief committee, has been booked on a charge of "criminal syndicalism," but is at liberty pending trial, and is continuing relief activities.

In Harlan, Arnold Johnson, a young Socialist, and Mrs. Jesse Wakefield, representative of the Civil Liberties Union, have been arrested on charges of criminal syndicalism. Their arrests followed a raid by sheriff's deputies on the home of Tess Huff, Socialist and correspondent for Federated Press, where it was stated "communistic" literature belonging to Johnson was found. Huff was brought to jail but not held.

Because of chaotic conditions in this field, it is requested the funds for relief be mailed to Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 112 East 19th street, New York City, N. Y., designated for the Kentucky area. This committee will keep in touch with the situation and see that funds are properly spent by whatever agency in Kentucky can keep out of the clutches of the capitalist authorities of the region.

Eighty surety companies have refused to post bail for Johnson. Both Johnson and Wakefield have been told by authorities they would be released if they would leave Kentucky. Mrs. Wakefield is also held on the same charge.

This is the second time Mrs. Wakefield has been arrested on the same charge. She had already been released on \$2,000 bail when Sheriff Blair remarked, "she is going to stay in jail until she rots." Her automobile, carrying food and clothing to poverty-stricken miners' families, was dynamited in Harlan recently.

## Evicted Mother, Baby Die in West Virginia

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Mrs. Chris Devitta's baby is dead. Three weeks ago a constable kicked Mrs. Devitta and threw her to the floor when she objected to being thrown out of her house at Hugheston with her two little children and all the household furniture at the order of the Hugheston Gas Coal Company. The doctor who attended her at the birth of the child said it had been injured by the assault. The baby lived six hours.

## Bronx Anti War Parade Rallies Workers On Anniversary of World War Outbreak

THE Bronx County Socialist Party marked the anniversary of the outbreak of the World War last Saturday night by staging an anti-militarist demonstration at Prospect and Longwood Avenues. It was preceded by a parade in which hundreds of workers, young and old, marched behind the banners and placards of the Socialist Party. More than a thousand persons extended around the speakers' platform to hear the Socialist message. The speakers included leading Socialists and representatives of the Young People Socialist League which extended its fullest cooperation to the Party.

The parade, led by a brass band, started at 908 Prospect Avenue, the headquarters of the Socialist Party of the Bronx. It gained momentum, increasing its size, as it passed street-corner meetings which adjourned immediately so that the audiences could join the ranks of the marchers. It was considered highly significant by observers that the majority of those in line were young people,

Sunday morning, while good Christian people were worshipping the One who said, "Suffer the little ones come unto me." Devitta went out and dug a little hole in the pasture where the tent colony of evicted strikers is, and buried his baby daughter. The cemetery at Hugheston is a company cemetery and there is no place there for strikers' babies.

Deputy sheriffs have arrested Superintendent Irvin Hill of the Amelia Coal Company, on the charge of assault with intent to kill Blakely Cimlov, a striking miner of Blakely. Hill is out on \$1,000 bond until his hearing on the 11th. A John Doe warrant is also out for the company guard who began the attack.

A bloodstained payroll found in Cimlov's pocket showed that for his last two weeks' work he earned \$13.80, loading 46 tons at 30 cents a ton. Of this, \$12.40 had been checked off by the company for various items, leaving \$1.40. Cimlov is a bachelor or he would be in debt to the company.

200 Evictions Ordered

A sweeping injunction obtained by the Kelly's Creek Colliery Company at Ward prevents the officers, members and associates of the West Virginia Mine Workers from trespassing or congregating in the camp, interfering by intimidation or violence with present or future employees of the company, or "otherwise obstructing or interfering with the operations of mines, railroad, tipples or other property."

The strikers are now not allowed to sing or display placards on the picket lines. They were not permitted to go to the post office for their mail until they complained to the postal authorities who ordered the post office moved away from company headquarters. A company employee is the Ward postmaster.

Over 200 more evictions have been granted the coal company, effective in ten days.

N.Y. Cops Probe L.I.D. On West Virginia Plea

New York police have probed the activities of the League of Industrial Democracy and Norman Thomas, its director. Acting under request of the chief of police of Charleston, W. Va., headquarters of the strike of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, one of Tammany's detectives called at L. I. D. headquarters and put Mrs. Huberman of the staff there through a thorough examination. Is the L. I. D. Communist? What is the L. I. D. doing in West Virginia? These and many other things Charleston cops and Tammany cops wanted to know.

Thomas wrote a letter to Police Commissioner Mulrooney protesting vigorously against this "espionage and covert intimidation." New York police have more important tasks in running down the gangsters who recently shot five little children on the streets of the city, he suggested, than investigating organizations whose policies and leaders are well known in the community.

The immediate cause of the cops' activities apparently was the labor chautauqua which the L. I. D. sent to Charleston. It is under the direction of Mary Fox, executive secretary of the L. I. D. "It has of course worked closely with the union and is enthusiastically on its side in its struggle against serfdom and starvation," Thomas told the cops. "The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief has transmitted \$8,000 during the last month for men, women and children who would be foodless and homeless save for the inadequate help their friends have been able to send." A copy of the letter was sent the curious chief of police of Charleston.

## N. M. U. Is Criticized

Defense of the National Miners' Union's right to peaceful meetings in the face of attacks by lawless officials is made difficult by the union's act in breaking up a meeting of the United Mine Workers in Canonsburg, Pa., the American Civil Liberties Union points out in a letter to N. M. U. officials in Pittsburgh. On July 23, the Civil Liberties Union voiced a protest against the breaking up of the Canonsburg meeting on July 19, calling that action a "wholly unjustified attack."

## Those Who Will Be Asked to Bear the Burdens of Future Capitalist Wars

Along the line of march, workers thronged the streets or looked from their windows, studying the placards carried by the Socialists. Many workers joined the parade, asking for the privilege of carrying the placards which expressed the demands of the working class. During the evening, the speakers pointed out that wars were brought about in the interests of the capitalist class despite the fact that the will and intentions of the people were peaceful. As a consequence the workers need their own political party, their own representatives committed to the responsibility of carrying out a Socialist program. The chairman of the meeting was Herman Woskow.

The speakers were Henry Fruchter, Jean Jacques Coronel, Louis Hendin, David Kaplan, Aaron Levinstein, Abe Belsky, A. I. Shipiloff, James Omeal, Isidore Polstein, Molly Weingarten, Tyrrell Wilson, Louis Painken and Matthew M. Levy.

# Is This a System?

COTTON PRICES CRASH Almost \$3,000,000,000 Drop in Market Value In July of Shares Listed on Stock Exchange

Drop 122 to 142 Points Here to Lowest Level Since 1905, but Rally Toward Close.

FOUR HENRY BANKS CLOSED IN JERSEY

Act to Conserve Assets for 30,000 Depositors

CHINA FORGETS WAR AS FAMINE MENACES

Flood Conditions Grow Acute, but Appeals Are Made to Empty Treasury.

COTTON PRICES DROP 8TH SUCCESSIVE DAY

New Low Ahead of Register

Chicago Cotton Futures Drop to Record Low On Federal Report of 15,584,000-Bale Crop

NEW DEALS REVIVE TRUST MERGER TALK

International Utilities Offer Exchange of Stock to American Equities Holders.

TEN OF 16 TRUSTS GAIN IN ASSET VALUE

Most General Management Corp.

TOBACCO CHEAP; CIGARETS SOAR

Federal Men Also Find No Wages Rose as Price Was Boosted.

GRASS CATTLE PRICES DECLINED FOR WEEK

Drought Shipments Depress Chicago Market—Fancy Yearlings Scarce, Score Increase.

STEEL INGT OUTPUT DECLINED IN JULY

176,149 Tons Reported by United States Corporation's Total on Steel Institute, Small.

3,404,816, Smallest Since Oct. 31, 1927.

OPERATING RATE 33.97%

At Lowest Level of Depression

Wheat Loss 4% to 6% and 1% to 1 1/2%.

FOREIGN PRESSURE IS FELT

Only September Corn Falls to 1931 Level

"Make a Fresh Bottom in Renewed Chicago Drop."

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 15.—The cotton market was thrown into confusion today when the prices of future deliveries on the Chicago Board of Trade plunged downward an average of 27.30 a bale, the lowest level since 1905.

Grass cattle prices declined for the week. Drought shipments depressed the Chicago market—fancy yearlings scarce, score increase.

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Foreign pressure is felt. Only September corn falls to 1931 level. "Make a fresh bottom in renewed Chicago drop."

## World-wide Breakdown of Capitalism Shown in News Despatches—Labor, Chief Victim, Must Organize

HEADLINES in the daily press any day make a continuous indictment of the capitalist system and its governing agents all over the world. They reveal a conflict of forces, trends and contradictions that could not be more chaotic if they were deliberately planned.

The above group of headlines present a study in this chaos and conflict. STEEL has been always considered the "barometer of industry" and the ingot output was on the toboggan in July. The item regarding the closing of banks is only one out of hundreds of its kind.

In the holy realm of the STOCK MARKET the value of July shares shrunk almost three billions. We may be sure that the smaller players are holding the bag and that the great gamblers owners who still have a stake in the land and can raise footstuffs for themselves. They also make up an extensive layer.

Another group clinging to another layer just above these consist of the small merchants, storekeepers and others generally classified as the "middle class." Thousands of them live a precarious existence and they fight a losing battle to prevent being hurled into the layer below.

At the top of the social pyramid is a layer small in numbers but mighty in wealth and power. Here are the financial masters of the world. Here are the trust and merger magnates in alliance with the financial masters. Here are the owners of mines and oil fields. Here are the owners of railroads and great industries. They own the rule. To keep their pyramid from crumbling they try to keep the lower layers content in their misery. The owners and rulers possess the newspapers, the radio, and the magazines. They own and control two parties and their politicians, Republican and Democratic. Through these parties they control the municipal, state and federal governments. The law is theirs. The court decisions are theirs. The administration of the police powers is in their hands.

CAPITALISM ROTTEN-RIPE

And all this wealth, all this economic and political power, rests upon the consent of the millions living in the lower levels of society. Once that consent is withdrawn the whole pyramid will crumble and the kings at the top will come down from their places of power.

That pyramid with its layers of human beings is capitalism. It is rotting and it is shaken all over the world. Those who possess it and who dominate it have made the most miserable failure in all history. A ruling class that cannot even guarantee to feed the victims that serve it does not measure up to what the slave owners of the South did for the Negro bondmen.

Not that Socialists would be satisfied with the degrading aims of the exploiting class. We merely point out that our ruling class themselves are unable to get their own house in order and that their system condemns millions of the workers to destitution and hunger.

The working people of the nation have in the Socialist movement an agency for taking over the powers that are used against them. The capitalist system is a shocking failure. It will not work. It is decaying. The workers have every interest in organizing to abolish it.

All over the world the working masses are obtaining more and more power as the shadows close around this decaying system. They are inspired by the Socialist message of liberation from the economic hell into which humanity has been plunged. Their vast numbers make them invincible when they display a solidarity of interest and organization.

The Socialist Party calls to the workers of this country to join it and fight for this liberation. The job of wresting power from those who now have it and using it to make industry serve us instead of serving fat millionaires is the greatest task in all history.

Join now. It is your fight. It is your cause. It will be your victory when this great battle is won!

## Drivers Vote Strike Against Wage Cut

CHICAGO. (FP)—The Sanitary Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers Union has voted to strike against a reduction in their pay by the city.

Mayor Cermak has decided to give them only four days work a week as an economy measure. The workers demand that they be employed at least five days a week, pointing out that other city employees are kept on the payrolls five days.

## 500 in Mystery Layoff At Phila. Navy Yard

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. (FP)—Five hundred men were furloughed indefinitely and many others were forced off for from three to six days in a sudden mystery layoff at the League Island Navy Yard. The layoff came as a surprise to the perplexed mechanics, particularly since only three weeks ago newspapers in Philadelphia carried headlines saying "1,800 Men Will Get Jobs at Navy Yard."

## Workers' Buying Power Is Cut Nine Billions

WASHINGTON. (FP)—Buying power of American workers will be nine billion dollars less, this year, than in 1930, if wages continue for the remainder of the year at their present level, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declares in the August 5 issue of the Monthly Survey of Business, issued from his office. The wage cut in dollars will be \$10,500,000,000.

## 2,000 Clothing Workers Picket N. Y. Sweatshops

Two thousand men's clothing workers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are picketing independent shops which have been sending work to out-of-town sweatshops. Several more shops have joined the Manufacturers' Exchange and thus automatically settled with the union, while several other shops have settled independently.

With the greatest part of its membership back at work, the union is assessing its employed members 5 per cent of their weekly earnings to continue the strike. Sidney Hillman, president of the union, expresses satisfaction with the course of the strike and sees encouraging signs of success.

## 52 Strikers Are Arrested In Paterson

Budenz and Montross Among Pickets Taken in Silk Walkout

PATERSON, N. J.—Two non-labor reporters were beaten up on the picket line at the Henry Doherty silk mills in Clifton, N. J., where a reign of terror culminated in two major clashes and the arrest of 52 strikers who attempted to picket the mills. Included in the group of 15 A. F. of L. strikers who were arrested when Clifton police tried to forbid strikers the right to enter that suburb, were Louis F. Budenz, executive director of the A. F. of L. forces in the strike, and W. C. Montross, Socialist, who charged the Clifton police arranged a vicious frame-up.

"We were asserting our right to picket peacefully," said Budenz, "and they clubbed us when I protested that we desired arrest if we were committing any offense. I was denied counsel for hours and was not advised of the framed-up charge against me until I was released on bail after 10 hours in jail."

The cases of Budenz and the 14 others arrested with him were transferred to a Paterson court and Recorder John F. Schmidt changed the charge from disturbing the peace to loitering, at the same time raising the bail from \$25 to \$100 each. A group of prominent New York and New Jersey writers, churchmen and others will form a picket line at the Doherty mills in Clifton in protest against the police terror, it is announced.

## Phila. Labor Urges A.F. of L. Act on Jobless

Central Labor Union Wants Federation to Act More Effectively

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—If the executive committee of the A. F. of L. pays heed to the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and vicinity, organized labor will adopt a new policy on the problem of unemployment. Delegates to the central body concurred unanimously with a resolution introduced by Harry Haines, Hosiery Union delegate and candidate for city council on the Socialist and Independent Labor party tickets. Haines' resolution involved agitation for local, state and national action for the unemployed.

Its most important feature was the appointment of a committee to wait upon the executive committee of the A. F. of L. in session at Atlantic City and urge them to agitate for the purpose of greatly increasing relief and to float an emergency loan of at least three billion dollars to finance a wide-spread program of public works. The resolution further called upon the A. F. of L. officials to work out concrete plans for more militant action against wage cuts.

Locally the labor movement demanded the appropriation of more money than the three million now available to help relieve suffering during the coming winter. Governor Pinchot is called on for a special session of the State Legislature and the State Federation of Labor is urged to do all within its power to bring pressure on the Governor to call a special session.

## Indiana Federation Old Age Pension Veto

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—(FP)—Veto of the Indiana old age pension bill by Governor Harry Leslie was scathingly denounced at the convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor here.

Wage cuts throughout Indiana were also denounced and the federation mapped a fighting program to maintain wage standards. President T. N. Taylor, Terre Haute, led the attack on Governor Leslie, recalling that the Governor gave economy as the reason for refusing pensions to the aged.

## Shirt Makers Strike in N. Y. To Enforce Pay

Enthusiastic Response by Workers Give Call for Walk

THE Boys' Shirts Blouse Workers, the Shirt Makers' Union, with the Amalgamated Workers of America, have issued a call for a general stoppage of the trade in Greater New York.

The call affects cutters, sewers and operators and has resorted to in order to put a continuous and repeated threat of the agreement on the minds of the manufacturers. Hundreds of workers left their shops to participate in the march called by the union. Cut pressers and operators overran the hall when Aldo Curcio, acting as chairman, opened the meeting.

Curcio briefly sketched the ships which the Boys' Shirts Blouse Workers had secured because the majority of employers repeatedly violated union agreement in order to get a few pennies from a group already low paid workers, by process of continuously ship bundles to small country union shops.

He stressed the patience of workers and the officers of union who verbally continued warned the employers to stop illegal practice. Verbal warnings were followed by written ones more than two months ago, but to no avail.

The workers have no other choice, concluded the chairman. The workers will stop working until the employers come to their senses and give some concrete evidence of their resolve to live up to the union agreement.

Curcio was followed by Vito Krzycki who spoke in English and Italian. Krzycki emphasized importance of the present march on the part of the union. He said that it is not enough to make union agreements, the employer must be made to live up to them.

## Phila. Hatters Go on Strike; Others Restive

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Revolt against wage cuts is growing in the ranks of Philadelphia hatters. The local union of the United Hatters of America reports a strike in one small shop and development of strong union sentiment in the two largest shops in the city, Stetson and Schoble.

Stetson has, for many years been one of the great model "welfare capitalist" concerns. Every year its employees were given bonuses. Profit sharing had ended labor problems for all time. Workers were also given turkeys, watches and the like at Christmas, which helped to keep them quiet. Came the depression. All profit sharing has been abolished. No more watches and turkeys appear. A vicious speed-up has been introduced. Wages for skilled workers have fallen to from \$12 to \$15 a week. More than 400 workers attending regular weekly meetings and a strike may be expected at any time. Exactly same situation prevails at Schoble plant.

At the Laasale plant 35 hatters walked out in protest against a 10 per cent wage cut. The company has imported strike breakers. Picket lines are smashed by cops, but not a single striker has turned to work.

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## Labor Wins Tories' Seat In Canada

### Unemployment Issue Elects Alderman Mitchel to House of Parliament

The Labor Party captured an old Conservative seat in the Canadian Parliament at the by-election in East Hamilton last Monday and has contributed much to the sentiment in favor of independent political action throughout Canada. Alderman Humphrey S. Mitchell, prominent in the Trades and Labor Congress, is the successful Labor candidate. The returns last Monday night were not complete but Mitchell had such a lead in 116 out of 152 divisions that his election is conceded.

The vote last Monday night in 116 divisions was as follows: Mitchell, Labor, 7,246; Robinson, Conservative, 4,890; Connor, Independent, 311. Conservative headquarters conceded Mitchell's election early in the evening. The success of Mitchell gives the Labor Party four members of the House of Commons.

The East Hamilton seat has been vacant since the death last October of Col. G. S. Rennie, Conservative member since 1926. In the last general elections over a year ago, the vote was as follows: Rennie, Conservative, 12,893; Trevelyan, Liberal, 8,142; Cohen, Communist, 343.

**Unemployment Strengthened**  
In the former election the Conservative received more votes than the total cast for all candidates in the election last Monday. On the other hand the total vote cast on Monday was nearly 9,000 less than the vote cast at the previous election. A smaller vote is generally polled in by-elections than in general elections.

The campaign produced some stirring battles. The Labor candidate, supported by Messrs. Heaps, Woodworth and McInnes, Labor members of the House of Commons, and Agnes Macphail, United Farmer member of the Dominion House, attacked the record of the Conservative Government and stressed its alleged failure to cope with the unemployment problem, which was perhaps the main issue in the fight in this industrial center.

"This is a great victory for the common people," declared Mitchell. "It is merely a reflection of their judgment." He declared he was very tired—after a strenuous campaign and the results of the voting had been announced. He had been carried in a triumphant parade through Hamilton.

**Woodworth Elected**  
"I will try to make every contribution I can to the well-being especially of the women and children of the Dominion," he added. "I ask the people of the constituency to suspend judgment on my actions in Parliament for a time until I have had the opportunity of coming back amongst them. I would like to pay tribute, too, to the men and women of the Labor community and to the progressive forces."

Condemnation of the Bennett Administration is expressed in Labor's first invasion of the industrial east, according to J. S. Woodworth, leader of the Labor group in the House of Commons, commenting on the Hamilton by-election.

Mr. Woodworth was highly elated at the result and declared it was "very encouraging." The representative for Winnipeg North Centre stated that in Hamilton several weeks ago he had remarked in an address that a victory for Mitchell would mean "Hamilton's condemnation for the Bennett administration." He believed the result proved Premier Bennett's failure to keep his election promises and that it showed the unemployment problem to be far from solved.

"Unemployment is worse now than when Mr. Bennett took office," Mr. Woodworth stated. As the cause of the Conservative candidate's defeat he named increasing numbers of unemployed and the general depression. "The victory," he continued, "will put great heart into the Labor forces. It is curious that although the east is the industrial centre of Canada all our

## Socialist Congress Grappled With Immediate Problems

### Hillquit and Gerber Return From Sessions in Vienna

MORRIS HILLQUIT, his wife and daughter, and Julius Gerber, delegates to the congress of the Labor and Socialist International in Vienna, returned on the steamer France Wednesday morning and were met by a delegation of Socialists and friends.

Asked his impressions of the Congress and its work by a New Leader representative Hillquit replied that it impressed him as the most representative of the new series in point of numbers and the parties represented. The Congress met under more critical conditions than at any time before and the seriousness of the situation dominated all its proceedings.

"The Congress was distinguished by the sobriety of its expressions and actions," said Hillquit. "The delegates felt throughout that it was not only an assembly of Socialist propagandists but also of representatives of political parties vested with great power and charged with heavy responsibilities. The Socialist attitude in most of the leading countries of Europe is sure to influence and likely to determine the policies of their countries and to have a concrete bearing upon international problems and relations."

"The principal subjects discussed were treated and disposed of in that spirit," said Hillquit. "In the discussion of the economic and financial crisis of Germany and the menace to democracy, the resolution adopted did not so much seek to lay down general Socialist principles as to formulate a line of action for the Socialist representatives in the principal countries affected, such as Germany, France and Great Britain."

"The resolution on disarmament

did not seem to me to be couched in such determined and uncompromising language as I should have liked, but that was also determined by the concrete and practical circumstances of the case. In this instance it was the joint product of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions. It was formulated with the view of influencing the actions of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations which meets in February. On all such questions the resolution takes the most far-reaching and radical stand but it does not go outside of the concrete problems before the Congress."

The resolution also provides for a program of action which urges the Socialist and Labor organizations of the world, especially in Europe, to exert pressure upon the Disarmament Commission. These include public meetings, demonstrations, publicity and collection of monster petitions. "It is this action," said Hillquit, "rather than the wording of the resolution which is of the utmost practical importance. For the Socialist and Labor organizations that are well organized and disciplined, this program should be carried out to the limit."

The most satisfactory resolution, in the opinion of Hillquit was the one adopted on the world depression and unemployment. "It contains a searching and keen analysis of the causes of the world crisis," he said, "and of its special character and conclusively points out the impossibility of restoring prosperity under the capitalist system."

The organization of the Congress was marvelous and its spirit excellent. "There was a general appraisal of the seriousness of the present economic and political difficulties but underneath it a spirit of confidence in the ultimate victory of Socialism," Hillquit concluded.

## Every Socialist Must Answer This Appeal!

GOVERNOR Pinchot of Pennsylvania, reputed liberal, has told the annual gathering of National Guard officers that he will not hesitate to summon the militia in the coming months to suppress such revolts of the hunger stricken as that of the present miners strike. Bourbon coal operators plead for a subsidy and federal control of the coal industry to save them and their profits.

If you are not hungry, if you are not ragged, if you are not Western Pennsylvania, over twenty thousand coal miners in addition to their wives and children are at this moment tasting the bitterness of hunger, nakedness and homelessness. Day in and day out the cry for relief comes in, for bread, for clothes—anything that will help a human being to live, anything that will stave off the cold, anything that will appease the pangs of empty stomachs. We who have not yet endured these miseries may not understand what striking coal miners mean when they stretch out their arms and call, "Give us food, we are starving!" But if we are human, if we have the basic sympathies of man for man, if we are workers or the friends of Labor, we WILL help, we MUST help.

YET the pleas of many go unanswered. The truckloads of representatives up till now have been from the west. Mr. Mitchell's victory means that labor in the industrial centers is waking up.

A week ago the Liberal Government announced that elections will be held in the Province of Quebec on August 24. This was a trick to catch the other parties unprepared but the Labor Party in Montreal will put up a fight. J. K. Mergier is the Labor candidate on the Island of Montreal. This division is one of the toughest in Canada and the present member is Dr. E. Paulin and Tammany Hall's gang are angels compared to him.

bread, the bundles of clothes, the barrels of vegetables are hardly sufficient to reach the hundreds of needs from desperate communities. Why? Because the MINER'S RELIEF FUND is limited to YOUR kindness, YOUR help, YOUR humanity. The members of the Socialist Party who are working on the MINER'S RELIEF FUND, laboring faithfully, distributing relief from party headquarters where rent need not come from the fund, receive nothing for their labors but the joy that comes from fighting starvation. It is they who hear these penetrating cries and who now send them to you. THEY WILL BE HEARD—AND ANSWERED!

Clothing, but especially shoes, are badly needed for Women, Men and Children. At Fredericktown one active miner and his wife have both been on the picket line every morning since the strike has been effective at their mine and have actually totally worn out the poor excuse for shoes that they originally possessed. This is a serious and genuine strike need.

This appeal must be passed on throughout the nation, to individuals and organizations. Food, clothing and money is asked. THE MINER'S RELIEF FUND OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY will receive your contributions and distribute them to the destitute miners. If you respond to the pleas of these heroic beings who desire only a living wage, decent conditions, send in your checks payable to the "MINER'S RELIEF FUND OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY," Jane Tait, Treas., and forward food and supplies to Room 613, Lyceum Bldg., 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Penna.

Pay Cut On U. S. Work

WASHINGTON.—The first major complaint under a law passed by the last Congress providing that workers on government contracts be paid "prevailing wages" was filed here by painters' union leaders, who charged that painters employed on the new Department of Interior building were paid considerably less than the union rate of \$11 per day.

## Hillquit Tells Of Withdrawal From Oil Suits

### Replies to Thomas' Criticism Published in The New Leader

By Morris Hillquit

(The following statement was written in Paris on the 11th day of July and was sent to The New Leader by the first fast boat with a request for immediate publication.)

The New Leader Board had asked me by cable to delay publication until my return and I have deferred to its wishes against my own judgment.

Paris, July 11, 1931.

THE NEW LEADER of July 4, containing the statement of Norman Thomas on the suits which I have brought against the Standard Oil Company and the Vacuum Oil Company, has just reached me here.

At a distance of 3,000 miles I am decidedly handicapped in the discussion which Comrade Thomas has initiated, yet I feel that in justice to myself and to the party I cannot delay my final statement on the subject until my return to New York.

To clear the atmosphere and to remove from the discussion any question of material interest I will state at the outset that I have decided to withdraw from the cases. I had practically reached that conclusion before I sailed for Europe and as soon as I realized from certain published and unpublished expressions that my part in the litigation may lend itself to honest misrepresentation or to deliberate misrepresentation.

While I never claimed infallibility of judgment or perfect righteousness of conduct I want to make it clear that my decision to withdraw from the prosecution of the suits is not to be regarded as a direct or indirect confession of error in this particular case.

I have been a member of the party for almost forty-five years and have been actively engaged in the practice of law well nigh forty years. I flatter myself with possessing an adequate sense of professional and political proprieties. I have honestly and earnestly searched my conscience and am fully convinced that my oil suits were perfectly legitimate from a legal point of view and had no bearing on my position as a Socialist.

A lawyer can only apply the law as it is and secure to his clients such rights and remedies as it affords him. The set of legal principles which arise from the non-recognition of Soviet Russia are an integral part of the body of American law.

The existing law, for which I am not responsible, is not Socialist but capitalist law and the bulk of litigation under it arises from conflicts of capitalist interests. In the present case the Soviet oil trust has sold oil at very low prices to a group of large American capitalists. The former owners of the oil lands demand from the latter some compensation, which other oil companies, similarly situated, are voluntarily paying.

I can see nothing wrong about these actions unless it be wrong in principle for a Socialist to practice law in a capitalist system or to engage in any other capitalist business activities.

My decision to withdraw from the cases rests on the practical consideration that no case in my office and not my legal practice as a whole are worth enough to compensate me for any criticism of my conduct as a Socialist, no matter how ill founded in substance and disingenuous in purpose such criticism may be. I have never hesitated between the party and my private interests as my intimate party friends, particularly those who were closely associated with me in the war years, well know. I am not claiming any merit or recognition from anybody. I merely mention it in view of the thinly veiled insinuations that I am ready to sacrifice Socialist principles for profit.

With this phase of the question out of the way I must frankly confess that I am at a loss to understand the purpose of the letter which Norman Thomas saw fit to

publish in The New Leader and his whole attitude in this matter. The letter, Comrade Thomas tells us, was written in response to the question asked of him "by many persons, inside and outside of the party" whether he agrees with me that my suits are of no political significance.

I utterly fail to see why all these eager questions should have been addressed to Comrade Thomas, who is not responsible for my actions and why he should have considered himself called upon to make public answer to them.

These questions, according to Comrade Thomas, came from two sources, "inside and outside the party."

As to those inside the party they knew, of course, that the party as such is equipped with ample machinery to investigate and pass upon the conduct of its members, and as to the significant category of those "outside the party," what concern do these good people have with the purity of my Socialist morals and under what obligation towards them was Comrade Thomas to justify or condemn my conduct?

It seems to me if I were asked questions concerning Comrade Thomas' conduct in any private undertaking of his, I would as a matter of common courtesy refer to him for the answer. Comrade Thomas, however, chose to sit in judgment over me.

He procured a copy of the formal complaint from my office in my absence and proceeded to interpret and quote certain conventional law phrases, which are there because of the technical requirements of the rules of pleading and which he cannot be expected to understand any more than I would understand ecclesiastical terms. He then proceeded to render "provisional" judgment against me finding that my actions have political significance and are contrary to the Socialist position.

Comrade Thomas, as I understand him, was lenient enough to suspend final judgment until my return.

Personally I am decidedly of the opinion that the whole discussion could well have been delayed until then. It is not a matter of life or death to the party, and it is in no better taste to start a controversy in the presence of the person criticized than in his absence.

## Monarchists Active Again In Austria

### Socialist Newspaper Warns Reactionaries Masses Will Be Ready For Them

FOLLOWING the adjournment of the International Socialist Congress in Vienna comes the news that reactionary organizations in Austria are again active in support of some move for a monarchist restoration. The Abend, a Left organ, declares that the movement seeks to link up with the Hungarian monarchists. The extreme Right Clerical wing of the Christian Social (Catholic) party, declares the Abend, is not willing to wait longer for the realization of its aims. It has drawn the Clerical wing of the Heimwehr Fascists into its councils.

Austrian Socialists and trade unionists have remained armed against these reactionaries since the end of the World War and a number of times they have beaten off the Heimwehr Fascists. Some attempt may be made on August 18, the birthday of the late Emperor Francis Joseph, to make a drive against the Socialists.

Pianore Castle, where former Empress Zita is living, recently has been visited by an endless string of reactionary statesmen and politicians, one of the latest being the Hungarian Premier, Count Bethlen. The Abend declares that the Austrian former Chancellor Monsignor Seipel, who is known to be a secret adherent to the Hapsburg cause, has just been at Innsbruck with Italian Minister to Vienna Aultrich for a long secret interview with the Italian Crown Princess in the Tirolerhof Hotel.

"The reaction is sounding the attack and intends to do everything possible to provoke a revolution," says the newspaper. "Let them try it. Exhausted though the Austrian people are, they possess yet strength enough to settle accounts with these gentry."

## I. F. T. U. Sees No Signs of Improvement In World Idle Crisis

The International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters in Berlin reports a survey it has made of unemployment in 23 countries and concludes that there "are no signs of any permanent improvement in the economic situation." The smaller nations with capitalist industry not far advanced do not suffer much but the large industrial countries are facing general distress. "Practically everywhere," reads the report, "the voices which predicted an early change for the better have been silenced."

The report adds that a general improvement of conditions is not expected this year, the only hope being that conditions will not grow worse.

## Planes Bomb Cuba as Revolt Sweeps Nation

### Machado Forced to Release 40 Car Strikers—17 Others Jailed

THE strike of the street car workers in Havana and the 24-hour sympathetic strike in Cuba appear to have developed into a general revolt against the dictatorship of President Machado. Late last week forty striking motormen and conductors, including the executive committee of the Street Car Workers' Union, were released from jail. This indicates a weakening of Machado's regime. A few days ago union leaders "disappeared" and were never again seen by their friends.

A few days before the release of the forty strikers it was announced that a general amnesty would be extended to all "political crimes." The political "criminals" consist of those who oppose the criminal rule of Machado but the two gestures of conciliation came too late and an insurrection is spreading throughout the island.

On Monday, when the general revolt was evident, Machado's rubber stamp Congress granted him the power to extend martial law throughout Cuba. The rebels laughed at the amnesty offer, and Machado seized and held seventeen prominent Cubans incommunicado. Ex-President Menocal is a fugitive but he left behind him a manifesto which appeals to soldiers and civilians to rise against the dictatorship.

Back of the revolt are more than a year of economic distress, losses due to the low price of sugar, unemployment of thousands of workers and the brutal rule of Machado and his agents. His regime depends upon the loyalty of the army and even that may not save him because Cuban hills and jungles provide an excellent setting for guerrilla warfare by the rebels. To combat this method of fighting airplanes have been called into service to bomb the insurgents.

Cuban troubles may eventually bring the United States into the revolt under the Platt amendment which makes Cuba a practical American protectorate. In that event American power will take care of capitalist interests in the island as it has on a number of occasions.

## Brownsville Socialists Set a Good Example In Raising Strike Relief

A large open air meeting and demonstration was held Friday night at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Bristol street, Brooklyn, for the benefit of the Allentown textile and the Pennsylvania miners strikers. August Claessens, A. I. Shiplooff, Jack Altman, Sam Friedman, Aaron Leveinstein and Morris Cohn spoke.

For the last two weeks the members of the 23rd A. D., under the able leadership of Minnie Weisberg, have been collecting food, clothing and money from the people of the district. The sum of \$25 has been sent to the Pittsburgh Socialist Relief Committee. Canvassers got excellent results when asking voters for help, while storekeepers and individuals cooperated with vim. The Finnish Cooperative Bakery in addition to giving food has loaned a truck and driver to go to Allentown; while the Brownsville Cooperative Bakery has donated bread and a truck for the evening to take those cases of food and clothes destined for the Pittsburgh miners to the American Express Company. The trucks will have huge signs reading as follows "Socialist Relief for Strikers" while the use of flares, songs and cheers are expected to make the send-off of these trucks at midnight a huge success.

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THE "VOICE" OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS CARRIED INTO THE HOME WHEN COPIES OF THE NEW LEADER ARE SOLD AT STREET MEETINGS. THERE ARE STILL A FEW BRANCHES THAT HAVE TO BE REMINDED OF THAT FACT.

## Building Trades Unions Show Gains

The General Council of the Building Workers International held a meeting at Prague on July 15 and 16. Bernhard, the president, called attention to the very satisfactory development of the building workers' movement in Czechoslovakia: the unions of Prague and Reichenberg and also a union which formerly had leanings towards Moscow have now completely amalgamated; the membership of the centralized building workers' union has been raised during the last six months from 20,000 to 26,000, which speaks well for the results of unity.

The total membership of the Building Workers' International at the end of 1930 was 969,248 (25 organizations in 19 countries). In comparison with 1929, there has been a loss of 42,000 members, which is chiefly due to the dissolution by the Finnish government of the two building workers' unions in that country. (In the meantime two new unions have been founded in Finland, which are exempt from Communist influence: since they take the "free" trade union standpoint, the government will have no excuse for dissolving them). Other considerable declines in membership are: Austria (8,724—15.8 per cent), Germany (34,284—5.6 per cent), Hungary (1,817—19.7 per cent), and Roumania (436—32.7 per cent).

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**Hungarian Socialists Warn Gov't of Hunger Revolt**

**Parliament Adjourns After Stormy Session On Unemployment**

THE arbitrary regime of Admiral Horthy in Hungary makes it difficult for Socialists to carry on in Parliament and yet unemployment figured in a stormy session of that body last week at the close of a session following the elections.

Karl Theier, Socialist Deputy, attacked the government for its policies during the financial crisis, asserting that the policy had led manufacturers daily to close their doors on hundreds of workmen.

The people, Theier said, would not put up with the situation much longer. The statement caused considerable tumult, and when order

was partly restored, Theier asked government officials whether they were minded to withhold help until "Hungary's masses storm the butcher shops."

The tumult broke forth again, with Theier shouting in a stentorian voice, "Some hunger riots already have occurred in the provinces."

Count Bethlen, Premier, began pounding his desk with both fists and other members of the government party followed his example.

The Socialist Deputy repeated his warning, however, declaring that if the present policy were pursued further the government "would have to bear the consequences."

The House adopted a motion to close the session for a Summer vacation of undetermined length.



# Karl Kautsky and the Russian Dromedary

Noted Socialist Novelist Disputes Views on Russia Expressed in Recent Book; The Soviet Experiment and Its Significance to World Socialism

By Upton Sinclair

TWENTY-FOUR years ago I published a pamphlet entitled "War: A Manifesto Against It." This pamphlet was an appeal to the Socialist movements of the world to realize the war peril and adopt a definite program with regard to it. It was my idea that the Socialist organizations of the various nations should constitute themselves an international peace movement, adopting a common program and pledging themselves to revolutionary action to prevent war against one another. This document was taken up by Socialists and anti-militarist organizations of several countries, and circulated to the extent of millions of copies.

I found the Socialist leaders sympathetic in every country except one, and that was Germany. Karl Kautsky, recognized as the intellectual head of the German Social-Democracy, wrote me several letters explaining the reason. The substance of his statement was that the German party could do nothing, therefore it would not try to do anything. If they attempted to prevent a war, their organization would be wiped out. "But," said Comrade Kautsky, "after a war, and especially after an unsuccessful war, then will come our time."

In 1912 I visited Germany and discussed this problem with many of the Socialist leaders, including Kautsky and his wife and son. Their answer was always the same: they called for an unsuccessful war; and this factor was decisive in my mind at the beginning of 1917, when I had to decide my attitude towards America's entrance into the World War. Comrade Kautsky had changed his mind in the meantime, and no longer wanted an unsuccessful war; but I thought he should have it, and so you know, he got it.

## The Revolution Comes in Russia

The political revolution came in Germany, and that country is now a capitalist republic, like the United States. But the social revolution which Kautsky, as a Marxist, had been predicting and working for all his life, did not come in his country, where it was expected; it came in Russia, a country which, according to the Marx-Kautsky formula, was not yet ready for it, and could not make a success of it. So Comrade Kautsky finds history not behaving according to his formula, and faces the painful problem of adjusting his mind.

The result of his effort lies before us in a book just published, "Bolshevism at a Deadlock." Reading it, I am reminded again and again of the rebel story concerning the farmer who went to a circus, and confronted for the first time in his life—the phenomenon known as a dromedary. The farmer looked at it, first from this side and then from that, and scratched his head, and finally enunciated his decision: "There ain't no such beast!" Comrade Kautsky, confronting the beast of Bolshevism, says that it can't be. He proceeds in chapter after chapter to describe the facts as "monstrous," "fantastic," and "impossible," and gives his reasons in one sentence: "If Lenin is right, then my whole life's work devoted to the propagation, application and further development of the ideas of my great masters, Marx and Engels, has been in vain."

The book was published in Germany in the fall of 1930; but the preface to the English and American edition brings the comments down to the spring of this year, and makes plain that last year's successful harvest, and the bringing of half the peasant farmers in to collectives, means no more to Kautsky than anything else that

and so all over the world their enemies now gladly speak about the Stalingrad tractor-plant.

## A Record Grain Crop

But there are details which are not mentioned by the capitalist newspapers, nor by Comrade Kautsky. The figure of 50,000 represented the ultimate capacity of the plant; the production expected in the first year was 20,000. That year has just been completed, and the score was 8,257, which is not quite the same as complete failure; especially when you consider that in the month of May the score was 1,823, and in the early part of June 80 per day, or at the rate of 29,200 a day. Of course these are Soviet figures, and Comrade Kautsky will decline to accept them. All through his books he accepts Soviet statistics as to failures, but when they have to do with success, he writes: "It is unnecessary to say much about Soviet statistics, which are always unreliable when they are optimistic."

## That is one way to compose a book in a hurry, but it seems to me a poor way to arrive at truth.

If the Soviet government had had the early failures of the Stalingrad-plant, then indeed we might question their chances of success; but when they publish these failures to the world, we draw the conclusion that they are facing realities, and taking steps to remedy their deficiencies. Two things are certain: first, that lying about your success in making tractors will not put tractors into the field to plow your land; and second, that if tractors are coming from the factory, and are actually plowing the land, they will not be stopped by the publication of books in Berlin, calling them "Optimists," "fantastic," or "impossible." We may make what guesses we please about the future of Bolshevism, but the present facts are binding upon us. Kautsky, however, makes plain again and again that he is only interested in his formula. "The position is not that the experiment will probably fail; it can be said with full confidence that it will fail—that it must fail."

The offense of the Bolsheviks was that they attempted to "conjure up over night a fully developed socialist system of production for a nation, the great majority of which (over one hundred million) consists of illiterate and primitive peasant cultivators." This is contrary to the formula, and therefore it can't be done, and if it is done, then "There ain't no such beast." Comrade Kautsky quotes one of the Communist papers as telling about the failure to deliver plows to the peasants in the spring of 1930; the paper calls the situation "almost catastrophic," and Kautsky quotes this and lets it stand; he does not consider it necessary to tell you that in spite of the "almost catastrophic" situation, Soviet Russia somehow managed to turn out the largest grain crop in its history, and to have itself recorded in the statistics of the hostile United States government, as number one among the grain producing countries of the world.

Comrade Kautsky tells how the peasants were forced into the co-operatives, and says: "Forced labor is the most unprofitable kind of labor possible, and is the kind which, as far as results go, compares the least favorably with free labor. Only the destitute and entirely ruined peasants enter the



UPTON SINCLAIR

collective farms willingly, and they are precisely the persons who have proved themselves to be the most unskilled and incapable of work." Again he lets it go at that, and does not explain how these "destitute and entirely ruined peasants" managed to break the grain-markets of the world last fall, and compel the American Farm Board to advise American farmers to restrict their acreage, and give up their hopes of the world market.

Kautsky lays down the law: "In no circumstances will Soviet Russia be able to create agricultural large-scale production capable of survival. The attempt to conjure up thousands of big holdings overnight has merely resulted, and will continue to result, in the destruction of the soundest and most productive section of the peasant population." Once more he lets it go at that, and does not tell you that more than half the peasant households of Russia are now in collectives, and that with the great state-farms, they have planted two-thirds of the planted acreage of Russia this year. The season being late, they achieved the miracle of sowing five million acres a day, as against three million in the spring of 1930. The latest report, which I take from a New York Times dispatch of July 7th, is that the gain in acreage over last year was 9.9 per cent. A Federated Press dispatch reports the total sowing as 235,000,000 acres. The state farms have jumped from 1,150,000 acres to 10,378,000 acres—and right while Comrade Kautsky was denouncing collectivization of the land in Russia as "a direct counter-revolution," and declaring that "it is against the counter-revolution that the peasants are rising."

## FROM THE NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

### THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW

Editor, The New Leader:  
During the terrific heat in New York City of the past few days, the hope of New Yorkers to get away from the sun-baked streets and rush to the beach for a breath of cool air, was a vain one. Instead of going to the beach, discussing the topics of the day with a young lady friend, I became aware of a tremendous crowd of men, and the water was so hot that I could not swim. I naturally followed the crowd, and saw an officer of the Law holding a poor youngster by the collar. Each pull that he gave, I heard the poor boy agony, and each jerk that the officer gave the boy caused the crowd of onlookers to gasp in dismay. We all wondered if the man who was charged with the duty of protecting their fellow beings, were permitted this power of injuring a young boy. This lad was poorly dressed, and he looked that if given a good meal, he would have relished and enjoyed such food. The lad was accused by the officer of being a criminal. Can you possibly imagine what that crime might be? I also wondered why the officer was pulling and holding this boy. I then noticed that the boy had a package with him, and a bar of chocolate. An ice-cream truck, accidentally fell out of the bundle. I then became aware that the boy was certainly breaking the Law. His criminal act was selling on the beaches, which was undoubtedly not being done by the many concessionaires, who charged exorbitantly for their candies, and their ice-cream.

### A CLERICAL ALLIANCE

Editor, The New Leader:  
I read with approving interest your article about the Pope's Encyclical, and would like to see them far-spread, so that they might reach the eyes of the fellow citizens of the Roman Catholic faith; they might be mind-openers.

But my purpose in writing to you is to make an inquiry as to whether or not you ever knew of the following: Many years ago when I was residing in Bridgeport, Conn. (I can not recall the year) I came across a report in the daily newspaper which I read regularly at the time, of a gathering of a portion of the clerical fraternity called for the purpose of considering measures for combating the Socialist movement. At the meeting were many prominent ministers, some of the Jewish rabbis and two Roman Catholic clerics.

There ensued a lengthy discussion, every one taking part in it with the exception of the two Catholic representatives. Finally, no conclusions of a definite and practical nature having been arrived at, one of the Catholics spoke, saying, as nearly as I can now recall, "Well, gentlemen, you have not accomplished anything, and I now propose that if you will follow the leadership of my church that we will make a success of our efforts to destroy Socialism." And that group of men, belonging to two other organized religious bodies, had before them, and they had agreed to follow the leadership of the Catholics promptly and obediently.

At the time I cut the report from the paper, but in moving from place to place, I have either mislaid it or lost it. I have never met with any reference to the matter, and have wondered if it was of any significance. I have thought considerably and often about it and have for quite some time past intended to write to you to learn if you have known anything regarding such a meeting. This gathering must have taken place fully twenty years ago. And I wonder if this will be of any interest to you.

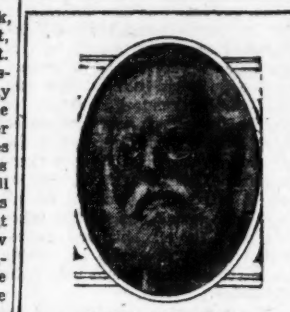
### THEODORE ATWORTH

Newline, La.  
P. S. Just want to add that I admire and highly appreciate your excellent editorials and articles in The New Leader. Wish I could be of the same service to Socialism now as I was when I lived in Brooklyn, in the years ago.

One can go through the book, taking statement after statement, and setting the facts against it. Quoting Moscow's leading newspaper of January 5, 1931, Kautsky refers to the "malady" of the transport system: "Only 57 per cent of the broken down engines were repaired," etc. Kautsky leaves it at that, and does not tell you that during the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, the freight turnover of the railways grew from 156,000,000 tons to 238,000,000. He quotes figures from some of the Russian exiles, as to the shutting down of some of the Russian textile factories for six weeks during the year 1930, due to a shortage of raw material. Kautsky says: "We shall not be far wrong if we ascribe this state of affairs mainly to the decline of the railway system." He does not consider the possibility that Soviet Russia, making its purchases abroad, chose between buying cotton to be spun in 1930, and buying tractors to plow the fields of Turkestan to grow cotton in 1931. The latter was done, and so in the Moscow "News" for June 3rd, 1931, I read: "The cotton planting this spring was 160 per cent above last year." But these are Soviet figures, and may be "optimistic." Let us wait a year or two longer, until Soviet cotton is being offered for sale in Mississippi and Texas!

## Russia's Seven Hour Day

Comrade Kautsky says: "They do not ask how it is possible within the space of five years to triple the number of skilled workers, foremen, and engineers who are needed for tending the machinery." He does not condescend to mention the statistics of the Soviet government as to the enormous number of factory schools which have been opened. In the Moscow News of June 13th, I read that the organization supervising the five-year plan put 130,000 adolescents into factory trade-schools in the month of February alone. How can any Socialist in the world overlook the miracles which Soviet Russia has been achieving in the education of the young along all lines? Educators such as John Dewey and Rabindranath Tagore have come out of Russia lyrical with enthusiasm over these achievements. The hard-boiled correspondent of the New York Times found it necessary the other day to write a column on the subject, and to describe the new youth of Russia as "swell." But



KARL KAUTSKY

Comrade Kautsky's formula requires that this youth should be "a poor, uneducated, ignorant population," and so it remains.

But the strangest passages in the book are those dealing with the seven-hour day in Russia. Comrade Kautsky imagines his readers asking him whether this may not be "a very great advance over the level attained to by the capitalist states"; and he answers the question: "It certainly would be if the hours of work had really been reduced by this measure, but this is in no wise the case. He goes on to prove this; and his sole proof is a citation from one of the Soviet papers, concerning a spinning and weaving mill which found that no more men were needed with the seven-hour day than before. From that he passes on—and what has he left in your mind? Has he told you that the Russian workers have the seven-hour day, or that they have not? This can be compared to the procedure of a conjurer who stands before you on the platform, and tells you that you are going to see a rabbit come out of a hat. The conjurer does a great deal of talking, and makes many passes with his hands, but you do not see the rabbit. Later the conjurer remarks, casually, 'You remember, ladies and gentlemen, how a little while back you saw me take the rabbit from the hat.' And those in the audience who have not very good memories perhaps say to themselves: 'How was it? Did he really take a rabbit from the hat?'" Says Comrade Kautsky, later in his book: "Are not, at least, those who are in work much better off? Certainly not, as far as hours of work go; this we have already seen." But

## The Five Year Plan

Comrade Kautsky is certain that the Five-Year Plan is going to fail, and he is equally certain that this failure will mean the downfall of the Soviet government. He does not consider it worth while to mention that the question has already been decided, so far as concerns such major features as oil and electrification, which have completed the Five-Year Plan in two years and a half. He does not tell you that the Plan has been far exceeded so far as concerns the collectivization of agriculture, and will be exceeded this year so far as concerns planted acreage. No-

where is there mention of the fact that the Five-Year Plan schedule have been revised upward, so that the program is no longer a Five-Year Plan but a Four-Year Plan.

There is endless discussion throughout the capitalist world as to "success" or "failure" of this Plan, but very little understanding of what is meant by "success" or "failure." The editorial writer of the New York Times not long ago, set forth the fact that the plan was failing because it was succeeding too fast! By multiplying several times over their production of oil, the Soviets were breaking down the railroads, and hampering their other production schedules! Comrade Kautsky is spared this particular fear—not being able to bring himself to admit that anything has succeeded. He predicts inevitable "failure," but without taking the risk of telling us just what he means. We are left to wonder: are the Russians going to be so disgusted at achieving only 90 per cent of the scheduled production of copper, that they will rise up and overthrow their government? Just what percentage of failure in the copper-schedule will produce this rage? Will 90 per cent do it? Or will it take 85 per cent?

Merely to ask such questions ought to show the absurdity of the current notion about "failure." The success of the Plan is being made, hour by hour, in the building up of Russian industry, and the coming into production of new industrial units. Five hundred and eighteen such units, some of them the largest in the world, are scheduled to go into production this year; and this is success, and will be success—even though some of the units do not start until January or February of next year, and even though their production during the first few months may be only 80 per cent, or 90 per cent, of that hoped for. If you are building a house, and hope to move into it by Christmas, you may call it "failure" if you do not get in until George Washington's birthday. But even so, if you get your house and live in it, you soon forget the annoyance experienced while camping out in the garage. The Soviet house will be finished sooner or later and Karl Kautsky, "foremost Marxist theoretician of our times," will be found sitting on the curb, commenting: "What is the essence of the Five-Year Plan? Nothing but upsetting the balance between the various branches of production."

## The Problem for Socialists

Communist Russia offers a difficult problem to the Socialists of the world. I am one of those old-fashioned persons who still has hope that in countries such as Britain and the United States, where the people have been accustomed to self-government, the change from capitalism to Socialism can be accomplished without the overthrow of the government. At least I feel it my duty to go on pleading for such a solution of the problem.

lem. But in the meantime, here is Soviet Russia, a fact; the most tremendous fact, as I believe, in the history of the human race. Soviet Russia is coming up, and the capitalist nations are going down. Soviet Russia has solved the problem of unemployment—wholly unmoved by the fact that Karl Kautsky from his study in Berlin sends out to the world the statement that: "Lack of work is a scourge of the proletariat in the Soviet States as well as in the capitalist countries."

The starving unemployed of the United States, of Great Britain, and of Comrade Kautsky's own Germany, become aware of what is happening in Russia. There is no way to keep the truth from them, no matter how many books you write filled with quotations from "White" newspapers and Soviet "self-criticism." Again and again it has happened to British and American newspaper publishers to send their trained reporters to Russia, and have these men see what is happening, and take their stand in favor of the Soviets. In the beginning there were Phillips Price and Arthur Ransome; of late there have been W. H. Chamberlin, of the Christian Science Monitor, and Walter Duncanson of the New York Times. I am aware that it is possible to quote from these men passages of strong indictment of the Soviet regime; but that is only repeating Kautsky's error of a partial quotation—since the sum total of their impressions is a strongly favorable one. The New York Evening Post sent H. R. Knickerbocker, whom they trusted, and they spent a fortune to advertise his attacks upon the "Red Trade Menace." They did their best to help out their cause with scare headlines. But even so, Mr. Knickerbocker made plain that the Five-Year Plan was proving an enormous success, and that this success had won his admiration and respect.

## Theories and Facts

One of our leading engineers, Colonel Cooper, has given testimony to the fact that last year the Soviet workers broke the world's record by pouring half a million tons of concrete on the Dnieprostroy dam. Col. Cooper now tells us that this greatest dam in the world will be finished next year, and its turbines will be turning out power for the world's greatest complex of industrial plants—all built on what was a barren steppe three years ago. These facts are being discovered by the capitalist world of five continents, and it is preposterous that the Socialists of the world should be blind to them. The workers of Russia are giving the first demonstration of the possibilities of large-scale cooperative industry, and all of us—the Socialists, and the capitalists, and the plain people in between—have to adjust our theories to fit these new facts, and make use of them in planning the way of escape from the torments and miseries of our collapsing profit-system.

## The Economics of Race Hatred

Capitalism Pits White Worker Against Colored; Socialism Calls for Unity of All Labor

### By Arthur C. Parker

ALL workers by hand or brain are sellers of labor power. They sell to owners of industry, their ability to produce some commodity for money in the form of wages or salary. Capitalists, or owners of industry, are the buyers of that labor power. As buyers they are primarily concerned in buying at the smallest cost possible, all of the labor power necessary to operate their industries and so enlarge the amount of their profits. (Herein lies the curse of the competitive system, "the profit motive.") It naturally follows that the owners of the mills, mines, factories, oil wells, forests, and banks should devise means by which to keep wages low and a plentiful supply of unemployed labor available. Logically, it is also a manifestation of self interest for capitalists or corporate wealth to keep the millions who labor disgraced and so separately important.

Modern capitalism adopted Ancient Rome's slogan, "Divide and Rule." Following constantly this line of conduct, the wealth of owners of industry has always been available to finance any movement, any book, drama, or play that, inaudibly dramatizes or makes conspicuous natural and artificial differences among the members and groups of this heterogeneous nation.

Propaganda that originates no one knows where, ends by developing popular opinions so effectively that otherwise intelligent Negroes find themselves saying, "the dirty Jew or that damn Dago," and so on. On the other hand, Negroes have been dupes of dishonest politicians ever since the beginning of the reconstruction period. Capitalists who desired the political control of the South sent their agents, historically remembered as carpet baggers, into the South to teach the newly enfranchised Negroes how to vote straight Republican tickets. At the same time, several

northern Republican states, notably, Kansas, Ohio, Missouri, and Minnesota, absolutely denied colored citizens the right to vote although they forced southern states to incorporate the Negroes' right to vote in their states constitutions. Northern and eastern states already dominated and controlled by capitalism through the Republican political party did not need the support of the Negro. In order to gain political control of the South and so procure for northern capitalists valuable land concessions, it was absolutely necessary to see to it that the ex-slaves voted and voted right.

### The Negroes Re-enslaved

No sooner had the northern capitalists through the deluded Negroes, assured themselves a firm economic stranglehold on southern industry than the Negroes, just used as catspaws anyhow, were left to shift for themselves. Only the expected happened. The ex-slave holders immediately disfranchised the colored political novices, re-enslaved them by a peonage system and forcibly discouraged every further attempt on the part of Negroes to achieve actual economic, political, and social equality.

Negro labor from that time, about 1875, has been constantly pitted against white labor and unemployed groups of Negroes held at the gate of industry as an ever present threat over the heads of employed, organized white labor.

In all the skilled branches of industry trade unions had not the vision or intelligence to include in their unified ranks these black men who are again used unknowingly to break strikes, to keep down wages and better working conditions. All white workers, skilled, unskilled, organized and unorganized have had so little success in their continuous fight for humanly decent working conditions with better pay because they fail to realize what corporate wealth knows so well—that capital buys labor power; not white, red, yellow or black labor power,

but labor power from whoever or wherever sells the cheapest. Further, the capitalists know that no exclusive group of organized workers could ever rise alone above the uncertainty, general insecurity and poverty of the masses of workers regardless of race, color or creed. Purposeful organized bodies of workers are held unrecognized and impotent by the millions of competent but excluded workers who too must work to live.

In the endless search for jobs, white and black workers clash. Identity of class interests are forgotten or unrecognized, and race and creed differences are magnified a thousand fold. Owners of industry foster and cultivate this ill feeling among the workers, knowing that they alone benefit thereby. Blacks, whites and various European groups are kept leaping at each other's throats hating, killing, unorganized and ostrich-like, oblivious to the common enemy, "corporate wealth and vested interests."

### The Negro Workers' Party

1. Just so long as the workers of America, including branches of the A. F. of L., exclude workers from the ranks of organized labor because of color or creed, just so long will the owners of industry look with derisive contempt at the puny efforts of the honest and sincere labor leaders with their organizations to attain recognition and power.

2. Workers of the United States of every kind or color can never gain the opportunity of really living in a democracy of, for and by the people without political action.

3. The workers of the United States want regular and assured employment, maximum wages, shorter hours and an abundance of food, shelter and clothing. The Socialist party demands a common ownership of the land and the means of producing and distributing wealth, the conversion of industry into public service directed toward social needs for all the people and not for the private profit of a privileged few.

## That "Revival in Steel"

Lowered Production and Camouflaged Wage Cuts Followed by Chorus of "Sound Business"

By Horace B. Davis

ANY day now in the press you may read, "Steel head predicts revival in business."

It doesn't mean a thing. Either presidents of steel companies talk a lot about things they don't understand, or they are a bunch of arrogant liars. Here are a few examples of "expert" predictions, as they relate to the steel industry: "The steel business, as far as I am able to see, has no cloud on the horizon for the remainder of the year," said William G. Clyde, president of the Carnegie Steel Company, on September 11, 1929.

Immediately afterwards, steel production, which had already begun to show a downward trend, took a big plunge, and has zigzagged downward ever since.

On December 6, 1929, James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, was quoted as looking for a very early recovery in business, and saying of his own company, "We expect a good average year in 1930." A year and a half later, he was still predicting that upturn in business. At the annual meeting of stockholders held April 20, 1931, Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the finance committee, said, "We can face the future with the fullest confidence"; and the financial community, credulous, it would seem, to the end, was reported much heartened. Then in August it cut dividends almost half.

### "Continued Improvement"

On February 26, 1930, James A. Campbell, chairman of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company,

said he believed business would continue to improve. Horace Wilkinson, chairman of the Crucible Steel Company of America, which is said to be the world's largest producer of high speed and tool steels, said in February, 1930, that he believed that orders and production in the steel business, which had increased in January over November and December, would continue to increase. Instead they fell off. Ernest T. Wier, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, sixth largest steel producer in the country, expressed the opinion on May 2, 1931, that the industry had reached its low point. It had not. The industry as a whole was operating two months after this prediction, at one-third of capacity, a ten-year low record, and not far from an all-time low.

Yet many workers continue to believe what the bosses say. Thus many employees of the United States Steel Corporation probably took some stock, figuratively, in 1930 under the employee-stock-ownership plan. Their trustfulness has cost them half the sum that was deducted from their pay to make the purchase, and trustful employees of former years have been similarly gypped. Thus 49,612 employees subscribed in 1928 when the price of stock was \$145; in 1929, the price was \$168, and in 1930, \$169, and in January, 1931, \$140. The stock was selling early in August, 1931, at \$83.50. Stock for which employees in the four years, 1926-29, inclusive, had agreed to pay \$53,400,000 was worth at market prices of August, 1931, only \$31,900,000. This em-

ployees had suffered a loss—on paper, at least—of \$21,500,000. This loss was not cancelled by the special advantages accorded the "loyal" employees under the plan.

### "Sound"—For the Owners

Wage reductions were not contemplated, said President Campbell of Youngstown Sheet and Tube in November, 1929. Workers for his company report that during 1930 there were repeated "readjustments" of tonnage rates in Youngstown Sheet and Tube plants. Employees of Charles M. Schwab, who have found their earnings cut by similar trickery, could still read in May, 1931, that the patriotic Charlie was maintaining his pledge not to cut wages of Bethlehem workers. President Farrell of the United States Steel, said several times at the opening of the depression that his company did not contemplate cutting wages; but beginning in 1931, a press campaign of several months was conducted to prepare the way for a general slash and at the same time to throw the blame on the independents. The trust, according to Farrell, is afraid of competition.

Yet the United States Steel Corporation does not plead poverty; in fact it assures its stockholders that its financial position is excellent. Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and crown prince of hokus-pokus for Charlie Schwab, let slip an item of truth on July 30, 1931, when he said, "The steel industry in the United States was never in a sounder position to take care of itself. The industry is very sound financially in this country."



## Get Hot

There is a terrible lot of studying going on these days. The American Federation of Labor is "studying idleness." Mr. Hoover is studying unemployment at Rapidan and I am studying the best way to beat the Sheriff.

I know that all you boys and girls will be delighted to hear that the latest word from Mr. Hoover indicates that despite his intensive studies, he is "thriving," according to United Press reports.

Mr. Hoover, like most of us, has been a bit reduced lately. But unlike most of us, he has had to work to reduce, not just look for work. By throwing a medicine ball around the White House lawn and listening to Secretary Doak explain the unemployment problem, the President has succeeded in losing of twenty-three pounds and now his face isn't "puffy" any more.

There is little indication however that he has anything to reduce the fat above his eyes. Now that he has declared a moratorium on German debts and American wages, he is still determined to stick to his first story, namely that unemployment is a "local issue" and that only as a last resort will the Federal government do anything about it.

So in case you have been puzzled about it, you will be relieved to hear that your trouble is purely local, like ringworms and goiters and such. To cure it, you simply apply local palliatives and stop bothering the students at Washington about your ills.

In the releases from Rapidan about the progress that the Old Doak and Mr. Hoover have been making in their studies there is a lot of talk about ascertaining the "load of unemployment." We just don't get the drift of these magic words. At first we thought they had some connection with the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. when that august body announced that the return of light wines and beers was all we needed. But our experience has convinced us that unemployment and that sort of "load" don't gee.

So it must be that the "load of unemployment" is something to be borne with Christian forbearance like those "Acts of God" so widely advertised by John Barton Payne of the Red (Double) Cross.

To be sure, if you don't happen to be a Christian you can go out and kick like hell about carrying around this load.

But if you do, don't blame us if you don't find any pie in your sky, bye and bye. The real patriotic thing to do is to haul up the American flag over what the eviction agents have left of your goods and chattels, sing a couple of stanzas of "Nearer My God to Thee" and then starve decently to death.

Sometimes back I wrote that I was obsessed by the idea that "we are all of us moving through a prelude to vast, world-shattering events," and that the times were singularly reminiscent of the "Open Letter" from Joseph Hamburger of Lancaster, Pa., who says he feels the way I do and who suggests in part:

"The immediate, crying need is for the organization of functional bodies allied with the Socialist Party, bodies which are in a position to call strikes, economic boycotts, or engage in other forms of peaceful class warfare. The British working class is organized in just such bodies. In addition to the Labor Party, there are the Co-operatives, both producers and consumers, and the great industrial trade unions. There was an attempt to embroil England with Russia in 1923, but the great Triple Alliance of Miners, Transport Workers and Railroaders put that plan under hatch by the simple threat of a general strike. Whether capitalism could wage war against such obstacles as the Triple Alliance placed before it in 1923 is very doubtful. A combined refusal to co-operate by both producers and consumers, organized into unions, co-operatives, labor banks, benevolent societies, etc., would stop any war in which the support of the Nation was required. An honest attempt to focus the Socialist movement upon the abolition of war would of course, also involve a Peace Oath, such as that of members of the War Resisters' League. As long as Socialists can remain in the Party and advocate 'defensive war,' so long will the peace professions of the Party be worth less than Kaiser Bill's 'Scrap of Paper.'"

I am a bit skeptical about "Peace Oaths" and the like. They seem a little juvenile, like making faces at an approaching tornado. But I'm certainly convinced of the immediate necessity of getting back to the job of making firm alliances with industrial unions and co-operatives. Of using every weapon forged out of economic steel with which to slay the capitalist beast. And if because of my conviction, I may seem to be a bit contemptuous of "hoo-liners" and "liberals" who ironically enough like Hoover and Doak and the A. F. of L., think you get somewhere by sitting on the top floor of a burning house studying the causes of the fire that is raging through the basement—well, that is just too bad.

If this diagnosis is correct, that we are indeed going down a collective toboggan to some even greater cataclysm than we slid into in 1914, then surely it is up to everyone of us to redouble our Socialist efforts. Certainly this is no time for any schismatic gesturings. Factionalism in the Party at this crisis would tickle the Fat Boys to death. Even the sort of family rows that took up so much of our time and energy in the past are definitely barred. This does not mean that those who have practical programs for practical action should not press them now. On the contrary, the needs for such programs were never more pressing. The danger is that we may be diverted from our common goal by bickering over personalities. Those who are truly serving the Party today are those, young and old, who are giving of their best to agitation, to closer contacts with our only realistic base, the rank and file of the labor movement and to the intelligent propagation of a program which shall capture the imagination of the workers of America. We are not a debating society. We are the only large and significant political party in America representing the interests of the farmers and workers. We are going into another campaign to elect Socialists, to make new Socialists, to bring to the working masses a consciousness of what is happening to them. As we find ourselves for the struggles that are before us, we may well resolve to cut off the head of any factionalism that may arise and to go, shoulder to shoulder, into the heat of a fight that will take from all of us all that we have of devotion and sacrifice and militant courage.

It isn't a matter of "God Save Us All." It's a matter of saving ourselves from the vicious system which has us on our knees. Rise and shine, Comrades. Let's go.

McAlister Coleman

## From Our Foreign Correspondents

# The Reaction Loses in Prussia

By Algernon Lee

TO those good-hearted American comrades who fancy that Bolshevism is essentially the same as Socialism, only a little more "radical" or "militant," it must have been a bit of a shock to learn that the Communist party in Prussia formally declared its solidarity with the Stahlhelm and the Hitlerite Fascists in their effort to carry a referendum dissolving the Prussian legislature and ousting the Socialist ministry. The purpose of this referendum is frankly announced to be the installation of a nationalistic and reactionary dictatorship. One of the Fascist organs, a few days ago, speaking of demonstrations to be held on August 2 in support of the referendum said: "On August 2, 1931, we mobilized against France; on August 2, 1931, we mobilized against Marxism." And now, as Hapsburg and Hohenzollern joined forces against France, Communism and Fascism unite against the Social Democracy.

[Editorial Note Since the above was received from Comrade Lee the referendum in Prussia, held last Sunday, was overwhelmingly rejected, it having received only about 37 per cent of the eligible vote. Prussia is the leading state of Germany as it contains 60 per cent of the total population of the Reich. Had the referendum carried it would have enormously strengthened Fascist and capitalist reaction throughout Germany. The voting on the referendum in Germany is different from the procedure in many other countries. Only affirmative votes need be cast so that the announcement of this man or that man not voting means really opposition to the proposal, not a neutral position. For example, Chancellor Brüning in a radio address announced, "You will not see me at the polls."

The next day a Nationalist manifesto was published in favor of the proposal and it is interesting to note that the signers included Alfred Hugenberg, Nationalist leader; Paul Joseph Goebbels, a Hitlerite leader; Field Marshal von Mackensen; Dr. Hjalmar Schuler, former president of the Reichsbank; General von Dörmann and von der Goltz, leaders of "patriotic" organizations, and General Heyer, former chief of the Reichswehr. The result of the referendum is a blow to the combined forces of reaction which have been especially active in Prussia. They know that if they obtained a majority in the largest state in Germany their prestige would be enhanced and the Fascists would again take to the streets in the hope of repeating the achievement of Mussolini in Italy.

Last week the organized "industrialists"—that is, the great industrial capitalist—of Germany for the first time refused to give financial support to the Fascist Party. Whether the refusal represents the real fact, or whether it was a grandstand play to cover a quiet passing of funds, may perhaps be doubted. It would of course

## United Attack on Republic by Fascists and Communists Fails at Polls—Other European Notes

have been grossly untruthful for German capitalists openly to subsidize the blatant chauvinism of Hitler at the very moment when they were asking France among other countries to save them from bankruptcy. It is possible, too, that they have enough sense to realize that, useful as Fascism is to them as a means of dividing and weakening the masses, its actual triumph and the chaos which would ensue might be ruinous to German capitalism as well as to German democracy.

What is beyond doubt is that the great capitalists and their statesmen in Germany and in France alike are to blame for the virtual failure of the negotiations at Paris and London. Brüning's government has been too much afraid of offending nationalist sentiment to abandon the bluff of trying to restore Germany's naval power; and by insisting on "prestige" of the pre-war type it has given Laval's government a plausible pretext, even though not a valid reason, for obstructing the British and American plan for averting an economic cataclysm.

A franker and more intelligent diplomacy on the German side would have accomplished one of two things—either it would have overcome the French objections, or it would have isolated the French government in the international field and weakened its hold on French public opinion. This the German Social Democrats have emphatically proclaimed. On the other hand, had Laval and those whom he represents been capable of a magnanimous act, they would have struck a telling blow against militaristic nationalism in Germany, whose reviving influence is due solely to a feeling of desperation among the masses. Leon Blum wrote of the conference at London as "une occasion perdue"—a lost opportunity—from the French as well as the international point of view.

The People of Brussels compare the present financial crisis in Germany with that which took place in Belgium five years ago. While they differ in technical aspects, says the writer, they have this in common—that both of them resulted directly from specific acts of the great capitalists and of the respective bourgeois governments, and that in both cases the spokesmen of capitalism tried to throw the blame upon the Labor and Socialist movement. The German bourgeoisie, in so far as it talks of the possibility of overcoming the crisis without foreign aid, proposes to do this by cutting down the expenditures for unemployment insurance and other social services and by reducing wages.

In the second commission of the International Socialist Congress—the one dealing with political aspects of the present European crisis—one of the British I. L. P. delegates took the ground that democracy in the bourgeois world is a mere "facade" or sham, and that Socialists should not bother



WHEN THE SOCIALISTS OF THE WORLD MET IN VIENNA. (Above) A section of a huge parade in which young workers carried banners in 17 languages demanding universal disarmament and world peace. (Below) At the workers' Olympic games. Hundreds of labor athletes performed exercises with huge red banners.

about defending it. The old war-horse Vilegen, of Holland, replied by quoting the words of Matteotti: "Liberty, like bread, is a thing which men learn to prize only when they are deprived of it."

A remark made by Blum in the same commission impressed me deeply. Among the topics dealt with was the question whether the peace treaties should be made by the International at this time. Blum was among those who believed that such a demand, especially as affecting the frontiers established by those treaties, would not effect its purpose, but would play into the hands of the chauvinists in each of the countries and would increase the danger to democracy and to peace. That the frontier arrangements are in various instances unjust and absurd he readily admitted. He hoped for a calmer moment, when these absurdities and injustices may be set right. But he suggested that here is something more important than the rectification of frontiers. That more important thing is to diminish the significance of frontiers by lowering tariffs and otherwise facilitating trade, travel and communication, by reducing armaments, by practicing national militaries, by creating international agencies for mutual aid in economic matters, by further developing social and cultural contacts

between the peoples. The less a national frontier means as a barrier to the movement of foods, of persons, and of ideas, the less will be the evil resulting from the anomalies of the political map.

When Ribas of Spain took the floor he was given an enthusiastic ovation, which he recognized as being paid to the spokesman of that new republic, with its powerful Socialist movement. In a short and earnest speech he stressed the necessity for closer contacts between the proletarian movement of Europe and those of both North and South America, and also between the working class organizations of the United States and those of the Latin-American countries.

I wish I could describe the pageant which was presented in the new municipal stadium on July 25 to mark the closing of the Labor Olympiad and the opening of the International Congress. But I doubt whether the greatest mass of words that has ever written could do justice to the physical and spiritual play of that scene. Certainly I shall not attempt it. No dramatic impresario with unlimited money at his command could produce such a masterpiece as this a commercial enterprise. In idea and in execution it came out of the hearts and heads of the proletariat of Vienna, and no

one who saw it can doubt that the fulfillment of the social revolution will give the world an art and a culture surpassing that of Periclean Athens or of the Renaissance.

And when the performance was over—imagine more than 60,000 men, women, and youth, spectators and performers together, pouring out from the stadium and forming an impromptu procession along the road that leads back into the city. Probably one-third of them carried torches and occupied the main roadway, while the rest streamed through the broad tree-lined footpaths on either side. How far others marched, I don't know; but it was a good hour before we broke away and found places in a train. Once in that hour we heard a woman angrily protest against being jostled by some thoughtless eager young men, who took the scolding with perfect good humor. Not a single note of rowdiness or vulgarity was to be seen or heard. All the policemen had to do was to answer questions, which they did with fine courtesy. No one seemed to be in command, yet there was perfect order. And what a joyous crowd it was, with its songs and its cries of "Hail!" and "Freundschaft!" singing back and forth. To me this was, in another way, as impressive as the pageant itself. It showed how a democratically disciplined working class can behave—with far more respect and mutual consideration than I have ever seen exhibited. I will not say by crowds at Coney Island or on our Rialto, but by a well dressed audience leaving the Metropolitan Opera.

We have met two former Rand School students now in Vienna, one a German and the other a Pole. It was pleasant also to be greeted on the street by Julius Hoenigfeld, who is now living in this city, but whom many of the older comrades in New York will remember as an active party worker there in former years.

Among the German delegates here are eight women who are members of the Reichstag. Two of these, Adele Schreiber and Toni Sender, are known to our New York comrades and asked many questions about American conditions and our party's work. In the British delegation are three who have visited us in recent years—Mary Agnes Hamilton, George Dallas, and Fennel Brockway. Dannenberg of Austria, Abramowitz of the Russian Soviet Democracy, Porthoy and Ehrlich of the Bund, and Looker of the Labor Party of Palestine, are others with whom we have renewed acquaintances that were formed in the United States.

Some of the British comrades who were most prominent in former congresses, such as Henderson and MacDonald, are this time conspicuous by their absence. This is of course due to the fact that under existing conditions they cannot leave their posts in parliament and in the ministry even for a few days at a time.

## France Squeezes Germany and Austria

Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe Seen as Rooted In Political Maneuvers of Paris Government

By Benedict Kautsky

Vienna, July 27

IT is quite clear that the present financial and economic crisis in Germany really has its roots in the field of politics and that only a political solution can bring genuine relief.

The French government, supported by its immense store of gold and the fact that France is the only big capitalist nation not suffering from the crisis, believes that it can strengthen, and even extend, the political structure created by the Treaty of Versailles. That's why it insists upon making financial help for Germany depend upon political concessions which, in this form, can hardly be granted by any German government. Of course there is no sense in continuing to construct "pocket battleships" during this financial and political crisis and the failure of the Brüning government to renounce such construction of its own volition shows how fearful it is of being branded as not patriotic enough—in the nationalist sense.

And there certainly ought to be some way to settle the question of the customs union between Germany and Austria, especially because in the present situation neither of the two countries is in a position to settle such an important problem with calmness and prudence. But the plans, more or less officially mentioned in the press, for an agreement upon a political moratorium of several years are absolutely impossible, because today nobody in Europe can raise up political developments so far in advance.

The French government is using exactly the same tactics it did a short while ago when it tried to use Austria's financial crisis to extort political concessions from the Austrian government. Just when,

during the decisive negotiations regarding the guaranteeing of the Kreditanstalt's liabilities by the nation, the government headed by Chancellor Ender began to totter and Austria was without a leader, the French government tried at first to make its financial assistance contingent upon the dropping of the customs union project by the Austrian government. When this demand was rejected, it endeavored to exert its former influence upon a section of the Christian Social party in order to bring Monsignor Seipel back as Austrian Chancellor and to sidetrack Foreign Minister Schober.

These were the same methods applied later to Germany. If Austria was able to make a more determined resistance, it wasn't because that country was more independent of France, but because England could help it more easily, as it was a matter of much smaller credits. The first French attempts to force political concessions from the Embarrassed Ender government by denying it financial aid were nullified by the action of the Bank of England in placing a short-term credit of 150,000,000 schillings (worth 14 cents each) at the disposition of the hard-pressed Austrian treasury. But because it was a question of much larger sums in Germany, England couldn't come to the rescue in the same way.

The government, headed by Chancellor Buresch, which succeeded the Ender government, rests upon the same political coalition as its predecessor. The new Chancellor is also a Christian Socialist of the moderate section, which does not look for trouble with the Social Democracy and sees its main task in promoting the personal and party business of the bourgeois parties as effectively as possible.

The change in the Ministry of Finance is more important. Dr. Juch has been succeeded by Professor Redlich, a scholar of international fame, well known in Anglo-Saxon countries and for many years as exchange professor at American universities. Redlich is undoubtedly a man with ideas and inspired by the best intentions. But it is a question if he will be able to impose his ideas upon the powerful reactionary bureaucracy of the Ministry and if the devel-

## A Cooperative Achievement

In a story given to The New Leader by one of the pioneer members of the Consumers Cooperative Apartment House, New York City, the following enthusiastic account of the activities of the organization is given:

"Seven years ago, some of us just parted company with the landlord. We didn't do a thing to him, but something for ourselves.

"A small group of consumers, just folks who couldn't live in a tree but needed some kind of home place to roost in, got together and bought a red brick house in old Greenwich Village. None of us had money, but with what savings we had pieced out with loans from friends who believed as we did, that the business of houses without profit should be tried out, we proceeded to make over our red house to suit our own needs and tastes. There are 35 apartments, which, like most folks, are alike on the outside, but each different from the other on the inside. There have been stormy days, with mistakes aplenty, such as we all make every day, but by this doing we have learned to manage our own affairs.

"We've had comfortable homes

omment of the Kreditanstalt affair hasn't gone so far already that he cannot change it materially.

The Kreditanstalt affair has been brought to a kind of an end through the enactment of a number of laws. The government has decided to guarantee almost all the liabilities of the bank, but without formally assuming blanket responsibility, as Germany did in the case of the Dantsa Bank. Therefore the liability must be taken over in each single instance. By

in a convenient location with rents at actual cost! Once we carried four mortgages; now we are fast reducing the second one, which means that the members' stock is second only to the first mortgage. Not one assessment have we had, and operating charges have decreased. Fifteen members who have found it necessary during this period to change their residence have in every case received promptly the full amount of their capital loan investment.

"The breeze sometimes comes from the Hudson, two blocks from our home. And there are easily accessible five transportation lines to shift you around New York City."

The cooperative house is located at Bedford and Barrow streets.

LIVE UP TO THE confidence that the advertiser has in THE NEW LEADER. Give him the preference when making your purchases.

YOU REACH THE MAN IN THE STREET WHEN OPEN AIR MEETINGS ARE HELD. TO REACH THE MAN IN HIS HOME AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY, SEND COPIES OF THE NEW LEADER.

government order the contracts with the most highly placed employees have been annulled and excessive pensions have been cut down. And finally it has been decided to create a special committee, including members representing the working people, to investigate the past of the bank and to plan for its future. The Social Democrats played an important part in the enactment of these laws.

The Socialists also succeeded in repelling the violent attacks by the bourgeois parties upon the unemployment insurance laws. On the other hand, the bourgeois parties, led by the Agrarians, managed to put through a tariff increase which is bound to result in a material rise in the cost of living. Austria's troubles are by no means over. It is, unfortunately, a striking example of what the madness of capitalism and of the peace treaties have managed to make out of a once flourishing country.

But no matter how serious the situation in Austria itself and in all Central Europe may be, the energy and fighting spirit of the working class of Austria and of the other countries affiliated with the Socialist International are by no means broken. The Second Olympiad of the Socialist Labor Sport International, which took place the week preceding the opening of the Congress of the Socialist International last Saturday, turned Vienna into a Red army camp and showed that the working class is determined to maintain its courage and defiant spirit despite the hardships of the present period.

The festivities weren't showy, but the sporting events, the parades and torchlight processions, participated in by tens of thousands and cheered by hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic spectators, furnished the best kind of evidence of the solidarity and fighting spirit of the International Social Democracy.

## The Chatterbox

### Sonnet for Lovers About To Marry

LOVE has a way of blinding out the scene Behind and all about her devious play; And for the moment we are caught between, The things that matter and the things we say.

She has a warmth to sell, and in the cold, We bicker eagerly and unafraid, Against the day when we are firmly told The debt is overdue and must be paid.

Since most of us are set in honest ways, We settle the accounting through our lives, Pledging the blessed freedom of our days To serve as husbands and to drudge as wives.

And love, like any hawking journeyman, Goes blandly onward, selling where she can.

### We Didn't Live Long Enough Or—

The recent column in the World-Telegram of my distinguished competitor Comrade Heywood Brown in which he tweaks and pulls a few hairs out of Bernard Shaw's beard, is simply swell. Even Meyer Gillis keeps the essay clipped and ready for comment. He showed it to me today with a zest quite beyond his usual state of combative negation. "That's the kind of stuff we ought to have in The New Leader. It would make our paper a big thing. . . ." And when Meyer becomes enthusiastic and laudatory about anything, there is deep reason for research and reevaluation.

But I had read it before the good Comrade had become transfixed with the script. And had enjoyed it greatly. G. B. S. has so often deplored the fact that revolution is slow because men never live long enough to see the efforts they expend for change bear fruit. But there is even the equally sad fact that some of us live long enough to see our idols grow too old. And as Heywood brilliantly points out, nothing is quite as sad to look upon as mature wisdom growing overripe with age and ending in the buffoonery of a second childhood.

Long, long ago, special editions, royalties and what not of income from his sinner works had smoothed the temper of the propagandist, and worn down the teeth of his indignation. The applause of the tired middle class, the giggling over his titbits of wit in drawing rooms of the elite, and jawing before a world journalism in his simplest utterance had turned the Voltaire of his day into a vaudeville comedy playboy. His latter-day attempts at jabbing the existing order have really been implectic tickling in the ribs. The pen has lost its point.

After all one cannot think and be effective as a revolutionist, while living like a millionaire. There is a devastating degeneracy about possessing wealth and easy income. No flesh can escape its mutation. No mind can survive its corrosion. The effect of such an instance as G. B. S. in the English Socialist ranks is clear. Socialism has suffered a great setback because of the timidity of its leaders once they came into power. Shaw, if he had retained the militancy and fire he showed at forty, could have egged the MacDonalds and Snowdens into a show of courage and fight for a real change. As it is now, he sets the tempo at molto moderato, with a tickle here and a giddy giggle there.

### For the Sake of Socialism

We ought to develop a lethal chamber in our minds for all leaders and intellectual giants who live beyond their aggressive usefulness. We ought to discover a way of utterly forgetting whatever mer have done before, for our cause, once they have ceased to lead or think aright.

The capitalist class has practised that form of oblivious punishment on all the servants and trusted ones who have become useless or faithless. And it has gone on lustily because of that process. We ought to show ruthless ingratitude to those who weaken in their faith. We ought to do away with brass tablets, banquets and memorials. Except for those who have passed on in unclouded memory. Except for those who fall fighting with their boots strapped buckled.

Socialism is a philosophy and has a program based squarely on the working class. To think like a Socialist you must have a worker's sympathy and viewpoint. To be effective for Socialism you must live and act like a worker.

You cannot have a millionaire's income, enjoy the fruits and unearned luxury thereof, and remain a real Socialist. You cannot go hobnobbing with Astors, lords and ladies, and retain a genuine indignation for the things these parasites represent. You cannot bring about a change for mankind's good within the delicate ivory tower of your intellect. There is bitter, serious, and incessant work to be done. Much of this work is lacking in glory, in applause, in appreciative reward. If you aspire to leadership of a working class movement you have a responsibility to the workers whom you want to lead. And that responsibility exacts much more than the occasional sputtering of an epigram, much more than a grandiose oration at a congress, much more than the writing of a manifesto on occasion. And above all you must be stronger than your self-esteem.

### G. B. S. Is a Subject for the Stocks

For instance, a Socialist should never gamble on the Stock Exchange. And to set the line finer, no Socialist ought to use more of his income than is necessary for the standard of living decently, as such a standard is judged among intelligent workers. The balance should be devoted to the cause. If G. B. S. had remained true to the cause in which he grew to fame and wealth, he would not now be hoarding his over ample income with almost unintelligible graspingness.

It will take no great jerk out of commonplace parlance to dish up a smart sally on what I have said so earnestly. Only that the few of us who remain Socialist in the faith as outlined, are entirely too grieved for idle laughter. For one, I have forgotten Shaw long ago. Nothing he will say from now on can matter much to advance the dream in which I walk today. He stood on the heights once and the world stirred to his flash and thunder. He slipped and fell. Down from the valley has come an occasional squeak of laughter. But not even a leaf moves. . . .

### You Cannot Laugh a Revolution In

And because the masters like their little joke, even at their own expense, Shaw is welcome with his cap and bells. Kings remained kings as long as they retained their jesters. Capitalism will survive as long as there are G. B. Shaws to jibe and giggle away its faults.

It will be the stern, incurable and singleminded face of the outraged mass that will come before the drunken vision of the lords, and speak the final judgment.

And there will be no laughter until the great change takes final and delightful form.

S. A. de Wit.



# Earl Carroll Opens New Era in World of Theatre

In the Cameo's New Film



"Thirteen Men and a Girl" is currently at the Cameo. Conrad Veidt, the popular German actor is shown in a scene from the picture.

**Earl Carroll Sets a New Standard for Revue Production with the Auspicious Opening of His Beautiful New Theatre on August 27—The Distinguished Impresario Brings to the Public a Mammoth Musical Show Within the Reach of the Average Theatregoer**

Earl Carroll is expending \$4,500,000 on his new Earl Carroll Theatre at Seventh Avenue and 50th Street, merely for the purpose of presenting his Earl Carroll Vanities and other revues at \$3 and \$4 less per seat than ever before. That is a lot of money to expend upon an idea which has been tested out only theoretically on paper. By acquiring a 3,000 seating capacity and giving four matinees a week Mr. Carroll estimated he can create shows costing nearly twice as much as ever before, with three times the weekly overhead of any previous revue and still earn while profits at about one-half previous seat prices. On paper the plan looks feasible, baskets full of congratulations for courage to inaugurate price moderation in the theatre have poured in upon Earl Carroll and the actual result when the theatre is thrown open to the public on Thursday, August 27, is awaited with interest by the entire show world.

In trying to start a new era in the theatre Mr. Carroll has accomplished the task of creating the largest legitimate playhouse in the world. He has also acquired the most complete production center in the world. The theatre will contain studios, work rooms and experimental laboratories for every department of revue production. The structure contains more innovations than could be listed in a full newspaper page.

The decorations are the first modern designs employed in a theatre. No period is followed. A new style of decoration has been established for future generations to copy. The interior is black, trimmed with stainless steel and glass. The walls are glistening black. Burke-stone and velvet. There is not a light fixture in the auditorium. For the first time an auditorium contains four light circuits. From unseen sources the theatre may be flooded with red, green, blue or white, or any combination of these colors. All lights, including those flooding the stage and those upon the stage, are controlled and operated from a console. This new device is the first one ever created. It is no larger than a radio receiving set. It is operated in the same manner, by dial. The light console is probably the most notable contribution to theatre and production improvement of this decade.

There will also be lights on the backs of seats that patrons may read their programs in dark scenes. Also an announcement board on the proscenium arch designates the number of scene in progress. Three attendants parade each aisle during intermissions with a water

wagon. It contains chromium thermos bottles from which purified and cooled water will be dispensed in sanitary manner. The auditorium is enclosed, metal doors with beautiful etched designs, protecting the aisles. This prevents distracting noises entering the auditorium from late arrivals.

The disappearing orchestra, an Earl Carroll invention when he built his former theatre which was demolished to make room for the new one, has been improved upon. Three orchestras may replace one, another, and orchestras may be displaced by scenic effects, fountains or girls, at will, without interrupting the music. All parts of the stage may be lowered or elevated. One of the scenes for the new antics, made of Chromium, weighs five and a half tons. Another scene has a portal 50 feet high, 20 feet higher than any previous scene on the stage. A grand stairway is 44 feet wide. Such effects are possible only with the new devices installed for this house. Mr. Carroll will, with his innovations, set a new standard for revue production.

The luxuries and comforts back stage sound more like the dreamings of a press agent than reality. But they are actually in evidence. Each girl has a beautiful dressing table. The players have a gymnasium, plenty of shower baths, telephones to all rooms and studios, a practice room for ambitious dancers, a long mirror room for the "last look," stage dressing rooms for quick changes, with a Green Room for the principals and an Orchard Room for the choruses. The stage hands have a card room in modern decorations. The orchestra has a club room, and also the auditorium attaches. Mr. Carroll dictated the disposition of all space. Not only that but he insisted upon every nook and corner, front and back stage, being distinctive. An unique decorative scheme, all modern, has been carried out in every turn and twist of the various walls.

The inscription over the stage door, "Through This Portal Pass the Most Beautiful Girls in the World," seems to have been an inspiration to all concerned in the structure. Its beauty and its completeness can never be disputed. If Earl Carroll accomplishes his purpose of pioneering the public to mammoth musical shows that will be within the reach of average theatregoers' pocketbooks, he will have done a great deal more than giving Broadway just another theatre.

At the 8th Street Playhouse

Starting today, the Eighth Street Playhouse will present the mystery thriller "Sherlock Holmes" Fatal Hour."

At the Strand Theatre



June Clyde, John Wayne and Laura La Plante as they appear in "Men Are Like That" adapted from Augustus Thomas' popular stage play "Arizona."

**Will Rogers in "Young As You Feel" at the Fox B'klyn—On the Stage is An Up to Minute Revue**

Chief among the many items of interest on the Fox Brooklyn Theatre's bill of entertainment this week is Will Rogers in a new screen farce, "Young As You Feel." The film is adapted from George Ade's stage play, "Father and the Boys" and presents the famous wit in the role of a modern big business man who suddenly turns young and leads the pace that kills in order to bring his two wilful sons around to their senses.

Fifi Dorsey is his chosen companion in the hilarious escapades in which Rogers definitely proves to his sons that a man is never too old to enjoy himself and that age is merely a matter of how one feels.

The new Fanchon & Marco stage revue is "Olympic Games" Idea dedicated to the 1932 Olympiad to be held in Los Angeles. The artists appearing therein are Paul Renos & His Wonder Midgets; Hal Haig, "Former Olympic Champion;" Francis, "Prima Donna Petite;" Sunny & Vina Jean Rooney; and the Sunkist Ensemble made up of 18 dancing athletes.

Bringing added popularity with him in his second week at the Fox, Phil Lampkin continues as Master of Ceremonies, sharing honors with Bob West, featured organist, and crooning Eddie Magill.

**Leo Brecher Sends News from Berlin**

A cable just received from Leo Brecher, well known New York exhibitor and director of the Little Carnegie Playhouse, states that while theatre activities in the German capital are at something of a standstill at the moment, due to the season, most of the studios there are humming with production and that the quality of pictures already completed for the new season is excellent. He reports that the present trend is away from musicals of the type of "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien," now being presented here in his playhouse on 57th Street, although the Germans have admittedly surpassed all others in fashioning this type of screen entertainment. Comedies seem to predominate at present, with dramatic and mystery stories also in vogue.

Mr. Brecher will remain abroad for five or six weeks completing arrangements with leading producers for the showing of their pictures in this country.

**The Hollywood Theatre Reopens with "Bought" In Which Constance Bennett Is Starred**

Constance Bennett, the glamorous screen heroine of a dozen popular film successes, returns to the Broadway screen today when "Bought," in which she is starred, reopens the palatial Hollywood Theatre.

Ben Lyon, Richard Bennett, the star's father; Dorothy Peterson, Doris Lloyd and Raymond Millard are some of the supporting players in this production. Archie Mayo directed. The picture is based on the best-selling novel, "Jackdaw's Strut," by Harriett Henry. Miss Bennett herself has pronounced it her most absorbing screen venture.

**"Shoot the Works"**

Lee Brody, appearing in Heywood Broun's new revue, "Shoot the Works," at the George M. Cohan Theatre, enlisted Bud Carpenter, Jack Irwin and John McAvoy, chorus men of the show, to form a mixed quartette. Although the men were chosen for the ensemble of "Shoot the Works" as dancers rather than vocalists, they have been achieving surprising results in harmony.

The public had its first chance to hear Miss Brody's quartette over Station WABC at 6 last Monday.

BROOKLYN

**FOX WILL ROGERS**

**"YOUNG AS YOU FEEL"**

with FIFI DORSEY  
ON THE STAGE  
FANCHON & MARCO'S  
"Olympic Games"

PAUL RENOS  
and His Wonder Midgets  
HAL HAIG  
Former Olympic Champion  
FRANCIS  
Petite prima donna  
PHIL LAMPKIN  
and His Music  
BOB WEST — EDDIE MAGILL  
Sunkist Beauty Ensemble

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ALBERT COATES, Conductor

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Producer Whose New Theatre Opens August 27



Earl Carroll will open his beautiful new theatre on Thursday night, August 27th, before an expectant audience, with a new edition of his well known "Vanities."

**Sam Harris, Noted Producer of Hit Plays, Announces His Plans For the Coming Season**

Present indications seem to point to a highly interesting, varied and busy season for Sam H. Harris next fall, what with two musicals, a melodrama, a comedy, a serious drama and a mystery play already in the offing.

Mr. Harris' "Once in a Lifetime," the seemingly perennial, which has delighted thousands of New Yorkers during the past season and which is still holding forth at the Plymouth, will take to the road early next season for an extended nation-wide tour. Preceded by a fame which has penetrated every hamlet that boasts of a theatre or a theatre-minded public "Once in a Lifetime" should have little difficulty in repeating the popular success it enjoyed in New York.

Scheduled to reach Broadway, under the management of Sam H. Harris, on Labor Day is the latest play from the pen of the prolific Owen Davis called "Just to Remember You." It is reported to be a scathing indictment of racketeering and the system which permits it to flourish and will undoubtedly cause much comment. The principal role will be played by Paul Kelly and Sylvia Field. Melville Burke will direct. It will have a tryout at Asbury Park the week of August 31.

Irving Berlin and Moss Hart, the young co-author of "Once in a Lifetime," are hard at work on a musical, as yet untitled, which will in all likelihood be ready for a Broadway showing some time in September. Something in the way of a novelty may be expected in this play, it being neither the conventional musical comedy nor the traditional revue but a hybrid retaining some of the best features of both.

Another musical which is in the process of being written for Mr. Harris is "Of Thee I Sing" which will have a book by George S. Kaufman, music by George Gershwin and lyrics by Ira Gershwin. Fulton Oursler and Lowell Brentano, authors of that successful mystery play of a few seasons ago, "The Spider," which was also produced by Mr. Harris, will bring forth yet another mystery melodrama for the same producer next season.

Clifford McGuinness and John Colton, co-author of the never to be forgotten "Rain," another Harris "hit," are working on an adaptation of "The Serenade to the Hangman," a novel written by the popular French author, Maurice Dekobra. They are expected to have it finished and in the hands of Mr. Harris also very shortly.

Mr. Harris also has under consideration a play called "The Whole Mule" by Rufus King, a well known writer of detective fiction.

**"Men Are Like That" Adapted from Pdp. Stage Play "Arizona" Now at The Strand Theatre**

"Men Are Like That," the pictureization of Augustus Thomas' famous stage play, "Arizona," came into the New York Strand yesterday night. Laura La Plante and John Wayne are featured, with June Clyde, Forrest Stanley, Nena Quartero and Hugh Cummings in supporting roles.

This is the famous story of love and revenge in an Arizona military post which has been presented in dramatic form upon the stage the world over since its first showing in Chicago in 1899, where it ran for nine months.

George B. Seitz directed "Men Are Like That," while the adaptation and dialogue were handled by Robert Riskin.

Filming "The Brat" under the direction of John Ford was precarious work for the Fox Film cameramen.

**ROXY**

**VINA DELMAR'S BAD GIRL**

with JAMES DUNN and GAILLY EILERS  
A Fox Movietone Picture  
A Masterpiece of Direction by FRANK BORZAGE  
—ON THE STAGE—  
A Gorgeous Production of Music, Movement and Color in IMPRESSIONS of "Samson and Delilah"  
Orchestra — Boyettes — Ballet — Singing Ensemble — Cast of 250

**Heywood Broun**

Shoot the Works!

**"Thirteen Men And a Girl" Stars Conrad Veidt at The RKO Cameo**

"Thirteen Men and a Girl," now playing at the RKO Cameo Theatre, is taken from the famous German stage success "The Last Company." It is based on the poem which tells of the epic death of thirteen Prussian Grenadiers, the last surviving members of a company, who detain Napoleon's army while their comrades cross the river and escape. The poem which provides the theme was written by one of the thirteen remaining soldiers while waiting for the oncoming French.

Conrad Veidt, who enacts the role of the captain, will be remembered for his characterizations in "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," "The Man Who Laughs" and "The Last Performance." Veidt is supported by Karin Evans.

"Thirteen Men and a Girl" is a Ufa German production with English dialogue. It has been recognized as a work of art by the German Film Art Commission. It will be at the Cameo indefinitely.

**"Die Lustigen Weiber Von Wien" Now in Its Seventh Week at the Little Carnegie**

Large numbers of movie goers continue to appreciate "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" or "The Merry Wives of Vienna," so much so that this cheerful operetta with music by Robert Stolz, composer of "Two Hearts," will continue over the week-end at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse where it has now been on view for six weeks.

Willy Forst, Lee Parry, Irene Elsing, Paul Horbiger and Oscar Sima have the leading roles in this story of the famed "city of song" in the gay days of 1875. Goza von Bolvary directed.

**The Great Huber Heads Hip, Vaudeville Bill**

The great Huber heads the Hippodrome's eight act vaudeville bill of funsters and pretty girls in conjunction with the feature picture presentation.

The magician combines magic, illusion, mystery and comedy with the assistance of four attractive blonde deceivers.

Roy Sedley, "ut" comic of musical comedy repute and Pat Henning, the agile laugh-maker, keep the audience merry with their clever capers. Pretty Gioranna Lea delights with her dances while the Harris Twins play pianos and trip the light fantastic too. Kohn and De Pinto offer nifty steps to the accompaniment of their own violin and piano-accompanied music. Paddy Saunders, while running a humorous line of patter, cartoons and Nate Busby presents a skit, "It's Christmas at the Big House."

**CONSTANCE BENNETT**

As the Woman Who Was "BOUGHT"

A Warner Masterpiece with BEN LYON and RICHARD BENNETT Warner's Cool, Falsitist

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A Picture for the Whole Family!

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**Winter Garden**

BROADWAY & 50th STREET

Midnight Shows Popular Prices

Smoking in Balcony

She Learned TOO LATE

that

**"MEN ARE LIKE THAT!"**

LAURA LA PLANTE

JOHN WAYNE

At the COOL

**THE STRAND**

B'WAY & 47th ST.

Popular Prices — Midnight Shows

A Parade of

**VITAPHONE**

**HITS**

SAT.—"GOLD DIGGERS of B'WAY"

Winnie Lightner

SUN.—"GEORGE ABLES in

"DISABLER"

MON.—"ON WITH THE SHOW"

Joe E. Brown

TUES.—"NOAH'S ARK"

Deanna Castillo

WED.—"JOHN BARRYMORE in

"GENERAL CRACE"

THURS.—"DICK BARTHELMIE in

"WEARY RIVER"

WARNER THEATRE

B'way & 52nd

"The Miracle Woman" Graces Mayfair Screen



Barbara Stanwyck is said to have a powerful role in her latest picture at the Mayfair. Sam Hardy, above, and a large cast are in support of the star.

**Barbara Stanwyck at Mayfair in "Miracle Woman" Strong Film of Regeneration**

"You're not a hypocrite if you admit it!" says Sam Hardy in the role of Hornsby to Barbara Stanwyck as Florence Fallon in "The Miracle Woman," now at the RKO-Mayfair theatre.

"The thing is to be on the winning side," Hornsby claims. "You don't wear yourself out when you go with the tide and you can't get hurt if you're callous."

Florence is smarting from an injustice to her father and grieving over his death. A minister, deposed by his congregation because he was getting too old, he has died of disappointment. Thinking of the callousness of the people her father has served, Florence decides maybe Hornsby is right and you should never give a sucker an even break. In other words, sell Halle-luiah, don't give it away!

So she allows her faith, belief and purity to be exploited and the louder she exhorts her audiences to have faith, the less she has in her own heart, until she meets the blind boy, Carson, who hears her beautiful words, senses the purity of her soul and does not see the bitterness in her disillusioned eyes.

The romance of the miracle woman and the blind ex-aviator, her regeneration and his recovery—is told in "The Miracle Woman," an adaptation of a famous play by John Meehan and Robert Riskin.

**Actor Draws Caricature Of Heywood Broun**

A caricature of Heywood Broun by William Haworth, actor and theatrical artist, is now on display in the lobby of the George M. Cohan Theatre, where the Broun revue, "Shoot the Works," is playing. Mr. Haworth was last seen on Broadway in "Your Uncle Dudley," and has since toured in "Young Sinners."

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**"AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY"**

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

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Extra Show Saturday Midnight;

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of the Napoleonic Wars . . . . .

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A UFA Picture with English Dialogue

with CONRAD VEIDT

**CAMEO** 42nd St. & B'way

ALWAYS COOL and COMFORTABLE

NEWEST VIENNESE FILM OPERETTA

**"DIE LUSTIGEN WEIBER VON WIEN" (The Merry Wives of Vienna)**

By the same Director and Composer as the celebrated "TWO HEARTS IN WALTZ TIME"

**LITTLE GARNEGIE** PLAYHOUSE 67th St. E. of 7th Ave.

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**EXPRESS**

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THEATRE 50th St. & B'way. Cool and Comfortable.

Contin. 12:30 to 11:30. POP. PRICES

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A M-G-M Production

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Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone ALgonquin 4632 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.







