

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Labor Day and the Workers' Needs—Roosevelt and Jobless Relief—Seabury on Crain—The Trouble With British Labor—Shaw and Russian Liberty

### TAKING STOCK ON LABOR DAY

LABOR DAY as the last holiday of the summer is a gay occasion when men are working. It is a grim holiday when 20% or more of the workers are idle and no one knows how many others are on part time. It is a day, however, when it will pay us to do some thinking about the labor movement.



NORMAN THOMAS

The labor movement in the fullest sense of the word is the hope of the world. Already it has its credit greater service to humanity at smaller cost in violence than any large social movement in history. Yet with this noble history behind it, it cannot be said that the labor movement in America is measuring up to its opportunities or to the demands of the occasion. When I say this I do not speak merely of the trade union movement. I include the political movement. We socialists must admit that we are not making the headway we ought. But the situation is anything but hopeless. The times are ripe, and more than ripe, for a great forward movement. Certain principles which should inspire us I think can be stated with some confidence.

1. The day when a craft can stand alone in an unorganized sea of workers is passing fast. In these times of interdependent industries and general economic collapse the solidarity of labor is becoming an obvious and realistic as well as an idealistic fact. To win the unorganized has become the life blood of every phase of the labor movement. White collar workers must be reached as well as overall workers.
2. Trade lines more and more lose their meaning in modern industry. Industrial unionism becomes more and more essential. Yet industrial unionism, as the history of the United Mine Workers proves, is not of itself the sole guarantee of health.
3. Labor union activity today can scarcely hope to get anywhere without political activity. A fair day's wage for a fair day's work doesn't mean much when general economic and political forces are all against the workers. The socialization of natural resources and basic industries, social insurance, the winning of civil liberties—all these require political action. The workers must have their own party to represent their own interests against an owning class, at least as much as their own unions. Union and party must supplement each other if progress is to be made.
4. In spite of the very real and great temptation for trade unions to be "practical" and bargain with politicians and racketeers for immediate favors such forms of practical business unionism are soul destroying. They weaken the confidence of workers in their own unions. These principles must be applied earnestly and aggressively. The Socialist Party unlike the Communist Party must not seek to dominate unions by hook or crook, but it must be vitally interested in problems of organization of workers both white and colored and in carrying the gospel of Socialism in fair and democratic fashion into the unions. Up to the last possible moment Socialists should work with and in the A. F. of L. because of the obvious weakness and risk of dual unionism. There are times, however, when dual unionism, so-called, is better than no unionism or than unionism which has completely forfeited the confidence of the workers.

### ROOSEVELT'S RELIEF PROGRAM

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT of New York has had the sense to see that an increase in the income tax is the fair and proper means of raising unemployment relief. But only at this point is his program for unemployment relief better than I predicted last week. Twenty million dollars is tragically inadequate; the Governor ignores unemployment insurance, and, like President Hoover, fails to see that a big housing program is the best possible immediate stimulus to some degree of industrial recovery. He wants a five day week on public works but is afraid to try emergency legislation extending it to industry. What is good for public works is good for everybody.

### FOR A SPECIAL SESSION

NEW YORK is one of the few states that can increase income taxes for direct unemployment relief. Other states are bound by their constitution, their laws, or their poverty. In any event, in a nationwide emergency only the nation can act equitably and adequately. Let President Hoover call a special session of Congress for at least a five billion dollar Hunger Loan to be repaid out of income taxes and from inheritance taxes in the upper brackets.

### THE REPORT ON CRAIN

COMING back to New York affairs, it is, I suppose, Roosevelt's good luck that he can get credit with anti-Tammany folks or investigating Judge Crain while avoiding the extremes of Tammany wrath by not removing him from the office of District Attorney. Nevertheless I think Judge Seabury, who was the Governor's Commissioner, was right in not recommending Crain's removal. Crain is incompetent and his incompetence always manages not to hurt Tammany and the racketeers. But it is hard to say that he so much as the system is at fault. It is a dangerous thing to encourage the precedent of having a Governor remove an elected official except on clearest grounds of corruption or gross incompetence. Anyway, I repeat, it's the system we have to fight.

### BRITISH LABOR AND SOCIALISM

RAMSAY MACDONALD in one of his numerous explanations of his extraordinary political course says that when a patient faces the need for an emergency operation for appendicitis is not the time to argue vegetarianism as a principle with him. By analogy a cut in the English unemployment insurance is the necessary operation on the sick patient. The analogy is very weak. MacDonald's proper course in the emergency was that which Morris Hillquit discussed in last week's New Leader. Nevertheless I do not think he can be accused as a renegade or a conscious traitor. He meant well, which, as Heywood Brown has reminded us, is weak praise or no praise at all. Yet there is a deeper lesson than one of personal mistake or personal failure. Ideally it was the business of a socialist government to try a little applied socialism before the patient got so sick. I believe that a great many things should have been done before the dose should have been cut. But the plain truth is that socialism is more than a matter of taxing capitalism to pay for its victims. A new social system cannot be imposed on the profit system simply by a progressive reduction of profits through taxing the rich for necessary social legislation, valuable as such taxation is in its place. In every land socialists will have to find ways to socialize industry as well as to tax it. The British Labor Party can render a service to the whole world by fighting at home for socialization as it fights abroad for peace. The appeal of Russia is that it is actually getting things done along new lines. The hope of the Western world is that it can get things done at a less terrible price than would be imposed by salvation through catastrophe.

### G. B. S. AND LIBERTY

THAT Russia is a wonderful and in many ways an encouraging country, I do not doubt. But G. B. Shaw's praise of it in terms of a eulogy of the secret police which will get you without benefit of jury if you bank too much money, passes the bounds of humor. From this life long intellectual rebel we had a right to expect something more discriminating. Mr. Shaw might have asked the question: what price liberty? or he might have discussed how long a dictatorship is likely to remain honest and efficient in the service of economic equality when it retains the unlimited power of a secret police at its command.

### 4 Bronx Socialists Jailed at Meeting Are Freed in Court

The Socialist Party candidates who were arrested on a disorderly conduct charge for holding a meeting at Aldus street and Southern boulevard were freed in the Bronx Magistrates' Court on Thursday, Aug. 27. Louis Waldman defended Comrades Hendin, Fruchter, Umanaky and Dancis before Judge William Klapp and secured a dismissal of the charges and com-

plaint. The speakers of the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union who were arrested for causing a crowd to collect at the same corner and speaking without a police permit were found guilty of the second charge on Monday, Aug. 31. Jean Coroneil and Mrs. Bessie Adler were given suspended sentences, while Aaron Lavenstein was discharged. Lawyer Louis Marcus of the union announced their intention of appealing the case, in view of the City Charter's explicit code that permits are only required of religious groups.

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## Capitalism—The Light That Failed



—Drawn by Art Young.

GOOD NIGHT TO CAPITALISM, and good riddance. Jobless men by the millions in every nation. Women and children hungry. Governments bankrupt, yet suspicious of each other and armed to the teeth ready to spill the blood of the workers in another world war. Industry paralyzed while the workers clamor for a chance to labor. Agriculture a wasteland of destitute tenant farmers and peasants whose cries for aid are answered with the suggestion that they destroy their crops raised in sweat of their labor.

That is the picture capitalism presents this Labor Day. These things are the fruit of an industrial system which has turned the wealth of the nation, its

natural riches and its machinery, over to a favored few who use them to exploit the many. Operation of industry for the profit of the favored few brings planless, competitive production and exploitation of the workers. Under-consumption and over-production follow and bring with them unemployment and hunger. Then governments begin to wobble, belligerently eyeing each other the while they jockey for favored positions for their particular group of bankers and capitalists. The war-danger is ever present.

But the days of capitalism are numbered. The system is perishing of its own inadequacy. Mourned by the kept press, pulpsters and legalists, old man capitalism, broken and useless, is descending to his well-de-

served grave.

In the background a new sun is rising, bringing hope and inspiration to the workers of the world. It is the sun of Socialism, which means liberty, peace and plenty for all the workers of the world. For Socialism would take the immense riches of the natural world and the tremendous productive capacity of machinery and place them at the service of the workers. The things we live by, the clothes, the food and the shelter, would be produced for use, eliminating the exploitation, profiteering and planlessness of capitalism.

That is the important message this Labor Day. Capitalism is sinking, the sun of Socialism rises.

## Socialism Would Mean Security for the Workers

### The Second Industrial Revolution Will Bring Labor's Triumph

ON THIS Labor Day the workers face a second industrial revolution. The first one began in the second half of the eighteenth century. For generations people had been accustomed to manufacture many of the things they needed in their homes.

The spinning wheel, the dye-pot, the loom and various hand tools were their equipment. They manufactured hats, carpets, quilts, clothing, soap, starch and other necessities. They made and mended their own shoes. They cured their meat and preserved their fruit. They were cobblers and hatters, tailors, carpenters, weavers, dyers, spinners, butchers, blacksmiths and bakers. That world of simple household manufactures has vanished.

The first change came when a workman left the home and began to make things in a small shop for sale. If his business increased he employed a few apprentices. Later the shop was enlarged and he employed more. In time journeymen were working for him.

### The First Industrial Revolution

Then steam and machinery were applied to manufacture. The former workman, now owning a large shop and employing wage workers, in time scrapped the hand tools and introduced the steam engine and machines. The shop expanded into a factory. The owner ceased to work at the bench and the capitalist appeared.

The more efficient factory production gradually destroyed household manufacture. Occupation after occupation left the home, was transferred to a shop, and the shop expanded into a factory with a capitalist owning it and getting his income from the workers he exploited.

The old world of simple home manufactures was completely revolutionized. Home production for use became factory production for profit. Hand tools became power-driven machines. A few home workers emerged as capitalists but the many emerged as wage workers. In the home the family owned the raw materials, the tools and the finished product. In the factory the worker possessed nothing but his labor power. Home independence gave way to factory dependence.

Omitting many interesting details, this is a tabloid history of the origin of the manufacturing class and the working class. In household production everything was harmonious. There was no quarrel over the division of the product as all members

of the family were producing for their own use. There was no "overproduction," no dispute about hours of labor, no hiring and firing, no economic conflicts within the home.

But when factory capitalism appeared it also brought an antagonism between capitalists and laborers over the division of the product, the hours of labor, over the right to hire and fire, the right to organize by the workers and to exert collective pressure to improve conditions.

So capitalism also brought a class antagonism into industry. Giving birth to two classes, one selling and the other buying labor power, capitalist industries have often been convulsed with class struggles and labor wars. Occasionally these wars have broken into bloody conflicts. Sometimes the workers won; at other times they were terribly beaten and their organizations destroyed.

Capitalism continued to expand. Factories became great plants and the individual capitalist gave way to the corporation. New machines, the application of chemistry, technical science, and scientific management brought enormous fortunes to the owners of industry.

### Labor's Security Disappears

Corporations consolidated into more powerful organizations and mergers in alliance with the great banking houses. Millions were succeeded by multi-millionaires and the latter by billionaires. They are the economic descendants of those workmen in the eighteenth century who left the household to set up independent manufacture for customers in their neighborhood.

Meantime the working class remain precisely in the same status as their ancestors who accepted employment as journeymen in the independent colonial shop. They had no control over the shop, the machines, the raw materials and the product and they have no such control today. They were wage workers then; they are wage workers now. They sold labor power then; they sell labor power now.

Their living conditions have improved because they fought over many decades against the degrading tendency of capitalism to reduce them to mudsills. On the other hand, when the capitalist system of production breaks down, as it now has, millions of workers do not have the assurance of the rough comforts their ancestors enjoyed in the colonial era of home manufactures for family use. They do not have that sense of se-

curity which the colonial workman had and the dread of hunger broods over millions of working class families.

### No Backward Step Possible

What's to be done? We cannot, and should not if we could, restore the colonial world of family manufacture with its independence, its assured security, its absence of economic antagonism, its collective control of its home occupations, and its production for human use and enjoyment. That social type of production has passed away forever.

And yet we must have that independence, security, absence of conflict, collective control, and production for use and enjoyment if the working class is to enjoy the fruits of two centuries of industrial and social progress. We cannot pass an industry around to each family to own. We cannot do this with railroads, utilities and other great enterprises. Family ownership and control is out of the question.

But suppose we think of the whole of society as one family, and vest the ownership and control of our powers of production and distribution in the hands of this family, that is, the nation? We will then have the collective ownership which will wipe out the private and corporation ownership that has brought us near to ruin. We will no longer produce for idlers; we will produce for ourselves. In other words, we will produce for our use as the smaller family unit did more than a century ago.

### Socialism Will Bring Security

There being no capitalists to work for we will again enjoy independence. For the same reason there will be no economic antagonisms. We will enjoy security in our occupations. We will again be masters of our own lives and will have all the advantages of modern industry, inventions, and power-driven machinery.

It is this ideal of a collective humanity controlling its powers of production for human welfare that is inspiring millions of workers all over the world. It is the ideal of the Socialist movement. It summons the disinherited to deliver our industries out of the hands of exploiters and to end unemployment and hunger.

Join this movement on this the most tragic Labor Day in all our history. Fight the good fight for emancipation and the realization of a cooperative world of security, economic peace, and human solidarity.



## Deputy Kills Miner in Harlan, Ky.

Second Victim of Operators' Thug Is in Precarious Condition — Killer Out on Bail

HARLAN, Ky. (FP)—Lee Fleener, deputy sheriff in Harlan County, has been indicted for the murder of Joe Moore, miner, the night of Aug. 30, and for the shooting at the same time of Jeff and Julius Baldwin. Fleener posted a total of \$10,000 bonds. Julius Baldwin is still living, but some of his wounds have been shot out and doctors say his case is hopeless.

Fleener refuses to talk to reporters. Sheriff Blair tells the press that as Fleener drew up in a car before the pavilion which is used as a miners' relief center, the three men appeared in the doorway and opened fire without warning, and that Fleener, unharmed, emptied his gun in reply. In past weeks, adds the sheriff, officers have frequently searched the pavilion for firearms and have found and confiscated some.

Jeff Baldwin, shot from the back in the shoulder, as his shirt showed, told a different story to Federated Press as he sat in the hospital beside his dying brother. "My brother Julius and I were sitting in the doorway inside the building," he said, "when the law came up and stopped in front. Then they pulled out and went down the road a piece and turned back."

"Meanwhile another car with a man and woman went in the house at the far side of the hill and my brother and me went out to see what they were doing. By that time the law had got back and they stopped in front of the hall and blew three blows with their horns; then asked us what time it was. We said we didn't know. They asked a second time and Julius said, 'Haven't got any watch.'"

"They blew again three times like they were waiting on someone. Julius said, 'Are you all waiting on someone?' and Fleener said, 'Why, what's it to you?' Julius answered, 'Thought maybe it might be those people that went into that house.'"

"Then they blew three times again and I heard the driver say something about somebody knowing a little, turnin' the car so the lights was full on us. We turned to go in the house but that Fleener was out on the far side of the engine and said, 'Stick your hands up and don't start to run.' We thought it was safer inside so kept agoin'; hardly thought he'd shoot us in the back, but he started to shootin' and hit me in the shoulder just as my foot was on the doorstep."

"I turned around. There was three or four shots more. I saw Julius fall over on the gravel. As the car left there was three or four shots at the building and they went off. Julius was shot in the back of the head. All the shells we found was 45 automatic. Near's we could judge, the driver of the car was Crip Niderford, and Lawrence Howard was on the back seat."

While other reporters were accepting the sheriff's story, I went to investigate. As I reached the building the next morning, I found a crowd of women and children counting five bullet holes low in the tin walls of the hall and one hole in the door, and looking in horror at two great pools of blood a few feet from the door. They said no other reporters had been around.

"Those men been alivin' in there with their families; they didn't have no place to go," they said. "The Moores had two little children; the Baldwin's four was

## Young N. Y. Socialist Held In Kentucky Under Big Bail For 'Criminal Syndicalism'

ONE of the group of miners and their sympathizers caught in the grip of the coal operators dictatorship which rules the Kentucky coal fields is Arnold Johnson, young New York City Socialist, who has interested himself in the civil liberties and relief aspects of the situation. Kirby Page, recently returned from Virginia, tells of the arrest of Johnson:

"In the Harlan County jail I visited with an old friend who is now in the clutches of the 'law.' Arnold Johnson was previously Sherwood Eddy's secretary and is now preparing for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary. From Dr. Eddy and seminary professors he caught a glimpse of the meaning of religion in economic life and decided to spend his summer doing relief work and other forms of helpful service with the miners of that county, who are on strike against intolerable conditions. Wages are low, employment is irregular or unobtainable, high prices are charged at company stores, underweighting at the scales is not uncommon, and misery is widespread and abysmal. Yet when the miners under these circumstances strike for better treatment, they are looked upon as dangerous characters. They are terrorized by armed strike-breakers and private guards and sometimes even by officers of the law. Several miners have been shot from ambush, their automobiles have been dynamited, their brutally beaten and taken across the State line, with warnings not to return. The miners are therefore in a bitter and reckless mood. Many of them go armed constantly and are prepared for direct action. The conservative United Mine Workers union in this section has largely been supplanted in influence by the I. W. W., and the militant Communist organization with its gospel of class hatred and violence."

"Mr. Johnson came into this region as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and sleepin' right in there when all this happened."

I visited Mrs. Moore, whose husband had been shot to death almost at her side. She's a thin little woman with brave eyes. I found her in a shack nearby. She said, "The Baldwin's was outside; I and my husband was in the doorway, I standin' lookin' out and he squatin' there on the doorstep, when the law said, 'Stick your hands up.' Seems like there wasn't hardly time for them to do it when Fleener began to shoot. After the first shot I got out of the way and went into the other room. I didn't even know he was hit then. I went to see about the children and never saw him again until I found him lyin' dead with the moon shinin' on him."

The other women with Mrs. Moore told me how 18 or 20 deputies came and searched the hall, finding two single-barreled shotguns and one Winchester pump shotgun. "After it seemed like they had finished searchin' and cursin', one came back again," one of the women said. "The others called, 'Where you goin'?' Joe, he answered, 'Been wantin' to plow up this soup-kitchen and now is the time to do it.' The others yelled, 'We're all through searchin' there; come on.'"

"I plead so hard for the women and children in there; but this Joe said, 'Damn women and children! If you got children in there, get your children out.' He was terrible drunk; but they said, 'Don't do no more to those women and children; and they got him away.'"

There is no law in Kentucky against the possession of guns in houses. Miners say that the guns confiscated in the soup hall were kept there because the other kitchen at Everts was blown up.

the American Civil Liberties Union, for the purpose of aiding with relief work and the effort to secure justice for the miners. He was soon accused of being an organizer for the I. W. W. and warned by operators, judge, and sheriff to get out of town. When he refused to be intimidated, he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism, that is, advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government. The evidence produced in court to prove this charge is utterly ridiculous.

"A room which he had formerly occupied was searched and some of his papers seized. I was permitted to examine the literature which was supposed to prove his guilt and made a complete list as follows: a copy of the Survey, March 25, 1932; a copy of the League for Industrial Democracy Monthly, June 1931; a copy of The Unemployed, Spring 1931, published by the League for Industrial Democracy; a copy of "Mr. Justice Lovdgon Dissents," a new chapter in the Money-Billings case, published by the Arbitrator Press; a copy of "National Defense," by Kirby Page; a copy of "Southern Labor in Revolt," with a foreword by Norman Thomas, published by the Intercolligate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy; a copy of "Even Adam Had a Hearing," published by the Committee on Labor Injunctions, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union; a copy of "Gastonia," published by the Conference for the Progressive Labor Organization; page 2 of a mimeograph report of the American Civil Liberties Union, June 4, 1931; two private letters; and a copy of "What do you mean—Free Speech?" published by the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The last of these pamphlets contains a passage which was the prosecutor's trump card. Primarily on a basis of having in his possession the following words, Arnold Johnson is behind prison bars as an enemy of society: 'Therefore, it is perfectly clear that orderly progress can be achieved only by unlimited free speech. No man should ever be locked up for what he says—evangelists overthrowing the government by violence, or advisers the destruction of property. Let him spout any foolishness he likes. The time to lock him up is when he actually starts to do something. If someone who hears him takes his advice and starts something, lock them both up.'"

"No effort was made to prove that Johnson had advocated the violent overthrow of government, nor even that he had circulated literature which advocated the use of violence for this purpose. Solely on the charge that he had in his possession the literature listed above, he is being held for the exorbitant bail of \$10,000, half of which is appearance bail and half peace bail. Excessive bail is one of the weapons being used against the miners."

"The domination of the region by the coal operators includes unwavering support from their hired men who are elected as sheriffs and judges. Thousands of men throughout Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other coal regions are victims of even more flagrant miscarriages of justice than that of which Arnold Johnson is the victim. What do those persons who believe in justice and fairplay propose to do about it?"

### Socialist Unionists To Confer October 4 On Plans to Aid Party

The Committee on Labor of Local New York, Socialist Party, is calling a general conference of all party members who belong to unions. The conference is to discuss a program of action submitted by the committee. While the program is not announced yet, as it has to be approved first by the City Executive Committee at its next meeting on Wednesday, it is understood that the program proposes a radical departure from the present policies in demanding more aggressive action in relation to so-called Socialist unions.

Among the proposed plans is the employment of a secretary for the committee on full time in order to be able to give greater service to the unions in time of strikes and in all of their struggles. It is also reported that the committee will demand a decision from the Party that no speakers should appear at any trade union meeting unless the request is made through the Party office.

A proposal is also being talked of asking the progressive trade unions to establish a Labor movement court to which all grievances of members should be submitted. This conference is called for Sunday, October 4, and will be held at the Debs Auditorium.

### Socialist Branch Gets 100 Subs to New Leader

"We promised 100 subs to THE NEW LEADER and here they are," writes Sidonia Fried Sugar of the Cedarhurst and Vicinity Branch of the Socialist Party of Nassau County, N. Y. "We are proud of our splendid headquarters but it would not do to leave THE NEW LEADER out of our activities."

## Va. Jobless Organize for Relief Fight

Hopewell City Council Under Fire—Movement Started in Richmond

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HOPWELL, Va.—More than 1,000 people gathered at the call of the Socialist Party and Unemployed Legion in Hopewell Aug. 25, and attended the meeting of the City Council. The Council at the last meeting postponed consideration of the demands of the Unemployed Council until this meeting.

A large number paraded to the Council meeting. At 8 o'clock the Corporation Court Room, to which the Council moved in order to accommodate the crowd, was jammed to capacity, while several hundred were unable to enter. Some were unable to get upon the steps of the City Hall, but were forced to stand on the plaza.

David G. George, state secretary of the Socialist Party, candidate for the House of Delegates from the Hopewell district, urged the Council "to act at once, not to disregard any longer the cries of the needy; to act in advance of cold weather which will add to the horrors." At the conclusion of a brief speech, a storm of applause swept the court room, much to the embarrassment of the five "city fathers."

Mayor Spencer then interrogated George, asking him if he expected the Council to act at that time. George answered that he did, reminding the Mayor that the proposals of the Unemployed Council had been placed on the order of business. The Mayor replied that no action would be taken, but the Council would act "soon." George asked how soon. The Mayor didn't know, but assured him that nobody would be permitted to starve in Hopewell, and that the city would do "as much this winter as it did last winter."

"God help the unemployed, then," George exclaimed.

Officials Are Fired Council then went into other business, and in rapid succession fired the City Manager, Building Inspector and City Attorney, and elected Lamar Johnson, a tool of Boss Elder, as new City Manager, with instructions to fire the Chief of Police and the Sanitation Inspector when he takes office on September 1st. All of the officials discharged have taken either a friendly or sympathetic attitude towards the Socialist Party or the unemployed, or have been at odds with the "Little Tammany" controlling Hopewell, under the unscrupulous leadership of "Boss" D. Lane Elder.

This action on the part of the council indicates that they are getting desperate and are staking their future on a number of sensational stunts. Following the Council meeting, the Unemployed Legion retired to Socialist headquarters and adopted resolutions condemning the City Council, and outlined a temporary course of action, calling a special emergency meeting of the Unemployed Council for this Friday night.

Recall Move Started An enthusiastic meeting Friday night adopted resolutions for the recall of the City Council and the resignation of other city officials. A petition will be put into circulation. Assurances of support have been received.

At recent Socialist street meetings we have been the object of a number of eggs thrown from various positions near the corner, including roofs of buildings. At the meeting Saturday night eggs were thrown into the crowd, one of them striking a child and injuring him.

Representatives of "Little Tammany" here have declared that "Them d— Socialists have got to go." But they will have quite a hard time expelling the S. P. from Hopewell, either with eggs or anything else.

At the last meeting, W. F. Billings candidate for State Senate, and David G. George, candidate for the House of Delegates, spoke. A crowd of from 300 to 500 heard the addresses and applauded liberally. Open air meetings are held on the corner of Broadway and Randolph streets every Saturday night at 7:30. Meetings of the Local are held every Tuesday night in Headquarters, over the Marcelle Theatre. Every Friday night meetings have been held also in Headquarters. On Sunday nights a small discussion group meets with Comrade George.

### N.Y. Waiters' Union Aids Its Jobless

In order to meet the situation of the unemployed in the ranks of the Waiters' and Waitresses' Union, Local No. 1, the members have decided that all those employed are to take one week off every three months. During the past week officials of the organization have placed over one hundred and fifty workers. An appeal has been sent to labor and fraternal organizations urging that their banquets and receptions be held in halls where members of the Waiters' and Waitresses' Union are employed.

## W. Va. Strike Ended; Relief Need Is Great

Union Will Carry Fight On—Families are Still Being Fed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The strike is over in most of the camps. The operators refused to meet the union representatives to effect a settlement and the relief funds were insufficient to make continuation of the struggle wise. Hundreds of evictions threatened or had occurred and it was impossible to supply bonds or tents in so many cases. The union therefore decided two weeks ago to call off the strike at mines where the company would re-employ union men without discrimination. Some of the companies agreed to take the men back, others refused at least for the time being to do so. The union therefore plunged into the task of trying to win as much as possible at each mine and to get its members re-employed, at the same time caring for those who were victimized.

The union is still engaged in this process of readjustment. The miners are as loyal as ever, declaring that they are going to keep their organization in spite of all obstacles and to fight again when the time comes. Local unions are making plans for collecting dues. Meetings are being held in the field, the Union Bulletin continues to appear. Many of the men are talking of fighting at the polls too and of the need for some kind of labor party. Thus although the strike is virtually over, the union is carrying on.

Relief Need Is Great

The relief needs are still very great. 1778 families were fed by the union last week. The union is attempting to cut down this burden as fast as possible, since its funds are limited, but, on the other hand, it is not willing to abandon its victimized members. A Hunger Demonstration by hundreds of the unemployed miners on August 26 on the edge of Charleston helped to make the community realize the problem of relief among its citizens, and now a committee is going to the various charitable organizations putting the problem squarely before them. An appeal is also being made to the citizens of Charleston and the different counties involved. Other demonstrations will be held if the response to these efforts is inadequate—as the union realizes it presumably will be.

The eviction problem is still very serious. Three tent colonies are already in existence. Over sixty more families are being "put out" this week by the Cabin Creek Consolidated Coal Company, sixty-eight are subject to eviction at Prenter (the union is apparently being successful in averting most of the latter) and ninety families are to be thrown out at Ward on September 1. There are dozens of additional cases in other camps. These evictions, which it was hoped the ending of the strike would avert, do not break the spirit of the men—but they are a heavy drain on the union's relief funds.

To Fight On

At the same time that the strike is being liquidated, plans are being made for the year ahead. The amount that can be done will depend largely on the financial support forthcoming. The union wishes to keep full-time organizations in the field, to conduct meetings, to maintain an office, to sponsor public meetings on current social questions in Charleston, to lend its voice to national movements of social protest, to prepare for political action, to continue its educational work. A tentative budget has been drawn up and Tom Tippet is now in New York trying to raise funds. (The dues that can be collected from the miners will of course not suffice.) In a few weeks, when the financial prospects have been sounded out and when the situation here has crystallized, it will be possible to decide more definitely about union activities during the year ahead.

(Note: Relief funds are obviously badly needed. Contributions should be sent to George Scherer, Secretary-Treasurer, West Virginia Mine Workers, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Building, Charleston, W. Va., or to Tom Tippet, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.)

### Labor Day at Eden

One of the nearest and most beautiful of the summer resorts in the Labor and Socialist Movement, Camp Eden, is offering its regular rate of four dollars a day for the Labor Day week-end, to the members of the Socialist Party. The camp is only 50 miles from New York in Cold Spring-on-the-Hudson.

An auspicious program for the social activities has been arranged, which includes a large concert on Saturday and Grand Masquerade Sunday, with costume and dance prizes. In addition special Labor Day tournaments in tennis, bridge, chess and checkers will also be in progress. The Children's Colony, which is an adjunct of the camp, catering to the youngsters, has a similar program, to which the adults are invited as an audience.

## The Root of the Trouble

Catholic Father Finds Pleasure - Loving, Spendthrift Working Class Responsible for Depression

"THE extravagance of the working classes is the foundation of the depression," said the Rev. Michael Hogan, S. J., in his sermon last Sunday morning at St. Francis Xavier Church, N. Y. C.

"You are too solicitous for your food and drink, your lodging and shelter, your pleasure and recreation," said Father Hogan. "You are not satisfied with the things that were good enough for your fathers and forefathers. You want to live like kings and princes. Every man is a big business man, a gambler, a dabbler in stocks and bonds; and every woman is the wife of a big business man, a gambler, a dabbler in stocks and bonds."

"Your fathers and mothers, your grandfathers and grandmothers stayed home in the evenings and over the Sabbath. Do you remain at home for the week end? Do you sit about the fireside as they did?"

"You ask, 'Are we to be denied the simple pleasures we enjoy? May we not have our week ends, our movies, or theatres?' I emphatically say you may—if you can afford them. And if you can afford them let me hear no more complaining about strain and stress."

Father Hogan said that the people had plenty to live on, but wanted more, and reached ever higher until they were all heavy speculators and potential millionaires. Business today, he said, has become stagnant as a result of such overindulgence by the working class. There is little or no money, little or no employment, little or no business.

Father Hogan's solution for the predicament was the exhortation to seek first the kingdom of God, and all else would be added thereto.

## Hunger and Terror Used in Pa. Mines

Socialist Party Demands Gov. Pinchot Curb Washington County Sheriff

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL (Special New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—As striking miners in Western Pennsylvania endeavor to make an organized retreat retaining some degree of organization in the face of the overwhelming forces of oppression, coal operators and their "kept" local government officialdom, like jungle beasts, now spring upon the decimated ranks to tear and rend the lives of brave men and women.

Sheriff J. A. Seaman of Washington County, storm center of the

miners' revolt, avowed tool of the operators, has issued orders barring all picketing and made the dastardly threat to close miners' relief kitchens if his order was not obeyed. This same sheriff has continuously harassed the strikers, issuing high and mighty proclamations prohibiting the assemblage of more than three persons and blocking the public highway with hired company thugs of deputies when strikers attempted to march to picket mines of powerful concerns like the Bethlehem Steel.

Growing more bold as hunger and terror thinned the strikers' ranks, this sheriff on August 26th made open threats against the relief stations around which centers the miners are making their last desperate stand.

Demand Made On Governor

On August 12th the Miners' Relief Fund of the Socialist Party at Pittsburgh telegraphed Governor Pinchot protesting Seaman's threats against the miners' relief machinery and demanding that the Governor who has repeatedly expressed his concern at the miners'

condition curb this lawless sheriff.

In the fourth week of the present strike, deputy sheriffs employed by the coal companies in Allegheny one day and in Fayette the next bathed the picket lines in blood at Wildwood and at Fayette City, wounding many and managing to murder one in each case. In Allegheny County with the glare of publicity upon them, officialdom achieved the compromise of a Solomon by holding one deputy for manslaughter and one union leader for conspiracy. In Fayette County where the victim of the fatal bullets was a storekeeper Nicholas Philipovich, former miner and active in strike relief work was deliberately assassinated standing beside his bride on his own front porch. Two months passed and it was only on August 28th that Fayette County courts suddenly ordered an inquest to be held. With the nine deputy sheriff employees of the Pittsburgh Coal company, whom the sheriff found beside the dead body of Philipovich with emptied shot-guns, before them, the coroner's jury found that Philipovich died from buckshot wounds inflicted by the arms of parties "unknown." The ruthless Pittsburgh Coal, powerful Mellon property was not slow to follow up its victory and on the next day struck out back in Allegheny County with a surprise eviction at Santiago where seven key families had their household treasures strewn along the highway under the open sky while a patrol wagon load of deputies stood by behind menacing gun muzzles to see that the destructiveness of the eviction agents was not "resented."

Sunday, August 30th, a relief caravan of the Socialist Party found the desolation of capitalist class "vengeance" spreading down both the river valleys stretching away from Pittsburgh. In many sections evictions are just beginning. With characteristic cunning the operators have waited until the first wave of the revolt had subsided and now strike down the leaders. Clothing, shoes and now tents and lumber and even usable automobile tires to set the miners' own commissary cars agoin', are needs as vital as food that from day to day face the Miners' Relief Fund of the Socialist Party. Friends and supporters must to the limit their ability continue the work that has brought a fund of almost four thousand dollars together at the cost of less than two hundred and meant tons of clothes and food for the fighting miners.

There is no more cruel tyranny than that which is exercised under cover of the law and with the color of justice.—Montesquieu.

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# British Labor Repudiates Mac Donald And His Govt.; Henderson Is New Leader

**Snowden Says He Will  
Retire from Politics—  
MacDonald's Future Is  
Uncertain**

THE swiftness with which the British Labor Party dealt with the crisis last week when J. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden passed over to a coalition with the Conservatives and Liberals has never been equalled in the history of labor and Socialist parties. On Thursday of last week a joint manifesto was issued by the Trades Union Council, the executive of the Labor Party, and the consultative committee of the Parliamentary Labor Party, which repudiated the new regime headed by MacDonald.

This manifesto, which appears in another column, is clear and decisive and presents the alternative program of the Labor Party. It calls upon the workers to fight the MacDonald policy, declares that the new government was set up under pressure of banking interests, and affirms that the upper rich should bear the load by mobilization of foreign investments and increased taxes on unearned income.

The next day the Parliamentary Labor Party elected Arthur Henderson, former Foreign Minister in the Labor Government, as chairman.

Henderson will be the leader of the opposition to the new government in Parliament.

**MacDonald Explains**  
Meantime MacDonald faces an embarrassing position before his own constituency which consists largely of miners. He had sent his branch a written statement in explanation of his course, the leading section of which says:

"We were suddenly faced with a grave financial crisis which, unless averted, would have brought this country to a state of industrial chaos which would have made wages tumble down, unemployment pay almost disappear and would have deprived the working classes who have laid anything but things like war loan certificates, postoffice savings and so on—of scores of millions of pounds."

"We either had to face the question of how to avert that crisis or allow it to come upon us and shatter us."

The executive of the Seaham Harbor branch considered this letter and adopted a resolution requesting MacDonald to resign his seat in Parliament. This resolution declares:

"That we, as the executives of the Seaham division of the Labor Party, move that we abide by the constitution and principles of the national Labor movement and determine to oppose the national government."

"Extremes of wealth on one hand and dire want on the other leave no alternative but to pursue the policy as laid down by past national conferences, that the wealthy ought to shoulder the major burden of our national finances and there should be no reduction in the unemployment benefit."

"We ask Ramsay MacDonald to resign his membership for this division."

**Will Not Resign**  
The decision was communicated to MacDonald.

"I see," he said. "Well, there is nothing I shall say about it for the moment."

On Wednesday MacDonald said he would not resign his seat at the dictation of his branch. It is reported that he may go to the House of Lords and in some quarters it is

said that Snowden may also go to the upper house.

Malcolm MacDonald, son of the Prime Minister, was called upon by the Labor executive committee of the Basethlaw Division in Nottingham, which he represents in Parliament, to explain his support of the new National Government led by his father.

He immediately responded by going to his district and outlining his stand as he did at the Labor party meeting, where his father was deposed as leader with only Malcolm from the Labor rank and file to speak in his behalf.

Snowden has announced that he will not offer himself again as a candidate for Parliament from Colne Valley division of Yorkshire and this was accepted at a special meeting of the executive committee of the Labor party there.

The committee placed on record its appreciation of Snowden's valuable services to the party, but added that "the executive committee, nevertheless, deprecates his action in joining the new government."

**J. H. Thomas Is Fired**  
James H. Thomas, who has been trying to keep one foot in the Labor party and the other in the new government, gave up when he resigned as general political secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, with which he has been affiliated more than thirty years. His resignation, he admitted, was to prevent his being expelled as punishment for joining the new government. As a further humiliation, the union voted that he was not entitled to his pension on retirement from the organization.

For many years Thomas has been too successful in associating with employers to suit British workmen. The union men thought Thomas wore his evening clothes

too often, although he always told them his sole purpose in going to big dinners was to convert his fellow diners to the gospel of big wages for railway men.

The latest information is that MacDonald may test the Labor opposition in Parliament immediately after it meets by challenging the house for a vote of confidence. With Liberals and Conservatives supporting him there is little doubt that the Labor minority will be defeated in the vote. The government program is not yet completed except that in addition to a reduction in unemployment insurance the economy program includes reductions in the salaries of government ministers, members of Parliament and judges.

**London Herald Comment**  
Issues of the London Herald about a week or two before the Labor crisis and now available carry cautious statements by MacDonald and Snowden. As late as August 17 Snowden declared in an interview, "While a National Government is out of the question, the situation calls for the cooperation of all parties in the House of Commons." The following day the Cabinet agreed on the figures of a balanced budget but it contained no reduction in the amount of unemployed payments.

In the meantime, however, the phrase "equality of sacrifice" became current and the Herald gave attention to it in the issue of August 17 in a full column editorial in which it asked, "What does it mean?" It answered that "the burden must be heavy where backs are broad and light where backs are weak" and opposed cuts in the social services.

Within ten or twelve days after these incidents MacDonald and Snowden made their decision and a fundamental issue faced the Labor Party.

## British Labor Manifesto On MacDonald Govt.

A FINANCIAL crisis, the true causes of which have not been publicly explained, has brought about the sudden resignation of the Labor Government. Forces in finance and politics made demands which no Labor Government could accept.

A new coalition government, for which the Labor Government repudiates all responsibility, has been formed. It is a government of persons acting without authority from the people.

It is determined to attack the standard of living of the workers in order to meet a situation caused by the policy pursued by private banking interests, in the control of which the public has no part.

It seeks to enforce a complete change in the national policy, not because the nation's resources have suddenly diminished; not because the nation cannot afford to provide for its unemployed; not because the budget cannot be balanced, but primarily because the financial interests have decided this country is setting a bad example to other countries in taxing the rich to provide necessities for the poor.

Fundamentally it is an attempt to reverse the social policy which, in this country, has, within limits, provided for the unemployed, aged, sick, disabled, orphaned and widowed. Deliberate alarmist statements in sections of the press and a false, protracted campaign

have created the impression abroad that Great Britain is on the verge of bankruptcy. Nothing could be further from the truth.

**Britain Still Big Creditor**  
Four thousand millions (about \$20,000,000,000) in British capital is invested abroad. Great Britain is still one of the greatest creditor countries. We are still adding to our national assets. The taxable capacity of the country is not exhausted. The immediate situation can be met without further depleting the slender means of the poor and without restricting national and local expenditure directed to the development of the country's resources.

If the will were present, we could overcome the immediate difficulty by mobilizing the country's foreign investment, by temporary suspension of the sinking fund, by taking fixed-interest-bearing securities and other unearned income which has benefited by the fall in prices and by measures to reduce the burden of the war debt.

The phrase "equality of sacrifice" has been invoked as justification for the cuts in social expenditure, but no comparable sacrifice has so far been demanded from the wealthier sections of the community.

Sacrifices by the workers are intended to be certain and the sacrifices by the other sections uncertain. Proposals to economize at the expense of the poor are not only unjust but economically unsound. They will increase unemployment and aggravate the basic problem underlying the present crisis by reducing the consuming power of the masses.

Cuts in wages and salaries in national and local services will lead to attempts to enforce similar cuts in industry generally and bring about embittered conflict and industrial chaos.

**Calls on Labor to Fight**  
Great Britain, whose social standards and services have greatly contributed to raising the standards of life throughout the world, under pressure from international and national financial interests, is to take the lead in a process of world wide degradation. The effective resistance of the labor movement can alone prevent this calamity.

The present crisis is essentially part of a bigger one. The policy of the labor movement for national reconstruction and international cooperation, including reconsideration of the problem of debts and reparations, provides the only basis for restoration of credit and re-establishment of world prosperity.

The forces of labor are vitally concerned with the national interest, but they can only be secured by impoverishment of the workers. We therefore call upon the masses of the people and all men and women of good-will to stand firmly against the new government and rally to the aid of the labor movement in its defense of the true national interests and its constructive efforts towards a new social order.

## British Unions Map Program To Meet Crisis

**Congress Convenes Monday at Bristol—MacDonald Move Is Up**

THE BRITISH Trade Union Congress will meet in Bristol next Monday and the exit of the Labor Government will undoubtedly come up for consideration although the MacDonald-Snowden incident came too late to be placed on the regular agenda.

The General Council submits two master resolutions, one on unemployment insurance and the other on economic planning.

The General Council reaffirms the British trade union movement's support of the policy of unemployment insurance as absolutely necessary for the protection of the owners of industry to provide a market for the labor power of the workers. The Council insists that the present contributory scheme be abolished and that the cost of maintaining the unemployed be made a national charge met out of national taxation in the form of a special unemployment levy on all incomes whether earned or derived from interest and profit.

**Would Plan Industry**  
On planned production and distribution the Council advises the Congress that "nothing short of comprehensive planning of our economic development and effective regulation of our trading relations will suffice to meet the needs of the present day."

It urges the Congress to support this policy and to take whatever practical steps are possible to advance it nationally and internationally, "keeping always in view the necessity of maintaining and improving the standard of living of the workers and the protection of the consumers against exploitation."

The Transport and General Workers' Union presents a resolution calling on the Government to introduce suitable legislation to the end that when any industry is transferred from private to public ownership or control provision is made to insure that the workers, through their trade union representatives, shall have an adequate and direct share in the control and administration.

**For Coal Nationalization**  
The Miners' Federation of Great Britain demands the nationalization of mines and minerals, including by-products, and declares that this should be one of the first acts of a majority Labor Government.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation insists that the iron and steel industry be reorganized on the basis of a public utility.

The three railway unions—the Associated Society of Engineers and Firemen, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Railway Clerks' Association—unite in asking the Congress to urge the Government to legislate in the next session of Parliament to take over on fair terms the railways and other transport undertakings and place them under a national transport authority.

The Pattern Makers urge the Congress to formulate a new workers' charter, comprising work or maintenance, a 40-hour week, workers' control of overtime, pay for holidays, adequate pensions at 60, and nationalization of the mining, railway and building industries.

## Thomas States Views on 1932 Presidential Race

The League for Independent Political Action recently suggested as a possible course for its members in 1932 the endorsement of Norman Thomas for president. Thomas made his position on this point clear in a letter to the League in which he said:

"The publication of the L.I.P.A. referendum on four possible courses of action by that body in 1932 leads me to write you to correct what may be a possible misunderstanding. You submit as one choice an endorsement of me as probable Socialist nominee for the Presidency. I should like to make it clear that neither the Party nor I authorized this assumption. The reason the L.I.P.A. should endorse, or rather join the Socialist Party, is not the personality of a man but agreement in principle and program. Your own declaration, so far as they go, are practically a rewording of the Socialist platform of 1928! Whether I shall be nominated or accept is entirely for the future to decide."

"Speaking unofficially, it is my opinion that the Socialist Party now as always will welcome and gladly share in a genuine movement for a true farmer-labor party which necessarily will have a socialistic philosophy and program. We should view with great suspicion a last moment convention, following old party nominations, to make a new party. A vital political movement must rest on basic principles, not chance re-orientation at particular old party choices. Nothing Republicans or Democrats will do will make them the political instrument the workers need. At present we do not see a genuine labor party on the horizon. We do see a growing Socialist Party."

## Waldman Denounces Proposals of McKee

The amendment of section 722 of the penal code urged by Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee was attacked by Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, in a telegram he sent Wednesday to Gov. Roosevelt and to the majority and minority leaders in the State Senate and Lower House. Mr. Waldman maintained that granting power to the police to arrest idle persons would be unconstitutional and would give unfriendly public officials an opportunity to deprive strikers and other workers of their rights.

The Socialist leader also told Gov. Roosevelt, in his wire, that if the Walker Administration were sincere in its efforts to eliminate gangsters and racketeers, it already has sufficient power at its disposal. Mr. Waldman declared that Tammany and the police department refuse to close speak-easies, "preferring to collect instead."

## Neckw'r Union Wins New Haven Court Fight

**Injunction Obtained by  
Seigman, N. Y. Run-  
away, Is Modified**

ARTHUR SEIGMAN, INC., a N. Y. C. neckwear manufacturer, left New York in 1930, throwing 150 members of the United Neckwear Makers Union out of work. He moved to New Haven and there opened a plant with the support of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce.

The Seigman factory worked its employees from 68 to 70 hours per week. Children also worked these long hours. The weekly wages sometimes amounted to as low as \$6 per week. In January, 1931, a 40% cut was put into effect. Resentment brought a 100% walk-out on Feb. 6. This walkout involved about 350 workers. The striking workers now number 265. Since that time, the United Neckwear Makers Union has been conducting the strike, paying weekly benefits to the New Haven strikers.

The strike has been conducted in New Haven by J. Robert, the manager of the United Neckwear Makers Union, who has been assisted in New Haven by Rose Sullivan, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Ada Cooper, a member of the Joint Board of the Union, and Carmen Lucia, formerly of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The strike has been successful not merely from the point of view of showing the manufacturer the lack of wisdom involved in attempting to operate under non-union conditions, but also because of the intense interplay that has been manifested in New Haven in the Union's efforts.

There have been some forty arrests of strikers. An equal number of strike-breakers have been arrested. On August 6, 1931, the entire scab force from the factory came out in mass formation and came in contact with a number of pickets that had been stationed there. The result was a riot at which upwards of 2,000 people congregated, interfering with traffic and causing a number of bruises and injuries on both sides.

August 14, Judge Peasley of the Superior Court, sitting at Waterbury, without notice granted a blanket injunction against the Union, enjoining it and some thirty of the strikers and their representatives from conducting the strike, from picketing, from preventing the factory from obtaining employees, from annoying, hindering and interfering with the conduct of the business, etc.

The temporary injunction was made returnable by Judge Peasley on first Tuesday of September. Matthew M. Levy, of Pankin & Levy, attorneys for the Union, and Mr. Roberts went to New Haven on Saturday morning, August 15, 1931. An order to show cause was obtained requiring the manufacturer to show cause why the temporary injunction should not be dissolved or modified. A number of grounds was presented in support of the Union's application, including the fact that the temporary injunction was obtained without notice, that the court was misinformed of the true situation. Mr. Levy's argument persuaded the court to reconsider its treatment of the problem, and Judge O'Sullivan refused to follow a decision in the Supreme Court of the United States rendered by Chief Justice Taft, and also a decision by the Connecticut court recently rendered, which was relied upon by the Seigman factory, in which the Connecticut court issued a blanket injunction against all picketing and against the conduct of the strike of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union because the pickets had merely looked threateningly at the scabs.

By August 20, the pickets were back on the line.

**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.**

## Minn. Unions Want U.S. Aid For Jobless

**Convention Urges Allow-  
ances Be Paid from  
Taxes on the Wealthy**

ST. PAUL, Minn. (FP)—By adopting the report of its unemployment committee, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Minneapolis, jumped into the lead among state federations in its handling of the problem.

The convention, which was the largest ever held by the federation, subscribed to the principle of public ownership as an ultimate objective towards which the labor movement must strive. It recommended adoption of all the measures advocated by the A. F. of L. for the relief of unemployment, including modification of the Volstead Act, and in addition recommended "that a system of public unemployment benefits be established, the cost of which is to be borne by a tax on industries supplemented by a federal tax on excess incomes." It also declared for the establishment, with funds appropriated from the public treasury, of community eating and lodging houses to supply destitute individuals and families.

A brisk debate took place relative to the section of the constitution which prohibits seating Communists or sympathizers as delegates. In the end the section was upheld, and Walter Frank, representing the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, was refused a seat by a vote of 247 to 50.

**Oppose School Drills**  
The convention appropriated \$500 for the expenses of an education department, the director of which is to serve without salary. It passed a resolution asking pardon for Mooney and Billings, and a collection for the two labor prisoners netted \$60. Delegates of the Typographical Union called attention to the fact that the Legionaire, official organ of the American Legion, is printed in a non-union shop.

The committee on military training recommended that the federation oppose compulsory military training in the state university and urged the regents to permit the student to determine whether or not he shall take military training. The recommendation was adopted.

Matthew Woll, president of the National Civic Federation, was in town for the national convention of the Photo-Engravers' Union. Woll addressed the state federation "in behalf of the American Federation of Labor." He made his usual sales talk for the Union Labor Life Insurance Co., of which he is president and which he declared was designed to take the place of insurance companies which are hostile to labor's interests.

Woll also attacked state unemployment insurance. Commenting on his speech, the Minnesota Union Advocate said editorially:

"In discussing the subject of unemployment insurance, Woll misrepresented and misinterpreted the principle of so-called unemployment benefits or 'insurance.' His views are strictly in line with the National Manufacturers Association and the big anti-union employers. They are opposed to the care of the victims of capitalist mismanagement. Woll charges it is a 'dole' and would tend to lower the standard of living. Evidently he thinks that 7,000,000 unemployed and their 20,000,000 dependents in the breadline tend to elevate the standard, and he would continue that condition in preference to a regular allowance provided through governmental agencies as a matter of social justice to those who are shut out from the opportunity of earning a full livelihood. Of all the inversions of reason and logic this is the most astounding exhibition that has ever been witnessed in a convention of the State Federation of Labor."

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# British Labor Repudiates Mac Donald And His Govt.; Henderson Is New Leader

**Snowden Says He Will  
Retire from Politics—  
MacDonald's Future Is  
Uncertain**

THE swiftness with which the British Labor Party dealt with the crisis last week when J. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden passed over to a coalition with the Conservatives and Liberals has never been equalled in the history of labor and Socialist parties. On Thursday of last week a joint manifesto was issued by the Trades Union Council, the executive of the Labor Party, and the consultative committee of the Parliamentary Labor Party, which repudiated the new regime headed by MacDonald.

This manifesto, which appears in another column, is clear and decisive and presents the alternative program of the Labor Party. It calls upon the workers to fight the MacDonald policy, declares that the new government was set up under pressure of banking interests, and affirms that the upper rich should bear the load by mobilization of foreign investments and increased taxes on unearned income.

The next day the Parliamentary Labor Party elected Arthur Henderson, former Foreign Minister in the Labor Government, as chairman. Henderson will be the leader of the opposition to the new government in Parliament.

**MacDonald Explains**  
Meantime MacDonald faces an embarrassing position before his own constituency which consists largely of miners. He had sent his branch a written statement in explanation of his course, the leading section of which says:

"We were suddenly faced with a grave financial crisis which, unless averted, would have brought this country to a state of industrial chaos which would have made wages tumble down, unemployment pay almost disappear and would have deprived the working classes who have laid anything by—things like war loan certificates, postoffice savings and so on—of scores of millions of pounds."

"We either had to face the question of how to avert that crisis or allow it to come upon us and shatter us."

The executive of the Seaham Harbor branch considered this letter and adopted a resolution requesting MacDonald to resign his seat in Parliament. This resolution declares:

"That we, as the executives of the Seaham division of the Labor Party, move that we abide by the constitution and principles of the national Labor movement and determine to oppose the national government."

"Extremes of wealth on one hand and dire want on the other leave no alternative but to pursue the policy as laid down by past national conferences, that the wealthy ought to shoulder the major burden of our national financial crisis and there should be no reduction in the unemployment benefit."

"We ask Ramsay MacDonald to resign his membership for this division."

**Will Not Resign**  
The decision was communicated to MacDonald.

"I see," he said. "Well, there is nothing I shall say about it for the moment."

On Wednesday MacDonald said he would not resign his seat at the "dictation of his branch. It is reported that he may go to the House of Lords and in some quarters it is

said that Snowden may also go to the upper house.

Malcolm MacDonald, son of the Prime Minister, was called upon by the Labor executive committee of the Bassetlaw Division in Nottingham, which he represents in Parliament, to explain his support of the new National Government led by his father.

He immediately responded by going to his district and outlining his stand as he did at the Labor party meeting, where his father was deposed as leader with only Malcolm from the Labor rank and file to speak in his behalf.

Snowden has announced that he will not offer himself again as a candidate for Parliament from Colne Valley division of Yorkshire and this was accepted at a special meeting of the executive committee of the Labor party there.

The committee placed on record its appreciation of Snowden's valuable services to the party, but added that "the executive committee, nevertheless, deprecates his action in joining the new government."

**J. H. Thomas Is Fired**  
James H. Thomas, who has been trying to keep one foot in the Labor party and the other in the new government, gave up when he resigned as general political secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, with which he has been affiliated more than thirty years. His resignation, he admitted, was to prevent his being expelled as punishment for joining the new government. As a further humiliation, the union voted that he was not entitled to his pension on retirement from the organization.

For many years Thomas has been too successful in associating with employers to suit British workmen. The union men thought Thomas wore his evening clothes

too often, although he always told them his sole purpose in going to big dinners was to convert his fellow diners to the gospel of big wages for railway men.

The latest information is that MacDonald may test the Labor opposition in Parliament immediately after it meets by challenging the house for a vote of confidence. With Liberals and Conservatives supporting him there is little doubt that the Labor minority will be defeated in the vote. The government program is not yet completed except that in addition to a reduction in unemployment insurance the economy program includes reductions in the salaries of government ministers, members of Parliament and judges.

**London Herald Comment**  
Issues of the London Herald about a week or two before the Labor crisis and now available carry cautious statements by MacDonald and Snowden. As late as August 17 Snowden declared in an interview, "While a National Government is out of the question, the situation calls for the cooperation of all parties in the House of Commons." The following day the Cabinet agreed on the figures of a balanced budget but it contained no reduction in the amount of unemployed payments.

In the meantime, however, the phrase "equality of sacrifice" became current and the Herald gave attention to it in the issue of August 17 in a full column editorial in which it asked, "What does it mean?" It answered that "the burden must be heavy where backs are broad and light where backs are weak" and opposed cuts in the social services.

Within ten or twelve days after these incidents MacDonald and Snowden made their decision and a fundamental issue faced the Labor Party.

## British Labor Manifesto On MacDonald Govt.

A FINANCIAL crisis, the true causes of which have not been publicly explained, has brought about the sudden resignation of the Labor Government. Forces in finance and politics made demands which no Labor Government could accept.

A new coalition government, for which the Labor Government repudiates all responsibility, has been formed. It is a government of persons acting without authority from the people.

It is determined to attack the standard of living of the workers in order to meet a situation caused by the policy pursued by private banking interests, in the control of which the public has no part.

It seeks to enforce a complete change in the national policy, not because the nation's resources have suddenly diminished; not because the nation cannot afford to provide for its unemployed; not because the budget cannot be balanced; but primarily because the financial interests have decided this country is setting a bad example to other countries in taxing the rich to provide necessities for the poor.

Fundamentally it is an attempt to reverse the social policy which, in this country, has, within limits, provided for the unemployed, aged, sick, disabled, orphaned and widowed. Deliberate alarmist statements in sections of the press and a false, protracted campaign

have created the impression abroad that Great Britain is on the verge of bankruptcy. Nothing could be further from the truth.

**Britain Still Big Creditor**  
Four thousand millions (about \$20,000,000,000) in British capital is invested abroad. Great Britain is still one of the greatest creditor countries. We are still adding to our national assets. The taxable capacity of the country is not exhausted. The immediate situation can be met without further depleting the slender means of the poor and without restricting national and local expenditure directed to the development of the country's resources.

If the will were present, we could overcome the immediate difficulty by mobilizing the country's foreign investment, by temporary suspension of the sinking fund, by taking fixed-interest-bearing securities and other unearned income which has benefited by the fall in prices and by measures to reduce the burden of the war debt.

The phrase "equality of sacrifice" has been invoked as justification for the cuts in social expenditure, but no comparable sacrifice has so far been demanded from the wealthier sections of the community.

Sacrifices by the workers are intended to be certain and the sacrifices by the other sections uncertain. Proposals to economize at the expense of the poor are not only unjust but economically unsound. They will increase unemployment and aggravate the basic problem underlying the present crisis by reducing the consuming power of the masses.

Cuts in wages and salaries in national and local services will lead to attempts to enforce similar cuts in industry generally and bring about embittered conflict and industrial chaos.

**Calls on Labor to Fight**  
Great Britain, whose social standards and services have greatly contributed to raising the standards of life throughout the world, under pressure from international and national financial interests, is to take the lead in a process of world wide degradation. The effective resistance of the labor movement can alone prevent this calamity.

The present crisis is essentially part of a bigger one. The policy of the labor movement for national reconstruction and international cooperation, including reconsideration of the problem of debts and reparations, provides the only basis for restoration of credit and re-establishment of world prosperity.

The forces of labor are vitally concerned with the national interest, but we emphatically reject the view that this can only be secured by impoverishment of the workers. We therefore call upon the masses of the people and all men and women of good-will to stand firmly against the new government and rally to the aid of the labor movement in its defense of the true national interests and its constructive efforts towards a new social order.

## British Unions Map Program To Meet Crisis

**Congress Convened Monday  
at Bristol—MacDonald  
Move Is Up**

THE BRITISH Trade Union Congress will meet in Bristol next Monday and the exit of the Labor Government will undoubtedly come up for consideration although the MacDonald-Snowden incident came too late to be placed on the regular agenda.

The General Council submits two master resolutions, one on unemployment insurance and the other on economic planning.

The General Council reaffirms the British trade union movement's support of the policy of unemployment insurance as absolutely necessary for the protection of the owners of industry to provide a market for the labor power of the workers. The Council insists that the present contributory scheme be abolished and that the cost of maintaining the unemployed be made a national charge met out of national taxation in the form of a special unemployment levy on all incomes whether earned or derived from interest and profit.

**Would Plan Industry**  
On planned production and distribution the Council advises the Congress that "nothing short of comprehensive planning of our economic development and effective regulation of our trading relations will suffice to meet the needs of the present day." It urges the Congress to support this policy and to take whatever practical steps are possible to advance it nationally and internationally, "keeping always in view the necessity of maintaining and improving the standard of living of the workers and the protection of the consumers against exploitation."

The Transport and General Workers' Union presents a resolution calling on the Government to introduce suitable legislation to the end that when any industry is transferred from private to public ownership or control provision is made to insure that the workers, through their trade union representatives, shall have an adequate share in the control and administration.

**For Coal Nationalization**  
The Miners' Federation of Great Britain demands the nationalization of mines and minerals, including by-products, and declares that this should be one of the first acts of a majority Labor Government.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation insists that the iron and steel industry be reorganized on the basis of a public utility. The Associated Society of Engineers and Firemen, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Railway Clerks' Association—unite in asking the Congress to urge the Government to legislate in the next session of Parliament to take over on fair terms the railways and other transport undertakings and place them under a national transport authority.

The Pattern Makers urge the Congress to formulate a new workers' charter, comprising work or maintenance, a 40-hour week, workers' control of overtime, pay for holidays, adequate pensions at 60, and nationalization of the mining, railway and building industries.

**Thomas States Views on  
1932 Presidential Race**

The League for Independent Political Action recently suggested as a possible course for its members in 1932 the endorsement of Norman Thomas for president. Thomas made his position on this point clear in a letter to the League in which he said:

"The publication of the L.I.P.A. referendum on four possible courses of action by that body in 1932 leads me to write you to correct what may be a possible misunderstanding. You submit as one choice an endorsement of me as probable Socialist nominee for the Presidency. I should like to make it clear that neither the Party nor I authorized this assumption. The reason the L.I.P.A. should endorse, or rather join the Socialist Party, is not the personality of a man but agreement in principle and program. For my own declaration, so far as they go, are practically a rewording of the Socialist platform of 1928!"

Whether I shall be nominated or accept is entirely for the future to decide.

"Speaking unofficially, it is my opinion that the Socialist Party now as always will welcome and gladly share in a genuine movement for a true farmer-labor party which necessarily will have a socialist philosophy and program. We should view with great suspicion a last moment convention, following old party nominations, to make a new party. A vital political movement must rest on basic principles, not chance sentiment at particular old party choices. Nothing Republicans or Democrats will do will make them the political instrument of the workers' need. At present we do not see a genuine labor party on the horizon. We do see a growing Socialist Party."

## Waldman Denounces Proposals of McKee

The amendment of section 722 of the penal code urged by Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee was attacked by Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, in a telegram he sent Wednesday to Gov. Roosevelt and to the majority and minority leaders in the State Senate and Lower House. Mr. Waldman maintained that granting power to the police to arrest idle persons would be unconstitutional and would give unfriendly public officials an opportunity to deprive strikers and other workers of their rights.

The Socialist leader also told Gov. Roosevelt, in his wire, that if the Walker Administration were sincere in its efforts to eliminate gangsters and racketeers, it already has sufficient power at its disposal. Mr. Waldman declared that Tammany and the police department refuse to close speak-easies, "preferring to collect instead."

## Neckw'r Union Wins New Haven Court Fight

**Injunction Obtained by  
Seigman, N. Y. Run-  
away, Is Modified**

ARTHUR SEIGMAN, INC., a N. Y. C. neckwear manufacturer, left New York in 1930, throwing 150 members of the United Neckwear Makers Union out of work. He moved to New Haven and there opened a plant with the support of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce.

The Seigman factory worked its employees from 68 to 70 hours per week. Children also worked these long hours. The weekly wage sometimes amounted to as low as \$6 per week. In January, 1931, a 40% cut was put into effect. Resentment brought a 100% walkout on Feb. 6. This walkout involved about 350 workers. The striking workers now number 265. Since that time, the United Neckwear Makers Union has been conducting the strike, paying weekly benefits to the New Haven strikers.

The strike has been conducted in New Haven by J. Roberts, the manager of the United Neckwear Makers Union who has been assisted in New Haven by Rose Sullivan, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Ada Cooper, a member of the Joint Board of the Union, and Carmen Lucia, formerly of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The strike has been successful not merely from the point of view of showing the manufacturer the lack of wisdom involved in attempting to operate under non-union conditions, but also because of the intense interest that has been manifested in New Haven in the Union's efforts.

There have been some forty arrests of strikers. An equal number of strike-breakers have been arrested. On August 6, 1931, the entire scab force from this factory came out in mass formation and came in contact with a number of pickets that had been stationed there. The result was a riot at which upwards of 2,000 people congregated, interfering with traffic and causing a number of bruises and injuries on both sides.

August 14, Judge Peasley of the Superior Court, sitting at Waterbury, without notice granted a blanket injunction against the Union, enjoining it and some thirty of the strikers and their representatives from conducting the strike, from picketing, from preventing the factory from obtaining employees, from annoying, hindering and interfering with the conduct of the business, etc.

The temporary injunction was made returnable by Judge Peasley on first Tuesday of September. Matthew M. Levy, of Panken & Levy, attorneys for the Union, and Mr. Roberts went to New Haven on Saturday morning, August 15, 1931. An order to show cause was obtained requiring the manufacturer to show cause why the temporary injunction should not be dissolved or modified. A number of grounds was presented in support of the Union's application, including the fact that the temporary injunction was obtained without notice, that the court was misinformed of the true situation.

Mr. Levy's argument persuaded the court to reconsider its treatment of the problem, and Judge O'Sullivan refused to follow a decision in the Supreme Court of the United States rendered by Chief Justice Taft, and also a decision by the Connecticut court recently rendered, which was relied upon by the Seigman factory, in which the Connecticut court issued a blanket injunction against all picketing and against the conduct of the strike of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union because the pickets had merely looked threateningly at the scabs.

By August 20, the pickets were back on the line.

**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.**

## Minn. Unions Want U.S. Aid For Jobless

**Convention Urges Allow-  
ances Be Paid from  
Taxes on the Wealthy**

ST. PAUL, Minn. (FP)—By adopting the report of its unemployment committee, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Minneapolis, jumped into the lead among state federations in its handling of the problem.

The convention, which was the largest ever held by the federation, subscribed to the principle of public ownership as an ultimate objective towards which the labor movement must strive. It recommended adoption of all the measures advocated by the A. F. of L. for the relief of unemployment, including modification of the Volstead Act, and in addition recommended "that a system of public unemployment benefits be established, the cost of which is to be borne by a tax on industries supplemented by a federal tax on excess income." It also declared for the establishment, with funds appropriated from the public treasury, of community eating and lodging houses to supply destitute individuals and families.

A brisk debate took place relative to the section of the constitution which prohibits seating Communists or sympathizers as delegates. In the end the section was upheld, and Walter Frank, representing the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, was refused a seat by a vote of 247 to 50.

**Oppose School Drills**  
The convention appropriated \$500 for the expenses of an education department, the director of which is to serve without salary. It passed a resolution asking pardon for Mooney and Billings, and a collection for the two labor prisoners netted \$60. Delegates of the Typographical Union called attention to the fact that the Legionaire, official organ of the American Legion, is printed in a non-union shop.

The committee on military training recommended that the federation oppose compulsory military training in the state university and urged the regents to permit the student to determine whether or not he shall take military training. The recommendation was adopted.

Matthew Wolf, president of the National Civic Federation, was in town for the national convention of the Photo-Engravers' Union. Wolf addressed the state federation "in behalf of the American Federation of Labor." He made his usual sales talk for the Union Labor Life Insurance Co., of which he is president and which he declared was designed to take the place of insurance companies which are hostile to labor's interests.

Wolf also attacked state unemployment insurance. Commenting on his speech, the Minnesota Union Advocate said editorially:

"In discussing the subject of unemployment insurance, Wolf misrepresented and misinterpreted the principle of so-called unemployment benefits or 'insurance.' His views are strictly in line with the National Manufacturers Association and the big anti-union employers. They are opposed to the care of the victims of capitalist mismanagement. Wolf charges it is a 'dole' and would tend to lower the standard of living. Evidently he thinks that 7,000,000 unemployed and their 20,000,000 dependents in the headline tend to elevate the standard, and he would continue that condition in preference to a regular allowance provided through governmental agencies as a matter of social justice to those who are shut out from the opportunity of earning a full livelihood. Of all the inversions of reason and logic this is the most astounding exhibition that has ever been witnessed in a convention of the State Federation of Labor."

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## A Bus Octopus Squeezes the People

Fifth Avenue Bus Company a Striking Example of Capitalist Exploitation and the Failure of Regulation

By Paul Blanchard

THE way in which the public is exploited through the private ownership of public utilities has never been better illustrated than in the case of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company which is now applying to the New York City Board of Estimate for the right to extend its routes. The Walker administration was on the point of granting the request of this company for an extension of its routes when the public opposition by Norman Thomas, the City Affairs Committee, and other civic groups before the Board of Estimate induced the administration to pause and make a partial investigation.

Now the City Affairs Committee has brought to light amazing facts concerning the profits of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company and the peculiar way in which it functions in a great corporate hierarchy. The company has paid dividends of approximately 1,000 per cent in recent years with average dividends of 950 per cent for the last eight years in addition to even greater earnings in the form of surplus and fixed capital, and it should share these profits with the city before receiving any extension of grants; the company is controlled by four Chicago business men who milk the corporation through a hierarchy of parasitic holding companies which render the public no necessary service and which escape the supervision of the New York Transit Commission because they are not domestic operating companies; and the company has no legal right to operate on 71 per cent of the lines which it now controls.

Courts have commonly ruled that a public utility is entitled to an 8 per cent return on investment, but the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, whose stockholders' original investment was \$50,000, have received \$3,600,000 in dividends in the last eight years, an average return of 950 per cent annually on their original investment. The company's officials have admitted that the stockholders never put a dollar into the company except the original \$50,000 and the earnings thereon. In defense of these astounding dividend figures it is contended that the company plowed back its dividends over a long period of years, since no dividends were paid prior to 1923, but this contention is nullified by the fact that the company's surplus and fixed capital have increased far in excess of any normal dividends which might have been plowed back into the company. If the company had started at the beginning of its existence and plowed back 10 per cent dividends every year, paying dividends upon the plowed-back dividends, it still would have been worth only \$600,000 in 1923 when it started its big dividend spree. Actually it was worth approximately \$3,000,000 in 1923.

### Feeds Holding Companies

The stockholders invested only \$50,000 in the company and all subsequent additions to the capital have come from the dimes of New York passengers. These dimes have not only given the stockholders 1,000 per cent dividends in recent years, but they have piled up a surplus which totaled \$40,780,613 in 1930. In 1930 it actually earned almost one million and one-half dollars since it declared a dividend of \$500,000 and put \$994,000 into its surplus.

In the lean years when dividends were not being paid the loss of dividends was more than balanced by tremendous increases in fixed capital. Even during recent years when prodigious dividends have been paid, the fabulous appreciation in the fixed capital of the corporation has continued. During the eight years past when the company has paid an average dividend of 950 per cent on its actual original investment, its capital value has doubled.

Although the Fifth Avenue

Coach Company is supposed to be a local transportation unit under the control of the New York Transit Commission, it is actually one part of a great corporate network controlled by Chicago business men and arranged in such a manner that it feeds a whole group of parasitic holding companies. The octopus in the combination is the Omnibus Corporation of Chicago which is controlled by a voting trust held by seven trustees, four Chicagoans and three New Yorkers. The Omnibus Corporation owns the Fifth Avenue Bus Securities Company, which owns the New York Transportation Company, which owns the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, which owns the New York Railway Corporation. The New York Railway Corporation owns a whole nest of feeble and half bankrupt street car companies including the Bleeker Street and Fulton Ferry Railway Company, the Broadway and Seventh Avenue Railway Company, the 23rd Street Railway Company, and the 34th Street Cross-Town Railway Company. As far as actual service is concerned, the New York Transportation Company, the Fifth Avenue Bus Securities Corporation, and the Omnibus Corporation, are simply leeches upon the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, since the coach company passes on its earnings to the upper members of the hierarchy without getting any considerable service in return. The New York Transportation Company, the Fifth Avenue Bus Securities Corporation, and the Omnibus Corporation are drones which pay dividends out of the earnings of the working bee, the Fifth Avenue Coach Company.

### Regulation Is Impossible

The various corporate members of the hierarchy have approximately the same boards of directors but at the top of the pyramid sit four Chicago business men whose unanimous vote can control the surface transit facilities of New York City by controlling the voting trust of the Omnibus Corporation. These four men are John Hert, E. N. D'Ancona, H. E. Forman, and C. A. McCulloch. The pathetic street car companies are paupers, but the upper members of the hierarchy are not obliged to come to their assistance, and continue to declare enormous dividends out of the profits of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company while asking privileges from the city for the railway companies because they are virtually bankrupt. The Transit Commission has no power to go behind the Fifth Avenue Coach Company in this hierarchy because it can regulate only operating concerns.

To make matters worse, the Fifth Avenue Coach Company does not even have a clear legal right to the franchises which it now operates. According to the Chief of the Division of Franchises of the Board of Estimate, the company is not entitled to more than 13 per cent of its present franchises. Yet the Walker Administration has allowed the company to continue to make heavy profits without any serious attempt to challenge its right to exploit city streets. Only Comptroller Charles W. Berry and Deputy Comptroller Frank J. Prial have shown any concern for the taxpayers in this situation.

Municipal ownership and operation of buses is the only logical solution to this problem. It is particularly important in the present situation in New York because a new public utility, that of bus operation, is being developed by private capitalists as a kind of secret gold mine. The public has not yet become aroused concerning the tremendous significance of this new utility. The laxness and indifference of the Walker Administration in this crisis is setting a precedent which may cause the loss of millions of dollars to later generations.

## "Militant" Socialist Conference at Eden To Hear Discussions on Party Problems

A second annual unofficial conference of Socialist Party members from the Eastern States will be held at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, New York, on Saturday, Sept. 12, and Sunday, Sept. 13. The purpose of this conference, according to its sponsors, is to clarify issues within the party and to further a "militant" viewpoint with an eye to greater activity.

The conference will be divided into three sessions. The first session deals with the international phases of the Socialist program with special emphasis on the international factors influencing the depression in the United States and the problem of disarmament under capitalism. The Socialist Party's relation to unions in the United States will be the subject for discussion at the second and third sessions.

The speakers and discussion leaders are to be Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, McAllister Coleman, Leonard Bright, S. A. deWitt,

By Morris Hillquit

SO THIS is "labor" day. To the millions of American workers who for the past two years have been desperately and vainly looking for some kind of labor, any kind of labor, this holiday comes with grim irony.

How many workers remain jobless on this Labor Day of 1931? Nobody can tell. But everybody knows that their numbers are mounting with frightful, catastrophic rapidity.

Governor Roosevelt soberly predicts that in the coming winter the destitution of the unemployed will be twice as large as last winter. As if human misery and privation, hunger, cold, physical suffering and mental anguish could be measured by the multiplication table.

Destitution will be appalling. In comparison with it, all the great calamities that have from time to time visited the nation will pale into insignificance. It is quite likely that the number of unemployed with their families will reach twenty-five million or even thirty million souls. Without earnings and without food this great sector of the richest country in the world will be left to its own devices—to suffer and perish.

No intelligent attempt to remedy or even relieve the situation comes from our ruling classes, generally so proud of their "scientific management."

Or business-like engineer-President has hired a general contractor to do the job. He has appointed a capable capitalist executive with full power to cope with the problem of unemployment, without plan or program, without means or power—and there our national government rests.

Governor Roosevelt, one of the most progressive and enlightened of American governors, has submitted to the legislature of New York a "plan" for unemployment relief. The proposal calls for an appropriation of \$20,000,000. This

## A Grim Joke on American Workers; MacDonald and True Socialism

is equal to a per capita tax of about \$2 on the population of the State; and would enable an average subsidy of about \$25 to each unemployed family for the winter or until the indefinite day of returning prosperity and employment.

Of this paltry appropriation part is to be used "to secure work" for the unemployed, whatever that may mean. The other part will go to provide food, clothing and shelter for the needy jobless workers. The Governor is careful to state that no money is to be given them, for a gift of money would be tantamount to the despised "dole." Does his Excellency fear that if the worker got cash he would spend it on automobiles, yachts or opera boxes, instead of food, clothes and shelter, or does he really believe that these necessities would be a "dole" if secured to him by the State, and would cease to be a dole if furnished to him in kind through the purifying, even if expensive and possibly grafting, state agencies of purchase and distribution?

Compared with the systems of unemployment insurance and other forms of scientifically organized social relief which prevail in most of the advanced countries of Europe, the methods of our government seem peculiarly crude and inept. And yet, they can be readily accounted for.

The irresponsible ignorance and cant which characterize the attitude of our leading "statesmen" correspond to the indifference, planlessness and supineness of our laboring classes. In Europe the Socialist-trained workers have forced a large degree of economic understanding and political education upon their ruling classes. In the United States a weak, complacent and politically impotent organization of labor explains a Herbert Hoover as the typical

sample of political wisdom and a governor Roosevelt as the ideal expression of the most advanced political "progressivism."

My first thought on this Labor Day is the vital need for American labor of a strong organization, an intelligent Socialist philosophy and independent and aggressive politics.

From the depressing situation in the United States my thoughts revert to the recent events in England, the unexpected and deplorable way in which the second Labor government terminated its existence.

I have read and reread Ramsay MacDonald's public explanations of his course of action. There can be no explanation or justification for betraying a public trust, and that is precisely what Ramsay MacDonald has done. He admits he has no "labor credentials" for what he is doing, but claims "credentials of an even higher authority—those of national duty." There can be no credentials more sacred than those by virtue of which he secured his high office. He could not in decency and good conscience hold on to the position of power to which labor had elevated him as its representative and spokesman, when he found himself in utter disagreement with the unanimous sentiment of the laboring masses. The only honorable course for him was to resign with the rest of his cabinet.

Yet, I do not believe that he was actuated by motives of personal interest or ambition in sticking to his office. I think he is quite sincere. He erroneously believes that his country is in danger and he is saving it. In the critical hour Ramsay MacDonald proved to be an Englishman first and a Socialist second.

There are two distinct psychological approaches to Socialism and

two different types of Socialists. There is first the Socialist who is just a Socialist—without qualification or limitation. Socialism means to him the emancipation of the workers—all workers, the socialization of industries everywhere and the universal establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

He happens to be an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German or an American. His field of activity is primarily in his own country and he adjusts his practical work to the conditions, institutions and psychology of the country.

But he is a Socialist first and the different national entities are to him just so many divisions within the framework of the worldwide movement of Socialism. He is an internationalist, and in his own country he is usually taunted with foreign sympathies or affiliations. In the hour of national aberration or "crisis" he is apt to stick to his party.

Then there is the Englishman, Frenchman, German or American who is primarily interested in the welfare of his own country. Within the political life of his country he aligns himself with the Socialist party as the one most likely to secure the greatest degree of justice and well-being to his people. He is interested in the Socialist movements of other countries, but largely on the basis and to the extent of their bearing on the fate of his own country.

He is a nationalist first and a Socialist in the second place. This is the type of Socialists who are likely to desert their party and movement in any acute situation, when the special interests of their country are in seeming conflict with the general interests of the working class.

My second thought and my hope on this Labor Day is that the Socialist movement in the United States will develop along straight working-class international Socialist lines.

## A Strange Virginia Republican

Wickersham Minority Report Would Make Revolutionary Reading for Exploited Workers of the Southland

By Laurence Todd

IF all of the miserably underfed and overworked textile workers in Virginia and the South could read and understand the minority report made by Henry W. Anderson, Virginia Republican lawyer-politician, as a member of the Wickersham Commission, in its two volumes on "Causes of Crime," they might rebel against their bosses. They might create a radical political party. Certainly they would shake capitalist foundations in their terrorized communities.

Anderson writes a long paper, of long paragraphs and long sentences. But he has been thinking. He traces the evolution of society from the feudal to the capitalist form, and finds that individuals are playthings of this system of earning a livelihood, which gives rich rewards to the selfish and unscrupulous.

"The purpose of the economic organization," he says, "is to serve the ultimate consumers, and the right of each individual in the organization to compensation or reward is in proportion to the extent or value of his service; but the competitive principle accords to each individual the right to all he can lawfully get without any direct relation to the service and to absolute ownership as against the social organization of all that he can so acquire."

### Government Undermined

"Private corporations have operated to separate ownership from the power and responsibilities of management in violation of sound principles of social organization. By their size, impersonal character, and measures of economy, they have to a large extent eliminated personal relations, and effectively dehumanized industry; provided in many instances large reserves for the protection of ownership and little if any for the benefit of those who labor. . . . In defense of the 'sacred right of property' they have frequently used their immense financial powers and influence to control or to debauch the agencies of government, thus undermining the foundations of all security not only to persons but to property itself."

Anderson, as though having in mind the brutal record of Southern courts and police and politicians toward textile strikers during the past three years, goes on to declare that if the people are to be made to respect the law, there must first be constructive changes in social and economic conditions which will give the people a better life and a belief that they are no longer oppressed and exploited.

One necessary change, he declares, is that "the compensations and rewards of private resources and efforts must have some proper relation to the extent or value of the service rendered to society; that there shall be a just apportionment on this basis of the prod-

ucts or rewards of industry; and that industry shall make adequate provision for the economic security of those engaged in its service, not only as a matter of individual justice, but as an essential safeguard of social order and progress.

### For Social Changes

"Those who complain of the extension of government control over and regulation of individual social and economic activity might well recognize that to the extent that individuals and private organizations fail to show their capacity for self-control through respect for the rights of others and the discharge of their duties and obligations to society, to that extent the social organization, acting through the agencies of government, must and will step in and exercise social and economic control if human society is to endure."

In his conclusions, this strange Virginia Republican finds that crime is to be lessened, then society must abolish slums, provide an inspiring environment for all children, and give to adults a reasonable chance to "develop through their own efforts under decent living conditions."

To achieve this end which is what Socialists have been demanding bluntly—he would make the Federal Constitution so flexible that every problem of modifying economic and social conditions could be easily met by legislative enactment. This must be done, he says, if social justice is to be offered as an alternative to social revolution.

## The People's Institute To Re-open for Winter

All over the city in another month or so, evening schools for adults will be opening their classes to crowds of men and women, office and factory workers, professional men, teachers, housewives, laborers. Three thousand of these adult students crowded the lecture halls of the school of the People's Institute last season. For thirty years these adults in search of mental stimulation and cultural enrichment have been coming to the school of the People's Institute for courses in philosophy, literature, religion and the social sciences.

This coming fall and winter the Peoples Institute may be forced to close its school at the Muhlenberg library three nights a week for lack of funds for lectures. Some courses will be given at Cooper Union, where the Institute's director, Everett Dean Martin, gave a course last winter on humanism.

A committee of a half dozen students of the Institute have been working hard for the past two months on a plan to raise funds. They will be very grateful if you will help them by telling your readers of this need.

## The Return of 'Coin' Harvey

By Harold Kelso

MONTE NE, ARKANSAS.

WE have with us for the 1932 campaign the Liberty party, created at the fat of the octogenarian W. H. (Coin) Harvey, political philosopher of a by-gone era, who called its national convention, furnished its meeting place, wrote its platform, and stands as its first candidate for President.

The emblem of the party is the Goddess of Liberty, holding aloft, imprisoned by the talons in iron grasp, the Dove of Peace. Be it noted, however, that liberty within the Liberty party consists of freedom to agree with "Coin" Harvey, and that the Dove of Peace succeeded quite easily at the first convention in flying away, leaving the leaders remorseful and the followers sulky.

Tuesday, August 25, approximately 300 self-appointed delegates gathered together at this little Ozark town of Monte Ne, Arkansas. All of them had read "The Book," which is Harvey's explanation of what is wrong with the world, and all of them signed cards stating that they agreed with him that money is issued at interest through private banks is the one all-important cause of economic injustice.

The gathering together of 300 people from twenty-five states in Monte Ne, which is one of the least accessible towns in the Middle West, was itself a miracle, but its significance was depressing to the "delegates" because of the fact that pre-convention publicity had forecast a crowd of between twenty and fifty thousand. Stacks of collapsible cots, dozens of quickly knocked together food stands, and acres of land marked off for parking space showed beyond question that the promoters believed their own ballyhoo.

### Divine Inspiration Seen

The first day of the convention was uneventful. Harvey made a brief introductory speech in which he elected the candidates of the then unnamed party to office a year from next November. Then he turned the keynote speech over to an assistant. The speech had been written by Harvey to be read verbatim, but his own failing eyesight was not equal to the task of reading it.

"This convention, what is here transpiring, is the most important event since the birth of civilization," began the sententious document, following with an attack on the "debt making system." This one principle, he stated, could be accepted by all the forces of humanity, and all other controversial subjects could "be hereafter discussed and settled by a referendum to the people of the nation and states."

With enthusiasm ended the opening session when a young Indiana minister declared the document to be directly inspired of God.

The afternoon session revealed that most of the important personages present were not "delegates" but merely observers. Dozens of speeches crowded one upon another while committees were in session working on Harvey's rough draft for the party's platform.

## "Liberty Party" Born as Aged Free Silver Orator Offers Himself for the Presidency of the Nation

### Scheme to Plough Under Cotton Crop Came from White House

Federated Press has learned through an official of the research division of the Federal Farm Board that urging cotton farmers to destroy every third row of cotton was inspired by political advisers of President Hoover.

A member of the staff put it: "The matter was not presented to the economic research group. We heard nothing whatever of the idea until it appeared in the press. It was not until later that we learned that political advisers of President Hoover had made the suggestion in the hope that the blame for sagging of cotton prices might be placed upon the cotton farmers themselves, instead of upon the Washington administration."

Another move of the President has been to silence critics by placing them on the Board. Following the appointment of officials of the American Farm Bureau Federation to the Farm Board, President Hoover has announced that the new chief economist on the Board staff would be Prof. John D. Black of Harvard University. Prof. Black has on a number of occasions condemned the Board for its attempts to maintain artificial prices.

And the first day's sessions were over.

### Platform Rushed Through

The second day's sessions opened peacefully, with a report of the platform committee, recommending planks calling for a government monopoly of banking, abolition of all interest charges, issuance of silver coins as coordinate money, but standard money to be of paper redeemable only in government services; government ownership and operation "immediately" of all public utilities and trustful industries to be brought about in some unnamed manner without issuing any interest-bearing bonds, and a reduction in salary to \$25,000 a year for the President of the United States.

Platform committee Chairman M. B. Harcraft of Los Angeles moved its adoption, and Chairman Homer Earl of Lincoln, Nebraska, ignoring shouts of "point of order" from several places in the hall, put the motion and declared it carried.

The ensuing disorder became almost riotous. Dr. Samuel Irwin of Leesville, Louisiana, was ordered ejected when he insisted on the right of C. D. Lank of Wichita, Kansas, to be heard on his point of order. Irwin broke away from the sergeant-at-arms and made his way to the platform amid boos and applause. Chairman Earl hastily turned the gavel over to Harcraft, who made an impassioned speech for unity, and then recognized Lank, who raised an objection to adoption of the platform by acclamation, and incidentally expressed a fear that members of the Liberty party might be known as "libertines."

Without a motion, "Coin" Harvey stepped into the situation and asked for a vote on reconsideration of the platform, which was declared lost by Chairman Earl, who seemed to have much more delicately tuned ears than many members of the audience. Harcraft then declared that if anyone wanted any changes or additions to the platform, they could present them to the committee for action in the afternoon.

### Harvey Agrees to Run

But the afternoon session was steered immediately into the business of nominating candidates. A. M. White of New Orleans nomi-

success he won as a leader in the fight for good roads for the Middle West, they pointed to the ruins of nearby local enterprises which Harvey's best efforts had been unable to save from failure.

A log cabin station, all that is left of a bankrupt railroad that once connected Monte Ne with the outside world; the stark foundation of a large resort hotel which never got beyond the foundation stage; and a two-story concrete bank building, now boarded up, stand as memorials to what those less reverent consider Harvey's failures. It is almost certain, if the home folks to whom I talked are representative, that the Liberty party will fall far short of carrying Harvey's own precinct.

And his latest promotion dream, that he might construct a pyramid to safeguard relics of this civilization for future generations, is indeed fantastic. Only the foyer of the pyramid has so far been completed, and it is built directly over a large spring, of materials that will not stand under erosion without frequent repair even through the lifetime of many now living.

Evaluation of the Liberty party at this time is not easy. It is quite likely that Nordack, who is president of the Southwest "Water League in California, editor of an iconoclastic magazine, and an accomplished speaker, may make inroads in California. Alliance with the Brinkley for governor movement in Kansas may bring strength to the new party in the wheat belt. It is hard to see any further hope for their success.

A. M. Towley of the North Dakota Non-Partisan League left the convention in disgust. The delegation from Minnesota stated that they would return an unfavorable report to the Farmer-Labor party. Covington Hall, Socialist and former I. W. W. leader, who had been mildly cooperative up to the convention, turned in his credentials as delegate at noon of the second day.

But it must be admitted that "Coin" Harvey's followers worship him, almost, defy him. They speak of "The Book" as a crusade might of the Holy Grail. They firmly believe that the Liberty party is destined to sweep the country in 1932 and save humanity from destruction. And the inchoate but universal dissatisfaction present in the farm communities of the country—no evidence has yet appeared of Liberty party contacts in industrial centers—furnishes them good ground for implanting their doctrines and gathering their vote.

The existence of the new party is a standing challenge to Socialists to assume leadership in a sane movement that will give hope to the Middle West.

In former stages of society, famine appeared only when the earth refused her harvest. In capitalist society, famine sits at the hearth of the working class when granaries and cellars burst with the fruits of the earth and when the market is gorged with the products of industry.—Paul Lafargue.

An unusual work you will be happy to own or give to a friend

Should Be Read By Every Lover of Liberty

## FIFTY YEARS OF FREETHOUGHT

By GEORGE E. MACDONALD

Foreword by CLARENCE DARROW

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## Hooked Rugs for Relief

Some of the blacklisted textile workers in Marion, N. C., have just been able to find work since the strike in 1929. Among their families is unfold suffering, sickness, hunger and lack of clothes. The women are making old-time hooked rugs to sell to help feed their hungry children. We need a sale for these rugs and will be glad to send them to any person or group who can dispose of one or more for us. Any size or shape. Your order will help feed some hungry family. Will you order now? Prices \$2.00 to \$15.00. Address all orders to: United Textile Workers' Union, CRACK ELLIOTT, MARION, N. C. B-394

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Opposes compulsory military training in civilian colleges and all military training in high schools. Literature sent on request. Address: 387 BIBLE HOUSE, Astor Place, New York City



Nightmare's  
End

FOR the great bulk of our British comrades, torturing these mornings towards their toast and marmalade, or bloaters and tea, or whatever sort of strange foods those boys consume for what they call breakfast, it must seem as though they had awakened from a thoroughly depressing nightmare.

For it could have been nothing less, for a Socialist with any sense of humor, to say nothing of integrity, to have been perforce a supporter of what was more or less jocosely called "the Socialist regime" of the late but by no means lamented Ramsay MacDonald. If the experience that our speakers here have had in thinking up adroit answers to the questions posed at them from every street corner concerning the doings of the British Socialist government have been harrowing, think of the unhappy position of one who was actually a part of that government. Think of standing up and telling unemployed men and women of your own constituency that you couldn't take any real steps to aid them because the first moves towards real Socialism might upset some capitalist appeasers. Think of these things, my American comrades, and rejoice that you at any rate, have been spared the fate of seeing your leaders more wrought up about the peace of mind of the owners of British securities than about the security of the makers of British goods.

Does this sound like that bird in the Bible giving thanks that he was not like some one else? It certainly does, and to be very frank with you, we have always had a sneaking sympathy with that particular bird. In fact, it has been one of the main things that has kept us alive for these past ten years or more—the thought that low and futile and inconsequential as we were, we were nevertheless not selling bonds after the manner of the majority of our classmates, not peddling justice at bargain prices, not sweating workers at the monotonous job of turning out shoddy goods for shoddy people.

To be sure, being in a frank mood, we will admit that there have been very few opportunities thrust at us for being bond salesmen, lawyers or great big he-manufacturers.

Our only experience as a bond salesman was our first week out of college, when, with Joyce Kilmer, we entered the employ of a plausible old scoundrel who, in a burst of liberality, gave us New Jersey as the exclusive territory in which to employ our wiles in seducing the natives thereof to buy bonds in a magazine project. We were to pay our own expenses, and to receive a handsome commission from the results of our brigandage. For one hot week in June we staggered through New Jersey, carrying a brief-bag and what we thought was a persuasive smile, calling upon a list of what turned out to be that State's most prominent bankrupts. Late on Friday afternoon we collapsed upon the front stoop of a feeble-minded minor in Newark, who out of sheer Christian pity took one of our ten-dollar offerings. That is to say, he took it on tick, explaining that he had only seventy-five cents in the house at that time.

As our expenses up to that time had been \$18.89, we came to the conclusion that the field of high finance was not for us, and took a fifteen-dollar-a-week job gathering obituary notices for "The Sun."

As for law, our father was a lawyer and an honest one, and by the time we were ready to enter Columbia Law School he had told us enough about the practice of law in New York City to make a job in the sewage disposal works seem a highly honorable profession.

We have had occasion to know intimately several he-manufacturers. All of them have insisted on showing us around their plants, and realizing that they are dealing with "poor old Mac" who is full of Socialism and such nonsense, they have made it a point to emphasize the "happy family" features of their establishments.

One day one of them had delivered quite a touching talk on the loyalty and devotion to the management of every last worker in the place. At the end of it we walked around a corner upon a loyal and devoted worker who was whistling happily at his task. This consisted of holding a tube, down which flowed a stream of bright steel pellets designed to become the bearings of some complicated doodad. Unfortunately, at the moment we came upon the happy workman, he was directing this stream of expensive material out of the factory window and into a small brook which flowed below. Just how long this amusing sabotage had been going on, I know not, but I shall never forget the expression upon the face of the he-man manufacturer when he discovered what kept the most contented of all his workers contented.

Of course I am not for sabotage. I think it is very naughty. I leave the wholesale promulgation of the destruction of useful products to the United States Farm Board. Indeed I will go further and confess my hearty agreement with Comrade Howard Brubaker when he says that he thinks that every third member of that board should be plowed under.

Neither do I believe in the use of force or violence. I think this is naughty too, and I leave it to the capitalist Governor of the capitalist State of Oklahoma to keep up the price of products by the use of bayonets and militia, merely pointing out that when in Russia the State sets a price, this is a fiendish form of dictatorship, but when it is done in Oklahoma it is a fine gesture of old-fashioned American individualism.

It was a touching but rather naive letter which Mayor William J. Swoboda, Socialist Mayor of Racine, Wis., that State's second city, sent to Governor James J. Rolph, Jr., of California, in regard to the freeing of Mooney. In one part of it he said, "Life is but a phantom, we are here but a moment; to walk uprightly, to act justly are but little to ask of any man." Little to ask indeed! Maybe it's a different sort of air you breathe out there in Racine, Comrade Swoboda, that you do not realize what a terrific assignment you have handed out. It is about as easy to walk uprightly inside the maze laid down by capitalist economics as it is to come home on a straight line from a New York speakeasy. There was an old Socialist who said to Oscar Ameringer, "Under capitalism a man can no more go straight than he can sleep upright in the coil of a still." And to ask a politician like Rolph to perform any such perambulating miracle as to walk uprightly over the hurdles, pitfalls and mantraps of California politics, while it is a tribute to the innate decency of Swoboda, must give the sceptic to laugh. Men who walk uprightly these days are more likely than not to find the shadow of prison bars across their way. That's what happened to Debs, that's what happened to Mooney, that's what will happen to those who in the black days to come will dare to strike out against the thing that has Mooney in

McAlister Coleman

## From Our Foreign Correspondents

## Socialism And World Problems

## Vienna Congress Faces Disarmament and Political Crisis in a Realistic Fashion

By Algernon Lee

THE attention of the Vienna congress of the Socialist International was to a great extent centered upon the work of the second and third commissions, dealing respectively with the political and the economic aspects of the present world situation. Otto Bauer of Austria reported to the congress for the second commission, and Robert Grimm of Switzerland for the third. The United States was represented in the economic commission by Morris Hillquit and Jacob Panken, and in the political commission by Algernon Lee.

Of the two topics, that dealt with by the third commission is admittedly the more fundamental, while the other seemed to have the more concrete and urgent significance. Of course, they cannot be sharply separated. On the one hand, the conduct of our movement, and the immediate political measures which it advocates, must be adapted to the economic relations and tendencies of the time. But on the other hand, the peculiar economic conditions which now prevail are in large measure the outcome of political arrangements—perhaps one might better say, of political derangements—made by nations and groups of nations since the World War. The discussions and reports of the two commissions are therefore to be regarded as two parts of a single work.

Never before was there such grave and imminent danger at the same time to democracy and to international peace, and consequently to the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class and to the very existence of civilization. This danger consists not only in nationalistic militarism and the arbitrariness of class governments—evils with which we have long been familiar and against which we have in the past been able to make head—but also and above all in the strivings toward ruthless and brutal dictatorship by the Bolsheviks or the Fascist form. More and more these two species of anti-democratic mob movements show by their actions how much they have in common, in the effects which they produce as well as in the causes from which they spring. These new dangers, or this new danger under two masks, has been made possible only by the spreading of unexamined misery among the masses of the people, by the failure of bourgeois society to set its house in order after the tumult and havoc of war, and by the sense of insecurity, the fear, hatred and recklessness which ensued in almost all social strata.

It has to be combated, not only by frontal attack or defence, but above all by such measures as will alleviate the general wretchedness and make it possible once more for the masses to hope and to reason. Frenzied despair seldom wins a battle, and if now and then it does so, the fruits of its victory always slip from its hands. The triumph of Socialism is not to be attained, as something that will somehow happen if and when capitalist society has fallen into chaotic ruin. It has to be accomplished through the conscious action of the proletariat, using at

each stage means that are appropriate to the situation. Social chaos and economic paralysis is just the state of affairs most unfavorable to the growth of the proletariat in material and moral power. The immediate task of the Socialist movement at this particular point in history—a task which has to be undertaken in addition to, not instead of, its general and age-long tasks—is that of overcoming the abnormality of present-day capitalism, of enabling the productive system to function, so that the forces which are creating the future society may have opportunity to develop and to act.

This, I believe, is a correct statement of the views which dominated the proceedings of the congress, and condemn such a course under the name of "class collaboration," to describe it as an attempt to "stabilize capitalism," is altogether to misconceive the purpose and the means. Capitalism is not the sort of thing that can be stabilized, even if we desired it. If any stabilization is effected, it will be in the form of a Fascist state, which will retain all that is worst in capitalism and lack its redeeming possibilities. It is to this that the great capitalists and their statesmen are more and more tending at the present time. It is this which Bolshevism is willing to risk, and it is this which the Social Democracy combats.

The economic depression which has prevailed since 1929 is, if we take into account its severity, its duration, and its universality, the most formidable the world has yet known. At bottom, it is but the latest in the series of depressions which have been occurring, at more or less regular intervals, for more than a century, and which result from the fact that the powers of capitalist production tend always to outgrow the total effective purchasing power of capitalist society. That it would be more intense and more widespread than any previous one might have been expected, because of the quickened tempo of progress and the relatively diminished room for the expansion of capitalism into economically undeveloped countries.

That distinguishes it, however, is that even at the end of two years the forces which ordinarily make for recovery are not even beginning to operate. Prices have been slashed, stocks of goods have been worked off, paper values have deflated, the savings and investments of the poorest and middle classes have been used up, but the usual stimulus to renewed production has not ensued, even on the smallest scale. Capitalism appears to have lost its capacity for readjustment.

The explanation (or at least a large part of the explanation) seems to be that what we are now experiencing is not only a typical crisis of overproduction, but that it is this plus something else. The "something else" is a very big one, for it includes pretty much everything that capitalist statesmen have been doing since the war and pretty much everything that international high finance has

been doing with or without government collaboration. The statesmen began in 1919-20 by stripping Central Europe of most of its movable means of production and loading Germany with a reparations debt which they ought to have known (and perhaps did know) far exceeded her utmost ability to pay. The effect of this, if not its purpose, was to dislocate all Germany's economic relations with the rest of the world, to reduce the bulk of her population to extreme poverty, and to make her a "happy hunting ground" for Western European and American financial adventurers. By a policy which was perhaps more stupid than deliberately malign, they consolidated the power of the Bolshevik regime and thereby cut off Russia from mutually helpful economic intercourse with the industrial countries. At the same time they set up seven new national states, six of which (as well as mutilated Austria) could not possibly be economically self-sufficient. They encouraged and almost compelled these new states to join with the victor nations in enormously increased expenditures for armaments, which could be met only by lowering the living standards of the masses, by imposing tariffs which bar the flow of industrial and agricultural goods from the places where each can best be produced to those where it is most in demand, and by piling up public debts so huge that arrears of interest continually have to be converted into new loans.

All this and more of the sort was done largely from short-sighted political motives, but partly also to serve immediate interests of particular banking or bond-holding groups; and it was done by governments whose policies were, to a greater extent than ever before, guided by the "great minds" of organized big business. Professional statesmen and diplomats, without such expert advice, could hardly have done so bad a job. And after the stage was thus set for disaster, it was the financiers' turn to show that they could make an appalling bad situation yet worse.

Manufacturers and merchants, from the nature of their business, usually have a certain touch with reality. Even though they feel no social responsibility, its place is partly supplied by practical good sense and caution. Among bankers and brokers, who deal in money and credit instead of goods, and who handle other people's wealth almost as if it were their own, there is much more of the "bubble" psychology. Capitalist society very early found out that, necessary as the financiers were to its development, their ways were full of danger; even while it was getting rid of entails, guilds, legal monopolies, and all sorts of old restrictions on industry and commerce, it had to protect itself by building up a whole system of state regulation and inspection of banks and other financial enterprises, not merely to prevent actual fraud and embezzlement, but still more to guard against reckless speculation. In the long run, however, this system

has proved futile. The evolution of industrial capitalism, with its increasingly complex organization; inevitably throws the control of business more and more into the hands of the financiers. With in the last quarter of a century, finance capital has definitely put the bit in its teeth, and industrial capital is dragged wherever it chooses to go. The small business men are of course helpless, and a controlling interest in the great corporations is now almost invariably held by banks or financial syndicates, which are directly concerned, not with producing and marketing goods, but with floating what are somewhat humorously called securities and juggling them on the stock exchange.

Many economists and men of affairs, as they saw the whole economic system being organized on so gigantic a scale within recent years, expressed the hope and even the certainty that this would put an end to the "anarchy" of capitalist production and would give the world a "planned economy," which would no longer be subject to violent internal convulsions, but would be able to direct all the productive forces so as to satisfy human needs with a minimum of conflict and of waste. "Er was" zu schoen gewesen!—It was a pretty theory, but it had one fatal weakness. One is reminded of the famous saying of the Emperor Joseph II., "Perhaps the most enlightened and sincere of the benevolent autocrats of his time, Joseph had applauded and patronized the writers who were exposing all the evils of state and church. Yet he turned against the French Revolution, and when a lady of the court ventured to tax him with inconsistency his answer went straight to the point: "Madame, my trade is that of being a monarch." The capitalists' trade is that of being capitalists—that is, of appropriating surplus-value. The appropriation of surplus-value is just the thing which gives rise to the disorders that convulse the capitalist economy, and it is just the thing which the capitalists cannot wish to eliminate, because to do so would be to eliminate themselves as capitalists; and of all capitalists, the great financiers are the last who could dream of such a thing, because they are capitalists pure and simple, appropriators of surplus-value and only that. All their much heralded planning, therefore, has for its aim the strengthening of this root-cause of anarchy in production, and its effect is to give the world economic anarchy on a new model and a vastly enlarged scale.

In Germany even more than elsewhere, having had a free hand there since the war, high finance has done its worst. Taking advantage of the fact that the country was in various ways mortgaged beyond the whole amount of its actual wealth, the new type of super-capitalists succeeded in centralizing control of industry there more completely than in any other large country, and lodging this control in the hands of a few closely connected banks and credit corporations. This made it possible to carry through a policy of so-called rationalization (again a comical name for an irrational procedure) with exceptional speed and thoroughness. The productive capacity of German industry was increased out of all proportion to the needs of the country itself and its normal foreign markets; and the cheapening of German industrial products, caused by such excessive technological development plus the pressure of the reparations payments, had its effect on industry and trade everywhere else. For a few years the world marveled at Germany's recuperation and could not say too much in praise of German efficiency; and then it rather suddenly realized that this very efficiency was an international danger.

The German great capitalists who are inside the international financial group have of course profited by all this, at the expense of the German middle and working classes. The Austrian, British, French and other participants in the controlling group are in an equivocal position. As masters of German industry they benefit by the super-exploitation practiced there; but by that very thing they damage the industries which they likewise dominate in their respective countries. They are in a dilemma, the only way of escape from which is one which they, as capitalists, will not and cannot take. They have been trying therefore to put off the crisis by simultaneously following contradictory policies which only increase the tension—on the one hand to protect their interests elsewhere by shutting German goods out of other markets; on the other hand, to continue the increase of German production in mass and cheapness, in which process they have pyramided credits upon credits until the structure has become top-heavy, and at the same time so complexly built that if any part of it breaks the whole thing is likely to come down.

In all this, the German situation is like that of other countries, except that it is there carried to the most dangerous extreme. The resultant misery of unemployment and lowering of real wages falls upon the workingmen everywhere, and somewhat more heavily upon the German working class; and the same may be said as to the small business men, farmers, and other elements which are neither capitalist nor proletarian.

In dealing specially with the situation in Germany, therefore, the Vienna Congress was dealing with the whole international situation, economic and political. The reports of the second and third commissions—and, for that matter, also of the first commission on disarmament—are to be re-

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Conservatives and Liberals. Now when British capitalism has completely collapsed we find that the heads of the British labor movement working hand in hand with the enemies of the working class to "save the country" from the present crisis. Don't you think that the time has come for British labor to take a hand and "save the country" for the working class?

What should be the stand of the Socialist International in making its affiliated bodies behave according to International Socialist principles? ELI A. COHEN.

Milwaukee, Wis. Within a day or two after the above was written the Labor party acted and by an almost unanimous vote repudiated the MacDonald-Snowden policy.—Editor.

HOW COME? Editor, The New Leader: Here is something that has come to my attention only recently and I am surprised to recall that nothing, so far, seems to be said about it. I refer to the agitation in favor of the six-hour day and the five-day week. Do you forget that the six-hour day and the five-day week has been in force in our public schools for the past 50, perhaps 100 years? Do you recall that when you were attending the little red schoolhouse on the hill, out on Kanawha prairie, "books took up" at 9 a. m. There was a recess of 15 minutes along about 10:30, and then school was dismissed at 12 m. for one hour. At 1 p. m. school began again. There was another intermission of 15 minutes about 2:30 and then at 4 p. m. school was dismissed for the day.

Do you realize that the public schools are one of our big industries? Here is a local instance. It has just been announced that the taxes this year levied for the city government amount to \$447,000; for the city schools \$427,000. There are more than 350 employees, including teachers, on the payroll of the schools, more than the city has on its payroll. The city works its employees eight hours. The schools only work six hours. The city works its employees six days each week. The schools only five days. There has been going on for 50 or 100 years, and not a word said about it. How come?

I am writing to ask you if that is not something to talk about? Ogden, Utah. O. A. KENNEDY.

## The New Leader Mail-Bag

## A CORRECTION

Editor, The New Leader: I think you are a little bit unfair in charging that one of the difficulties of the British Labor government was the fact that certain Left Wing Laborites, generally members of the Independent Labor party, voted against them on certain issues. As a matter of fact in no cases did the votes of such Left Wing Laborites against the Labor government into any of the decisions which have resulted in its present debacle. On the contrary, in at least one issue, namely that of cutting down still further on expenditures on armament, the opposition of the Left Wing would have reduced the government's expenditure. If their point had been carried, and the prevented the government from being in the present situation.

As events have proved, these Independent Labor party members, whom you charge with causing difficulties for the Labor government, were actually closer to the desires of the Labor party's supporters than the men who were at the head of the Labor government, and have continued in office at all costs even though the Labor movement in England had repudiated them.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, Boston, Mass. One short paragraph in the story, which was written with much haste, and just above the L. F. statement, may carry this unintended implication, and we agree with Comrade Lewis.

## HOOVER "PROSPERITY"

Editor, The New Leader: One hears or reads so many stories about conditions under the present depression, the incidents I am about to relate, will not surprise many of your readers.

It is a common thing here for married women with children and oftentimes whole families to sleep out in the city parks. These are people who have been evicted from their apartments or flats. In my neighborhood, I ran across a very pitiful case today, a family of three, the mother sick in bed with a four-day-old child who is dying. The father is hustling around trying to get a doctor. But also, they have no money, to the private doctor refuse to attend the sick woman and child. The city hospital also turned them down saying they had no emergency doctors to attend out at present.

Oh yes, this is a great system we are living under, a system of people starving in the midst of plenty. O. F. CHEVILLIOT, Detroit, Mich.

## ELECTRIC RATES

Editor, The New Leader: At a time when the tendency is for everything to come down, for the Public Service Commission to give legal sanction to electric service companies to boost their rates, is to bring forth clearly the class character of the commission which is responsible for this condition.

My bill for electric service for this month is more than one-third higher than it would have been at the previous rate of 7 cents per k. w. h. The electric company must have a "demand charge" of \$3. By what method or means has it arrived at this computation? It would seem that the companies have been given carte blanche by the Public Service Commission to tax the small consumers, for we are compelled to pay them for power we have not used as we are not actually in need of same. In other words, the companies are getting "something for nothing."

What audacity for the companies to advertise in newspapers that "no electricity is cheaper." Yes, to the large consumers who can better bear the burden electricity is cheaper, but not to the small consumer who is being penalized for practicing thrift because economic circumstances compel him to pursue such a course.

To permit the present exorbitant rates to remain is to serve notice on all the other public service corporations to go and do likewise. The small consumers should bombard with their protests the Public Service Commission and the Governor of our State. DR. MAURICE S. CALMAN, New York City.

## THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

Editor, The New Leader: Now that the Socialist International has met and adjourned with much work to its credit, a question arises in my humble mind as to what teeth if any has the International in making its affiliated bodies responsible to it? While I am writing this note, the Labor government in Britain has gone out of office and we find our most illustrious comrades in the British movement working in cooperation with the enemies of the working class, the

The  
Chatterbox

BECAUSE this is the Labor Day edition of the NEW LEADER, allow me to break the promise made last week to continue on that now and figure of exalted patriotism and deflated glory... the canny and canned Scot from Lissimouth. I wonder how the Scots pronounce the first syllable? Let us talk about labor and Labor Day.

That delightful and stimulating group of young-bloods who style themselves as militant in the party are arranging to have a conference at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, New York, a week from this Sunday. And while neither they nor any of us older comrades consider their self-grouping as anything distinct from the movement as a whole, the attitude of searching the soul in order to find correct direction toward the goal is admirable and worth full encouragement for the good of the cause.

For this reason then quite a number of the so-called right-wing section leaders have agreed to attend and lead the discussion. For this reason we should all be there, and seek a common and high manner of party precept and procedure.

My topic will be, tentatively at this writing, "What shall we do about labor?" In case my topic is shifted onto some other phase, scientific or cultural at the last moment, it might be in time and form to deliver here in short substance what has been bothering about my belly on the labor question all these years.

It has been so customary a conclusion that Socialism and Labor are so indispensable to each other under all consideration, that the cynical sniffer might with all justice snivel back at me and say... "since when are these two subjects so unrelated that you must make a compound equation out of them?"

And in truth, much has transpired in the last twenty years to separate our cause from the class for which it is enlisted, and for which it has the only reason to exist.

Many, many things have taken place—political, economic and human—to separate our philosophy from the slaves it proposes to free. A discussion of ancient evils might be in place. But space allows for only a presentation of what we ought to do about gathering the workers back to our fold, right here and now.

For one thing, I earnestly believe we ought to utterly give up wasting our energies, our talents and our resources on campaigns, local or national, where our programs lead us into public debate, and newspaper publicity, regarding our attitude to old party grafters, corrupt and inept public officials, judges and the like. Publicity received on sensation waves is as useless as the snows of yesterday. And a great deal more evanescent.

For the other, I sincerely present this program. Let us gather together whatever forces we have on hand, and concentrate them in working class districts only. I would even go so far as to keep all nominations blank in middle class and silk stocking districts, since we cannot afford even that faint brand of hypocritical action on our name as Socialists. The running of Comrade Heywood Brown last year is a case in point. We are definitely a political party for the workers, seeking power for them on the ballot, and with our geographical divisions as they are, we must run in only those districts where the workers reside. This would save us considerable expense and give us more resource to draw upon.

Those of our members who live in silk stocking and middle class districts ought to join branches in more proletarian sections nearby and give of their talent and material assistance where it does the most good for our movement. In this way we can start the shape and character of our activities definitely. We must have less and less abstraction about the workers. We must live, think and work with and for them.

The next step then is to make clear and concise our methods and educational programs. We must begin all over again as in the beginning perhaps. We must forget that there are labor unions and yet declare for the unity of workers along broad class conscious lines. We will be handicapped a great deal by the debris of the old craft unionism. We must leap over or march around the dumps. We must remember that eighty per cent of the workers are not unionized. And that of the twenty per cent who have had some union experience, fully half are out or going out rapidly. We are to be no critics or judges about what remains. We are teachers, we are guides, and we must keep close to our professions. We can do nothing with the organizations that remain intact. They have become businesslike patterned largely in the capitalistic mould, and must suffer the diseases and fate of their model. Corruption in public life under capitalism brings similar decadence in any other form of life and conduct under that system. Labor leaders who are not conscious of their class and are scornful of a social philosophy like our own, are subject to the same influences that degrade judges, mayors, governors and cabinet members in the higher spheres. Capitalism rots everything that it touches. This we know and every day makes us firmer in our convictions.

So that it is no remarkable prediction, nor is it indicative of exceptional prophetic vision for us to declare that craft unionism as it exists today is doomed to uselessness. . . . And that soon. We must concentrate on organizing the skilled and unskilled, the farm-hand and the technical expert, the white collar and the office slave into class conscious groups, through political education by the way of spoken and written word, bringing our message to them in their own language and with as little scientific definitions as possible. This requires a process of re-educating the educators. We are lacking in speakers who can bring the subject across plainly. Or if we have speakers of plain English capacity, they lack proper fundaments and material. We ought to establish a five month plan for training our available educators and organizers. We ought to decide in democratic conclave on just what form of working class unionism we should advocate. Most of us are pretty hazy on that subject. Some cry, reform the A. F. of L. from within. Others ask for dual unionism, citing the so-called success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Others bring in industrial organization. The fact is we have been so busy wasting our years of campaigning on local and petty reform issues, because of their dramatic lure and our inherent weakness for drama, that we have dawdled and straddled and finally flopped completely on an intelligent solution of what must be most important to us Socialists. What shall we do now about getting the workers organized for Socialism? That and nothing else is the matter before the house.

Whatever we have clamored for, such as unemployment relief, old age pensions, clean government and so on . . . these are palliatives that the enemy will offer or have offered whenever they saw fit for their own safety and comfort to grant. Whatever we have wasted in that direction is done with. The credit for whatever we have instituted in petition goes to the one who does the giving. It is for us to concentrate on the workers petitioning them to grant salvation unto themselves through Socialism. But first we must know what to teach them in the field of organization, method, and struggle.

For this purpose the militant conference has great moment and worth.

—S. A. de Wit.



# Sensational Concentration Of U.S. Industry Is Revealed In New Book By Laidler

**Banking, Public Utilities and Agriculture Have Also Been Drawn Into Control of Few Hands—"Rugged Individualism" Disproved by Trend of Last Few Years**

THE most recent trends in the United States toward combination and monopoly are significantly set forth in a 500 page volume by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and—President of the National Bureau of Economic Research—published Monday by Thomas Y. Crowell, under the title "Concentration in American Industry." Not since John Moody's "Truth About the Trust," published a quarter of a century ago, has such a comprehensive picture of the extent of concentration in our natural resources, public utilities, manufacturing industries, banking, retail distribution and agriculture been presented in any one volume.

The picture given in this book is a startling one to any one still clinging to the belief that America is the land of rugged individualism. The United States, according to the author, has just passed through the third and most extensive period of concentration in the history of the country. In mining and manufacturing alone over 7,000 firms were merged in the post-war period from 1919 to 1928. In the public utility field, only 23 mergers were noted in 1919. Seven years later, in 1926, the number exceeded 1,000. They have been outstanding. Two hundred non-financial corporations now control over 45 per cent of the assets of the country's non-financial corporations. In public utilities, one corporate system controls three-fourths of the nation's telephones, one corporation possesses about three-fourths of the telegraph business, another dominates the field of radio. A few great holding companies and investment trusts are

now dominating the electrical field. In natural resources, one corporation owns more than half of the iron resources of the country. One corporation controls over 90 per cent of the nickel resources in the world. Another, the Aluminum Company of America, possesses over nine-tenths of the nation's bauxite raw material used in the production of domestic aluminum. Four great concerns control the major part of the country's copper; eight concerns, closely allied with the railroads, own about eighty per cent of our anthracite coal.

## U. S. Steel Is King Pin

In manufacturing, the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel possess 52 per cent of the country's steel capacity. In 1930, Ford turned out 40 per cent of the automobiles produced in the United States and the General Motors Corporation, 34 per cent. Between them, they produced three out of every four cars made in that year. In food packing, two corporations handle over 50 per cent of the meat entering interstate commerce. One corporation and its affiliates do a large proportion of the sugar refining business of the country. One corporation manufactures practically all of the sleeping cars. Three corporations divide the locomotive field among them. The chemical and other industries are becoming increasingly concentrated.

The greatest strides in concentration during the last few years in manufacturing have been, among other industries, in the field of food-supplies, as the emergence of the General Foods Corporation, the National Dairy Products Company, Borden's and the mammoth bread and biscuit companies, etc., indicates.

In money and banking, the last few years have seen the development of the two billion dollar corporations and the decrease in the number of banks by over 5,000. Already one per cent of the

banks of the country hold resources almost equal to the other 99 per cent. The investment trusts, the large private banks and chain and branch banking, have led increasingly to concentration of control in this important field.

## "Trust-Smashing" Is Dead

When Moody wrote his book about the trusts, practically no trends were to be noted toward the development of the great corporation in retail distribution. At present, however, the author points out, there are no less than ten great corporate units which do a business of more than \$100,000,000 a year. One of these, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, has an annual turnover in its more than 16,000 stores of over a billion dollars. Even in agriculture, the mammoth farms in the northwest and southwest, the development of the chain and factory farms, and the growing dependence of the farmer on big business for everything that he buys and sells, indicate that the large corporation has not neglected this field.

Dr. Laidler sees this trend toward large scale production and monopoly increasing as the years go on. He is unable to discover any effective movement on foot to "smash the trusts" as in the old days, and feels that society is being forced increasingly to the alternative of public regulation or public ownership. He analyzes the defects in much of our regulatory machinery as applied today to public utilities and observes a trend toward public industries of the type of the New York Port Authority, a public corporation which is able to combine a social purpose with marked efficiency.

The recent movement toward concentration, the author concludes, is leading to a separation between ownership and control; is placing responsibility for management upon those who depend upon other than the profit incentive for their best endeavors, and is showing that great industrial units can be operated under one corporate head. The very diffusion of stock ownership which has been going on since the war, but which has slowed up somewhat during the last few years, has led to an increased concentration of control by corporation officers and managers and has placed the investor, the consumer and the workman increasingly under the domination of the management.

The volume is thoroughly annotated and supplies a suggestive bibliography.

The political problem of mankind is to combine three things: Economic efficiency, social service, and individual liberty.—J. M. Keynes.

**WE ARE CONVINCED** That the present "system" and its life trace to the Property idea; that the present bears the relation of MOTHER to the New Order coming, and that the Social Revolution lies in our abandoning ownership and being "born again, reorganized, into One Universal Brotherhood of people who do not own; who live in Brotherhood homes; operate Brotherhood farms, industries, schools and the other accessories of a Communal civilization that gradually spreads over the earth with no regard to the Property lines of Nation, Creed, Race or Class.

It is a great building enterprise; a gorgeous adventure; a heavenly rebirth. True Socialism, true Communism, true Christianity are all the same thing. **GERALD CRAWFORD, Director** **BROTHERHOOD HOUSE** 324 Pleasant Ave., New York

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JOHN LESNICK, Rec. Secy.  
NATHAN RIESEL, Fin. Secy.

## "Socialism in Our Time"

Circle Two, Seniors, Brooklyn Young People's Socialist League Meet every Tuesday Evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum

Greetings

**18th A.D., Branch 2**  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.  
R. SOKOLOFF, Secy.

**23rd A. D. Kings County Jewish Branch**  
215 Van Allen Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Socialism and World Problems

(Continued from Page Five)

garded as parts of a whole. Taken together, they comprise a declaration that capitalism, just in this period of its greatest triumph, has shown that it cannot eliminate its own inherent evils, but can only go on making them more intense and more dangerous; a warning that continuance on the present course will bring utter chaos, intolerable wretchedness and popular despair, civil and international war; a call to the working class of the world, and to all others who can be made to understand the danger, to act together before it is too late and substitute social planning directed to the general distribution of income, leisure, and culture for capitalist planning guided by the profit motive; an affirmation of faith in the proletariat and in democracy; as the principal force and the indispensable method by which this may be done; and a broad program of concrete measures which must be supported by the political and industrial organizations of all countries.

The declaration in favor of adequate present relief for Germany, in the form of international long-time credits without political guarantees, was of course the thing that had most "news value." By itself, it would not have much meaning from a Socialist point of view. It is distinctly an emergency measure, which gets its significance by being coupled with a renewed declaration in favor of scaling down of reparations and war debts, and with the plans for a vigorous world-wide drive for reduction of armaments.

In combination, they have both economic and political value. Reduction of armaments would allay mutual fear and suspicion among the nations, which so largely account for the strength of nationalistic reactionism in the different countries, especially in its popular form of fascism; it would make it easier for the creditor nations to cut down their claims for reparations and payment of war debts; and it would release funds to be used for social insurance, useful public works, and other such purposes.

The congress welcomes the resolve of the British government to ratify the Washington Convention, which will bring a reduction of real working hours into effect simultaneously in a number of countries and hasten it in others. The congress at the same time cautions the working class not to rely solely on this legal measure, but to make an energetic drive on the industrial field in all lands for the shortening of the work-week, whose success will give employment to many who have been thrown out of work and, by diminishing competition for jobs, make it easier to maintain or increase wage rates.

Without taking at all the position of the free-trade doctrinaires, the congress points out the vicious absurdity of national protectionism in an era when every nation's economic development requires the flow of investment capital and of the products of labor to and from other countries. The lowering or scoring down of the present tariff walls does not mean a return to the "laissez faire" policy; it means the removal of barriers to the international organization of production and exchange.

The congress points out that national governments are now being called upon to guarantee the solvency of the monster banks and credit corporations, and dare not

refuse because the dire effects of bankruptcy would fall upon industry and trade as a whole; but that on the other hand the governments have no real control over most of the financial operations for whose consequences they become responsible. It therefore urges the nationalization of banking and credit as a necessary step in establishing social ownership and management of large-scale production.

Finally, the congress did not evade the question of revision of the peace treaties, but did not deal with it in the light-hearted way which is sometimes advocated. That the settlement of frontiers and related questions which was imposed by the victor states after the war involves many glaring anomalies and injustices was frankly recognized. Merely to scrap the treaties, however, would not right any of these wrongs, but would be the deciding factor. It is well enough for Fascists and Communists to advocate this, since chaos is what they desire; the Social Democracy does not play that reckless game. The congress points out that, as it is the reactionary interests in various countries contained in the peace treaties, a revision which will right them can be expected only through the machinery of international law and the efforts of democratic governments dominated or strongly influenced by the working class, whose interests transcend all national frontiers and racial divisions.

There is much more to be said, but this article is already too long and too much delayed. It must close here.

## Sinclair Congratulates British Labor in Stand Against MacDonald

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
Los Angeles, Sept. 4.—Upton Sinclair, Socialist novelist, has sent the following message by cable to the London Daily Herald:

"Congratulations upon British Labor's magnificent stand against world bankers' dictation. For entire lifetime we have been predicting bankruptcy for capitalism. Now it is here, and what pitiful Socialists are those who try to revive the corpse. Let us abolish gold standard, socialize credit, purchase big industry with national bonds, and provide plenty, security and peace for all workers of hand and brain."

## BROTHERHOOD HOUSE

A unique experiment that deserves to be more widely known, is Brotherhood House, the cooperative home for working people, located at 324 Pleasant Avenue, New York City. The venture which has been in operation for several years, is the result of the decision of a group of California Socialists to spread the idea of communal life among the workers and at the same time to point out that the worship of private property is an evil that results in endless strife among those who should be working in unison. Included in the plans of the Brotherhood is the operation of farms, industries and schools. Brotherhood House provides an inviting place to live in, an atmosphere of home and club for workers whose means are limited.

You are lost if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all, and that the land belongs to no one person.—Rousseau.

**OUR LABOR DAY HOPE IS THAT THE WORKERS SHOULD STRENGTHEN THE WEAPONS NECESSARY TO EMANCIPATE THEMSELVES FROM THE TYRANNY OF CAPITAL AND THEIR PRESS. ESPECIALLY DO WE GREET THE NEW LEADER FOR THE GALLANT FIGHT IT WAGES FOR THE WORKERS.**

## Local Rockland County, New York SOCIALIST PARTY

## AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE BRANCH

Meets on 1st and 3rd Monday in 7th House  
J. H. Dikant, Organizer; Minnie Goldman, Financial Sec'y; Louis Reiff, Chairman of Executive Board; Wm. Lipson, Inspector of Distribution; Paul Beck, Recording Secy.  
MEMBERSHIP—138 STRONG!

## Branch Jamaica, Socialist Party

halls The New Leader as the advance guard in the battle to make every day Labor's Day in a real sense.  
Organizer—JOHN D. GRAVES, Secy.—TREAS.—HARRY T. SMITH, 9024—212 Place, Queens Village, N. Y. 100-19—198 St. Hollis, N. Y.

## 6th Assembly District of the Socialist Party

96 AVENUE C, NEW YORK CITY  
We Pledge Ourselves on this LABOR DAY To Renew Our Struggles To Make The New Leader A Power in the World of Journalism  
HERMAN SIEGEL, Organizer CELIA PROPS, Rec. Secy.  
JOE BECKERMAN, Treasurer ESTHER KAUFMAN, Fin. Secy.

## 2nd Assembly District Socialist Party

579 Dumont Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Sends Warmest Greetings to All Branches of the Party  
F. ROSENFARB, Org. B. BAYTEN, Treas.  
M. SHAPIRO, Rec. Secy. H. MALLIS, Secy.

## 9th and 16th A. D. of the Socialist Party

1377—42 St., Boro Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Express the Hope That the New Leader Will Continue to Increase Its Influence in the Great Battle for Social Democracy.  
H. LADEN, Fin. Secy. SIMON COHEN, Rec. Secy.  
EXEC. COMM.: A. Unger, H. Cohen, S. Merlingoff

For a Daily New Leader!

## 23rd A. D., Brooklyn Socialist Party

Meets every Monday at 8:30 P.M.  
At the BROWNVILLE LABOR LYCEUM  
215 Sackman St., Brooklyn

## WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The "RED CROSS" of the Labor Movement  
75,000 MEMBERS

## INSURANCE FROM \$100.00 TO \$3,000.00

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year at \$8, \$18, \$23, \$28 per week.  
Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week.  
Consumption benefit, \$400 to \$600 or nine months in our Sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

## YOUNG CIRCLE CLUBS

The Workmen's Circle has organized Young Circle Clubs consisting of the sons and daughters of the members. It is the aim of these clubs to provide youth an opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and ethical development in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement.

## SCHOOLS

The Workmen's Circle has over 100 Yiddish Schools for children in various parts of the United States and Canada. The children of the members are trained in the finest traditions of their fathers.

## LADIES' AUXILIARIES

The Wives of the members are organized into ladies' auxiliaries who have their own distinct and interesting social life.

## CAMPS

The Workmen's Circle has 6 children's camps in the United States and Canada.

## For Information Apply to—

## THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

175 EAST BROADWAY

NEW YORK

Telephone ORchard 4-6000

The following branches conduct their meetings in English and solicit their membership from the English Speaking Radical Element. Below you will find the time, place and date and also the secretaries' address when applying for membership.

## BRONX

Br. 400 meets every Tuesday of the Month at 2012 Daly Ave. Address of Secretary, Wm. Bial, 724 Garden St., Bronx.

Br. 450 meets every month at 2012 Daly Ave. Address of Secretary, A. Sonen, 1511 Shakespeare Ave., Bronx.

## HARLEM

Br. 665 meets every second and fourth Friday at 62 E. 108 St. Secretary M. Extract, 1810 Loring Place, Bronx.

## BROOKLYN

Br. 650 meets every first and third Thursday at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 215 Sackman St.

Secretary M. L. Brecher, 3408—15th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Br. 1001 meets every month on Friday in Flatbush. Secretary Jack Rubenstein, 101 Bay 40th St., Brooklyn.

Br. 267 meets every month. Secretary B. Goodman, 330 East 4th St., N. Y. City.

## JERSEY CITY

Br. 642 meets every second and fourth Tuesday at 256 1/2 Ave. Jersey City, N. J. Secretary August B. Gunther, 501 Willow Ave., North Bergen, New Jersey.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
International Socialists  
BRANCH 455  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
HUNTS POINT PALACE  
163rd St. & So. Blvd., Bronx, N. Y.  
ADOLPH SONEN, Sec'y.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
Debs' Branch 711  
675 Dwight St.  
Springfield, Mass.  
J. W. LANNON, Sec'y.

**Greetings from**  
Branch 24 of the  
Workmen's Circle  
Meets 1st—3rd Friday  
Socialist W. C. Center  
1581 Washington Ave.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
Branch 210  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
1041 Hoe Avenue, New York City  
JACOB BEGUN, Sec'y.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
Branch 706  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
DORCHESTER, MASS.  
S. SILEVITCH, Sec'y.

**Greetings**  
Branch 19  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
Syracuse, N. Y.

**Greetings**  
Branch 62  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
48 Martha Place  
Passaic, N. J.

**Branch 79**  
Workmen's Circle  
3385 EAST 117th STREET  
Cleveland, Ohio  
E. ECKER, Fin. Secy.

**Greetings**  
Branch 120  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
Richmond, Va.  
S. PATTASHNICK, Secy.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
Borisover Prog. Soc.  
BRANCH 183  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
12 St. Marks Place, N. Y. City

**Greetings**  
Women's Club  
of the  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
129—21st Avenue  
Seattle, Wash.

**PROGRESSIVE ROUMANIAN**  
BRANCH 278  
Workmen's Circle

**Labor Day Greetings**  
from the  
Jewish Socialist Labor  
Party Poale Zion  
and  
Young Poale Zion  
1133 Broadway, New York City  
May the tailors of the nation work  
unceasingly to strengthen the  
Labor and Socialist movement.

Men . . . are begging for the opportunity to work . . . to keep their suffering souls within their famished bodies. A system in which such a condition as this is possible stands condemned, and ought to be abolished.—Eugene V. Debs.

**Fraternal Greetings from**  
Branch 2 of the Workmen's Circle  
Meetings Every Friday at 896 Prospect Avenue, New York City.  
H. DAYDOFF, Chairman I. ANNAPOL, Recording Secretary  
S. MATLIN, Financial Secretary, 1551 Hoe Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.  
Membership Solicited.

**Greetings to the Spokesman of the Working Class**  
THE NEW LEADER  
Branch 4 of the Workmen's Circle  
76 THROOP AVENUE BROOKLYN, N. Y.  
FRANK SMITH, Chairman HARRY SCHACHNER, Secretary

**Branch 20 of the Workmen's Circle**  
Greet THE NEW LEADER on LABOR DAY, 1931  
854 Bronx Park South Bronx, N. Y.  
M. KUSHNER, Secretary

**Kiever Revolutionary Branch of the Workmen's Circle**  
Let Us Redouble Our Efforts to Fight for the Triumph of Industrial Democracy.  
A. SOLOVIOFF, Hospitalier F. KATZ, Treasurer  
M. STOCKMAN, Hospitalier S. SLUTSKY, Rec. Sec'y.  
B. RIFKIN, Financial Secretary

**Branch 92 of the Workmen's Circle**  
4310—15TH STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.  
Let Us Continue to Further the Cause of Labor  
S. GREENSPAN, Secretary

**We greet and respect the educational value of**  
THE NEW LEADER  
BRANCH 287 and BRANCH 822  
Oakland, Calif.  
M. KLEIN and MRS. J. BASKIN, Recording Secretaries

**Branch 664 of the Workmen's Circle**  
823—4TH STREET SIOUX CITY, IOWA  
May Our Combined Efforts Realize for the Working Class That Economic Security for Which We Are All Striving.  
I. SINGER, Secretary B. RIFKIN, Hospitalier  
B. RASMOVSKY, Recording Sec'y. M. DERVIN, Treasurer

**Greetings to THE NEW LEADER**  
THE MEYER LONDON BRANCH 681  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
The only English-speaking branch in Chicago. For further particulars get in touch with our secretary, P. C. Perlman, 1736 East 71 Place, Chicago, Ill. Phone Fairfax 3167.

**Labor Day Greetings**  
Sholom Aleichem  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, BRANCH 388  
Scranton, Pa.  
ABE LIKOOH, Secretary

**Labor Day Greetings**  
EUGENE V. DEBS  
BRANCH 590  
of the Workmen's Circle  
1244 Tremaine Ave.  
A. ROTHBLATT, Sec'y.

**Greetings**  
BRANCH 114  
Workmen's Circle  
San Francisco, Calif.

**Greetings**  
Jack London Branch  
No. 698  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
Oakland, Calif.

**WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
Organized 1884 Incorporated 1899  
Main Office: 714 SENECA AVENUE Telephone Hegeman 4055  
Over 60,000 Members in 350 Branches  
Reserves on December 31, 1930: \$3,383,900  
Benefits paid since its existence:  
Death Benefit: \$4,635,677.04 Sick Benefit: \$11,453,774.93  
Total: \$16,089,451.97  
**WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!**  
In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!  
Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:  
Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$395 at the age of 16 to \$175 at the age of 44.  
Class B: 50 cents per month—Death Benefit \$550 to \$230.  
Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18.  
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Sick Benefit paid from the first day of Sling the doctor's certificate, \$9, and \$15, respectively per week, for the first forty weeks, half of the amount for another forty weeks.  
Sick Benefit for women: \$9 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks.  
For further information apply at the Main Office, William Speer, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches

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949 Willoughby Avenue  
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The best known center in Brooklyn for labor and fraternal organization meetings, banquets, etc.

We have large and small halls at reasonable terms.  
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HAS BEEN REMODELED AND ARTISTICALLY DECORATED. IT HAS ELEVATOR SERVICE AND ALL MODERN IMPROVEMENTS. OPEN FOR BALLS, BANQUETS, WEDDINGS, ENTERTAINMENTS AND CONVENTIONS  
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Open for all kinds of affairs. Committees are cordially invited to inspect the facilities of WEBSTER HALL. If the main hall is too large for you we have equally beautiful smaller halls.  
H. REINER, Pres.

**LABOR DAY GREETINGS FROM**  
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The Home of Labor, Socialist and Progressive Activity — The Workers' Centre  
LARGE AND SMALL MEETING ROOMS  
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**THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE**  
sends its greetings on Labor's holiday, LABOR DAY, to Labor's own organ, The New Leader. The People's House invites labor, fraternal and other sympathetic organizations to use its beautiful Debs Auditorium at a very reasonable rental. For information call ALgonquin 4-3094.



## Labor Day Greetings 1931

### International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

The history of the Labor Movement is the history of struggles of the masses to gain a larger share of the wealth they created. The gains made are the results of organization. Setbacks in the march of the workers should make us realize as never before that we can only hold our own and achieve our goal by struggling unceasingly to increase the effectiveness of our organizations—economic and political.

### International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

## Labor Day Greetings

TO ORGANIZED LABOR  
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

from the

### PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 261

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and  
Paperhangers of America

M. GALT,  
Secretary-Treasurer

M. GREENINGER,  
Recording Secretary

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

To the Army of Organized Workers Whose Program is  
A BETTER, SANER and FULLER LIFE  
FOR ALL WHO TOIL

### HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

7 EAST 15TH STREET  
JOSEPH BELSKY  
Secretary-Treasurer

TOMPKINS SQUARE 6-7334

NEW YORK CITY  
SAMUEL SUSSMAN  
ISADORE LEFF  
Business Representatives

## LABOR DAY 1931

To the Men and Women of the Working Class—

The New York Joint Board of the

### Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Sends its LABOR DAY GREETINGS

We Extend the Hand of Solidarity to all Workers.  
May the Dawn of Another Labor Day Find the  
Labor Movement Counting New Victories for the  
CAUSE OF WORKING CLASS EMANCIPATION.

HYMAN BLUMBERG,  
General Manager

ABRAHAM MILLER,  
Secretary-Treasurer

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS FROM

### Cloak & Suit Operators' Union

LOCAL NO. 1—I. L. G. W. U.

R. ZUCKERMAN, Chairman

LOUIS LEVY, Manager, Secretary

## Labor Day Greetings

### JOINT BOARD Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers Union

I.L.G.W.U.

131 West 33rd Street  
New York City

On This Labor Day We Greet  
The Workers Who Have Been  
Loyal to the Ideals of Union-  
ism. Their Devotion Lessens  
Exploitation and Brings the  
Path to Industrial Freedom.

ISIDORE NAGLER, Gen. Mgr.  
PHILIP ANSEL, President  
MORRIS J. ASHBES, Secy.-Treas.

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

from the

### Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union Local 10

109 West 38th Street, New York

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union  
Let the Workers of America Rededicate Themselves to Labor's  
Inspiring Ideal, International Brotherhood and Peace in a World  
where the Toilers Will Receive the Full Fruit of Their Labor.

SAMUEL PERLMUTTER, Manager

We Extend the Hand of  
Solidarity to All Workers

### Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union

LOCAL NO. 66, I.L.G.W.U.

Z. L. Freedman, President  
Leon Hattab, Manager  
Nahan Riesel, Asst. Manager  
Wm. Altman, Sec'y-Treas.

Greetings and Congratulations to  
THE NEW LEADER

### Ladies' Tailors, Custom Dressmakers, and Alteration Workers' Union

LOCAL 38, I.L.G.W.U.

107 West 46th Street  
H. GREENBERG, Mgr.

## Labor Day Greetings

to OUR  
FELLOW UNIONISTS

### Dressmakers' Union

Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

60 W. 35th St., N. Y. C.

Max Bluestein, Secretary

## Fraternal Greetings

on Labor Day

### JOINT BOARD Dress and Waistmakers' Union

of Greater New York

I. L. G. W. U.

151 West 33rd St. New York City  
ANTONIO CRIVELLO, Secy. Treas.

### White Goods Workers Union

LOCAL 62, I.L.G.W.U.

Greet the workers of the  
world in the spirit of fra-  
ternity and solidarity

SAMUEL SHORE,  
Exec. Supervisor  
A. SNYDER, Secretary

May LABOR DAY 1931 be a Forerunner of a Year of  
Gains for the Workers of America

### N. Y. Typographical Union No. Six

24 WEST 16TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

JAMES J. McGRATH, Secretary

The "correct posture" of the drill  
sergeant is a characteristic military  
formality.—Dr. P. McDonald.

## Consumers ! !

Buy Your Bread, Rolls, Pastry,  
Cookies, Pies, Etc., from the  
**COOPERATIVE BAKERY**



The Cooperative is part of the movement working towards a more  
fair system of production and distribution . . . Based on Service and  
not on the making of profits.

When you buy from the Cooperative Bakery you are helping to  
strengthen it and enable it to offer its Service to the Consumer more  
effectively.

If it's a BIRTHDAY CAKE OR A WEDDING CAKE  
order it from

### COOPERATIVE TRADING ASS'N. INC.

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NEW YORK  
2883 Lexington Ave.  
LONG ISLAND CITY  
4611 Skillman Ave.

### Labor Day Greetings to the Labor Movement and Its Spokesman THE NEW LEADER

from the

### Millinery Workers Union

LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union

The organizations of labor have proven their worth as bulwarks against  
oppression. We can go forward only if we strengthen every branch of  
the labor movement. Let us rededicate ourselves to that task this  
LABOR DAY.

MORRIS ROSENBLATT, Chairman, Exec. Board  
SAUL HODOS, Secretary, Exec. Board  
ALEX ROSE, Secretary-Treasurer  
NATHANIEL SPECTOR, Manager  
ORGANIZERS: I. H. Goldberg, Max Goodman, A. Mendelowitz, Lucy Oppenheim

Labor Day Greetings and Good Wishes for a Better Day to the  
Workers of America

### Millinery and Ladies' Straw Hat Blockers Union

LOCAL 42

66 WEST 39TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

MAX GOLDEN, Secretary HARRY KANSTOR, Organizer

### United Textile Workers of America

Affiliated With The American Federation of Labor

THOMAS F. McMAHON, Int. Pres. WILLIAM F. KELLY, Int. 2nd V. Pres.  
605 Bible House, New York, N. Y. 228 E. Allegheny Ave., Phila., Pa.  
FRANCIS J. GORMAN, Int. 1st V. Pres. JAMES STARR, Int. Sec.-Treas.  
237 Laban St., Providence, R. I. 605 Bible House, New York, N. Y.

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Ninth Vice-President  
MOE HARRIS  
Tenth Vice-President

## Labor Day Greetings

### INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

We greet the workers who have not  
flinched in the fight for freedom. We  
pledge ourselves to advance the cause  
of the workers until our goal is  
reached.

MORRIS KAUFMAN,  
General President-Secretary

YOU CAN HELP US AND IT WILL NOT  
COST YOU EXTRA EFFORT OR MONEY

Insist on Having the Union Label on Your Bread  
Union Bread Does Not Cost You More and Is Made in Sanitary Shops

### Bakers' Union of Greater New York

LOCAL 305

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America

Let the Workers of America Rededicate Themselves to  
Labor's Inspiring Ideal

### BAKERS' UNION Local 507

Bakers' Union Section 2 of the Bronx, Local 500

1351 Boston Road

BRONX, N. Y.

GEORGE RHODES,  
Secretary

MORRIS SHENK,  
Recording Secretary

## Local 152

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

333 S. ASHLAND AVENUE CHICAGO, ILL.

Labor's holiday is a tribute to labor's heroic struggle for justice. Holidays are  
a symbol of civilization, and this day which labor has wrested from the em-  
ploying class is a sign that the trade unions are beginning to civilize indus-  
try. On this anniversary of labor's victories, our union greets the trade  
union movement.

J. PRICE, Pres.; H. STOLZ, Vice Pres.; V. ULARGOLIS, Treas.; R. PRICE, Sec.

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL 122

810 LOCUST STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

TONY PARISH, Business Agent  
SAM NOCELLA, Agents  
JOE GABRIELE, Pres.  
SAM BONGIOVANNI, Treas.  
VINCENT TROIANO, Secretary

It is the army of the organized workers that make possible the  
improvement of all who toil. Let us resolutely strive to spread  
the power of labor unionism.

### Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers

Local 35—International Ladies Garment Workers Union  
MAX COHEN, Manager

### WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office:

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Between Second and Third Aves. New York City, N. Y.

A co-operative fire insurance society for working people.  
Seventy-five branches throughout the United States. Member-  
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### No Profits or Dividends — for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance  
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Workingmen and women protect your homes in case  
of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

For Further Information Apply at

227 EAST 84th STREET

New York City

## LABOR DAY GREETINGS

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# "The Singing Rabbi"—in English—at the Selwyn

## Bores Thomashefsky, on Stage Fifty Years Now Makes Bow in English for First Time

When the curtain rises on "The Singing Rabbi," a new operetta which opens at the Selwyn Theatre on Thursday evening, September 10th, under the managerial reins of Harry Thomashefsky, Broadway playgoers will see one of the most distinguished actors in the history of the Yiddish stage in his first English speaking performance in more than half a century of playacting in New York. The man is Bore Thomashefsky, founder of the Yiddish theatre in America.

The career of Bore Thomashefsky has the romance, verve and dash of a novel. Born in Kiev, Russia, he came to this country of a family of singing rabbis at the age of fourteen. This was in 1882. Thomashefsky at the time, had no thought of a stage career, but went to work in a cigarette factory instead. It was here that the workers began singing the songs made famous by Yiddish actors in Europe for at that period America had no Yiddish theatre. The factory workers became so proficient, that Thomashefsky suggested they give a performance with himself as manager. The play was called "The Witch," from the pen of Abraham Goldfaden, and was presented at Turen Hall, on the lower East Side. It was a pronounced success and it marked the rise of Thomashefsky in the theatre.

Thomashefsky has held a place unique in the annals of the East Side for upwards of half a century. He imported virtually all the important foreign stars for his productions including Abraham Goldfaden, Bertha Kalich, Rudolph Schildkraut, Joseph Schildkraut, Morris Morrison, Jacob Ben-Ami, Madame Lipzin and Aaron Lebedeff. He constructed the first million dollar playhouse—the National on Second avenue—for the Yiddish theatre, and was the first to translate into Yiddish the plays of Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw, Strindberg, Tolstoy, Andriev, Gorky, Hauptmann and other of the famed literary dramatists.

In 1925 he left the East Side and came to the Nora Bayes Theatre with his troupe and stayed for thirty-four weeks, the first Jewish organization to invade Broadway. And now again, he is a pioneer. "The Singing Rabbi" marks the first time that a Yiddish operetta has been transformed into the English idiom.

## George M. Cohan

## In its Last Three Weeks at the Europa



The noted comedian is to be seen in his own play "Friendship" which opened at the Fulton Theatre last week. A fine cast is in support of Mr. Cohan.



"Two Hearts in Waltz Time" will soon have run a full year at the Europa Theatre. Gretl Thelmer, above, has the feminine lead in this popular screen operetta which is scheduled to end its run in three weeks.

## Three Times the Hour—By Valentine Davies at The Avon — Produced By Brock Pemberton

It has long been recognized that in the last analysis, the literature of an era depends on the social conditions of the times. This was brought home very forcefully with the opening of this year's dramatic season by Brock Pemberton at the Avon Theatre with a new melodrama, with mysterious ladies, gunmen and police, built out of the fabric of the economic and social conditions of today. Whether these were the materials closest to hand or because he thought that their familiarity would attract the public, the author has made use of bank failures, unemployment, policemen asking to be bribed, and South American oil scandals to build up his plot. Unwittingly while trying to amuse the public Mr. Davies has presented, to those who look for it, an indictment of capitalist society. Fortunately for their peace of mind very few of the audience will take the play that seriously.

The play itself is based on the murder of an important banker at a time when at least a half-dozen people in the cast have an interest in his demise. An unusual technique is used, the action being condensed into the space of one hour and taking place on the three floors of the Fifth Avenue mansion of Lawrence Blake the banker. Each act takes place on a different floor, starting at the bottom and going up to the third where

## "The Merry Wives" To Be Succeeded by "Das Cabinet des Dr. Larifari" At Little Carnegie Thea.

Those who have not yet seen one of the most charming of the German film operettas yet to reach these shores have just one more week-end in which to do so, for on Thursday (Sept. 10) at 6 P. M. "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" will terminate its successful nine week's run at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, to be followed at 8:45 that same evening by "Das Cabinet des Dr. Larifari," also a German film and one entirely different from its predecessor as it is from most of the recent importations from that country.

"Das Cabinet des Dr. Larifari," is described as a German sequel to our own "Once In A Lifetime" and is said to miss no opportunity to poke fun at the gods of the movies. Paul Morgan and Max Hansen are the principal protagonists in this travesty, aided and abetted by Carl Joelen, a popular German concert tenor.

the murder takes place, and each covers the same period of time. The audience hears the murder shot three times before the play is over. The suspense is fairly well kept up and the solution unexpected. The acting throughout is on a level plane, not distinguished but adequate. Katherine Warren, as Mrs. Blake, and Aleta Reed, as Linda Reed, Mr. Blake's secretary, stood out among the actresses while Charles Williams, as the detective captain, and Ben Lackland, as the reporter, were the best of the men.

While Three Times the Hour will probably not be one of the season's hits it was not a bad beginning for those who care for light melodrama.

LAWRENCE ROGIN.

## BROOKLYN

**FOX**  
HELD OVER!  
2nd Sensational WEEK  
James Dunn - Sally Eilers  
**BAD GIRL**  
and BIG FANCHON and MARCO STAGE REVUE  
25c 35c 50c

## "Hipp" Begins 27th Season—"Dirigible" On Screen—Eight Acts on Stage

The Hippodrome this week begins its twenty-seventh season with a super show on both stage and screen. "Dirigible" filmdom's Leviathan of the air with Jack Holt, Ralph Graves and Fay Wray will be the picture presentation and the eight act vaudeville program includes the Lander Brothers, Harry and Willie, comedy favorites at this theatre with Helene Ambrose; George Broadhurst in the Kit Kat Club; and James Russell with Harry Armstrong—both squirrel food. A rare treat is offered by Eddie Deas with his Boston Brownies, a colored musical organization known as the red hot rhythm kings of Harlem, Charley Tobias, popular song writer; Bertolino, the ventriloquist; The Four Robeys, and another RKO act completes the performance.

## "The Guardsman" Which Opens at Astor Wed. Is Lunt and Fontanne's First Film Appearance

Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, stars of many Theatre Guild productions of recent years, will make their initial appearance from the speaking screen next Wednesday evening, the date announced for the premiere of "The Guardsman" at the Astor Theatre.

The 1925 Theatre Guild stage presentation of Ferenc Molnar's Viennese comedy proved one of the most popular co-starring vehicles for Lunt and Miss Fontanne, and this story property was selected for the first screen effort of the couple after consideration of dozens of scripts.

The story of "The Guardsman," which many critics believe to be Molnar's wittiest and most sophisticated play, concerns an Austrian actor who devises an unusual experiment to find out whether his wife would be unfaithful to him if given the opportunity, and the unexpected consequences.

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" Approaching Full Year's Run

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" (Two Hearts in Waltz Time), popular Viennese screen operetta is slowly approaching its first full year's run at the Europa theatre. This musical film from Germany is to end its 48th consecutive week of its run commencing next Friday, September 4th, 1931.

## "I Love An Actress" Due at the Times Sq. Sept. 17—A Chester Erskine Production

With the production of the Hungarian comedy "I Love An Actress" at the Times Square Theatre on Thursday, September 17, Chester Erskine becomes an independent producer.

"I Love An Actress" is a comedy from the Hungarian of László Fodor, a young playwright whose ranking through Central Europe is close to that of Molnar. Mr. Erskine has adapted the play, its staging and the advertisements will also list him as the producer.

L. M. Rubens, Noted Theatre Owner, To Make Lecture Tour

L. M. Rubens, noted theatre owner and well known globe trotter of Joliet, Illinois, has resigned from his many theatre holdings and presidencies of several banks to devote his entire time to police and welfare work. He was recently appointed vice-president of the Illinois Chiefs of Police Association and executive of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Commissioner Rubens will shortly make a lecture tour of the big cities in the United States and Europe, speaking on "Gangs and Gangsters."

Commissioner Rubens is the father of Miss Charlie Day, well known stage and theatre star.

## In "Danton," Which Has Its American Premiere at the Cameo Theatre



Fritz Kortner, considered one of the great German actors, essays the leading role in "Danton," the new talking and singing film.

## "Waterloo Bridge," Adapted From R. E. Sherwood's Drama of Same Name, Opens at Both the Mayfair and Albee

"Waterloo Bridge," Universal's much-discussed picture of the Robert E. Sherwood drama of the same name, makes its debut upon the RKO Mayfair screen, today, with Hollywood's latest "find," Mae Clarke; Kent Douglas; Enid Bennett and Doris Lloyd in the principal roles.

Directed by James Whale, who filmed "Journey's End," and photographed by Arthur Edson, the capable cinematographer of "All Quiet on the Western Front," the British flavored picture of air raids and the love of a London lady of the streets for a young Canadian private, is reported as one of the dramatic gems of the picture capital's current crop.

The Sherwood story depicts the ill luck of a pretty chorus girl who descends, as the War progresses, to a cheap artist's model and eventually to a girl of the street. A boyish soldier literally runs into her during the course of an air raid, on London's well-known Waterloo Bridge, and eventually falls madly in love with her.

The ensuing situations in which the girl grows to love the boy and the intense scenes in which he takes her to visit his aristocratic parents are said to be the ultimate in drama.

Carl Laemmle, Jr., who was responsible for "All Quiet on the Western Front," personally produced "Waterloo Bridge."

Frederick Kerr, well known British actor; Bette Davis; Ethel Griffies and Rita Carls are appearing with Miss Clarke.

"Bad Girl" A Hit at Fox B'klyn Is Held Over—Entire Stage Bill Held Over Too

In order to accommodate the crowds, the engagement of "Bad Girl" at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre has been extended another week, the picture continuing at that playhouse through Thursday. "Carnival" Idea also remains on the stage.

With marked adherence to the human qualities of Vina Delmar's novel, Frank Borzage directed the film, "Bad Girl," in which James Dunn comes to the fore as the sensitive, nervous, conscientious young husband. The story itself, is a gripping study of first year marriage and motherhood. Sally Eilers is the girl-child, displaying both personal charm and ability in the deeply emotional role she plays.

The entire stage show, which includes Bob West's organfest, Eddie Magill's rendition of "Love Letters in the Sand," and the Fox orchestra under the direction of amiable Phil Lampkin, is also held over from last week. Fanchon and Marco's "Carnival" Idea is, appropriately set in festive atmosphere and the Carla Torney Girls are costumed in several different gay and beautiful ensembles. Raynor Lehr acts as master of ceremonies for the rest of the artists, who are: a clever colored hooper in Lehr's company; The Andressens; Teddy, a huge wrestling bear; and Cropley and Violet.

**SELWYN OPENING**  
THEA. W. 42 St. Thurs. Night, First Mat. Sat. SEPT. 10  
HARRY THOMASHEFSKY presents  
**THOMASHEFSKY**  
The distinguished star in his first English speaking role  
**"THE SINGING RABBI"**  
Intimate musical comedy  
REGINA ZUCKERBERG  
Flora Le Breton—Sam Ash—Florence Ames and an all star cast of players  
Book adapted and Harry Thomashefsky  
Music by J. Rumshinsky & Harry Rubin—Lyrics by L. Wolfe Gilbert  
Prices—All Even. Perf. 7:30 to 9:30

## "Danton," With Fritz Kortner, Has American Premiere at The Cameo

Fritz Kortner, Germany's greatest dramatic actor, will be seen starting today in the American premiere of "Danton," on the screen of the RKO Cameo Theatre.

"Danton," a drama of the French Revolution, was first seen in New York a good many years ago when Professor Max Reinhardt and his company of German players gave guest performances at the Cosmopolitan Theatre. Later, a silent picture of the same name was made with Emil Jannings in the title role.

"Danton" as it will appear on the RKO Cameo screen, however, is all talking and singing, and will be at the theatre for an indefinite run.

## Brecher Returning on Bremen Today

Leo Brecher, director of the Little Carnegie Playhouse, returns on the Bremen Saturday from an extensive business trip to the Continent where he completed negotiations for the importation of a number of film productions, principally German, which he will soon present at his 57th Street playhouse.

## "The Dreyfus Case" A Hit at the Warner; Continues Indefinitely

"The Dreyfus Case," the dramatic story of the case which aroused the interest and the sympathy of every civilized country, is a smash hit, and will be held over at the Warner Theatre.

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"This Modern Age"

PAULINE FREDERICK  
NEIL HAMILTON  
Another M-G-M Sensational Hit  
On the Stage!  
"GOING! GOING! GONE!"  
Chick Meehan Football Reel, Traveltalk "Madeira"

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in  
**"FRIENDSHIP"**

"It is a play studded with some extraordinarily natural, yet casual moments."—Gilbert Gabriel, American  
"Mr. Cohan represents something worth cherishing on Broadway."—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times  
"If you can enjoy George M. Cohan as much as this reviewer, a trip to the Fulton will be in the nature of an enjoyable rite, and you will thoroughly enjoy Minor Watson's grand performance."—Ed Sullivan, Graphic

**FULTON THEA. W. 46th St. Mat. Wed. & Sat.**

**George M. Cohan Theatre**  
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Even. 8:30, 11 to 12; Mat. Sat. 11 to 12:30; Midnight Show Wednesday.

**Heywood Brown**  
in his new revue  
**Shoot the Works!**

"A swell show."—Walter Winchell.  
"A knockout!"—The American.  
"I shall go to 'Shoot the Works' again and again."—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune.

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**SAMUEL GOLDWYN'S "STREET SCENE"**  
Elmer Rice's Pulitzer Prize Drama directed by King Vidor with Sylvia Sydney, Estelle Taylor and William Collier, Jr.  
UNITED ARTISTS PICTURE  
Popular Prices  
**RIVOLI**  
UNITED ARTISTS  
Broadway at 19th

## As They Appear in Popular Film at the RKO Mayfair



Kent Douglas and Mae Clarke do some fine acting in R. E. Sherwood's "Waterloo Bridge" which has been pictureized with great skill and now holds the Mayfair Screen.

## "Precedent" Continues At the Bijou for Final Two Weeks—To Go on Long Tour of States

The engagement of "Precedent" at the Bijou Theatre has been extended for another fortnight commencing next Monday and closes there on Saturday night Sept. 19 after a run of six months in New York.

The metropolitan company will leave immediately for Boston where they begin on Monday September 21st a special two weeks

engagement at the reconstructed Plymouth Theatre. The New York organization will be sent to Boston intact. On the same night in Los Angeles a second company, under the direction of Dixon Morgan will open at the Hollywood Theatre there for a stay

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

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Extra Show Saturday Midnight; Sunday at 5:45

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**FRITZ KORTNER**

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## NEWEST VIENNESE FILM OPERETTA "DIE LUSTIGEN WEIBER VON WIEN" (The Merry Wives of Vienna)

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7th AVENUE and 50th STREET  
**THE SPIDER**  
with EDMUND LOWE  
EL BRENNEL, LOIS MORAN, WARREN HYMER, GEORGE E. STONE.  
A FOX PICTURE  
—ON THE STAGE—  
Fourth International Revue  
GERMANY  
Romance of the Rhineland in 6 resplendent scenes, with  
**WALTER KIRCHHOFF**  
(formerly of Metropolitan Opera)  
Patricia Bowman—Calgary Brothers, Orchestra—Royette—Ballet—Singing Ensemble—Complete Cast of 250

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## Theatre Owner and Globe Trotter



L. M. Rubens, who is devoting his time to welfare work, will shortly start on a lecture tour of the big cities in both the U. S. and Europe.

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HELD OVER!  
2nd Sensational WEEK  
James Dunn - Sally Eilers  
**BAD GIRL**  
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1931

## A Vicious Habit

THERE are times when a person makes a survey of his life and decides to "turn over a new leaf." Usually it is some habit that has contributed nothing to his welfare and may even be harmful. The habit had grown upon him over a number of years but its harmful effects were not apparent till his health was affected. Possibly he faced a nervous breakdown and sheer preservation required that he abandon the habit.

It would be well for many workers to think of this in terms of all workers on this Labor Day. Perhaps the most vicious habit they have indulged in is careless misuse of the ballot. Some have even been so indifferent that they have not used it at all. In normal elections as many as 50 per cent of the voters have remained away from the polls. Others who vote have become "hereditary voters," that is, they vote according to habit and tradition. They vote without thinking of the changing world in which they live. In some isolated sections of the South there are voters who think they are voting for Andrew Jackson. If that seems absurd, it is still more absurd that in crowded areas of the North there are many voters who in voting the Republican ticket think that they are voting for the party of Lincoln.

All this constitutes a vicious habit that is as harmful as the persistent use of a narcotic. Just as the drug addict in time destroys his health so the habitual uninformed voter eventually brings calamity to himself, his family, and millions of workers. We are today afflicted with narcotic voting.

Let's end it. Let's "turn over a new leaf." Labor Day is a good time for taking a vow that we will abandon the habit. It has plunged millions into an economic hell. Socialist political action never injured a farmer or worker and it has helped them in their battles for a better world.

## Kites and Tails

ON THE same page of the New York Times two news items throw light upon conservative labor policy in relation to the unemployed. At the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor a clause in a resolution by Abraham Lefkowitz approving unemployment insurance legislation was struck out by the committee and this action was approved by the convention.

In another column there is the report of an address by the treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company, an anti-union corporation, who recommended an unemployment benefit plan established by a group of sixteen industrial corporations, of which the Eastman corporation is one. A trade union convention and anti-union firms are agreed in opposition to unemployment insurance legislation.

What happens as a result of this trade union action? It leaves the field free for the great feudal corporations to expand those hypocritical editor declares: "I charge that practically every piece of legislation sponsored by the New York State Federation of Labor is handed to Democratic substitute their feudal plans for this legislation.

Before us is also a copy of the Rochester Labor Herald and Citizen. It is conservative, but its policies that tie the workers to the companies in form of modern serfdom. If we do not try to undermine these "welfare" plans by social legislation big capitalist exploiters will more and more eratic legislators with the sole purpose of advancing the Democratic party in this state. Can it be denied that almost all the officers of the Federation are enrolled as Democrats?

Every informed person knows that this is true. It used to be an old slogan of the A. F. of L. in opposition to independent labor party politics that the unions must never "be a tail to any party kite." They have been such a tail in this and in some other states for many years and in the pres-

ent instance, because of its connections with the Democratic party, the Federation unwittingly becomes an ally of powerful anti-union corporations in fostering serfdom for the working class in their plants.

## Parasitic Incomes

BURY the master of a great empire of capital and his income will continue to increase. Whether living or dead it makes no difference. The capitalist system of production is so organized that the proprietors of millions of capital whether crippled or insane, whether living or dead, will continue to accumulate workless incomes out of workers who sell their labor power to him.

Payne Whitney, one of the leading representatives of our American nobility, died in May, 1927. Within two years after his death his estate increased in value \$52,721,270. Where did the increase come from? Was it due to his "thrill," his "initiative," his "brains," or his "genius?" If he possessed any of these qualities they were buried with him in May, 1927.

As a matter of fact, Whitney was no extraordinary person. He was just the ordinary, dull, and commonplace individual that one will find in the upper section of our ruling classes. He inherited the power to exploit labor from his father. That power is due to his ownership in many industrial and banking enterprises. Vest such ownership in a dead man and workless incomes will still be heaped up in his name.

These incomes are purely parasitic. They provide a contrast with the millions of the jobless and the ragged who labor to make these parasites happy. Their unearned wealth is matched by the unearned poverty of the workers who are uninformed as to their own best interests. Socialist philosophy will bring light and hope, the training and organization, necessary to abolish these frightful contrasts.

## A Banker's Program

BANKER KAHN is a class conscious man in outlining what is necessary to get us out of our troubles. In a long address he turns a benevolent face to the disinherited and avows that it is our duty to care for the distress and at the same time "keep a stiff upper lip." How to meet the jobless problem is not stated but this vagueness is his sole contribution to the issues.

However, he is clear and positive on other matters that are of concern to his class. Trust laws must be so modified that they will better satisfy the reign of the business class; cheaper government must be provided by a program of economy; we must be tender in taxing capital if we would not dry "up the springs of incentive;" we must beware of "socialistic measures" but the railroads, should receive a dole at higher rates, although nothing is said about the ocean of water they carry, and tariffs should be carefully studied from the point of view of the standard of living and the "legitimate" needs of his class.

Aside from forceful criticism of the peace treaties and the need of international cooperation, the above is his hopeful program for the hopeless. A few brief references to the plight of the slaves of capitalism and a cautious affirmation that something should be done for them is his contribution to them. The rest is not cautious but clear and positive, for each item has reference to measures that will serve the masters of American industry and finance.

We are not complaining. It is logical for intelligent men to think in terms of the economic group or class with which they are affiliated. If we have any complaint it is with the working masses the vast majority of whom do not yet display the same class consciousness. If they did the labor movement would have more influence and power than it now has.

## IN A NUTSHELL

"Whatever the facts of our economic system may be, surely they are not so subtle, so metaphysical, so elusively chemical or astronomical, that they can evade the grip of resolute and honest men." What great man said this? None other than Matthew Woll who knows how to "grip" something that is "metaphysical." Mat is going to solve the unemployment problem, make no mistake about it.

Farm prices have dropped 33 points in a year, the trend is still downward and every point is a Socialist argument for the tillers of the soil.

It is estimated that there are nearly a million jobless workers in Pennsylvania, about the same number as the Hoover majority in 1928.

In Baltimore willingness to sweep the streets is set up by a charity organization as the test of the sincerity of jobless workers seeking work. The workers might retaliate by sweeping out the city government with a Socialist broom.

In the first seven months of this year 838 miners were killed in the industry, but think of the "risk" which the capitalist takes when investing his money.

All hail to Labor Day! Hoover has seen to it that millions of us have plenty of leisure to enjoy it.

The future comes on slowly, the present flies like an arrow, the past stands forever still.—Schiller.

All truth is safe, and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men for motives of expediency is either a coward or a criminal or both.—Max Muller.

To reach the workers that are still in darkness and to open their eyes, that is the task; and to this we must give ourselves with all the strength we have, with patience that never fails, and an abiding faith in the ultimate victory.—Eugene V. Debs.

## Labor Found Wanting: the Need for Unity

By B. Charney Vladeck  
LABOR DAY being a holiday, it does not very well befit one to be mad. But how can one write about Labor Day in the year of our Lord 1931 without displaying disgust?

The strength and the value of any body or cause is tested in times of stress, not in times of prosperity, and it is within the last two years that Labor in this country was tested and found wanting.

I purposely say Labor and not Organized Labor because I am satisfied that organized labor has done everything it could to stem the tide of wage reductions and unemployment. If they didn't do more, it isn't because they didn't want to but because they didn't feel the strength to carry out a real constructive program.

While the country is seething with radical ideas and radical sentiment, the radical and labor movement is weak, divided and vacillating. The American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party and the other radical groups to the right and to the left—we are all in the same boat, but instead of making a common effort to create a nucleus of a real national movement, we are pulling apart, or one against the other and one independently of the other.

All I can wish is that when we get to the next few Labor Days, we may find the labor and radical movement more tolerant of each other, more strongly united and more clearly conscious of their immediate aims and tactics. There will not be and there cannot be any cymbals and trumpets at the celebration of this year's Labor Day.

Labor has been defeated and helpless in the face of an onrushing tidal wave which is submerging most of its achievements and victories. We will have to stand up and fight together or be entirely submerged.

## Socialism, The Hope of The World

By Joseph Baskin  
General Secretary, the Workmen's Circle

THE world is sick. The times are out of joint. Everywhere chaos, fear, crime; everywhere penury in the midst of plenty. Workers are destitute because they have created too much wealth; farmers are starving because they have produced too much food. In spite of the Kellogg Treaty and other pious gestures at peace, the nations are arming as never before; and in spite of increased armaments, which our militarists would have us believe are the surest protection against war, war has never been so imminent.

And in the midst of this worldwide chaos, fear and misery stand our capitalist master minds, our captains of industry, and do nothing to clear away the mess into which their own selfish greed, brutality and short-sightedness have plunged the world. Never before has capitalism shown itself so helpless, so visionless, so utterly callous to human suffering, so utterly blind even to its own interests.

And so a distraught mankind lifts its eyes unto the mountains and cries, "From whence shall we help come?" And the answer, the only answer, is, From Socialism, the world's only hope of peace, plenty and happiness for all.

On this Labor Day, therefore, let us dedicate ourselves anew to the task of working for the inauguration of the Socialist commonwealth, where there shall be neither exploiters nor exploited, neither conquerors nor conquered, but where all shall work for the common weal, and the welfare of each shall be the concern of all.

## Swiss Socialist Congress

The Ordinary Congress of the Swiss Socialist-Democratic Party will be held Sept. 12th and 13th in the "Volkshaus" at Berne. In addition to the usual reports and elections the following items are included in the Agenda: Economic Crisis, Working Class and National Council Elections, (Rapporteur: Grimm and Graber), Cartel Questions (Rapporteur: Reinhard), Fight for Old Age Pensions (Rapporteur: Hugler), Socialist International (Rapporteur: Grimm).

## To Publish Vienna Debates

The publication department of the Labor and Socialist International at Zurich, Switzerland, will publish the proceedings of the Vienna Congress late in October. The publication will appear in three languages, German, French, and English and will contain about 800 pages.

The volume will be divided into two main sections, the first including reports of the Secretariat and the second the proceedings of the congress and conferences. The resolutions adopted will appear in a supplementary bulletin.

There are some crimes which become innocent and even glorious by their number, their number, and their success. Hence it is that public robbers become proofs of talent, and selling whole provinces unjustly is called making conquests.—La Rochefoucauld (1813-56).

## Capitalism's Prayer



"Oh Lord! Control my Appetite If You Must, But Don't Take My Boodle Away From Me."

## A Salute to Labor

A Labor Day Message Penned by Debs

By Eugene V. Debs

(Written for Labor Day, 1904)

THE Workingman is the only man in whose presence I take off my hat. As I salute him, I honor myself.

The Workingman—and this is the day to write him in capital letters—has given me what I have, made me what I am, and will make me what I hope to be; and I thank him for all, and above all for giving me eyes to see, a heart to feel and a voice to speak for the Workingman.

Like the rough-hewn stone from which the noble statue is chiseled by the hand of man, the Toiler is the rough-hewn bulk from which the perfect Man is being chiseled by the hand of God.

All the workmen of the earth are necessary to the whole Workingman—and he alone will survive all the human race.

Labor Day is a good day to rest the hands and give the brain a chance—to think about what has been, and is, and is yet to be.

The way has been long and weary and full of pain, and many have fallen by the wayside, but the Unconquerable Army of Labor is still on the march and as it rests on its arms today and casts a look ahead, it beholds upon the horizon the first glowing rays of the Social Sunrise.

Courage, Comrades! The struggle must be won, for Peace will only come when she comes hand in hand with Freedom.

The right is with the labor movement and the gods of-battle are with the Working Class.

The Socialist Party and the Trade Union Movement must be one today in celebration of Labor Day and pledge each other their mutual fidelity and support in every battle, economic and political, until the field is won and the Workingman is free.

Forget not the past on Labor Day! Think of Homestead! Think of Latimer! Think of Buffalo! Think of Coeur d'Alene! Think of Croton Dam! Think of Chicago! Think of Virden! Think of Pana! Think of Leadville! Think of Cripple Creek! Think of Victor! Think of Telluride!

These are some of the bloody battles fought in the past in the war of the Workers for Industrial Freedom and Social Justice.

How many and how fierce and bloody shall be the battles of the future?

Comrades, this is the day for Workingmen to think of the Class Struggle and the Ballot, the day for Labor to clasp the hand of Labor and girdle the globe with the International Revolutionary Solidarity of the Working Class.

We are all one—all workers of all lands and climes. We know not color, nor creed, nor sex in the Labor Movement. We know only that our hearts throb with the same proletarian stroke, that we are keeping step with our class in the march to the goal and that the solidarity of Labor will vanquish slavery and Humanize the World.

## Challenge Of Our Times

Labor Day, 1931, Calls on Labor to Strike Out to Win Power for Itself

By James O'Neal

THINKING men and women in the American labor movement this Labor Day must certainly recognize that our old order of society is decaying. Our old civilization based upon private and corporation ownership of industries is in convulsions all over the world. Mighty and important changes are ahead.

The working people are underlings of our powerful industrial magnates. At least six millions of us are outcasts in industry; which means nearly twenty millions facing want!

Where is organized labor in this significant period of menacing changes? Abroad one may observe labor a great power with its more powerful and more progressive trade unions. Organized labor has thousands of daily papers and there to speak for it and many more thousands of monthlies and weeklies. It has its giant cooperatives, its flourishing workers' colleges, and other institutions that help and inspire the working masses.

## Has Political Power

Above all, organized labor abroad has its own political parties with its own representatives in city councils, provincial assemblies, and national parliaments. Labor makes the law and enforces the law. Labor educates the machine, the plumber and the steel worker; labor places these men in office; labor formulates its own programs and instructs these representatives to fight inch by inch and day by day for the interest and welfare of the working people.

The result is that labor is a great power in all nations abroad. It is eating its way into old institutions, changing them, and adapting them to its interests. Thus out of a decaying civilization a wonderful thing is happening. As the old ruling classes decline in vigor the giant labor becomes strong; as the old capitalist civilization sinks the new civilization of labor is rising.

## New World of Industry

Why? Because labor abroad is not content to follow the ancient ways of our ancestors; because labor is conscious that as a special group in society it must fight its own battles in industry, in politics, and in every other arena of struggle where its welfare is involved. Labor is inspired by ideals of a new world of industry in which working people will no

longer be underlings. How is it here in the United States? What a contrast! Organized labor is still clinging to ideas and methods that belong to the infantile days of every labor movement in the whole world. We have no representation in Congress, in the legislatures and the city councils. We have the smallest percentage of wage working population organized of any nation in the world. We are still within old parties led by hackneyed leaders empty of ideas and representing property interests.

What Labor Faces Here And what is our reward? The injunction is a sword in the vitals of every trade union. Union treasurers can be seized in strikes. The yellow dog contract has judicial sanction. Our large basic industries are mostly company-union or anti-union. With nearly twenty millions of us facing privation there is practically no legislation to meet this disaster. We are dependent upon the hateful charity of the rich and even that is far from sufficient.

The fact is that we are pariahs before the legislative bodies of this country, beggars kicked from the doors or handed a few crumbs. Modern capitalist civilization is collapsing about us and organized labor is just awakening to the peril ahead and the tremendous responsibilities that face it. Will American labor act in time, will it act before we sink into an abyss, and lead in the job of reconstruction as our brothers are in every modern nation in the world?

That is the question that must be faced in every trade union body. What's to be done?

Must Forsake Old Parties First and foremost, it is absolutely essential to cut loose from the decaying and bankrupt ruling parties. Cut every tie with them forever! We may do anything else and if we do not do that labor is doomed to servitude. That is the road to power and we need power more than anything else.

This means independent political action in a party of our own, a party that we control, that we finance, that is pledged to reorganization of society on a basis of social and industrial democracy. Only a party of the workers can serve the toiling masses. Through our party we will send thousands of our own trained members into the legislative bodies to batter down the legislative and judicial walls that imprison us. We will also load the statute books with every measure that will bring re-

lief, that will bring us power, and that will lead to a cooperative world of industry.

Either that or we will pass on to our children a corporation oligarchy, possibly buttressed with Fascist mercenaries to keep us at our tasks in the mines and the industries. That is the drift of our time in this and other nations where the masters realize that their old order is sinking.

The times call for independent thinking and action. Our conservative cries and banners are out of date. A perilous abyss yawns ahead. Shall we organize to bridge it or blindly wander on only to tumble in and reap an inglorious heritage of servitude for ourselves and those who come after us?

Labor must strike.

Until organized labor controls the political power of the country, it cannot hope to be effective on the economic field. An army cannot survive in battle unless every flank is covered from the enemy. A union in the mill and a Labor Party at the polls must be the workers' resolutions this Labor Day.

## Resolutions For Labor On Labor Day

By Alexander McKeown  
(Candidate for Mayor on the Socialist-Independent Labor Party Ticket in Philadelphia)

LABOR DAY is the working man's most sacred holiday. It is the day when the unionist makes the resolutions that chart the path of his conduct. Too often, like New Year's resolutions, labor's high hopes and great resolve fall by the wayside.

Determination to maintain a decent living standard for the workingman's family, to insist on proper working conditions, to procure from state legislatures adequate legal protection of constitutional rights, come time and time again to naught when faced by the bitter and persistent opposition of the Grundy's, the Manufacturers' Association, and those who occupy the seats of power.

Philadelphia has witnessed repeatedly the no longer amazing spectacle of a venial police and a complaisant bench assisting in the exploitation and suppression of the laboring masses. Illegally and purely out of his natural sympathy with the employing classes, Director Schofield has played the role of strikebreaker, jailing great numbers of workers because they dared defend their right to strike against the lowering of the wage standard. Against such a man, polite language of labor-employer cooperation can be of little avail.

Quite as illegally and with as little regard for the constitutional rights of the individual and the working citizens, judges after judge elevated to the bench by the political organization that professes its love for the people, tips over the robe of office in his haste to add his foot to those of the police and manufacturers pressed on labor.

Added to these enemies of labor is unemployment and the refusal of the classes in power and the political parties they control to do anything except place its burden on the worker.

The Republican Party is fighting in movie-like style to preserve its fictional honor from the tax onslaughts of unemployment insurance, old age pensions, farm relief, high inheritance taxes and increased public works.

The Democratic Party is only awaiting the opportunity to fight for its honor and the preservation of manufacturers' fortunes in the same manner.

What resolves can Labor make this Labor Day?

What high hopes can be held? Only in organization is any resolution possible, any hope of achievement of a full life, genuine liberty and the capture of happiness.

This organization of the workers must be militant, fighting and never ceasing.

Its weapons must be double edged. One cutting the bonds that enslave the workers—the factory, mine and mill, the other slashing the political fetters that bind the worker to a police chief who blackjacks him and a judge who tells him in legal language but not the less plainly—to like it.

Labor must strike. Until organized labor controls the political power of the country, it cannot hope to be effective on the economic field. An army cannot survive in battle unless every flank is covered from the enemy. A union in the mill and a Labor Party at the polls must be the workers' resolutions this Labor Day.

Wann kommt die Erlösung?

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