

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Unemployment and Long Hours—Unions and Their Members—Farm Panaceas—Mahatma and Jimmy—Socialist Party Problems—The British Pay Cuts

STUPIDITY OF THE SYSTEM

THERE are approximately ten million people out of work in the United States. All labor organizations, most engineers and even some employers have endorsed the principle of the five day week.



NORMAN THOMAS

But—Textile employers, especially in the South, when they get orders, work their mills day and night on ten, eleven and twelve hour shifts.

Most hotel and cafeteria workers have the seven day week with ten or more hours a day.

In New York City (and probably in other cities) subway workers and most trolley car and bus employees have the seven day week. That's the stupid cruelty of the capitalist system for you!

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

It is especially worth while to consider the case of public service employees. The states and cities exercise regulatory power over them by the terms of franchises and by the power of commissions exercise special control over public utilities. New York City is actually a party. New York City is actually a party. New York City is actually a party.

WORKERS' FAITH IN UNIONS

NOTHING can take the place of their own unions protecting the rights of the workers' rights. Unions in America are weak. For this, there is no single reason. But among the reasons I discover in all parts of the country is widespread distrust on the part of the workers themselves in the honesty, democracy and fairness of some of the unions. Some of this distrust is grossly exaggerated and deliberately increased by the propaganda of bosses. But for some of it there is a basis. Many union constitutions are less democratic even than the constitution of the United States and give the officers more arbitrary power over members. Some union elections are more corrupt than Philadelphia's. Too often union dues are used to hire gangsters who are used by union officials, among other things, to keep their own power. These things tend to paralyze the vitally important labor movement. A new spirit expressed in provisions for more democratic government and labor courts to protect the rights of individual members is imperative.

"EASY MONEY"

ACCORDING to the newspapers, a definite movement among the farmers for "easy money" is under way. Well, a country with the gold reserve of the United States could stand a little inflation. I believe in a stable money system but it ought to be stabilized as nearly as possible at the 1926-1927 level. It is outrageously unfair that farmers on falling prices should have to pay back mortgages and buy loans in dollars worth about twenty cents more than when they borrowed them. Proper management of the money market and proper action by the Federal Reserve Board might do much to help in this matter.

JIMMY AND GANDHI

THERE is hope for a world in which Mahatma Gandhi can make the impression he is making. His plea for "equal partnership" of India with Great Britain points the right road to peace and good will.

JIMMY WALKER, according to dispatches, did not meet the great saint. Gandhi waited for him an hour in the Kingsley Hall Settlement but Walker and his gay clothes were seeing London's night life—a much more appropriate occupation for "our" Jimmy!

THAT great Democrat and presidential aspirant, Governor Ritchie of Maryland, attacks both public ownership and federal regulation of industries. By implication he attacked those Republican progressives, Senator Norris, and Governor Pinchot. But there are some folks who say the Democratic Party is progressive!

PARTY PROBLEMS

OUR National Executive Committee has done well to postpone moving the Party office from Chicago to Washington until further consideration. I hope no change will be made until the National Convention has had a chance to act. Whatever the merits of the move—and I am skeptical of them—there is no great hurry about it. Let's talk it over!

BY no means the most important issue is the location of the national office. Efficient organization and vigorous and inspiring leadership are more important. Our party has good platforms; we need better plans of action. That ought to be a main business of our convention.

Among other things, a vigorous plan of action for American Socialism will radically reform our casual and offhand treatment of representation at the international conference. I agree with some of our returning delegates from Vienna that henceforth we must make the selection of our delegates a matter of careful choice—which is no reflection on the excellent delegates who have gone at their own expense—and we must discuss in advance the issues likely to come before the conference so that there can be an American Socialist position on important issues. Thus we may help the international and we shall certainly help ourselves in the all important matter of making Socialist internationalism more intelligent and meaningful in our American thinking.

Important as it is for us to preserve national autonomy in the Socialist international we do want to have more than a debating society. At the least, should not a movement be started under both the Socialist and trade union international to work out plans for an effective general strike against war? We Americans, alas, as yet have not much organized strength to contribute, but a goal and a plan may help us grow.

DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND

FROM this distance, with reports of discontent in the British navy over pay cuts amounting almost to mutiny, the position of the National government is weak. Labor's opposition to cuts is sound but I hope for something more constructive and Socialist than Arthur Henderson's endorsement of a ten per cent tariff. Maybe in our capitalist world a tariff is almost forced on England (I have my doubts) but to propose it is anything but a significant Socialist suggestion.

Illinois Labor Takes Hit at Wage Cuts

GALESBURG, Ill. — (FP) — Warning to Illinois employers that organized labor will not stand for wage cuts was sounded in the report of the executive committee to the Illinois State Federation of Labor in annual convention at Galesburg.

"The Illinois State Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations, acting in harmony with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor, stand against any reduction in wage standards, notwithstanding the deplorable economic depression through which the nation is passing," says the report.

Eight Southern Unionists Victimized

WASHINGTON — (FP) — American Federation of Labor headquarters was notified Sept. 16 that eight officers of the United Textile Workers' local in Augusta, Ga., employed in the Sibley and the Enterprise mills, had just been dismissed. No strike or agitation was pending; the union leaders were merely attending a class in economics, conducted under union auspices. The mills are owned by McCampbell & Co., of New York. All of the eight men and women had rendered long years of faithful service to the company, which pays less than \$10 a week to most of its workers.

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VOL. XII.—No. 12

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th St., New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1931

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

The Ghost Walks



—From The Milwaukee Leader.

Austrian Fascist Revolt Fizzles in Single Day; Three Socialists Killed

Leaders of Heimwehr Give Up in Day as Socialist
Defense Corps Mobilizes to Battle for Republic
—"March" on Vienna Proves a Fizzle

THE Austrian Socialist movement again defeated an attempt of the Heimwehr (Fascists) to establish a dictatorship in Austria last Sunday. On Sunday morning the Heimwehr leader, Dr. Walter Pfrimmer, proclaimed himself dictator and ordered his bands to seize the public buildings in the province of Styria and it is probable that he had the approval of the Governor of the province and the local authorities. The movement was so badly handled, however, that 10 o'clock that night the national government was in complete control and Dr. Pfrimmer and his chief aids were fugitives. One Socialist was killed, six others were wounded of whom two died later, and one Fascist was killed.

Dr. Pfrimmer and his forces occupied the municipal offices of one town two hours' journey south of Vienna.

Simultaneously all the Heimwehr men in Austria were ordered to take their posts according to a prearranged plan and a proclamation was issued to the people of Austria announcing the deposition of the "old" government. Dr. Pfrimmer's appointment of himself to take its place, the imposition of martial law and the relief of all soldiers, police and gendarmes from their oath of loyalty to the "deposed" administration.

Socialists Mobilized
A few hours later Heimwehr detachments turned out in full force at other towns and villages of the north Styrian industrial region.

The Socialist Schutzbund — the counterpart of the Heimwehr — acting on orders from Vienna, also assembled, unarmed, but with arms in readiness nearby. At opposite sides of village streets or village squares the two parties faced each other with enough bombs, rifles and machine guns to depopulate Styria posted or at hand.

Despite all this heavy armament only one Heimwehr machine gun went off. This was at Kapfenberg, where fire was opened just as the gendarmes essayed to drive back the Heimwehr men assembled with fixed bayonets before the Socialist headquarters.

In the principal towns the Heimwehr not only seized the government buildings, but occupied streets, stations and bridges. Up to 10 A. M. it looked as if they had Styria, if not Austria, safely in their possession.

But in other ways the "putsch" was badly mismanaged. No attempt was made to interrupt telegraph and telephone communication and the Socialists were able to keep their headquarters in Vienna informed of all that was going on.

Socialists Ready to Act
A Socialist deputation waited on Chancellor Buresch and informed him if the government did not suppress the revolt the Socialists would take action of their own. Another sort of pressure was exercised on the government by Dr. (Continued on Page Two)

British Tars In Revolt on Pay Slashes

Sailors Sing 'Red Flag,'
Refuse to Take Orders
—Fleet Called to Port

FORMER British Labor Premier J. Ramsay MacDonald did not take into account that all organizations in the Labor Party and even some workers in the government services would have an entirely different view of "equality of service" as he expounded it. On Tuesday naval manœuvres had to be cancelled because of discontent among the sailors in protest against pay cuts. London correspondents declare that the "nation" is shocked by the news but just who is meant by the "nation" is not explained.

Some 500 seamen, after a meeting ashore in Scotland, returned to their warships to sing and dance. Government officials expressed fear that the discontent will spread to the army and the police forces. It is no secret in England that since the end of the World War Labor and Socialist views have penetrated the army, navy and police forces. How extensive this class consciousness has become is a matter of conjecture but this unrest in the navy is a symptom.

While on shore the sailors smashed canteen windows and sang "The Red Flag" in protest against the pay cuts by the new government. This was on Saturday and when the sailors returned to their ships on Tuesday they refused to work, to respond to "lights out" and remained on deck cheering continuously. This is a unique incident in British naval history and it is not surprising that those who consider themselves the "nation" were disturbed by it.

25% Slash Attempted
The reduction of pay against which the sailors protest amounts to 25 per cent and aside from this reduction they resent the fact that the officers are reduced only 10 per cent. The sailor who was receiving a dollar a day is reduced to 75 cents while the Vice Admiral who received \$27.50 a day now receives \$24.75.

The return of the ships to a British port was due to fears that there might be a mutiny at sea. The men involved are from five battle ships and two battle cruisers. The trouble in the navy developed at Invergordon at the mouth of Cromarty Firth on the east coast of North Scotland, where the fleet arrived Tuesday from the Firth of Forth in command of Rear Admiral Wilfred Tomkinson, its senior officer.

Back of this significant event is a tremendous Labor and Socialist movement which has made giant (Continued on Page Two)

That "National" Govt. As Herald Sees It

LONDON.—"One thing must be said, and said immediately, about the new ministry. It is not a national government," said the Daily Herald, Labor's paper.

"Where is the patriotism, we may ask, in allowing the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to dictate, as the condition for a further credit to the Bank of England, the policy to be pursued in relation to unemployment benefit? This is not patriotism, but acceptance of the dictatorship not even of a British bank, but of international finance. It is a blow to British prestige equalled only in recent history by the terms of the Versailles Treaty. It is the severest blow struck at the rights and powers of democratic government."

Silk Shop Surrenders To Paterson Strike

PATERSON, N. J. — (FP) — The A. F. of L. unions carrying on the strike in Paterson silk mills report that the Maryland Silk Company is the latest mill to accede to union demands.

Louis Budenz, executive director of the strike, has protested the actions of Clifton police officials to Governor Morgan F. Larson. Clifton police, he charges, have interfered with picket lines on duty at the Doherty mills and on several occasions have severely clubbed strikers. Budenz demands an immediate investigation and trial of the police officials involved.

Ross Says Jobless Set Forest Fires

BOISE, Idaho. — (FP) — Unemployed men seeking jobs as fire-fighters may have been responsible for setting forest fires in four Idaho counties, said Governor Ross in declaring martial law in the fire area.

A Call to the Army of Socialism

Workers Facing a Catastrophe As Jobless Crisis Grows Worse

FOR several months The New Leader has endeavored to interpret the changing world of capitalism in special propaganda articles. From all over the country we have received approving letters and bundle sales to party locals have mounted during this period. We shall try to make The New Leader still more effective and the encouraging letters we have received have inspired us to do our best.

At the same time we are wondering whether all our local organizations and members fully appreciate what is happening in the world of capitalism and the grave responsibilities that may face us even before this year has passed into history. One historian wrote many years ago that it often happens that the masses are

unaware of vast impending changes and they are as much surprised when a catastrophe comes to them as a child is when its house of cards is toppled over by its own weight.

There are some reasons for believing that we may be facing such a situation in this country within the next few months. There are no indications of a recovery from the industrial breakdown. Even the professional guardians of capitalism are getting scared. One will find these fears expressed in editorials, in statements, by heads of charity organizations, and in general warnings in many sections of the country that existing plans for satisfying the hunger of millions are inadequate.

The Crisis Worsens

We have already analyzed Hoover's program of charity doles throughout the nation and have shown how utterly inadequate it is. In New York State Governor Roosevelt plans to raise \$20,000,000 for winter relief. This sum appears large but the number of jobless in the state is a million or more, and this is a conservative estimate.

At the utmost this fund for the winter will not exceed a dollar a week for the family of each jobless man. It is intended to supplement local relief agencies and yet these agencies are less able to do this year what they did last year. As a gesture in the race for the White House, Roosevelt's program is good politics but it does not meet the situation.

An ominous confirmation of this comes from an authoritative source. In New York City the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee declares that the situation is "worse than last year and presented the greatest responsibility that the people of New York had since the World War. Harvey D. Gibson, chairman, declares that the situation is "twice as serious as last year" and that the increase in unemployment in the "white collar class" has become greater than in any other group.

The head of the leading charity organization asserts that the conditions are "far, far worse than last year" and his organization is swamped with twice as many applications as last year. Moreover, the consumption of milk in one week was 20 per cent lower than the consumption in the corresponding week last year. He did not want it understood that children of the jobless are starving, but he considers this a "very significant and startling signal." So do we, very significant.

There is still another item regarding those who have been thrust into the social pit. The savings of many workers have been exhausted and they are applying for aid for the first time. The secretary of this organization added that the problem was a "tremendously larger" one than last year. So it appears that quite a number who have been living on the savings of years are now toppling into the social abyss.

A World-Wide Danger

What of the rest of the world? Is there a ray of light in this black night of capitalism?

We have two sources of information. The International Federation of Trade Unions nearly two months ago reported the results of a wide survey in many nations. Its conclusion was that there are no indications of an improvement of conditions regarding unemployment. There were a few favorable local trends here and there but the situation in general was not hopeful.

The other source is another world-wide survey published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, a volume of 337 pages, to which the economic organizations of fifteen nations, including the United States, contributed. One sentence carries a grave significance. "The

situation in 1931 appears in some respects rather serious."

This is the cautious language of conservative men. They do not want to alarm and yet they do not want to deceive. The survey supplements and confirms the survey made by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

There are other interesting items in this volume. It declares that "on the whole economic conditions seem to have altered less during the summer in the non-European countries and in the Soviet Union than in the rest of Europe." That is, these countries are the only ones where conditions have not grown worse.

On the Continent, France and the Scandinavian countries have been least affected by the general breakdown of the capitalist nations, but how is it now? France has been a vampire sucking on the blood of Germany but even France is being drawn into the general economic crisis. The Scandinavian countries kept out of the war to "make the world safe for democracy" and on the whole they have not been as badly afflicted with the universal capitalist disease.

What is the situation now? The report declares that in France and the Scandinavian countries, which were better off in 1930, "conditions have grown rapidly worse."

American Fascists Ready

So the shadows deepen over the capitalist nations while the usurers and exploiters clutch their money bags in fear.

Now the job that faces Socialists is charged with more difficulties in this country than in any other. Outside of two states we have no representatives in public office. The public powers are controlled by the agents of capitalism. We know their methods of meeting distress when hunger forces the starving to desperation. There will be brutal clubbings. If a local situation threatens to get out of hand in some cities local dictatorships are likely to emerge.

One may even forecast events beyond this stage to include large areas of the population where committees of public safety are set up by reactionaries or whole states come under the control of satraps vested with large powers. Let us not forget that the best traditions and ideas associated with democracy are abstractions for many members of our ruling class. They hate and fear the "mob" and they are capable of putting an end to the old order of civil rights and all that goes with it.

This view may be more pessimistic than future events may justify but Socialists must consider every possible contingency and what is said above is one of them.

In the face of such a situation all theories are resolved in the grave need of educational work. The whole membership of the party in every locality must be summoned to service. There are many members who are not serving as speakers, on committees, and in other continuous activities who must be reached and who must be enlisted in the work that can be done.

Our funds are limited but they can be made to go far in reaching millions of the distressed. The National Office and quite a number of the city organizations have printed good educational leaflets. Every idle member should be enlisted to distribute this literature from house to house once every week. In order to reach these members it may be necessary to visit them in their homes and inform them of the menacing situation and how necessary it is for them to do the work that must be done.

An Immediate Task

Distributing groups should be organized, city or town blocks mapped by a comrade in charge. (Continued on Page Two)

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Billings Ends Connections With Mooney

Frame-Up Victim May Seek Parole — Separate Release Committee Possible

REPRESENTATIVE, Cal.—(FP)—In a remarkable open letter, Warren K. Billings has definitely repudiated association with the defense plans of Tom Mooney. This action was foreshadowed last December, but seems to have been crystallized by the recent suit in equity brought by Mooney against the city and county of San Francisco, charging extrinsic fraud by Charles M. Fickert and Edward Cunha in his and Billings' trials, and which would have involved Billings also in its provisions.

Persons close to Billings predict that this is his first move toward applying for a parole, an action which neither he nor Mooney has hitherto been willing to take, since it would involve an acknowledgment of guilt. There is no way (unless the suit in equity should be successful and not be appealed to the Supreme Court, thus giving both men a new trial) by which Billings could be pardoned, as Mooney could, by gubernatorial clemency. So there is less reason than in Mooney's case why Billings should not accept parole after serving 15 years for a crime of which he is innocent.

Says He Was Ignored
"I have never had a voice in the affairs of the Mooney-Billings Defense Committee," Billings' letter says. "In the past 15 years many efforts have been made in behalf of Tom Mooney and myself by various committees, persons and organizations. Many of these have been authorized by both of us, but few of them have met with my whole-hearted approval. I have agreed to such activities because they were desired by Tom Mooney. All of these efforts have proved unavailing. It is my opinion that this has been largely due to an erroneous policy and mistaken methods. Politics, which is the very essence of this case, has been ignored. A non-partisan policy has been attempted, with the result that the committee has repeatedly found itself supporting its bitterest enemies."

"Because I have acceded to the demands of Mooney and others I have been ignored by those actively handling the defense, until I have become a mere nonentity in the case. This is true to such a startling degree that many people believe I am entirely illiterate. I have been ignored to such an extent that lawyers have taken it upon themselves to institute court proceedings, ostensibly in my behalf, without either my knowledge or consent."

"As a result of all this I have

'Disarm,' L.I.D. Magazine, Aims to Rally Peace Forces

"DISARM!" an emergency magazine devoted to a discussion of war and disarmament was published this week by the League for Industrial Democracy. Writers and artists of national reputation have contributed their efforts to crystallize public opinion on peace and disarmament for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva next February.

Norman Thomas writes one of the leading articles on "What Disarmament Can and Cannot Do." Professor Willard L. Thorp of Amherst College discusses the tariff as a possible cause of war. Paul Y. Anderson, Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, analyzes the part played by the press of the United States: "So far as the United States is concerned, it is the press which makes war possible. Try to picture Congress voting for a declaration of war without the support of the

newspapers. No Congress is going to declare war until the press says 'Shoot.'"

Heywood Brown, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Kirby Page, Dr. Max Kinkler, Dorothy Detzer, A. J. Muste, McAllister Coleman, Oscar Ameringer and many other writers of prominence contribute articles. Art Young, Clive Weed, Reginald Marsh, H. M. Talburt and Fitzpatrick are among the cartoonists represented.

The League for Industrial Democracy plans to have unemployed men and women sell the 32-page "Disarm!" Many peace organizations are behind the effort to make the magazine one of the most widely circulated publications in the country. This is a non-profit-making project, like the emergency magazine on unemployment, "The Unemployed." "Disarm!" is edited at 112 East 19th street, New York City. Write to the league for rates.

Europe Colony Of U. S., Says Edo Fimmen

International Transport Workers Head Urges Refusal to Pay War Debts

OTTAWA.—(FP)—"European nations have all become colonies of the United States. They will not be able to get out of their difficulties until some strong bold personage, with the faculty of striking the popular imagination, induces the European nations to get together and write a polite note to American capitalists saying, 'If you want your war debts, come and get them.'"

So, smilingly, declared big Edo Fimmen, of Amsterdam, general secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation, an organization of 2,500,000 railway workers, dockworkers and sailors. Fimmen is on his way to the Orient to organize an Asiatic Secretariat of the transport workers' union of Japan, China, British India and the Dutch East Indies. He has been in Ottawa conferring with officers of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, an affiliate of the I. T. F.

"In most European countries the fear of the workers is that conditions will get worse before they become better, and the outlook for the coming winter is appalling," he said. "The governments of all countries, except Russia, seem impotent to solve their problems and the workers have come to regard political democracy as a sorry joke. They find that the governments they elect with high hopes are merely agents of the international bankers, who have no experience in managing financial and economic colonies, rule the roost."

Sees German Collapse
"The Germans want to go some where. They'd try any drastic plan, if it was sponsored by a strong man who they believed would pursue it with iron resolution. But the present party leaders lack resolution and courage."

"Unless a miracle intervenes the capitalist system will collapse in Germany. The efforts of American bankers to save it have only succeeded in increasing the resentment of the workers."
"America was long a colony of Europe, a place to which Europe sent its surplus population and its surplus capital, yielding Europe rich returns, which enabled Europe to avoid solving its social problems. The men and capital Europe sent to America helped to build up America; but much of the American capital sent to Europe helped to tear down Europe. This was not America's fault directly, but if America had taken her proper part in world affairs the European war might have been avoided."

"End of An Epoch"
"I am convinced that capitalism is not the final stage in the evolution of human affairs, but Socialism being the logical outcome of capitalism, the more fully capitalism has organized and developed all the productive forces for which there is room in it, the better chance there will be for the transition to a new social order to be made by constitutional methods and means. Sick of war, the European workers wish to avoid a violent revolution."
"Nearly everybody now realizes that the present crisis presents a problem demanding for its solution, not mere palliatives but radical readjustments."

LABOR MAN JAILED
ASHEVILLE, N. C.—(FP)—Jailed for distributing American Federation of Labor circulars at a Labor Day celebration, B. R. Adams, president of the machinists' union, and his wife have been on trial for resisting arrest and trespass. They were arrested by Enka Corporation officials but the trials have brought out more about the police than the prisoners, including the fact that one had been before the commissioner "25 or 30 times for drinking on duty." The case was postponed.

Vienna Congress and Trade Unions Discussed At Camp Eden Sessions

"Militant" Points of View Stressed at 2-Day Meeting—200 Attend

By EDWARD LEVINSON

COLD SPRING, N. Y.—Over 200 members of the Socialist party gathered at Camp Eden last week-end to discuss party policies and trends. Sponsored by Socialists who have adhered to the "militant" position, discussions at the four sessions were largely of a critical vein coupled with a series of proposals. Two sessions considered the policies of the Socialist and Labor International as voiced at the Vienna congress. The other sessions were devoted to trade union policies.

The proceedings of the international congress were described by Harry W. Laidler, one of the party's delegates. He referred to the "disarmament resolution which called on the Socialist parties to carry on agitation which would lead the February meeting of the League of Nations disarmament commission to take effective action."

"The I. L. P. and the Poland Bund presented a substitute resolution, which urged complete disarmament, demanded that Socialist parliamentarians refuse to vote a penny for munitions, declared that the Congress should have no illusions regarding the League of Nations, opposed all collaboration with capitalist governments, denounced imperialism and urged that, should war be declared, it was the duty of Socialists to end the war by overthrowing the capitalist order," Laidler said referring to the opposition in the congress.

The U. S. Delegation
The American delegation, Laidler said, voted for the majority resolution, though thinking it somewhat lacking in vigor as a joint resolution of the two working class internationals. It asked Morris Hillquit to present a statement of the American party's position in favor of complete, immediate and unilateral disarmament. The Congress later submitted a short resolution, leaving it to the executives of the two internationals to frame a final resolution on the course of Socialists in case of threatened war.

Dr. Laidler urged American Socialists to prepare a careful resolution against war, dealing with the action of Socialists in case war should break out and to submit this resolution to the International. He told of the efforts of Keir Hardie, Vaillant and Jean Jaures, prior to the war, to commit the International to the general strike in case of war and declared that this weapon should be seriously considered. American Socialists should also conduct as vigorous a campaign as possible within the next six months in favor of complete disarmament.

In future congresses, Dr. Laidler urged that the Socialist party discuss prior to the Congress the main problems to be considered. He dealt with the gap now existing, because of the carnage of war between the older and the younger generation in European Socialism and felt that, when the thousands of young people now in the movement secure more control among the European Social Democrats, a more vigorous policy will be developed.

Congress Criticized
Dr. Louis Sadoff, Charles Kramansky and Henry J. Rosner, who also attended the congress, lead the discussion which followed. Dr. Sadoff criticized the lack of preparation with which the American delegation came to Vienna. He objected also to the methods by which delegates were chosen, asserting that in the future delegates should be elected by the party rather than continue with the practice of allowing those comrades who could afford to make the trip to Europe or who happened to be in Europe at the time represent the party. It would be better to have one or two delegates who represented the views of the party and were elected to serve, than have a group of comrades represent the party by chance.

Rosner felt the disarmament resolution adopted was weak and did not represent the most effective way of securing peace. He felt more attention should be paid to the use of the general strike in warding off war threats. Kramansky voiced disappointment at the stand taken by Hillquit on disarmament. He represented Hillquit's view to be that inasmuch as the International Federation of Trade Unions and the powerful Socialist parties of Europe were in agreement on the resolution it would be poor policy for the weak American Socialist party to press "a point of view too forcibly. The very fact that the I. F. T. U. was ready to back an inadequate resolution, Kramansky said, should have led the congress to return the resolution and try to give the trade union international a proper lead."

Take Up Unionism
The discussion on the trade unions opened Saturday night with addresses by Norman Thomas, McAllister Coleman and S. A. DeWitt. Coleman, speaking on the historical attitude of the Party, said: "The only constant that any historian can discover in the Socialist-trade-union equation is the constant of change. Those who hold that there is a traditional line which Socialists of today must follow are historically wrong and strategically insincere. The Socialist line of approach to trade unionism has always been a zig zag, now to the Right and again to the Left, according to the dictates of the times and circumstances. At one time or another our leaders have advocated rival unions to the A. F. of L. dual unionism, boring from within the old unions, open attacks upon the old unions, neutrality and finally 'mild collaboration.' We may well sing, 'No more tradition's chains shall bind us because as a matter of fact there are no such chains and no traditions.'"

Coleman referred to Debs' connection with the founding of the I. W. W., De Leon's various attacks on trade union contacts, the formation of the Amalgamated and other Socialist activities inside and outside the organized labor movement, and concluded: "Let no sincere Socialist naively be lulled out of constructive trade union policy for the Party by the fact that the Party has hesitated because he is warned against heterodoxy. History discloses no continuous orthodoxy in our policy for the past thirty years. This is no criticism, simply a matter of record. The criticism of militant Socialists however may well be directed against those who are using perverted interpretations of history as an alibi for quietism."

Socialists In Unions
Thomas in an informal manner, took the opportunity to discuss other party problems than the problem of relations to the unions. He deprecated a Socialist approach dictated by "narrow theology." He stated emphatically the Socialist party must be a party of the workers. He reiterated his views on the need for Socialists in trade unions acting like Socialists and fighting for Socialist principles whenever the opportunity afforded. Thomas told of alliances with Tammany Hall made by trade unionists some of whom carry Socialist party cards. Such a situation should not be tolerated by the party. De Witt spoke for making party leaders and party institutions responsive to the rank and file. Amid numerous interruptions he urged that all lawyers and business men be thrown out of the party. To allow them to take positions of prominence corrupted the idealism of the party, De Witt felt.

The discussion was resumed Sunday morning. Andrew Bieimler and Leonard Bright spoke on the present situation and on a program for Socialist activity. Franz Daniel, Arthur McDowell, Edward Levinson, Louis Schaffer and others took part in the discussion. Bieimler analyzed the positions of the three points of view on unionism—the A. F. of L., the Communist and the Socialist. After criticizing with vigor the position of the first two and attacking the recent "labor party" move of the Conference for progressive Labor Action, Bieimler said:

"In turning to direct Socialist party activity in the unions, one must admit there is not much to talk about. In Philadelphia there has been some activity. Excellent relief work has also been done by the Pittsburgh Socialists. But even worse than the inactivity is the idea expressed by some comrades that we must be neutral on the trade union question. That is a stand we must emphatically repudiate. No true Socialist is neutral in the face of a labor organization which is more interested in stabilizing capitalism than in fighting for the workers. And unless we wish to repudiate our working-class traditions, our contacts must be drawn far closer to the unions. No Socialist who is worthy of party membership should fail to carry his Socialism into his trade union."

Unemployed and Unionists
Daniel said his experience working among unemployed workers had led him to believe that trade unionists made far better material for the party. They had a sense of organization and once won to the party would more likely prove a permanent asset. Daniel declared that Socialists should take up trade union tasks as they found them. It was not necessary to constantly wear the Socialist badge, he said, or to exert every effort to divert all situations to the benefit of the party. The Socialist sentiment in unions could be built up best by Socialist service to them in whatever work needed to be done.

George Steinhart, Samuel H. Friedman and Jean Jacques Corneil were critical of the conference, as were some others present. Steinhart declared that though he was with the "militants" on many things, he objected to an unfair spirit which he felt animated some members of the conference. He referred in particular to some of the facetious skits and parodies which had been offered the evening before in the performance of "The Militant Follies of 1931." Friedman felt that the "militants" were displaying a holier-than-thou attitude by fault-finding. Corneil urged "militants" read Marx.

Enthusiastic Scenes
This report of the discussions,

historical attitude of the Party, said:

"The only constant that any historian can discover in the Socialist-trade-union equation is the constant of change. Those who hold that there is a traditional line which Socialists of today must follow are historically wrong and strategically insincere. The Socialist line of approach to trade unionism has always been a zig zag, now to the Right and again to the Left, according to the dictates of the times and circumstances. At one time or another our leaders have advocated rival unions to the A. F. of L. dual unionism, boring from within the old unions, open attacks upon the old unions, neutrality and finally 'mild collaboration.' We may well sing, 'No more tradition's chains shall bind us because as a matter of fact there are no such chains and no traditions.'"

Coleman referred to Debs' connection with the founding of the I. W. W., De Leon's various attacks on trade union contacts, the formation of the Amalgamated and other Socialist activities inside and outside the organized labor movement, and concluded: "Let no sincere Socialist naively be lulled out of constructive trade union policy for the Party by the fact that the Party has hesitated because he is warned against heterodoxy. History discloses no continuous orthodoxy in our policy for the past thirty years. This is no criticism, simply a matter of record. The criticism of militant Socialists however may well be directed against those who are using perverted interpretations of history as an alibi for quietism."

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Enthusiastic Scenes
This report of the discussions,

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The Tammany Record on Unemployment Relief

Tammany, the "Friend of the Poor," has never been more clearly revealed in its true colors as Betrayer of the Poor, than in its record since the industrial crisis of the last two years.

Thirty cents a week for the jobless; political administration of even this miserable pittance; refusal to vote direct relief; neglect of much needed public works, including subway and school construction; a complete fiasco on its much advertised housing program—these are but a few of the crimes of commission and omission of which the Tammany-Walker regime has been guilty.

Henry J. Rosner, head of the research bureau of the New York Socialist party, tells of this record in the article below. This is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Rosner on New York City campaign issues. The series will prove invaluable to Socialists, particularly speakers and other campaigners, in placing the issues of the coming election before the voters.

By Henry J. Rosner

IN the past two years of depression the Tammany-Walker administration has been almost totally oblivious to the suffering and distress of the unemployed. The pressure of outside organizations has resulted in some action but no genuine initiative has been displayed in relieving the misery of almost two million New Yorkers who have been directly or indirectly affected by unemployment. Unemployment cannot be abolished by City Hall, but there are many things which a socially-minded city administration can do to minimize the distress of the jobless.

Less than two million dollars per month has been spent in N. Y. C. for relief. Until April of this year virtually all of the money was provided by private charity agencies. It is conservatively estimated that there are three quarters of a million unemployed in New York City. Assuming an average wage of \$25 a week, the monthly wage loss is \$75 million dollars. The amount spent on relief is, therefore, less than 3% of the wage loss. That sum provides about sixty cents a week for each unemployed person. Half of it comes from the city. If he happens to be married and has a family dependent on him for support, the sixty cents is expected to go much further. Clearly such an insignificant sum cannot meet the distress and hardship resulting from that tremendous wage loss.

The Socialist Fight

The Socialist Party, from the very inception of the current business depression, has brought pressure upon the administration to do something for the unemployed. In March, 1930, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman appeared before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment with a constructive program fully within the powers of the local administration. That meeting ended in a row because of the unwillingness of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to face the situation. Subsequent events demonstrated the soundness of our position. The Mayor's excuse at that time was that the charter did not permit the city to grant direct relief to the unemployed. He had the temerity to make that statement despite the fact that ever since 1919 the State legislature by section 404 of the laws of that year had given to every city in New

York the right to grant direct aid to the jobless. In the year that followed the Socialist Party repeatedly called the attention of the Board of Estimate and the Mayor to this statute. In the interim the Attorney General's office, the law department of the State of New York, sustained our view in an elaborate legal opinion. Still no attention was paid to our demand.

In April, 1931, the administration was compelled to embark upon a new policy of relief because the Prosser Committee, which had been supplying temporary jobs for three days a week at five dollars a day, went broke. The latter at its peak had provided 24,000 jobs. Although the relief work of the private agencies had been inadequate, the City did not even take over all of the work that had been done by the Prosser Committee. It is now providing the same type of work for about 15,000 men—a reduction of 9,000 jobs. Clearly the city should not only have taken over the work of the Prosser committee, but should have expanded it enormously. The Socialist Party urged at a public hearing on the question that at least five million dollars per month should be spent by the city instead of the paltry one million which was finally appropriated. It also pointed out that a policy of providing temporary jobs should be supplemented by a policy of direct monetary relief because of the difficulty of finding work of this character. According to Commissioner Taylor, the city officials in charge of placing these men, their experience has borne out our contention. The Mayor again denied the power of the city to furnish direct relief in spite of the opinion of the Attorney General's office as well as the presentation

30 Cents a Week Appropriated for Each Jobless Worker; Favoritism Shown in Administration; Public Works Lag

of an unchallenged legal argument by Morris Hillquit.

Direct Aid to Veterans

The Corporation Counsel had advised him, according to the Mayor, that the city had no power to provide direct relief. Repeated inquiry both at the Corporation Counsel's office and at the Secretary of the Board of Estimate, disclosed that no legal opinion had ever been written to that effect. Yet the Mayor had the audacity to act upon a word of mouth opinion of his legal department, rather than the carefully prepared and written legal opinions of (1) the official law department of the State of New York, (2) one of the ablest lawyers in New York. The city, moreover, has provided direct monetary assistance to unemployed war veterans. It is estimated that in 1931 this will amount to more than three million dollars. Why should veterans be more privileged than other groups of the unemployed? The Board of Estimate and Apportionment has never answered that question satisfactorily.

Not only has the Walker administration failed to appropriate sufficient funds for the relief of the unemployed, but in addition it has played the most miserable type of politics with the limited funds which it has disbursed. Both men and women have repeatedly come and told me that it is impossible, without a recommendation from a district leader, to get one of these temporary jobs. One enrolled Socialist has testified that a Democratic politician in Brooklyn told him to go to the Socialist Party after he had been sent to this politician by the Municipal Employment Agency for the necessary recommendation. And now the Seabury Committee discloses that in Richmond the number of temporary jobs held by Democrats are much greater proportionately than the number held by either Republicans or Socialists.

The Tammany Hall which has been so indifferent to the plight of the unemployed has been most generous to itself. Tammany office holders received in 1930 pay increases totaling well over 600,000 dollars. They had the audacity to raise their salaries when most people were taking wage cuts. After the public clamor against these wage increases, they even had the audacity to attempt to sneak through the 1931 budget another pay increase. Fortunately it was detected and stopped in time by public protests. These wage increases were not for poor officials already receiving ten, fifteen, and twenty thousand a year. Unemployed workers who own small homes were finding it difficult to meet their taxes paid part of those increases.

Public Works Still Lag

The City Administration has made no attempt to speed up the construction of public works despite the fact that New York City is years behind in the construction of necessary subways, bridges, sewage disposal plants, schools and hospitals. Every subway "yardline," every bathhouse, every school child, can testify to that effect. For ten years now subway riders have been awaiting the completion of a new West side subway. For two decades New York's water front has been inadequately utilized for bathing because of the pollution of our waters due to a lack of adequate sewage disposal plants. New York still dumps its sewage and garbage into surrounding waters—a method which every advanced city of the world has long since discarded. On Manhattan Island alone to be found schools, fifty or more years old, which are obsolete and antiquated. The physical conditions under which many children study are a disgrace in the 20th century.

In May of this year over five hundred persons suffering from tuberculosis were unable to enter city hospitals because of a lack of hospitalization facilities, for the tubercular. Every day that they are compelled to wait brings them that much nearer to the grave. Their only salvation is immediate hospitalization. In spite of the pressing needs of the community, the Department of Education awarded in 1930 only 18.4 million dollars in construction contracts as against 26.6 million in 1929, a decrease of eight million dollars. That meant that at least eight thousand men who had been employed directly or indirectly in 1929 in educational construction, were no longer employed in 1930. In the fourth quarter of 1930 four hundred less men were employed on subway construction than for the same period of 1929. On June 9, 1931 the records in the Comptroller's office showed that over 100 million dollars of public construction authorized by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in past years had not even been started. One authorization for an addition to Bellevue Hospital dated back to March 1927; another for constructing a sewage disposal plant was over nine months old. That situation had been well known for many months. The Socialist Party in hearings before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment had pointed out that public construction was being retarded rather than speeded up. In March 1930 we had presented facts and figures proving this proposition. Yet only two days ago, 18 months later, Comptroller Berry informed me that there was still 100 million dollars worth of authorized public construction which hadn't

been started. That meant that approximately 50 thousand men were being denied an opportunity to work steadily for an entire year. Instead of staying at home and personally seeing to it that the various administrative departments responsible to him should accelerate necessary public works under their jurisdiction, Mayor Walker races around Europe, studying the night life of foreign capitals. It is unnecessary to comment upon this shocking indifference to the suffering of New York's unemployed. The facts speak for themselves.

Walker's Housing Fiasco

Two million New Yorkers are now living in houses unfit for human habitation. The Mayor has made innumerable speeches promising decent housing to the workers. Yet today on Forsythe and Chrystie streets on the lower East side seven blocks of cleared land are waiting for the Mayor to carry out some of his pledges to the workers in our slums. This land was ordered condemned for housing purposes in June 1927, but two years later the city administration does not even have a plan for its development. The Socialist Party has again and again pointed out through its spokesmen that only a program of municipal slum clearance and rehousing can provide decent homes for the poor. Socialist Vienna has proven this. The Mayor has not heeded us. Forsythe-Chrystie street bears mute testimony to that fact.

With thousands of building trades workers walking the streets in search of employment, the past two years would have been the logical time to launch a huge municipal housing program for New York. If New York embarked upon a five year program to provide homes for one million of its working class families, more than thirty thousand building trades workers who are now unemployed would be sure of regular work until 1936. Another thirty thousand would be likewise employed in the manufacture and delivery of necessary building materials. In addition the purchasing power in the hands of these workers would have far-reaching effects upon industries catering to their wants. The logical place to begin such a program would be Forsythe-Chrystie street.

In the coming election it is the task of the Socialist Party to make these propositions clear to the working men and women of New York. We must explode the myth of a charitable Tammany in the face of this terrible record of indifference to the plight of the unemployed. A Socialist delegation in the Board of Aldermen and a Socialist Boro-President on the Board of Estimate would be in a splendid position to compel the kind of action outlined above.

"I'd Do As Much For Any Democrat."

—Boss Curry's Testimony in Doyle Case.

THE GREAT MAJORITY
OF THOSE IN THE BOROUGH
OF RICHMOND WHO RECEIVED
UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF
WERE DEMOCRATS



Rollin Kirby in The N. Y. World-Telegram

The New Leader Mail-Bag

KAUTSKY AND THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:

Although I have been a member of the Socialist Party for many years without criticizing its leadership, it seems to me now that the attitude of certain party leaders toward Russia is so inexcusable that the rank and file of the party should protest with all their power. I refer especially to the publication by the Rand School of Social Science of Karl Kautsky's "Bolshevism as a Deadlock."

Kautsky's book is exactly what a scientific Socialist book should not be. It is impetuous, badly informed, and full of bitter malice. It is a counter-revolutionary work. Yet the book was published by the Rand School without any explanation that it presented only one side of the Russian picture, and it was reviewed as sound and scientific by Comrade James O'neal.

Upon Sinclair in a recent New Leader wrote about Kautsky's book exactly what I should have written, but I would have added a great deal more to his review, not so much in contradiction of the facts which Kautsky has used concerning Russia, but in condemnation of its tone and spirit of his work.

In the first place, Karl Kautsky has obviously made no first hand study of the subject which he discusses. Why should the Socialist movement of America be reduced to publishing a book about Russia by a man who writes from Berlin when there are scores of able and sympathetic scholars from America who have actually studied the Russian situation for themselves?

Comrade Sinclair has already pointed out several important factual errors by Kautsky, but the important errors that he makes are errors of omission. What about the Gosplan and its remarkable scientific planning? What about the limitation of work by the Communist leaders? What about the new class-conscious point of view in education? These three things are as important in the growth of Socialism as any three things in the history of civilization, but Kautsky passes them over. He does write one paragraph on education.

"The educational system in the country districts is almost as miserable as it was under the Czar, and has not made any progress since the pre-war level owing to the poverty of the State. Then, too, the schools, just like those of Czarist Russia, are organized to teach the young men and women but to subvert the subjects and unorthodox beliefs, the only difference being that they have changed master and articles of faith. The schools are no longer aids to the domination of the Czar and the Orthodox Church but of the Communist Party."

I submit that the publication of this paragraph as Kautsky's sole contribution in the book on Bolshevism is as misleading as it would be to publish a paragraph by Ralph Denslow on the League for Industrial Democracy. The tremendous and significant experiments in education that have so impressed great American educators like John Dewey and George S. Counts cannot be wholly nonexistent.

Kautsky's chief quotations are from the Bulletin of the Russian Social Democrats which, of course, culls out from the Soviet press the most discouraging and depressing facts and publishes them as reflecting the actual situation. The facts in themselves are probably accurate enough, but their publication without the more optimistic and equally important items makes a total picture that is as distorted as The Daily Worker's mirror of American civilization.

Kautsky openly flaunts his bias in that amazing sentence in his preface: "It is unnecessary to say much about the Russian situation, which are always unreliable when they are optimistic." An equally clear proof of Kautsky's bias appears on page 66 when he says: "At the moment, however, there does not appear to be anyone desir-

ous of worsening the conditions of the workers, except, of course, the Soviet hierarchy, which has been working at it for a long time." The real trouble with Kautsky, it seems to me, is that he is an arm-chair metaphysician dealing with the dynamic science of economics as if it were an artificially prescribed science like logic. He, like so many of the earlier Marxists, but off more of the Hegelian dialectic than he could chew, and it has given him mental indigestion. He talks like an economic theologian of the Southern Baptist vintage. Listen to Kautsky on Lenin, for example: "I know, of course, that Lenin wanted to be the most orthodox of Marxists. But if he succeeded in attaining his goal and fulfilling his promises, it would prove that social development does not progress in accordance with iron laws, and that it is wrong to believe that a modern, powerful Socialism can only come into being where highly developed industrial capitalism has created an equally developed industrial proletariat." (p. 16) Now, what intelligent Socialist today believes that social development progresses "in accordance with iron laws"? In America, certainly, only the most reactionary and stupid of the old-line economists still hold to such a theory.

Our well-informed social scientists have almost unanimously reached the conclusion that social progress cannot be charted, mapped and diagnosed as physical phenomena can because human beings are volatile and dynamic. They may change the direction of their own course by exercise of will. With the development of socialist culture they can modify and shape the forces which now control them. If enough millions of people with the social consciousness shall pass over from crude agricultural to socialist industrialism they can speed the passage prodigiously. They can skip some of those slow steps of evolution which unconscious animal life cannot avoid. That elasticity and acceleration of social evolution through cultural progress is evident to all but the Kautskys and the staid defenders of the status quo.

Moreover, the Russians have been greatly assisted in their attempt to jump the gap from a crude agricultural state to developed industrialism by their ability to borrow technical assistants and machinery from other nations which have reached a later stage of mechanical progress. The possibility of this semi-vicarious speeding up of industrial evolution seems to have escaped some Marxian thinkers.

This does not mean, of course, that the Soviet government will necessarily succeed in its effort to do a hop-skip-and-jump act in the least degree that its attempted short cut is not the impossible thing that Kautsky represents it.

That Kautsky's bitter preaching is dangerous to the Russian revolution is proved by his final chapter: "What is to be Done? If language means anything this chapter is an invitation to Social Democrats to unite in an uprising in Russia, overthrow the present regime, and deliver the government into the hands of a Socialist-Democratic coalition. He reaches to that under such a coalition there would be great steps backward away from state to private ownership, but he describes the steps as follows: "Steps because they would be controlled supposedly by democratic political machinery. Agriculture would return to private ownership—"Democratic coalition would be prohibited. Under the new economic policy after this revolution the state would "permit free enterprises of capitalist, petty bourgeois, and other nature to flourish side by side with state undertakings." Commercial dealings for private profit would return. So far as I am able to discern the Russian parliamentary republic which Kautsky visualizes would be in actual

practice one more capitalist state with a strong Socialist minority. While millions of workers walked the streets unemployed, while Negroes were being lynched in the South, while the credit system of modern capitalism was tottering, the feeble educational institution of the American Socialist movement published no book on these crises but chose to invest its funds and use its name in this bitter attack upon the Soviet Government.

PAUL BLANCHARD.

New York City

MARION NEEDS HELP

Editor, The New Leader: It has been two years since the Marion strike which ended so disastrously for the worker, but even yet the workers are suffering persecution from the courts because of their strike action. We have formed a Defense Committee in Marion to try to help the families of those who have just been given sentences of years in prison. Since we are living on a small wage we are appealing to our friends to help us.

At the June term of court Leon Moore, 19 years old, was given a sentence of five to seven years, charged with dynamiting a house during the strike. He had no lawyer so the judge appointed one who did nothing to defend the boy. Two other boys, George Styles and Bob Perkins, were given a year on the road for the same charge of dynamiting. In none of these cases was there any evidence of their guilt brought out. In one of the three cases a man who spends most of his time in prison was brought from the jail to testify against the boys. On his evidence the boy was convicted. We want to undertake work to get all the three paroled, and in addition we want to make provisions for the families while the men are serving their terms.

Moore has no dependents so we need money to secure help in getting the boys out. Perkins has three small children. Styles has two. His wife has been blacklisted. The children are crying for bread. To take care of the families and get the boys paroled we must have \$350.00.

We realize that this is a bad time to ask for money, but we believe there are people who can spare a small amount to help these men and their families against whom the laws of the state have worked such injustice. People like A. J. Muste, Tom Tippett, Louise McLaren and others who know the situation have endorsed this appeal. Please send all contributions to: Marion Defense Committee, c/o Lawrence Hogan, Box 574, Marion, N. C.

LAWRENCE HOGAN.

Marion, N. C.

LITERATURE FOR FARMERS

Editor, The New Leader: Enclosed is one dollar for which send me as many copies of The New Leader for distribution among friends. Any issue will do. Hope to send you a remittance for another larger bundle of papers next week.

Would like to see you reprint the editorial to the farmers of three weeks ago. I want to send a large supply to farmers in the Middle West whom I know personally and who need the information contained in that editorial, "Fruit Crops Rotting Away in Orchards." I am a new subscriber and enjoy every department.

I believe if the Socialist National Committee moves to Washington, D. C., it will get better publicity than in Chicago newspapers.

A READER.

Washington, D. C. The editorial mentioned above has not been reprinted but another from page editorial addressed to the farmers has been reprinted by the National Office of the Socialist party. It is entitled, "Farmers! Your Enemy is Capitalism." It can be obtained cheaply in lots of a hundred or more. Address the National Office at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.—Editor

A Thrilling Socialist Tableau

Inspiring Spectacle at Vienna Depicted Struggles of Workingclass to Final Victory

By Esther Friedman

THE largest stadium in Europe has been built recently by the Vienna municipality to promote the enjoyment and progress of physical culture especially among young workers. The "Stadion," as this all inclusive athletic field is called, cost the city about 30,000,000 shillings (\$1,500,000). This expenditure also covers the cost of reclaiming a large tract of wasteland upon a portion of which the Stadion has been built.

Beside the stadium there is a large swimming pool which holds first place in size and equipment in a city famous for its many baths. There are tennis and golf courts, all kinds of race tracks and practice fields. In short the Stadion is said to be the most comprehensive sports field in the world. It was therefore quite fitting that the grand opening of this newest of Vienna's many remarkable public service achievements should be occasioned by the international meet of the Second International Arbeiter Olympiade.

On the evening of July 26 at 7 o'clock, the delegates to the Labor and Socialist International arrived as scheduled. It seemed not at all like evening. The sun shone as though the day were young. The big sky was a baby-blue spotted with dainty power puffs. Across the broad field the benches filled up with bright blue blouses and red ties of thousands of boys and girls. Hundreds of tall red flags waved high up on the rim of the giant bowl like sentinels on guard. Beyond for background showed the tops of green trees. The scene was an eye full.

For many months 5,000 Viennese young men and women had trained and drilled to produce the festspiel—a manifestation of the new labor culture growing up in European Socialist communities embodying the physical culture and spiritual oneness of Socialism.

The stadium soon filled to its capacity—60,000 seats and about 20,000 standing space. It was a stupendous crowd of happy people chatting gayly in a medley of tongues.

In the center of the vast green field a tall square structure enveloped in dark blue was being erected.

At last the show begins. Out from the ends of the field come peasants in gay dress with work-tops in hand. Then blacksmiths,

tailors and all sorts of workers dressed in a riot of bright colors. They sing as they work, swaying in graceful, rhythmic movements expressing joy in their craftsmanship. The harmony of movement and song is exquisite.

Out from the distance little children come dancing and singing, laughing and leaping toward the center. After some time they are infused and lost in the motion and music of their elders.

Song subsides as glaucous dressed workers fade out. Dull blues and browns fill the scene. From above the tall blue structure in the center rises a monster face. It is God Capitalism. In harsh commanding tones he orders the mass of workers to "speed up! speed up!" It is God's will, he says, that they toil and earn their bread (and his cake) in the sweat of their brow.

There is no more song. There is no more color. The tired bodies of the working masses swing and sway, pull and push to the driving beat of the machine in the big blue House of Capitalism.

The sharp commanding tones of the Moloch rend the air again—"Suffer little children to come unto me!" They come—and suffer. From the ends of the field the children come—in droves—dressed meanly. They neither sing nor dance, laugh nor leap. Joylessly they take their place in the gangs of labor and are lost in the dull swing and sway, pull and push of deadly toil to the time beat of the machine in the big blue House of Capitalism.

Then comes a war. From the high throne God Capitalism commands: "It is your supreme duty to God and Country to go out to kill other mothers' sons to make the world safe for democracy!"

The dull souls awake. They march away to war.

Next scene—an unforgettable realistic battle. Guns crack! Cannons roar! Fire! Fire! and night is lowering. Through clouds of smoke bands of men run pell-mell—scream! shoot! drop! Run back again! pick up a fallen comrade! Guns crack! cannons roar! men scream! kill! kill! kill! kill! kill!

The shooting ceases. The dead are removed. The smoke lifts. The war is ended.

The workers return—those that

do. Some limp, some blind, some diseased. Spirit all gone—and back to the grind. From his throne Great God Capitalism prods them on. "Produce more! Produce more! You'll get your pie by and by in the sky!"

The workers swing and sway, pull and push, keeping time in their weary grind with the rhythm of the machine in the big blue House of Capitalism.

Here—then there, a woman sinks to the ground. "It is God's divine will that ye toil for the poor ye shall always have with you!"

Another—then another woman falls.

Commotion! Some one calls "strike!" Workers drop hands. A cluster of men in far corner raise a red flag—beckon fellow workers to join. Some move forward.

Alarm!! Great God Capitalism roars out his rage and his threats!

Workers terrified—hesitate—slink back, back, back. Sirens shriek! Drums beat! Soldiers rush forward with guns fixed—surround small band of strikers—beat them down, trample red flag, drag them away to jail. Workers look on stunned—fearful. Court martial! "Fire!" Strikers drop dead. Workers groan. In despair they sink back to the grind—wearily, painful monotonous grind, keeping time, like a harrowing rhyme to the beat of the machine in the big blue House of Capitalism.

As from the heavens, a voice rings out! A clear, strong voice. A woman's clear strong voice. Her name is Will-to-Live. She calls loud and clear—"Workers—Organize! You have power!" The wan, weary faces turn up toward the voice. They disbelieve and turn back to the swing and sway, the pull and push, to the tune of the machine in the big blue House of Capitalism.

Again Will-to-Live calls in her clear, strong voice: "Workers, Organize! You have power! Break your chains! You can build a new world without bondage, without hunger, without capitalism!"

The wan faces look up again—listen wistfully. Great God Capitalism hears the voice. In terrified tones he belches forth his

threats of destruction. The workers are cowed again—and turn back to the grind.

But Will-to-Live can be silenced no more. Again she calls, stronger and louder: "Workers, organize! Use your power! Break your chains! For your children's sake, wipe out capitalism! For your children's sake, clear the way for Socialism!"

Night has now descended. Dimly the mass of workers are seen moving as one toward the big, blue House of Capitalism.

From out the dark distance singing is heard. Girls in flowing white come bearing lighted torches. They come dancing, holding their torches high to light the way. They come from many corners in gay colors. They come in hosts, singing, dancing, forming fantastic figures—boys and girls, men and women!

The field is now ablaze with thousands of burning lights. The field looks like a whirling planet radiant as the living sun, lighting up the tense, excited faces of 80,000 breathless, speechless, gasping spectators—Socialists all.

The songs of freedom ring out louder and louder as the big blue House of Capitalism is being

transformed into the red House of Socialism. From the balconies and roofs the happy builders of the new order are waving a sea of great red banners from all lands and from the throats of 80,000—Socialists all—comes thundering the song of songs—Die Internationale!

Tears! Tears! Real salt tears roll down many a battle-scarred cheek—comrades all! That torch-bearing happy singing throng poured out of that stadium a marvellous orderly phalanx of singing human beings. On through the Grand Allee, lined with stately old trees where once royalty rode rough-shod in grandeur over the people's necks! As in a fairy tale the parade grew and swelled at every turn. Bands of music lay waiting under low-branching trees and tripped, all set into line.

Great crowds—and Socialists from many lands—all got in behind, singing lustily, keeping time with the bands and the tramp of young feet till the marching hosts swelled to 200,000.

Down the popular Prater we marched and sang! Across the Eweden Brucke, around the famous Ring, and up to that magnificent Gothic Town Hall where comrades are making dreams come true.

B'ville Labor Lyceum Dinner To Mark 20th Anniversary

On Saturday, October 10, the members of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Association and friends of that institution will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the house of the people in that section of Brooklyn.

When the progressive workers of that community look back upon the years of activity that were centered in that house they have good reason for celebrating.

Many strenuous campaigns, some ending in victory and some in defeat, were conducted in the Lyceum. It was from that institution that the first Socialist Assemblyman was elected in the greater city. It was in the Lyceum where the strikes of the tailors, bakers, painters, carpenters and the workers of many other trades were conducted. It was the Lyceum where the Socialist Consumers League carried on its brave food

strikes and rent strikes. It was there too that the Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville was first organized.

And today, in spite of the depression that has hit that section of the city probably the hardest, the Lyceum is still the center and bee hive of activity of the unions, the Y. P. S. L., the Socialist party and the Workmen's Circle.

The event will be celebrated by a banquet and concert. Tickets are \$2.25 and may be reserved at the Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, or by calling Dickens 2-3237.

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.

Fake Liberalism or Real Socialism?

NOW and then, like all the rest of us, I come across some anti-Socialist bleat in the capitalist press which cries aloud for answer. And while I am not any "Pro Bono Publico" or "Friend of Justice," I will admit that I do sit down and attempt to present a Socialist view, (merely as an individual member of the party, of course,) on the subject under discussion.

Last week Walter Lippmann—and most of you boys and girls will recognize that name—started in to write four columns a week for that palladium of standpatism, the New York Herald-Tribune. There was much trumpeting on the part of the Tribune's advertising staff over the acquisition of Walter, and we were all assured that here was an "independent" journalistic "Adventure in Liberalism." Walter was to give the white collar boys, the golf-playing commuters, and the big bow-wow bankers hot shots of modern liberalism.

After one column in which he said that, all things considered, we should all consider the international as well as the domestic scene, Walter launched in to a panegyric of Ramsay MacDonald, lauding his "patriotism" in deserting the Labor Party, presently as the intemperance who write the Herald-Tribune's editorial columns have been doing since MacDonald's fatal step was taken.

Now here was an obvious opportunity for any Socialist publicist to point out the essential hypocrisy of the Lippmann brand of liberalism, and I took it in the following letter:

"A Socialist's Wrath

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Now comes Walter Lippmann to join with bankers, Tories, reactionaries, labor baiters, defenders of the status quo the world over in praise of the "patriotism" of Ramsay MacDonald. To this estate has Liberalism fallen, that it praises the lost leader of a cause desperately needing leadership, and a cause, by the way, to which Mr. Lippmann himself once rendered valuable service.

If it is patriotism to make no gesture whatsoever toward the establishment of a social order to the furthering of which one has made public claim, if it is patriotism to refuse to do battle with one's open enemy and the enemies of the class from whose ranks one has risen, and by whose sacrifices one was put into power, if, in short, it is patriotic to betray every iota of Socialist integrity which one has brought to the Scotch Presbyterian pedagogical out of his proletarian obscurity, then the patriotism of MacDonald chimes beautifully with Dr. Johnson's famous definition. If here indeed is MacDonald's "last refuge," then Socialists the world over, remembering his past services, may wish him what comfort he may find in its fantastic environs. But that self-styled American liberals should find any words of praise for such black treachery is fresh evidence (though indeed no new evidence is needed) of the bankruptcy of their cause.

MALISTER COLEMAN.

New York, Sept. 10, 1931.

To my great astonishment, I now find that Comrade Edmund Seidel, (writing as a "party Socialist" to the Herald-Tribune on September 12th last, and giving his title, "Former Senator 22d District New York State,") enthusiastically endorses Lippmann.

Comrade Seidel says, "Inasmuch as our friend McAlister Coleman, a party Socialist, has registered his emphatic dissent with Walter Lippmann on Ramsay MacDonald in your columns, permit me also, as a party Socialist, to express my fullest endorsement of Mr. Lippmann's article on MacDonald, especially the laudatory part of it. Mr. Lippmann's appraisal there is mine unreservedly."

With a great deal of gusto the Republican rag headed Comrade Seidel's article "One Socialist Party Man Differs with Another."

I have no desire to conduct a debate with another Socialist in the columns of a capitalist newspaper. I have, however, a deep disgust with the attitude which "our friend," Edmund Seidel and a small minority of his contemporaries have assumed towards this vital question of compromising Socialist philosophy and tactics. An unsigned paragraph which appeared last week in the New Leader is indication of the inferiority complex which grips many American Socialists whenever they discuss the policies of foreign comrades. This paragraph says:

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

I am here to say, as forcibly and bluntly as I can, that if our internationalism has petered out into this cringing position where we are forbidden to denounce traitors to our cause, (and by the way you will note that it was Morris Hillquit, not I, who first coupled MacDonald's name with the word "treachery") then we might as well here and now quit pretending that we are any part of a world-wide movement. And accepting the beautiful simile of the flea on the hair of the tail of the dog, we will continue a futile hopping about until we are scratched off altogether.

Is there any wonder that there is a constantly swelling demand on the part of the rank and file of our party for a militant policy of "Socialism in our time"? What are we here for, after all? To prop up the collapsing roof of capitalism or to clear out all that rotten rubbish and build a structure after our own planning and our own hearts? The issue to me seems clear cut. Endorsement of Ramsay MacDonald's desertion of the rank and file of our British comrades is, in my opinion, tantamount to surrender of all Socialist integrity. MacDonald had his choice. It lay between the temporary bolstering of the pound sterling, made at the command of international bankers, or holding to the Socialist line. He chose the former, and today of all our lost leaders he is among the most tragic. Those who follow him into the limbo of "Liberalism" should have at least the grace to give up their Socialist pretensions as they drift out of the picture.

—McAlister Coleman, as he held

From Our Foreign Correspondents

Germany And The International

Socialist Parties Ignore National Interests in Favor of Beleaguered German Workers

By Emil Vandervelde
(President of the Socialist International)

BRUSSELS, in August.

THE only thing interesting in France and Belgium during the month just ended was foreign policy. The governments went to the Conference of London. The Socialists sent big delegations to the Vienna Congress of the Socialist International. Besides, in Vienna, as in London, the main worry was the German crisis and its possible repercussions in the rest of Europe. The signed cat avoided the fire. It seems that the failure of the occupation of the Ruhr and the experience of the inflation of the currency in Germany in 1923, followed at once by the sharp fall of the franc in Belgium and France, may have made the responsible statesmen do a little salutary thinking and given them an idea of the interdependence, of the solidarity of the capitalist national economies.

The French Socialists

At all events, M. Hyman in Belgium and M. Briand and Laval in France, face to face with an imperiled Germany, have displayed a certain amount of good-will which, no doubt, would have had more tangible results if it hadn't been secretly opposed by the Tardieu, the Maginot and the detestable Nationalist French press. We never know if these papers are obeying instructions from the Quai d'Orsay (the French Foreign Ministry), or if they are trying, on the other hand, to put moral pressure upon the diplomats and Ministers.

As for the Belgian and French Socialists, at Vienna and after Vienna, they were dominated and continue to be dominated by the single idea of doing their international duty, of standing unreservedly by the endangered German people, of using all their influence to bring about mutual international help so as to save

Germany from a catastrophe which would be the catastrophe of all Central Europe.

When we were in Vienna the outlook was especially bad. The Conference of London, in appearance at least, had blown up. People were anxiously wondering what was going to happen when the temporary moratorium declared by Germany to halt the flight of capital came to an end. And there also was a feeling of uneasiness, which in some cases resembled anguish, about the possible result of the Stahelm plebiscite demanding the dissolution of the Prussian Diet. One of our German comrades, for example, said to us: "Leon Blum (French Socialist leader) is a pessimist on Germany from the economic point of view. For my part, I am more of a pessimist from the political point of view."

The Tension Relaxed

Today, nevertheless, the tension has relaxed. The drastic measures adopted by the Bruening government and the Reichsbank have at least put an end to the panic. The Prussian plebiscite of August 9 resulted in a severe set-back for Hugenberg's Nationalists and Hitler's "Nazis." The People's party, the political expression of the main German industrialists, split on the question. The great bulk of the Communists—about 80 per cent, it seems—disgusted with the monstrous alliance with the extreme reactionaries proposed to them, didn't go to the polls at all. The coalition State government, headed by Otto Braun, a Socialist, with Karl Severing, another Socialist, as Minister of the Interior, has been consolidated. The day hasn't arrived when Prussia, the strongest rampart of the German Republic for a dozen years, is going to give itself up to the Nationalist reaction, or,

rather, to anarchy, because a victory of the Nazis and the Communists would be followed at once by a merciless battle between the victors.

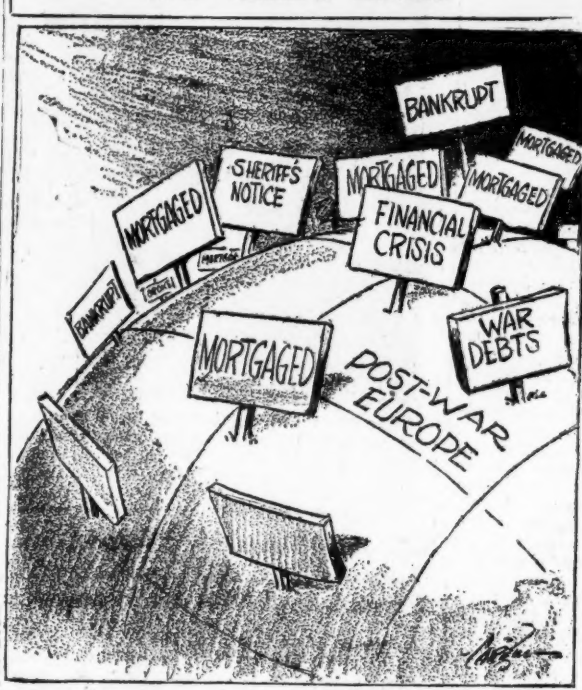
Does this mean that it is out of danger, that the republic has been affirmed for good and all, that the Social Democrats are at the end of their troubles?

Certainly not. The crisis is still on and it is more serious than in the rest of the world. It looks like

a hard winter. It is possible that the number of unemployed workers, at present more than 4,000,000, may reach six or seven million. And, in such a case, what will be the result of the election of the Prussian Diet next spring?

Therefore, it is more imperative than ever that Germany receive help and, at the Vienna Congress, the French and Belgian Socialists were by no means the last to say so.

No Man's Land



"Lining Up With Germany"

And so, when they returned home, they were assailed by a hail of slanders and insults from the Nationalists. The 100 per centists said, in effect:

"The whole International is at the service of Germany. The Belgian and French Socialists submit without protest, to the hegemony of the German Social Democrats. When there is a clash of interests between their countries and Germany, they invariably line up on the German side."

And to tell the truth, it may look at the first glance as if there is a grain of fact in such reproaches.

When it is a question of reparations, of disarmament, of treaty revision, of the rights of minorities, the views of the International often coincide with those of the Germans.

But how could it be otherwise? Socialism, just because it is Socialism, always ought to be for the underdog, for the weaker, for the vanquished.

In 1871, when France was being subjected to the iron law of the conqueror, the International issued manifestos defending France and, in Germany, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht went to prison for having protested against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.

Today Germany is suffering under the law of the stronger and, therefore, it is quite natural for the International to demand on Germany's behalf the redressing of grievances which it has found well grounded.

Let the bourgeoisie continue to shout, "Right or wrong, my country!"

It is the glory of Socialism, on the contrary, deliberately to place the general interest of all the workers, regardless of frontiers, above the interests of national particularism.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The Struggle Against Superstition For Truth

A Fighter Tells His Story

By Clarence Darrow

FIFTY YEARS OF FREE THOUGHT (George E. MacDonald. The Truthseeker, in which Mr. MacDonald tells of the struggles in America against superstition for the past fifty years, will be interesting to many men and women. It contains the story of constant progress in the realm of human thought. The author has been connected with The Truth Seeker, a consistent Free-thought paper, for more than fifty years. The work tells in a straightforward and simple manner the story of Free Thought, mainly in the United States. Many of the struggles for religious freedom in America, especially in the early days, are exceedingly interesting, and the friends of Free-thought are fortunate that a man like Mr. MacDonald has been willing to spend the time and care in writing the story.

From humble beginnings the movement in this country as well as the world at large has had an enormous growth. Within the memory of many living men the story of creation as told by the Old Testament and the New were the literal work of the Almighty. God wrote it with his own hand. The punctuation marks were about the only portions subject to doubt. Every part of the holy book was of equal worth. Not only was the whole story inspired, but the translations as well. There was no difficulty in believing every miracle. All the evil in the world came from Adam and Eve's eating of the apple of the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden. Few doubted that all the women of the earth who suffered the pains of childbirth were tortured because Eve handed the apple to Adam. The serpent and Balaam's ass talked with human beings. The only question raised was as to whether they spoke in Hebrew. The story of the flood was true. Joshua made the sun stand still while he finished the carnival of slaughter. Jesus had no human father; he cured all ills by driving the devils out of the afflicted and into hogs. Jesus fed the multitude with five loaves and two fishes. When he was born a star led the camels and their riders across the desert and stopped at a stable. The author, of course, thought that the stars were sticking in the firmament just above the earth. Now we know that they are billions of miles away and that if one should come near the earth our planet would be instantly converted into vapor.

These stories were taught in nearly all homes and in practically all the churches. Heaven and Hell were both fixed places for the lost leaders he is among the most tragic. Those who follow him into the limbo of "Liberalism" should have at least the grace to give up their Socialist pretensions as they drift out of the picture.

—McAlister Coleman, as he held



CLARENCE DARROW

If either abode is mentioned, no information is given about these mythical realms. Many of the churches are now liberal and aggressive. In many of the cities there are churches that have maintained their names but are the headquarters of doubt and the interpreters of scientific thought. Many of them openly deny miracles, but some "liberal preachers" have tears in their voices when they speak of Jesus.

It is only seventy years since Charles Darwin published his first book. It was everywhere met with ridicule and abuse. No one then questioned but that it took away the foundations of religion. In that short length of time the whole scientific world has accepted his conclusion and his theory of evolution is taught in every school worthy of the name. Amongst the intelligent people of the world it is almost as well established as the once heretical doctrine that the earth is round. It is well to take a look at the story of the privation and suffering of the early apostles of freedom and science who at great risks and dire privations went up and down the world seeking to emancipate the human mind. It is well for us to remember these men and women who made it safe for us to think. The world owes an enormous debt to the fighters for human freedom, and we cannot suffer their names to be forgotten now that we are reaping the fruits of their devotion and intelligence.

The author, George E. MacDonald, is not a college man, but he is an educated man. He has read good books all his life. He has read them without fear and with a full understanding. As a writer he has always been loyal to the truth as he understood it. He has clung to this ideal in spite of all handicaps, disapproval and danger. He has been a valiant soldier for human liberties. He tells the story well. I want especially to commend his literary style. It

is simple and direct. It is never obscure or clouded. He writes to be understood. No words are wasted or used only to adorn. His history is absorbing throughout, and everyone who reads it will realize that he is reading the words of an honest man who believes that disloyalty to truth is the highest sin. The possibility of lying never enters his head. It is a plain and interesting story told by a man who has lived a plain life and has written for the sake of telling the truth and nothing else. I commend this rare production to all who want to know something about the struggle for truth and freedom in America and the devoted men who made it.

The Early Republicans

AMERICAN politics during the period of the slave power provides an interesting study for those who are interested in economic history. There were many factors involved, economic, geographic, religious, immigration, the frontier and political ambitions that it is not an easy task to unravel the tangled skein. A recent book by Andrew Wallace Crandall, Ph.D., ("The Early History of the Republican Party," Boston. Richard G. Badger, \$3), as its title implies, is devoted to a very narrow field. It is an intensive study of a mass of sources out of which emerges the Republican machine to serve great business enterprise.

The religious factor, of course, includes the rise of the Know-nothings who in turn gave rise to the Know-somethings, the latter acquiring sufficient importance to hold a national convention. The story of how the Know-nothings who had kept the slavery issue in the background only to have that issue split the party when it appeared to be on the eve of controlling the national government is an old one, but the author presents it more in detail than any other writer.

If Know-nothings kept slavery back of the curtain, it is amusing to note how in the early history of the Republican Party the latter organization kept the tariff as an issue in the basement although the manufacturing section of the East was eager to be nursed by tariff duties. Other amusing aspects of the struggle are mentioned. For example, Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for President in 1856 was troubled "by being one thing to the North and another thing to the South" while Fremont, the Republican candidate, "was forced to use tact in being nothing to either the Americans or the foreign born." The Hoovers and the Smiths will read this study with sympathy for their early political kin.

One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the Economics of Slavery, the Morals of Slavery, and the Political Influence of Slavery. It is here that the reader learns of what Seward called the "irrepressible conflict," the

struggle between two social orders, each to maintain itself under the and the flow of the many little streams which gathered mighty force as they were joined together. The author has followed his theme same government. It was impossible. The conflict of interests flower into every phase of American life, North and South. Compromises had been worked out by the politicians at Washington, which remind us of men engaged in building dams to hold back an irresistible flood. Northern capitalism was the flood. In the South the ruling class had discouraged capitalist enterprise but it was rising across the slave system's Northern frontier and it was certain in the course of time to wash out the foundations supporting slave property.

This book considers the source in detail and especially in the various state elections. As a doctor's thesis it may not be widely read but it certainly will be consulted by those who are interested in the six year period when the Republican Party rose to power.

JAMES ONEAL.

Sinclair on Prohibition

IN the 431 pages of The Wet Parade, (Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50), Upton Sinclair takes the liquor problem for a ride and that ride is no mere jaunt. It is just the kind of job for which Sinclair is fitted. His zeal burns as brightly as when he wrote The Jungle and Oil. His writing flows along in the finished manner that we have come to expect from American's leading crusader-novelist.

Sinclair's concern with the rottenness connected with the liquor traffic does not stop with the emotional exhortations of the workers, sentimental and professional. The wet parade passes by but not for a moment is the onlooker permitted to overlook the economic and political forces that set and keep it in motion. The connection between liquor and profit, and liquor, is always kept in view. Not along the little graffer and racketeers but the respectable are in the picture. Harding, Daugherty, Coudage, Hoover and other "statesmen" taking orders from the interests back of the liquor traffic, not overlooking the biggest distiller of them all, Andrew Mellon. Corruption everywhere: the courts, police, federal agents and political parties. Everywhere and always—profits.

Throughout the book there are sharply etched pictures of the American scene. The big manufacturers interested in prohibition—for the working class, the old formula of "Wein, Weib und Gesang" translated into "Gin, James and jazz," the posturings of sophisticated authors, critics,—brave social rebels of personal liberty—the liberty to break the law that law-makers and officers do not want enforced. Incidentally Sinclair calls attention to the fact that these belly-aching literary log-rollers never raise the banner

of defiance when workers' rights are assailed.

In the picture Sinclair presents are all the groups affected by the liquor habit and traffic, from saloon days onward. All the bowlers and bowlers are there, making of booze and what passes for it, a more important subject than bread. They are never lost sight of in the drama and tragedy of The Wet Parade. Especially well is the truth brought out that the celebrants of personal liberty trample on the rights of the non-drinkers and the temperate. However, the implied remedy, as offered by an emotional and eloquent prohibitionist, viz., education plus the methods of Carrie Nation, fails to carry conviction; especially after the indictment Sinclair has drawn up.

It is likely that Sinclair will receive a panning from some of the critics (?) who select the books we should read from the thousands submitted for their infallible judgment. It is also probable that their judgments will be forgotten long before The Wet Parade ceases to be read as a sincere contribution to an understanding of an evil that has its roots in an economic system that has become the most deeply entrenched racket in all history.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

Organizational Success In Czechoslovakia

The secretariat of the Czechoslovakia Social-Democratic Labor party reports that the party has over 180,000 members and that despite the crisis it can show an average monthly increase of 1,830 and in local branches of 54. The party has 4,623 local branches which is only 123 less than it had prior to the Communist split in 1920. At that time the party was very seriously affected.

In recent times the Communists suffer great losses at the works councils elections, despite the industrial crisis. In Prague and the surrounding districts the fight with the Communists is also carried on very successfully as regards the cooperative societies. The new cooperative society "Rovnost," which was founded for the Social-Democratic members who had been expelled from the societies directed by the Communists, has opened 21 branches within a few weeks and 16 more are being fitted up.

UPTON SINCLAIR'S greatest novel The WET PARADE

Just published, \$2.50
FARRAR & RINEHART
Publishers, 9 East 41st Street, New York

The Chatterbox

MORRIS GISNET, Socialist, lawyer and author writes a book yclept "A Lawyer tells the Truth," the militant youth of the party holds an unofficial conference at Camp Eden, and I make a "bull in the china shop" speech in which lawyers, labor leaders and certain party organizations are excoriated in raw and indiscreet manner. In the latter instance I receive delicious back-patting from the rip-roaring radicals, but the lawyers present snap back and howl at me out of court as stupid and criminally crazy, the labor leaders slug me with verbal blackjacks, and the employees of the party organizations attack let me down with a delicate allusion from Gorki's "Lower Depths," in which a fool enters to interrupt a good song.

And out of these queerly related instances a column is about to be written. And in keeping with my newly made resolves the writing must contain propaganda value, as well as impersonal content. The task is difficult enough to tempt my two index fingers as they poke over the type keys.

I had just finished Comrade Gisnet's remarkable treatise on his own profession when reminder came that the next day expected me to be at Cold Spring, N. Y. . . . I drove a car packed full of family and comrades and Jean Jacques Corneil for the full fifty miles to a peculiar rhythm of thought about lawyers under capitalism. It was particularly hard for me to keep on the regular road. Always I was tempted to seek little side roads, hidden turns and corkscrew twists along gullies and through curious vales.

When we arrived at Ossining, certain conclusions from the book about lawyers gave an unconscious direction to the steering post, and before I was fully aware, we were almost at the gates of Sing Sing Prison. . . . Jean Jacques boomed out a threat to punch somebody in the nose, and I awoke to reality. I turned about and got back on the right road again.

Small wonder then that all the afternoon of conference talk on international relations, lawyers kept doing implish things to my anemic brain. Evening came and my turn to speak came with it. Like the cannon in Tennyson's galloping tale of the famous Six Hundred, lawyers flanked, stalked and encircled me on all sides. The spirit of "A Lawyer Tells the Truth" impelled my predetermined resolve to speak temperately into a shout; against old gods and new idolatries. To sum it all up in a phrase, I held forth the strange concept that lawyers, trained as they are to-day in capitalist procedure, are not especially fit to lead a workingclass into a worker's political party.

Incidentally, my suggestion was that we re-dedicate ourselves to an idealism such as built up the labor movement in the early years, spend less time in attempting to revive to life a trade union movement that is dying of incurable disease, and devote most of our energies in teaching the unorganized millions the facts and hope in our philosophy with especial stress on industrial as well as political unity.

When I opened up on the glaring human weaknesses that prosperity had developed in the workers and their leaders, and held forth on how some of our most influential allies had succumbed, much interruption and heckling ensued. Strange to say however, the lawyers retained their sufficiency long after my words were dead sound. In fact two days later at a New Leader Board meeting one of the comrades announced to a highly amused group that my talk was the loudest and most stupid of all at the conference. I admit being taken aback for the moment. Second thought however brought forth the light that my jolly critic was a lawyer.

And so to continue on the book on lawyers by a lawyer, would it be too crude at this time to request that all our good legal experts in and out of the movement spend a night or so away from the movies or despair and imbue themselves with its clarifying content.

When a system like capitalism starts to topple and veer about crazily over its decayed foundation everything that lives within or clings to it is definitely in the circle of its ultimate flop. Lawyers are particularly affected. The merging, big business mania has done for them what it has accomplished for the mental storekeepers.

Title companies, big bank trust departments and casualty insurance companies have taken away the bread that once could be earned so creditably over real estate sales, inheritance matters, and accident claims. Even criminal and divorce work has been trifled by racketeer lords, bail bond bandits and private detective agencies.

What then is left for the young aspiring Webster or Portia? A narrow field, fearfully packed, fenced by "shysterism" on one side and starvation on the other. Let us not wonder then that the average lawyer must develop the lower traits of human conduct and ethics. Shrewdness, twisting and turning through crevasses and smuggler's secret passages in thought and scheme, a highly sensitive distrust and a certain faith in uncertainty.

Every day the lawyer is called upon to protect dishonest business clients from other dishonest men or from a wholly dishonest judicial and prosecuting governmental agency. Every day he wallows in a sty-mire of human iniquities ranging from petty theft to abnormal viciousness. Death, sickness, treachery, murder, incest, blackmail, vice and bestiality of every degree hold his moments of conscious growth in ugly thrallhold. Even those of them who are Socialists and idealists, who fight in labor's battles are thrown into disillusioning contact with unconscionable bossism and brutal police methods. Certainly with corrupt justice. And when through the mists and storm, treachery appears among labor leaders and their organizations, it is quite logical that a hardness and a destructive cynicism displace the softness and the bright dream for service in a high cause.

Much of this is included and all of this is inferred by Comrade Gisnet's trenchant pen.

So it is not with any divinely gifted intuition of my own that I decide the general unfitness of lawyers to lead and inspire a movement in which so much of unselfish faith and dream is required. By the very nature of their work, lawyers must be shrewdly careful of everything they write down or say before witnesses. The shadow of Contracts is on them and the dead hand of a hundred thousand judgments because of faulty phrases and words entirely too clear in meaning holds back every tendency to frank expression and definite direction. The memory of a million settlements with satisfactory fees paid for ever unsatisfactory compromises has its stupefying effect on their conduct. All this and the terrible training that every lawyer undergoes in a profession that lives mainly from human suffering, sorrow, distress and destruction where fees come only when someone is disabled, or murdered, or in domestic mess, where theft, vice and crime are great sources of ultimate income. . . . sure legends against their general unfitness to lead mankind into a land of peace, laughter, plenty and genuine justice. Exceptions there are of course great and rare. But I speak now of a class, and no name or person comes to my thought in singular or even plural instance. And with the old Carl Sandburg, I too, make wonderment on why a horse snickers when he draws a lawyer's bones to the grave. . . .

—S. A. de Witt.

Apollo Holds the Best of the "Scandals"

Makes Talking Picture Debut in New Screen Operetta at the Europa Theatre



Kueth Dorsch, popular German musical comedy star, has the leading feminine role in "Die Lindenwirth von Rhein" ("The Inn at the Rhine") the new German Screen operetta which is to have its America premiere at the Europa Theatre on Wed., Sept. 23rd.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

A RICH REVUE

"GEORGE WHITE'S SCANDALS," Sketches by George White, Lew Brown and Irving Caesar. Songs by Lew Brown and Ray Henderson. Eleventh edition. At the Apollo.

"LAST the best" is a saying that fits the new Scandals, for in wit, speed, music, dancing, scenic effects, and general gaiety, it exceeds all its forerunners. Rudy Valley and Everett Marshall (out of grand opera) bring the heavy music most effectively. Vallee does, among other good things, a representation of Chevalier that wins the house; Marshall sings several songs in his excellent baritone. Ray Bolger does the snappy stepping and his humorous dancing makes wild tapping along the stage. And Willie and Eugene Howard bring unending comedy to ripple and flow through the episodes of the evening.

The opening curtain is an excellent up-sweep of the Empire State Building, with comic catch at "our Al." "Love" comes in for considerable treatment, from Adam and Eve to the modern methods of going to bed with your bride (if that's what she is), including peanuts—all gay if at times (most times) naughty foolery. "The Pedestrian" applying for a walker's license, the "Daily Reflector" newspaper skit—that kills Walter Winchell—and "Pay the Two Dollars" are among the swift comic bits. But it seems to me that the current Scandals excels, not so much in its individual numbers, as in the rhythmic movement that carries it on, from individual singing to quadruplet dancing to beautiful chorus displayed—a sort of unity in mood and movement that binds the revue together, and makes it no mere succession of rapid skits, but an organic and delightful whole.

STILL HITTING THE MARK
"SHOOT THE WORKS," Heywood Broun's cooperative revue. At the Cohan.

What with new "visiting artists" almost every night Heywood Broun, Johnny Boyle, and the rest of the merry crowd of "Shoot the Works" continue to display good marksmanship. Heywood is always his genial, companionable self, inviting the men to take off their jackets and the ladies anything they please—with his "Broun for Alderman" sign still a tail-piece to the first act finale. "There'll be pie in the sky by and by."

As They Will Appear on the Hipp Screen



Dorothy Sebastian and Bill Boyd in "The Big Gamble" which has its first Metropolitan showing at the Hipp to-day. A big vaudeville program completes the bill.

"Rubicon," Made in the USSR, Has Its First American Showing at the Cameo Theatre

Life in Russia today, and the working out of the great Soviet plan, form the background for an intensely interesting and highly enlightening film, "Rubicon," produced in Russia with English titles, and is now showing at the Cameo Theatre.

The story concerns a likable English stoker, whose only thought of port after the grinding hours in the steaming hold, is the waterfront saloon and the boisterous dives it harbors. Weathering a strike in safety, it takes a drunken brawl with his boatswain to break him. His superior is sober enough to report insubordination, and our English lad is fired, with so bad a reputation that a blacklisting automatically results.

After months of unjust punishment a Soviet lumber steamer comes to port, short a stoker, and Bill ships. At their port of call, Leningrad, everything is new to Bill, who as he meets a sailor acquaintance, suggests a bust in a saloon. To his surprise, Russia has done away with these traps, and Bill is led to a club that takes its place—clean and wholesome, with games to play, etc.

His acceptance of his new life, his freedom from the curses and menaces he had known, soon bring him a factory job, promotion, and true happiness.

"Fifty Fathoms Deep" Brings Jack Holt and Fine Cast to Both the Mayfair and the Albee

"Fifty Fathoms Deep," Columbia's thriller of the seas featuring Jack Holt, Richard Cromwell and Loretta Sayers, is this week's attraction at the RKO Mayfair and the RKO Albee Theatres.

The story, an original by Dorothy Howell, presents a stirring romance: Tim Burke and Pinky Caldwell, deep sea divers, are more than friends and buddies. Tim had practically raised Pinky, and trained him in diving. Pinky, while Tim was on a special assignment, marries, just a few days before he relieves Tim on the job, asking him to drop in and see his wife. The latter, however, after a few days with Pinky, is just dying for the old life, that of a gold-digger and worse, and as the door closes on her husband, she is packing for a night out.

Things begin to happen from then on, which makes this film thrilling and interesting. Prominent in the cast are Mary Doran and William MacDonell. Roy Wm. Neill directed.

Leo Kairoff at the B'klyn Paramount

Leo Kairoff, the well known Russian dramatic baritone who made a fine impression at the New York Paramount Theatre during the week just passed, has been engaged to sing at the Brooklyn Paramount this week.

public fancy serve his ends. Amusing in its presentation of this, our national hero-mania, "The Man on Stilts" certainly deserves a longer run. Perhaps, revised and strengthened, it will come back in better days.

BROOKLYN

FOX
Janet GAYNOR
Charles FARRELL
in ISRAEL ZANGWILL'S great play
"Merely Mary Ann"
—ON THE STAGE—
FANCHON & MARCO'S
"Broken Dolls Idea"
Charles Bennington & Boys' Band
Happy Sam Jack Kaufman & Gang
Don & Don. Eddie Magill

As They Will Appear on the Hipp Screen

ERLANGER'S THEATRE, West 11th St. 12 WEEKS BEGINNING
Phone: PE 6-7083 Mon. Sept. 21
THE CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO. presents OSCAR STRAUS' Tunesful Operetta
The CHOCOLATE SOLDIER
with CHARLES PURCELL as "Lt. Bummerli"
Roy Cropper, Vivian Hart, Hal Forde,
Detmar Foppin, Vera Ross, Ann Carey
and VIVIANNE SEGAL as "Nadine"
POP. PRICES: Nights 50c to \$2.50; Wed. Mat. 50c POP. PRICES
Next Opera: "THE GEISHA" with JAMES T. POWERS & All Star Cast

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Giant Television
RADIO
ELECTRICAL
WORLD'S FAIR
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
DAILY 2 TO 11 P.M.
AFTERNOONS 50c EVENINGS 75c
OPENS MONDAY

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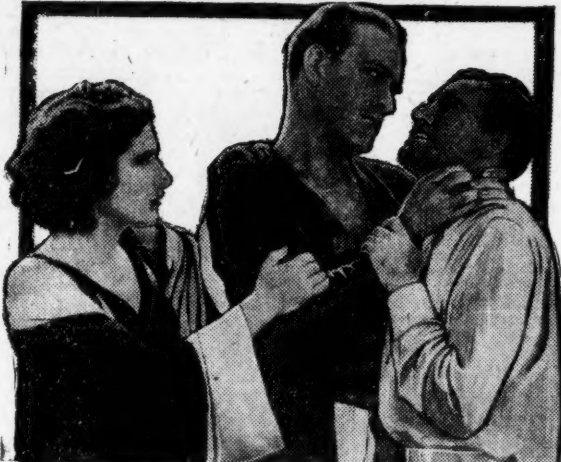
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In "Pagan Lady," Which Reopens B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre



Evelyn Brent, Conrad Nagel and Leslie Fenton as they appear in "Pagan Lady" which graces the screen at the Broadway theatre. Heading a big "Varieties" show is Joe E. Brown, who makes his return to the New York Stage after many years in the film capitol.

B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre Opens Today With "Varieties"; Joe E. Brown Heads Stage Revue; "Pagan Lady," With Evelyn Brent, on the Screen

Broadway revues at the top price of eighty-five cents. This, in substance, is the policy which will prevail at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre when the newly redecorated playhouse opens its season today with "Varieties," an original extravaganza.

Joe E. Brown, famous Broadway comedian and screen star, heads the list of luminaries for "Varieties."

"Presenting Broadway revues at really popular prices is a daring innovation and one which I hope will prove successful with discerning theatregoers," declared B. S. Moss, veteran showman, yesterday. "Theatre tickets have been priced too high for many years with the result that lovers of the legitimate theatre have been forced to other amusement channels for their entertainment. With my new policy I hope to win back a vast army of amusement seekers who can afford a popular scale for their Broadway theatrical fare."

"To sum it all up, 'Varieties' is an experiment in the revue form of entertainment which I have had in mind for several years. It is the first bold move to bring the legitimate theatre within reach of the masses."

An added feature, Mr. Moss stated, will be a first run talking picture with each revue performance. The premiere of "Varieties," therefore, will also mark the talking picture version of "Pagan Lady," the drama by William DuBois which served Lenore Ulrich as a starring vehicle on the Broadway stage last season.

"The fact that a talkie will be one of the feature attractions to

"Earl Carroll Vanities"
9th Edition—All New—with
WILL MAHONEY BOTH DENAHEST
Mitchell & Durant
Fifty Notable Principals and a
Company of 500 Featuring
75 of the most beautiful
girls in the world 75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Balc. 50c
MATINEES: Tues., Wed., Thurs. &
Sat. Entire Orch. \$2, Balc. 50c
SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT
BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL THEATRE, 7 Av.
& 20th St.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.
West of B'way.
Eves. 8:30, Pop. Mat. Wed. & Sat.
\$1 to \$3.

George White's Scandals
with
Rudy Ethel Willie & Eugene
Vallee Merman Howard
Everett Ray Gale
Marshall Bolger Quadruplets
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW
GIRLS ON THE STAGE

ASTOR 45th St. & B'way.
Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30
3 times Sun. & Hols. at 2-4-5-50.
Mat. (exc. Sat.) 50c to \$1. Eve. 50c to \$2.
Seats on sale at box office

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"Das Rheinlandmaedel" New German Film at the Little Carnegie, Has a Popular German Cast

Last Thursday a new German film had its American premiere at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, a modern, romantic piece called "Das Rheinlandmaedel" or "The Rhineland Girl." The picture is said to contain all of the elements which the Germans have a knack of combining so pleasingly and effectively in their films—melody, romance and good humor—and serves to introduce a new star to American audiences in the person of Gretl Berndt who essays the title role. The male lead in "Das Rheinlandmaedel" is played by Werner Fuetterer with the supporting cast including Trude Berliner, Lucy Englisch, Ilse Nast, Ernst Dernberg and Harry Frank. Johannes Meyer directed the picture, the story of which is laid in the city of Cologne and centers about student life at the University of Bonn located there. Many old Rhineland folk melodies, as well as modern tunes are said to be introduced.

Edward G. Robinson At Palace This Week

Edward G. Robinson has postponed his return to Hollywood to play an engagement at the RKO Palace Theatre, beginning today. The famous "gangster" of the screen is bidding farewell to the role of racketeer in his characterizations at the Palace, namely, Nick the Barber from "Smart Money" and Little Caesar from the picture of the same name.

Prior to his pyramiding success in gangster roles, Edward G. Robinson was recognized as one of Broadway's most versatile legitimate actors. During the sixteen years he spent in the theatre, he enacted roles in Pirandello, Shaw, Dostoevsky, Werfel, Molnar and Erenhoff successes. His last Broadway stage success was in the "Kibitzer," but the "talkies" proclaimed him a gangster type, and as such he built a fame that opened new avenues for him.

Greatest Show Value in America!
Opens Today, at Noon
B. S. Moss' VARIETIES
An intimate revue in 12 scenes, with a company of 50 people, starring
JOE E. BROWN
IN PERSON
ALBERTINA RASCH GIRLS
THE BROX SISTERS
THE MAXELLOWS
JACK PEPPER
ON THE SCREEN—First N.Y. Showing
PAGAN LADY
A Columbia Picture
from the Play that thrilled Broadway
with
EVELYN BRENT CONRAD NAGEL CHARLES BICKFORD
35c UNTIL After 8:30 Eve. 85c.
exc. Sat., Sun. & 1 P.M. Holidays
Continues 12 Noon to Midnight
Program Changed Weekly
THE NEW BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway at 53rd Street

NOW PLAYING
VANDERBILT
West 48th St., E. of B'way.
Continuous After
Friday 1 to 11 P.M.
AT POP. PRICES
KARAMAZOV
TOBIS Presents the
GERMAN TALKING PICTURE
Based on
DOSTOEVSKY'S
Immortal Novel with
FRITZ KORTNER
ANNA STEN & GREAT CAST

Alfred Lunt
Lynn Fontanne
in a pictorialization of their greatest stage success
The Guardsman
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's triumph
with ROLAND YOUNG, ZASU PITTS
From the play by FERENC MOLNAR
ASTOR 45th St. & B'way.
Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30
3 times Sun. & Hols. at 2-4-5-50.
Mat. (exc. Sat.) 50c to \$1. Eve. 50c to \$2.
Seats on sale at box office

Willy Forst
and **Betty Bird**
in UFA's
European Musical Hit
UFA Cosmopolitan Theatre
Broadway at 39th Street

Winnie Lightner
CHARLES BUTTERWORTH
A Scream Team in
SHOW STRAND
BROADWAY & 4TH STREET
5c to 1 P.M. Mon. to Fri.

4th Week
"THE DREYFUS CASE"
The epic story of the hero of Devil's Island
WARNER
BROADWAY at 52nd St.

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In the Newest Amkino Production at the RKO Cameo Theatre



Produced in the U. S. S. R. "Rubicon" has its first New York showing at the Cameo Theatre today. Above are shown two workers in a scene from the picture.

"A Student Song of Heidelberg" Stays On at the Cosmopolitan

One of UFA's great successes, "A Student Song of Heidelberg," which has been running for twenty months in Europe's leading picture houses, is now at the UFA-Cosmopolitan Theatre.

"Ein Burschenlied Aus Heidelberg" is a full-size musical comedy with the leading song hits by

Hans May. While the titles are in German, the principal feminine role, that of a young New York girl who has gone to Heidelberg to complete her education, including the learning of the language, makes the story easily comprehensible.

The principal feminine role is played by Betty Bird, and the picture marks her debut in sound films. The "Heidelberg" settings are all natural ones, with the Neckar River, Heidelberg Castle, the lower slopes of the Odenwald

"RUBICON"

Made in U. S. S. R.
His was the harsh and tragic life of the sea . . . until the new order of SOVIET RUSSIA brought him a fresh meaning in life . . . new ideals . . . new ambitions . . .

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

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NEW LEADER

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

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Published Every Saturday by the
New Leader Publishing Associa-
tion, People's House, 7 East 15th
Street, New York City.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One Year Postpaid in the United States \$5.00
Six Months Postpaid in the United States 3.00
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries 3.00

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

44 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1931

A Tale of One City

FOR many months *The New Leader* has been emphasizing the fact that next winter may bring with it a catastrophe in the matter of unemployment. In recent weeks this situation has dawned upon the ruling gentlemen at Washington as news dispatches in this period indicate. We again turn to it this week on the first page and urge the local party organizations to mobilize every party member who is not busy in other party work to undertake continuous and systematic distribution of party literature.

Since the first page article was written we have received information of the problem that faces a typical city in the Middle West, Peoria, Illinois. Peoria has a population of a little over 100,000. This city may serve as an index to what is happening in other cities of a similar size.

Like all other cities, the only resource of Peoria is charity doles. Out of a total of \$25,000 the Community Fund has been trying to raise, less than \$7,000 have been contributed. The figures of the unemployed are not given but let us put it as low as one thousand. Even if the fund is raised it will mean only \$25 for the unemployed head of each family during the entire winter!

A new item in the Peoria Journal indicates panic. Unless the additional funds are raised immediately aid will have to be curtailed. Treasuries have "already been exhausted." Then there is this ominous sentence. Families which ordinarily support the Community Fund are on the rolls in some instances!

Can one imagine a worse situation? Something like this is happening in many other cities. It reinforces a thousand fold what we say on the first page this week. Action is needed, comrades, and immediately. Get to the masses with our literature while there is yet time.

"Official News"

THE U. S. Daily, claiming to present official news of government departments at Washington, is a private venture. In a recent issue it published an article attacking Soviet trade credit and credited the article to G. L. Pass of the Commerce Department. Investigation disclosed that the article was written by a clerk and that he and his superior officers admit he did not submit the article to them. It was not "official news." The editor refused to admit that a correction was due but was content to state that the policy of the department had not changed.

A year or two ago the same publication got into an embarrassing position by publishing material that was not "official news" in relation to the power crowd. Here it seems to be playing into the hands of reaction against trade with Soviet Russia, a despicable piece of work. Perhaps the editor thinks that our racketeering capitalism would in some way be contaminated by trade that would be helpful to the workers of two nations.

The Progressive Lure

SENATOR BORAH is said to be willing to seek the "progressive" nomination for President by the Republican convention next year. If he fails to get it, the Washington story adds, the group will fight to write into the Republican platform a renewed declaration for parity for agriculture with industry in tariff legislation.

One thing of another "progressive" movement in the G. O. P. which proceeded so far as to almost wreck the old guard machine. Led by "Teddy" Roosevelt, it collapsed like a house of cards in 1916. Roosevelt had no other motive than to protect the upper section of capitalists and bankers against their own follies. In an introduction to a book expounding the views of the Progressive Party in 1912 Roosevelt said that his

new party was intended to head off the Socialists and to guard "the men at the top" against a revolutionary movement. He wanted them to "clean house" so that their rule would not be so vulnerable to attack.

Professor Beard compared the Roosevelt program to the counter-reformation in the church. Following the Reformation there appeared a movement within the church for the reform of abuses known as the counter-reformation and intended to ward off any further attacks. Roosevelt's new party was of the same type. First the "Populists, then the "muckrakers," and next the Socialists had revolted against capitalism. "Teddy" would have capitalism put on a clean shirt and assume a benevolent attitude towards the working masses.

The need of the hour is not a counter-reformation but a political movement representing the disinherited workers and that aims at the abolition of capitalism itself. A clean capitalism is still capitalism and it thrives on the misery and exploitation of the workers. That is why we are Socialists and cannot be budged by the "progressive" lure.

Insurance Against Socialism

SPEAKING on unemployment relief to a nation-wide radio audience last week Silas Strawn, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, came out for insurance. Yes, came out for insurance!

But we must lead up to the world-shaking announcement. Mr. Strawn pleaded that every employer in the United States should contribute liberally to unemployment relief funds. Never in modern times, said Strawn, "have there existed, not only in our own country but throughout the world, economic and social conditions which so compel the serious consideration of our citizens."

He attacked the "dole" and asked the rich to give liberally for charity doles. Getting all balled up, you say. Yes, but still he knows what he is talking about.

What of the insurance mentioned in the leading paragraph, the reader may ask? We will let Mr. Strawn speak for himself. He was urging charity gifts and said:

"These contributions are not charitable gifts, they are premiums on insurance against Socialism and for stability of government."

There you are. The president of the United States Chamber of Commerce wants to insure his class against Socialism and the doles of the rich are considered such insurance.

Now it's all clear. No jobless insurance for the unemployed millions but doles that will be insurance against the Socialist movement. Great mind, great program, but we doubt whether the capitalist system can ever get any insurance that will insure it a permanent existence.

Justice to Others

LAST week *The New Leader* broadcasted a warning to its readers regarding what appeared to be instructions to the various national sections of the Communist International to engage in a campaign of violence. This appeared to be a reversion back to the period of 1919-1920 when leaflets were distributed in many cities of the United States urging "armed insurrection" and which resulted in brutal police raids throughout the country. We did our best to check up on this item and despite our precaution we are now not so certain that this folly is contemplated. We hope not, but in any event, no matter how much we may be the victims of falsehoods we want to do justice to the Communists and we hope that the later information we await will prove the item unfounded.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

Our old pal, Mac Coleman, in his column mentions a paragraph last week referring to some comrades who give much time to critical consideration of the Socialist movement abroad and he considers this evidence of an "inferiority complex." Not at all, Mac. It is as though a little inland village party local, its members differing on many matters, were attempting to solve the problems and difficulties of a local in a large city with a thousand or more members. We hope to see the time that, with hard and devoted work at home, we will build a party that will be so influential in international Socialist affairs that its opinion will count for more than our present tiny organization does. As for MacDonald and Snowden, we would regret it if all our members did not respond in condemnation of their course. Let's take an interest in the movement abroad but remember that our greatest task is to awaken our own working class to class conscious internationalism.

King George "gives" \$250,000 from his yearly income so long as the British emergency lasts, but in the meantime the British workers will continue to give him enough to supply pocket change.

There is one big issue before the Socialists and the working class in general in this country today. That is how to use our utmost resources to enlighten the masses as to their interests, to guard against foolish actions that may give reaction an excuse for dispersing the vanguard of the intelligent workers with a few whiffs of tear gas, and to keep open the opportunities for freedom of assembly, of the press, of meetings and for fruitful action.

"Wagner Demands Two Billions for Idle," reads a newspaper headline. Even at that this is a modest demand compared with what our exploiters gouge from our sweat and toil in a single year.

Chicago is trying to get the Republican and Democratic national conventions to meet in that city next year. Good idea. Have them meet at the same time and when they have finished their work the leading chiefs of both parties can sit down at a joint banquet and enjoy themselves.

Milk Profits

Monopolistic Companies Reap 22 and 33 Per Cent Profit—Consumers Forced to Buy Inferior Grades, While Farmers Are Looted of Great Part of Their Product

THE cost of milk is so high in New York City, that consumers purchase only about half of what health authorities estimate should be the normal consumption. The poor workers buy the inferior "loose" milk because they cannot afford the price of the better grades.

The producers, the dairy farmers, received in July about three cents a quart for their milk.

But the distributing milk companies tell a different story. Out of the plight of the consumers and the farmers they coin profits which in 1930 totalled 22 per cent for one company and 33 per cent for the other.

That is the picture of milk in New York City under the existing system of private ownership of the milk industry and its operation for the interests of its owners' pocket-books. There is now an outcry against the quality of the loose milk which half of the families in New York City are forced to use. Norman Thomas, as co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist party, has taken the occasion to bring the facts of the situation to light. He did this last week in the course of a letter to Governor Roosevelt urging him to at once institute an investigation of the entire situation. Such an investigation could be instituted without any loss of time by the special session of the Legislature now in session and action could be taken early next year when the regular session convenes. Thomas urged that the milk industry be declared a public utility to be run by public agencies, rather than by private monopolies.

Racketeering Flourishes

In support of this proposal, the Socialist leader offered the salient facts of the milk industry of the city.

New York City consumes about half the milk that health authorities have recommended as necessary. The consumption of milk in New York City has fallen despite a decrease in price of one cent a quart. Recently an alarming outcry has been raised concerning the bacterial condition of loose milk. Because of its cheaper price (about six cents a quart below Grade B bottled milk), loose milk, or dipped milk, is used for about 50 per cent of the home trade in New York City.

Studies show that it is purchased almost exclusively in the tenement districts in New York. It is therefore, as usual, the poor who suffer whatever dangers to health lurk in loose milk but who cannot afford to buy bottled milk at the present price even in such inadequate quantity as today they buy milk. Moreover, it is in the sale of loose milk that racketeering notably flourishes in New York City.

The producer, the farmer, in the meanwhile receives about six cents a quart for fluid milk. However, he has no control at all over the amount of his supply which is used by the big companies as fluid milk. He only knows how his milk has been used after his check comes in, and then he has to be an expert accountant to figure it out. In July of this year the average price for all milk, including that used for cheese, ice cream, etc., was only

a little over three cents a quart to the farmers.

Farmers "In the Red"

The spread of price between the farmer and the ultimate consumer on bottled milk runs from nine to twelve cents a quart. It has repeatedly been alleged that on a proper system of accounting the majority of the dairy farmers in New York State would be in the red every year.

But the story of the big milk distributing companies is very different. Two of them, the Borden Company and the National Dairy Products, to which the Sheffield Farms is subsidiary, practically dominate the New York bottled milk market. What competition they permit is competition that only adds to cost of distribution when the agents of four or five companies solicit patronage and the wagons of four or five companies rattle over the city streets.

The profits of the Borden Company last year, 1930—a very bad year for most industries—were about 22 per cent. The earnings of the National Dairy Products actually increased from 1929 to 1930 from \$3.88 a share to \$4 a share which works out at about 33 per cent—the book value of stock being \$12 per share. For all we know, these figures may be too conservative since both these great companies have been going through a period of rapid mergers and doubtless have much water in their stock, which is not inappropriate since some of us suspect water in the content of New York's milk supply judging from its low per cent of butter fat.

Companies Fight Probe

The companies claim that they only make a fraction of a cent a bottle. The claim itself is suspicious on the face of it in view of the enormous spread in price on each quart of bottled milk and the steady decrease in unit costs of distribution. It is rendered more suspicious by the frantic opposition of both companies to effective investigation. Moreover, the elaborate structure of real estate company, distributing companies, etc., heading up in the final holding company, is ideal for concealing profits.

The Socialist party has long believed that milk should be declared a public utility and that it should be marketed not by semi-private monopolies but by public agencies. The first step could be a proper investigation. The suffering both of consumers and of producers at a time when the dairy companies are making such enormous profits make investigation an emergency matter.

The Bankruptcy of Capitalism

By Paul Lafargue

(In "The Right to be Lazy and Other Studies")

IN former stages of society, famine appeared only when the earth refused her harvests. In capitalist society, famine sits at the hearth of the working class when granaries and cellars burst with the results of the earth, and when the market is gorged with the products of industry.

Capitalism, controlling the means of production and directing the social and political life of a century of science and industry, has become bankrupt. The capitalists have not even proved competent, like the owners of chattel slaves, to guarantee to their toilers the work to provide their miserable livelihood.

The capitalist class has also made a failure of itself. It has seized upon the social wealth to enjoy it, and never was the ruling class more incapable of enjoyment. The newly rich, those who have built up their fortunes by accumulating filchings from labor, live like strangers in the midst of luxury and artistic treasures, with which they surround themselves through a foolish vanity, to pay homage to their millions.

The leading capitalists, the millionaires and billionaires, are sad specimens of the human race, useless and hurtful. The mark of degeneracy is upon them. Their sickly offspring are old at birth. Their organs are sapped with diseases. Exquisite meats and wines load down their tables, but the stomach refuses to digest them; women expert in love perfume their couches with youth and beauty, but their senses are benumbed. They own palatial dwellings in enchanting sites, and they have no eyes, no feeling for joyful nature, with its eternal youth and change. Sated and disgusted with everything, they are followed everywhere by ennui as by their shadows. They yawn at rising and when they go to bed; they yawn at their feasts and at their orgies. They began yawning in their mother's womb.

The capitalist class, bankrupt, old, useless and hurtful, has finished its historic mission; it persists as a ruling class only through its acquired momentum. The proletariat of the twentieth century will execute the decree of history; will drive it from its position of social control. Then the stupendous work in science and industry accomplished by civilized humanity, at the price of such toil and suffering, will engender peace and happiness; then will this vale of tears be transformed into an earthly paradise.

ANNOUNCING the DEBS SPECIAL To Be Published October 17

THE MONTH OF OCTOBER will bring the anniversary of the birth and death of Eugene V. Debs. Socialists and other workers all over the land will mark the memory of Debs at inspiring meetings. *The New Leader* will help pay homage to the memory of the greatest fighter for American labor with a SPECIAL DEBS NUMBER.

Though Debs lives and moves within the memory of the adults and youth of today, there remains with Socialists the solemn duty and privilege of carrying to ever wider circles the story of Debs' idealism, of his devotion to the workers of America, of his fighting leadership of the advanced hosts of labor for forty years of his life.

The life of Debs carries a vital message to the working-class movement of today.

While all about us the breakdown of the capitalist system brings hell and misery to hundreds of thousands of working-class families, there is greater need than ever for the message of Socialist idealism so vividly portrayed by Debs' life and so eloquently voiced by him in hundreds of memorable addresses.

The Socialists and workers of the nation need the message of Debs more today than they did, perhaps, during his own lifetime. The DEBS SPECIAL will strive to bring that message to the workers.

For the DEBS SPECIAL, *The New Leader* is determined that it shall have the greatest circulation in its history. To accomplish this, it must depend completely upon the loyal army of readers and the organized sections of the Socialist and labor movement.

Every reader of *The New Leader* must take his or her bundle of the DEBS SPECIAL. Every Socialist branch, Workmen's Circle branch and sympathetic trade union local should purchase as large a bundle as possible.

Rush your orders immediately. The copies of the DEBS SPECIAL will sell at 2 cents each; 50 for \$1; 100 for \$2, etc. No better investment in Socialist literature can be made at this time. Rush your order today. Use this blank.

THE NEW LEADER,

7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which you will send me copies of the DEBS SPECIAL EDITION of *The New Leader*, to be published October 17th.

Name
Address

Important! Orders must reach us by October 13th. EDITION of *The New Leader*.

Rand School Coordinates Work With Party's Needs

ANY one who opens the new Rand School Bulletin is sure to be impressed by the proof which it offers of a renewed interest in education on the part of the Socialist party. It is everywhere evident that in drafting the plans for the coming year, school and the party have worked together.

As the Socialist organizations have grown during the past year the need of sound education has become increasingly evident. Everywhere the demand for trained workers has exceeded the supply. Many efforts have been made in various parts of the great city to supply the demand. The educational committee of the party has labored diligently to assist in the starting of classes and lecture courses.

The need of such efforts has been emphasized in connection with recent discussions of Socialist principles and policies. It has seemed to nearly all active Socialists that there is definite need of more study, study of history, of economics, of Socialism. Such study may lead to greater unity; at any rate it will result in more intelligent discussion.

Because of these evident needs the educational committee of Local New York has worked loyally with the staff of the school in the production of the program for the year 1931-32. The series of debates on Socialist principles and policies and the extension courses are two results of this cooperation.

Free Courses for New Socialists Another result, perhaps equally important, is the fact that the educational committee prevailed upon the school staff to offer free admission to one Rand School class to each new member of the party. The only limiting condition is that this course shall be selected from among those in the social sciences. In the Bulletin it was announced that this offer is open only to members who joined on, or after, May 1. As a result of arguments advanced by party officials this date

has been changed. The offer is now thrown open to all members who joined since September 1 of last year.

Branches Sending Students

A letter has recently gone out from the school to all party branches and to the branches of many affiliated organizations asking them to choose from their membership the most promising candidates and send them to the school as students. Even before this happened a number of branch organizers appeared at 7 East 15th street and voluntarily submitted their list of students. One of these comrades said: "Our branch has always supported the school. We have a right to call on the school to educate our members. As long as I am organizer I shall see to it, not merely that an adequate number of our people are in your classes, but that the people we send are the ones who will profit most by the advantages which you offer."

As the Rand School develops it will naturally be utilized more and more by people from outside the Socialist movement, by liberals, by students, by people who merely want to keep abreast of the times. Our staff of lecturers and teachers is a distinguished one, many of our courses are attractive to the general public. One function of the school is to foster public intelligence with regard to the social sciences. But its chief function is to serve as a center of Socialist thinking. This means that it is primarily a school for Socialists. The members of the staff view with pleasure the mounting proofs that this year it is becoming to an increased extent what it was intended from the beginning to be.

THE advertiser expects your patronage. Show him that it pays to advertise in THE NEW LEADER.

Among the Boosters

An active campaign for subscriptions to *The New Leader* is being waged by the Socialists of San Francisco. They intend to cover the entire district for the purpose of making every member and sympathizer a subscriber to the paper.

"Renew my subscription," writes E. W. Diebold of Newark. "I am not a Socialist, but am drifting that way."

Herman Niessner of Camden, says that the news articles and editorials in *The New Leader* furnish topics for discussion in the meetings of the Socialist party branch. He sends in a renewal as does Mrs. Charles Bailey who writes an enthusiastic letter praising the kind of paper that we are publishing.

Buried in a report of the Labor Day meeting held by Local Newark, was the item, "700 copies of *The New Leader* were sold." Similar reports that reach us from other organizations, have thrust into the dim background the complaints formerly heard, "that we don't think it is possible to sell *The New Leader* at our meetings."

Said a member of one of the branches whose sales of *The New Leader* have mounted steadily week after week: "I don't know whether it's smart to be thrifty," but selling the paper at our open air meetings has been a source of income to our treasury during the summer slump."

The Downtown Branch of Brooklyn started in recently with an order for 25 copies weekly. It is now raised to 100. The 25 applications to party membership recently acted upon by the branch, is due in a measure to the selling of *The New Leader* at the well conducted street meetings the organization has been conducting.

The New Leader is going over with a bang but there hundreds of thousands still to be reached with the revolutionary message of Socialism.

