

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Party—The Chinese War with Japan — MacDonald's British Labor Programs — The Future in Germany — Hoover and the Banks.

### HONORING GENE DEBS

EACH passing year since Gene Debs went from us adds to his stature and makes his personality and his service more unique. It is so true that it is trite to say that Gene Debs has no successor in the Socialist Party or the Socialist movement, no successor in our hearts or in the allegiance of the masses. Indeed, men like Debs come seldom in history. The modern radical movement not only in America but in other lands has no equivalent figure, no one with the same capacity for intimate human affection for men combined with stern prophetic denunciation of the wrongs of a crazy and cruel system. We are all the poorer for the lack of his firm but humanizing influence in these revolutionary times.

Nevertheless we shall not best honor Gene Debs by too much mourning the past and our own loss. The Socialist Party unwittingly made the mistake in his closing years of trying to live by capitalizing the affection in which Gene was held rather than by effective organization. Too many of the great meetings which marked Debs' farewell tour had about them the sentimental quality of an Old Home Week rather than the fighting quality of a great movement. Even while he lived we paid him the tribute of sentiment rather than of renewed dedication to his great ideals. Now that he is dead we can honor him only as we build our party and our labor unions into efficient instruments for achieving that vision of humanity which Gene Debs made so bright and real before the eyes of millions of those bowed beneath their burdens in the dark jungle of our capitalist civilization.

### THE WAR IN ASIA

FUTURE historians may record the fact that the outstanding event of the closing months of 1931 was not the economic and political crisis in Great Britain, Germany, and other parts of Europe or the magnitude of unemployment in the United States, but the beginning of war between Japan and China over Manchuria. The end of that war, which so far both the League of Nations and the United States have been impotent to avert, no man can foresee. Its effect may last through generations.

The Japanese militarists have chosen their time well. China is suffering from some of the greatest disasters in history. Unnumbered millions have suffered and still suffer from famine. One of her most populous areas, about the size of the State of New York, is still under the waters of one of the greatest floods known to man. Her National government is weak. The Nationalist Party, Chinese Communists, and generals who are glorified brigands struggle for the mastery. Apparently it will be easy for a disciplined Japanese army to take the rich prize of Manchuria.

Both Europe and America have too many troubles of their own to think of using force. There are persistent rumors that Japan has made some kind of a deal with Soviet Russia even although one of her leading statesmen, a head of the Buddhist religion, appeals for American sympathy for Japan on the grounds that by her action in Manchuria she is resisting the march of Bolshevism!

However likely is Japan's immediate victory, the future belongs to the Chinese people. If not by military force then by sheer force of numbers and economic pressure in the end China is likely to win. So great is the poverty and unrest of the Japanese working masses that before many years or even months have passed the Japanese Manchurian adventure may prove a signal for revolt at home. Soviet Russia whose peaceful policy in Asia and in Europe has been very manifest may find before long that the time is ripe to spread her influence if not her actual territory in Asia. I repeat, no man living can accurately foretell the consequences of Japan's ruthless and wholly unjustified aggression in Manchuria.

It is, however, still possible, weak as diplomatic protests heretofore have been, that the League of Nations and the United States may exercise a moral and even an economic pressure on Japan which will help to bring her to her senses. Certainly it is our business to try. War in Asia and an increase of anarchistic chaos in China inevitably threaten the peace of the whole world.

### MACDONALD'S PROGRAM

THE unnatural so-called Nationalist government in England offers to voters whose support it seeks precisely nothing but words. It has no program. It took office to save the pound and it promptly took England off the gold standard. It justified cuts in unemployment assistance on the ground of lowered cost of living and it proceeded by inflation to increase the cost of living. Its leaders, judged by their past records, have nothing in common, save a heavy patriotism. Few men in our times cut a sorer figure than Ramsey MacDonald who has hypnotized himself into thinking himself a messiah, but a messiah without a program.

### BRITISH LABOR'S POSITION

BY contrast with this unnatural alliance of political incompatibilities, this Tory party with a MacDonald dressing, the British Labor Party Manifesto is good sense and good Socialism. It is, however, less forthright and impressive to my mind than the quotations that I have thus far seen from the Independent Labor Party statement which vigorously presses an immediate socialist program as the only hope for Britain. Certainly there will not be much to be hoped for democracy in Great Britain save in the size and strength of the Labor Party, and especially the Independent Labor Party's vote and influence.

### WHAT'S AHEAD IN GERMANY?

AS for Germany, it looks as if anything might happen, but the most likely immediate outcome of the present crisis would seem to be a straight out Fascist dictatorship or a somewhat milder Brüning dictatorship. Evidently Russia is restraining, at least for the present, the German Communists. It is to be hoped that whatever happens the great Social Democratic Party will find a better way than at present to stand at one and the same time for clear cut Socialism and for the preservation of the Republic. It is no easy task. We Americans who may be inclined to criticize should remember how much harder we have made that task by our official policy on debts and reparations. Possibly it is not yet too late to help to save the situation. Much may depend on conversations between Laval and Hoover and neither of these men has anything of the stature of a world savior.

### HOOVER: KIND TO BANKS

CHARACTERISTICALLY Hoover's advocacy of rugged individualism (Note to the printer: I didn't say rugged individualism) is more and more confined to unemployed workers. He has compassion on railroads and banks. They don't need to be individualists. Uncle Sam will help them!

At that there is probably more sense in Hoover's leadership of the banks in the formation of a big credit pool than in most of the things he has done. Everybody was suffering from the inability of banks to liquidate their securities. Their attempts to liquidate them fast enough to meet the demands of depositors who in fear, partly justified and partly born of panic, wanted to draw out their money, drove prices down and made the situation worse. If this new credit bank can help the situation the epidemic of bank failures may be arrested. But it is ridiculous to suppose that by this simple device capitalism can end the depression which capitalism has caused. Unquestionably money, banking and credit have a lot to do with our present troubles, but the main trouble is the profit system and our fantastic nationalism in an interdependent world. George Soule in a recent book review truly says we might have a cheese or sausage standard of currency instead of gold and still the cheese and sausage would pile up uselessly and dangerously in the vaults of the United States and France if we followed the same policies of tariffs, reparations, and exchange as at present. Properly managed currency on an international basis is an element in socialist reconstruction but only an element.

## Special Debs Edition

Contributions by:

Heywood Brown, Claude G. Bowers, McAlister Coleman, Morris Hillquit, Mayor Hoan, James O'Neal, Jacob Panken, Boardman Robinson, Norman Thomas, Clive Weed, Art Young.

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

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## The Message of Debs

# Socialism Will End Unemployment!

The Organized Forces of Labor Will be the Liberating Army

By Eugene V. Debs

WHEN EUGENE V. DEBS WAS NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT IN 1908 HE WAS IN GIRARD, KANSAS, ON THE APPEAL TO REASON. A RECEPTION WAS GIVEN TO DEBS IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE ON MAY 23 AND AT THIS GATHERING OF CITIZENS HE MADE AN ADDRESS FROM WHICH THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS ARE TAKEN. THEY ARE APPROPRIATE IN THIS PERIOD OF THE PROSTRATION OF CAPITALISM.

NATURE has spread a great table bounteously for all the children of men. There is room for all and there is a place and food for all, and any system of society that denies a single one the right and opportunity freely to help himself to nature's bounties is an unjust and iniquitous system that ought to be abolished in the interest of a higher humanity and a civilization worthy of the name.

As long as a relatively few men own the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, own the oil fields and the gas fields and the steel mills and the sugar refineries and the leather tanneries—own, in short, the sources and means of life—they will corrupt our politics, they will enslave the working class, they will impoverish and debase society, they will do all things that are needful to perpetuate their power as the economic masters and the political rulers of the people. Not until these great agencies are owned and operated by the people can the people hope for any material improvement in their social condition.

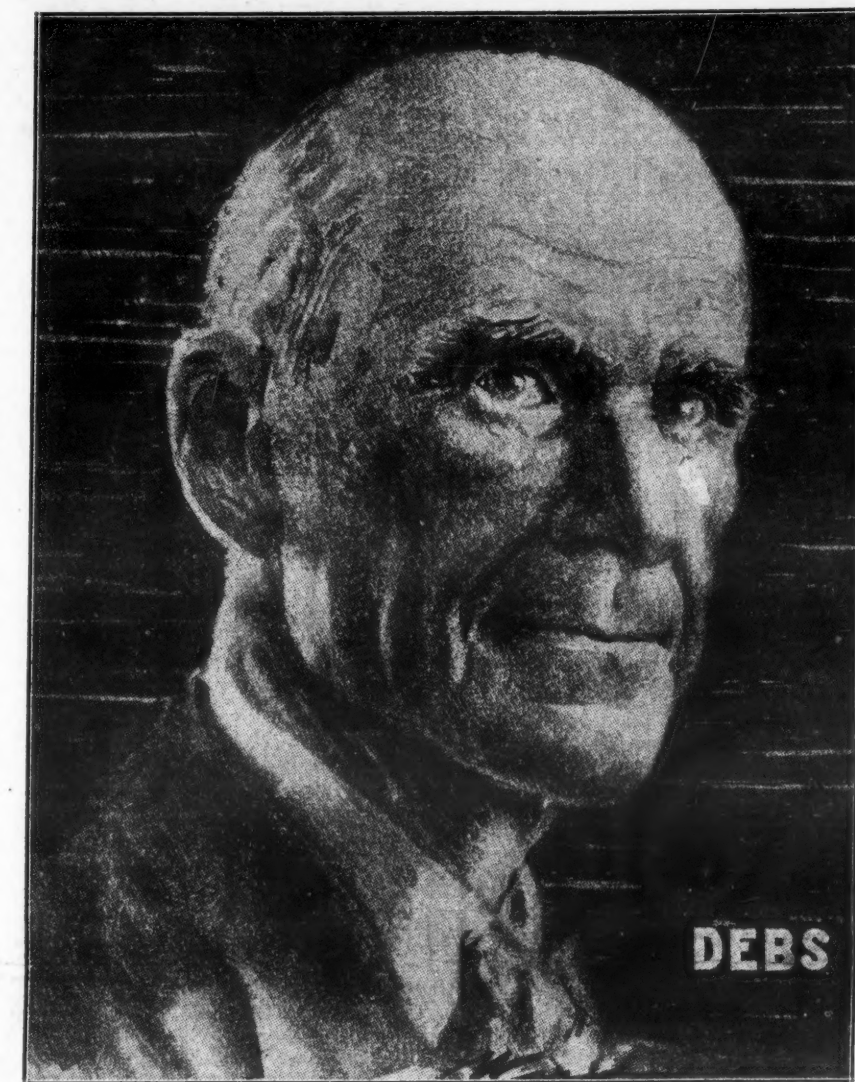
According to the most reliable reports at our command, as I speak here this afternoon, there are at least four millions of workmen vainly searching for employment. Have you ever found yourself in that unspeakably sad predicament? Have you ever had to go up the street, begging for work, in a great city thronged with humanity—and, by the way, my friends, people are never quite so strange to each other as when they are forced into artificial, crowded and stifled relationships.

### The Humiliation of the Jobless

I WOULD rather be friendless on the American desert than to be friendless in New York or Chicago. Nothing is more humiliating than to have to beg for work, and a system in which any man has to beg for work stands condemned. No man can defend it. Now the rights of one are as sacred as the rights of a million. Suppose you happen to be the one who has no work. This republic is a failure so far as you are concerned.

I have two hands that represent my labor power. I have some bone and muscle and sinew and some energy. I want to exchange the use of these for food and clothing and shelter. But between me and the tools with which work is done there stands a man artificially created. He says, "No, no!" Why not? "Because you cannot first make a profit for me."

I don't know it all. I am simply a student of



Eugene V. Debs. November 5, 1855—October 20, 1926

this great question, and I am serving as best I can and I know my eyes are ready for the light, and I thank that man, no matter what he be, who can add to the flame of the torch I bear. If there is a single thing that you can think of that cannot be produced in abundance, name it! Bread, clothing, fuel—everything is here.

Nature's storehouse is full to the surface of the earth. All of the raw materials are deposited here in abundance. We have the most marvelous machinery the world has ever known. Man has long since become master of the natural forces and made them work for him. Now he has but to touch a button and the wheels begin to spin and the machinery to whirr, and wealth is produced on every hand in increasing abundance.

Fifty years ago capitalism was in its earlier stages. Fifty years ago work was still mainly done by hand, and every boy could learn a trade and every boy could master the tools and go to work. That is why there were no tramps. In fifty years that simple tool has become a mam-

moth machine. It gets larger and larger all the time. It has crowded the hand tool out of production. With the machine came the capitalist.

### The Awakening Has Begun

THERE were no capitalists, nor was there such a thing as capital before the beginning of the present system. Capitalists came with machinery. Up to the time that machinery supplanted the hand tool the little employer was himself a workingman. No matter what the shop or factory, you would find the employer working side by side with his men. He was a superior workman who got more orders than he could fill and employed others to help him, but he had to pay them the equivalent because if he did not they would pack up their tools and go into business for themselves.

Now the individual tool has become the mammoth machine. It has multiplied production by hundreds. The old tool was individually owned and used. The modern tool, in the form of a great machine, is social in every conception of

it. Look at one of these giant machines. Come to the Appeal office and look at the press in operation. Here the progressive conception of the ages is crystallized. What individual shall put his hand on this social agency and say, "This is mine! He who would apply labor here must first pay tribute to me."

The hand tool has been very largely supplanted by this machine. Not many tools are left. You are still producing in a small way here in Girard, but your production is flickering out gradually. It is but a question of time until it will expire entirely. In spite of all that can be said or done to the contrary, production is organizing upon a larger and larger scale and is becoming entirely cooperative. This has crowded out the small competitor.

There will be a change one of these days. The world is just beginning to awaken, and is soon to sing its first anthem of freedom. All the signs of the times are cheering. Twenty-five years ago there was but a handful of Socialists; today there are a half million. The Socialist movement is in alliance with the forces of progress.

Now, we Socialists propose that society in its collective capacity shall produce, not for profit, but in abundance to satisfy human wants; that every man shall have the inalienable right to work and receive the full equivalent of all he produces; that every man stand fearlessly erect in the pride and majesty of his own manhood.

### "We Will Be Brothers"

EVERY man and every woman will then be economically free. They can, without let or hindrance, apply their labor, with the best machinery that can be devised, to all the natural resources, do the work of society and produce for all; and then receive in exchange a certificate of value equivalent to that of their production. Then society will improve its institutions in proportion to the progress of invention. Whether in the city or on the farm, all things productive will be carried forward on a gigantic scale. All industry will be completely organized. Society will for the first time have a scientific foundation. Every man, by being economically free, will have some time for himself. He can take a full and perfect breath. He can enjoy life with his wife and children, because then he will have a home.

*I am not a prophet. I can no more penetrate the future than you can. I do study the forces that underlie society and the trend of evolution. I can tell by what we have passed through about what we will have in the future; and I know that capitalism can be abolished and the people put in possession.*

Now when we have taken possession, and we jointly own the means of production, we will no longer have to fight each other to live; our interests, instead of being competitive, will be cooperative, we will work side by side. Your interest will be mine and mine will be yours. That is the economic condition from which will spring the humane social relations of the future.

We will be comrades, we will be brothers, and we will begin the march to the grandest civilization the human race has ever known.

### Socialist Runs Second In Wis. Congress Fight

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — Thomas R. Amle, La Follette Republican, was elected at a special election to succeed the late Henry Allen Cooper as Representative from the First Wisconsin Congressional District.

Returns from 189 of the 200 precincts gave: Amle 19,935 votes; O. J. Bouma, Socialist, 7,214; George E. Herzog, Democrat, 3,388. The Communist candidate had 878 votes and an Independent 499.

### Utica To Hear Hillquit At Rally on Oct. 24th

(By a New Leader Correspondent). UTICA, N. Y.—Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, will speak in Utica on the evening of October 24 in connection with the stirring municipal campaign being waged by local Socialists. The meeting will be held in the New Century Auditorium. The Rev. Antonio Perrotta, Italian Baptist minister and candidate of the Socialist Party, for Mayor, has been assured of the support of many non-partisan groups in the present campaign.

## EUGENE V. DEBS Memorial Meeting

WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL

Irving Place, 16th and 17th Streets, New York City

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 20th, 1931

MUSICAL PROGRAM

Speakers:

McALISTER COLEMAN - ESTHER - FRIEDMAN - MORRIS HILLQUIT  
NORMAN THOMAS - AUGUST TYLER

Auspices:

SOCIALIST PARTY

### Los Angeles To Honor Debs Memory Oct. 18 With Mass Meeting

(By a New Leader Correspondent). LOS ANGELES—A memorial meeting for Eugene V. Debs, beloved Socialist and labor leader, will be held in the auditorium of the Labor Temple, 532 Maple avenue, in Los Angeles, Sunday, October 18th, 8 p. m.

Every effort is being made to make this an impressive demonstration of the affection held for "Gene" Debs. Workmen's Circle branches, unions and the Socialist Party branches are making plans to make the meeting a fitting tribute to this great man.

The speakers will be Chaim Shapiro, and George R. Kirkpatrick, who spent many years with Debs. A musical program of excellent talent has been arranged. The hall will be fittingly decorated with red and black.

### Debs Meeting Oct. 20 At Herminie, Penn.

Socialists of Herminie, Pa., will hold a Debs' Memorial meeting at 7 p. m. on Oct. 20 at the Drug Store corner. Speakers on the program are Anton Zornik of Herminie, and Jane Fradel, a high school student, of Latrobe, Pa.



## Thomas Sees Apathy Bar To Progress

**Denounces Racketeering in Unions — Hillquit, Panken Also at Town Hall Rally**

Opening his Socialist campaign for President of the Borough of Manhattan, Norman Thomas told an audience in Town Hall last Sunday that existing public indifference to corruption constituted a barrier to social progress of any kind. The Socialist leader declared that while the capitalist system is being jarred and shaken by the industrial crisis, "the profound tragedy of the situation" is that at the same time "there is also the utmost justifiable cynicism about the honesty and capacity of all our governmental agencies, and especially of the big clean hand of plunderers which rules New York City." Nevertheless, said the Socialist leader, it is imperative that faith in government be re-established so that the more important "legal rackets run by and for landlords, public utilities and the other beneficiaries of capitalism" may be brought to an end.

Mr. Thomas charged that trade unions were also being tainted by "the racketeering spirit." On behalf of the Socialist Party, he declared "that as we repudiate corrupt and tyrannical bureaucracy in political government so we repudiate it in all unions." He urged all unions to keep their house in order and pleaded for the dissolution "of the evil alliance which exists in New York between the underworld, the police, some of the judicial machinery, the old party politicians and certain labor union machines."

Other speakers at the Town Hall rally were Morris Hillquit and Jacob Panken, Socialist candidates for the Supreme Court in the 1st district; and Helen Pickens, Socialist nominee for Register. About 1,200 attended the meeting.

**Hillquit Urges Revolt**  
Hillquit declared "the most pitiable and cynical exhibition of callous indifference to the sufferings of the workers is presented by our 'imperial city.' With an army of unemployed estimated at 750,000 and a proposed budget of the startling sum of \$631,000,000, there is practically not a dollar provided for the relief of the jobless workers."

"In these times of general economy and retrenchment we are presented with a budget of city expenses which exceeds the one of last year by more than \$10,000,000. The Mayor of New York glibly explains that the increase is due to economic conditions and 'unemployment', but when we turn to the itemized statement on which the assertion is based we find a paltry increase of subsidies to charitable institutions, about \$4,000,000 to cover past unemployment relief, \$1,365,000 for old age insurance and \$4,800,000 to the Department of Education on account of the increased attendance in higher grades, which is 'believed' to be caused by the inability of the students to get jobs."

In the coming year the unemployed workers of New York will have to live on past benefits supplemented by purely intellectual nourishment, a diet entirely at variance with that of the Tammany district leaders.

"If we add to that the growing wave of crime and lawlessness, undetected, unpunished and unchecked and the multiplying evidence of corruption permeating our whole municipal body politic, we shall have to lose hope in the intelligence and manhood of the American workers if they do not demonstrate their revolt at the ballot box in the coming election."

Thomas appeared on Wednesday before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. He outlined a number of objections to the 1932 one outside the government and one inside the government can tell whether the budget is too high or not because no proper study has been made to see what offices could be consolidated, what offices abolished, and what political officers be made to go to work." Mr. Thomas also charged that the increased cost per mile of the new subways is about 500% over the pre-war cost whereas the general increase of construction costs is about 200%. He also asserted that special assessments could and should take the whole load of 49 million dollars now appropriated to cover short term bonds and that half of this sum, 25 million dollars, should be appropriated for unemployment relief, because the present million dollar appropriation per month is totally inadequate.

**Meetings Next Week**  
Thomas will speak at the following meetings next week:  
Saturday, October 17, 10:00 p. m.—Town Hall, auspices City Affairs Committee. 11:00 p. m.—Annual campaign dinner, Yorkville branches, Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street.  
Sunday, October 18, 3:00 p. m.—Youth Rally, Rand School, 7 East 15th street.  
Monday, October 19, 12:00 a. m.—Forum of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th through 121st streets.

## Debs-Humanity At Its Best

**By Claude G. Bowers**

(The universal appeal of Eugene V. Debs has been shown again and again by the many marvelous tributes paid him by poets, artists, statesmen and writers—as well as by the devotion to him by millions of American workers. Here Claude G. Bowers, the historian of American democracy, author of "Hamilton and Jefferson," "Party Battles of the Jackson Era" and "The Tragic Era," adds his tribute. Mr. Bowers was the "keynote" at the Democratic national convention of 1928, when his radical address embarrassed his own party leaders.)

MY RELATIONS with Eugene Debs were those of a neighbor and a friend. Those who knew him in these relationships literally loved the man. He was one of the few really beautiful characters I have known. There was a sweetness in his smile that did not belie his character. There was no taint of bitterness in his blood, and even in his politics, he hated systems and not men. His heart was big enough to embrace the world, and it beat in tender sympathy with suffering, wherever found.

Debs was a perfect gentleman, not in the snobbish worldly sense, but in the true sense, and his courtesy which was exquisite went out to men in rags. In his home town, men could and did bitterly disagree about his plans for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, but all agreed in paying tribute to his honesty, his kindness, the sweetness of his disposition, his helpfulness and neighborliness.

HE KNEW how to reach the heart of men because he followed the promptings of his own. He had the imagination that made it possible for him to put himself in the places of the unfortunate and wronged. When in that great speech, in court, he said that while other men were in prison he could not be free, no one who knew him thought it a gesture of rhetoric. It was the true reflection of his nature. He was at heart a poet, and that explains why men like Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley loved him.

My first experience with Debs was in his home and in his library long ago. He might have been a professor, as he sat there in his smoking jacket and with his pipe, his book treasures all about him. His sensitive face, his beaming eyes, his kindly tones, his eager manner, his cultured talk were a revelation to me, a boy, who had imagined him something vastly different. He talked of books, of plays, of hunting trips, of friends, of boyhood days, and in the charm of his personality all preconceived ideas and prejudices melted away forever. No one could know Debs and hate him; and no one ever did.

THE last time I saw him was on a raw autumn day in an Indiana town where I had made a Democratic speech in a comfortably warm hall he had engaged for the day. He had driven in to speak, and been refused all other halls, and was to be forced upon the street to talk against a chill damp wind. I arranged for him to use our hall, for which we had paid, and went to his motor car to tell him. His captivating smile was reward enough, but there was moisture in his eyes; and, as we passed on to our machines and looked around he was leaning out and smilingly waving his hand at us.

It was a rare privilege to know 'Gene Debs, for he was the symbol of humanity at its best. He dedicated his genius, his heart, his life to the cause of the poor; suffered for their sake in prison and out, and left behind the memory of a lovely life without a solitary stain. Such men are rare; such lives are memorable.

street, 9:00 p. m.—Outdoor rally, cor. Clinton and Broome streets, 10:00 p. m.—Mass meeting, 19th A. D., Finnish Socialist Hall, 127th street and Fifth avenue.  
Tuesday, October 20, 8:30 p. m.—Broadcast, Station WEVD. 10:00 p. m.—Eugene V. Debs Memorial Meeting, Washington Irving High School, 16th street and Irving place.  
Wednesday, October 21, 8:00 p. m.—Job Press Craftsmen, 203 East 15th street.  
Thursday, October 22, 9:30 p. m.—Mass meeting, New Utrecht High School, 16th avenue and 79th street, Brooklyn. Outdoor rallies in 6th and 8th A. D. New York.  
Friday, October 23, 10:30 p. m.—De Witt Clinton High School, Moshulu Parkway and Sedgwick avenue, Bronx.  
Saturday, October 24, 9:00 p. m.—Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue. 10:00 p. m.—Outdoor rallies, Upper West Side and Washington Heights.

**Bensonhurst Socialists Open Drive at Dinner**  
Bensonhurst Socialists formally opened their campaign last Sunday afternoon with a luncheon at the Savoy Mansion. Besides entertainment there were addresses by August Claessens, Barney Reilly, B. C. Vladeck, the toastmaster, and Harry Haskell, candidate for Assembly in the 16th A. D. Kings. Haskell declared that the Socialist Party is the second party in the Bensonhurst district. Last year, the candidate for Congress ran second, ahead of the Republican. "This makes the Official Opposition today," Vladeck succeeded in raising \$101.50 for the campaign.

**Slayton is Only Foe Of Old Parties for Penn. Supreme Court**  
(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—John W. Slayton, Socialist candidate for the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, will be the only opponent of the Republican nominee this year for the first time in history. The nominee for a state wide office has the nominations of all capitalist parties. John W. Slayton was ruled off the ballot previous to the primary because the State Attorney General said "Carpenters should stick to their trade and not aspire to the judicial bench." Comrade Slayton was nominated by the Pennsylvania state organization through stickers.

**Meetings Next Week**  
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Monday, October 19, 12:00 a. m.—Forum of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th through 121st streets.

## Non-Partisan Rally In Town Hall, Oct. 31

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue and with the active cooperation of Amicus Most as representative of the Manhattan Campaign Committee, the Norman Thomas Non-Partisan Committee is very successfully pressing the campaign for Thomas for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

Among the members of the committee who have declared themselves as supporters, not only of Mr. Thomas, but of his entire Socialist program, are such prominent civic leaders as Bishop F. J. McConnell, John Haynes Holmes, Robert E. Wagner, Morris Ernst, Paul U. Kellogg, Etel Clyde, B. W. Huebsch, Doris Kenyon, Leon Henderson, Rev. Phillip Elliott, and Edmund Chaffee.

As a result of an appeal sent out by Dr. Goldstein, the committee will be able to carry on numerous activities. A large rally at the Town Hall the evening of Oct. 31st, has already been arranged. Numerous meetings under the auspices of various churches, synagogues, civic organizations and other non-partisan groups are being arranged. The young Peoples Society of the First Presbyterian Church, The Labor Temple, the Woodland Heights Presbyterian Church, and others have already set definite dates for such meetings.

The Committee is arranging to have Thomas broadcast over one of the prominent radio stations towards the end of the campaign. It is suggested that all the comrades who have radios arrange house meetings for that night at which Mr. Thomas's talk can be discussed. Any one wishing to have such a meeting, should get in touch with the Manhattan Campaign Committee and they will arrange to have a speaker present. The date will be Nov. 2nd, at 9:45 over Station WOR.

## Thomas and Hillquit In Yorkville Tonight

On Saturday evening, Oct. 17, Yorkville Socialists will hold their annual dinner in the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th street, Manhattan, beginning at 7:30 p. m.

Among the speakers will be Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Louis Waldman and possibly Heywood Brown. There will be dancing to the tunes of our Otto Mautner's "Flying Dutchman" and a bigger and better dinner than ever before. Tickets are at each. Members and friends who do not attend will never enter the Socialist

## 9 Socialists Endorsed by Citizens Union

**Party Candidates Given Half of Endorsements Voted by Reform Group**

OUT of more than 300 candidates for members of the state legislature and the Board of Aldermen in New York City, the Citizens Union, a civic reform group, has endorsed but twenty as fully qualified to fill the jobs they seek. Of these, nine are Socialist candidates.

Four Socialists are endorsed for the state legislature. These are Jessie Wallace Hughan, Edward Levinson, A. I. Shipiloff and Samuel A. DeWitt. Socialist candidates for aldermen endorsed are: Algernon Lee, August Claessens, McAllister Coleman, Henry J. Roemer and Harry W. Laidler. The Citizens' Union also speaks favorably of the candidacies of Heywood Brown, John W. Martindale, G. August Gerber, Max Delson, Robert L. Bobrick, all candidates for aldermen; and of Elliot White, Julius J. Umansky, David M. Cory, candidates for the state legislature.

Of the endorsed candidates for assembly, the Citizens Union report declares:

**NEW YORK COUNTY**  
3rd District—Jessie Wallace Hughan. Possesses intellect and training that fit her for this office.

8th—Edward Levinson. Possesses character and ability and his superiority over the present incumbent is so marked that his election is earnestly urged.

**KINGS COUNTY**  
22nd—A. I. Shipiloff. Endorsed on the basis of experience and demonstrated capacity for legislative work.

**QUEENS COUNTY**  
6th—Samuel A. DeWitt. An alert, capable candidate, meriting endorsement.

Of the endorsed Socialist candidates for aldermen, the report says:

**NEW YORK COUNTY**  
5th Dist.—Algernon Lee (Soc.) endorsed. A distinctly capable candidate whose excellent legislative training would make his election a great boon to the Board.

6th Dist.—August Claessens, endorsed. His excellent record in the Assembly and many fine qualities make him exceptionally well fitted for legislative service.

7th Dist.—McAllister Coleman, endorsed. Wide experience in many fields plus an unusual amount of natural ability would make his services as an alderman stimulating and worthwhile.

8th Dist.—Henry J. Roemer, endorsed. Exceptionally well equipped for legislative work by his comprehensive knowledge of governmental affairs and problems peculiar to New York City.

**KINGS COUNTY**  
43rd Dist.—Harry W. Laidler, endorsed. An exceptionally well qualified and talented candidate with an expert knowledge of economic problems. His election would bring to the Board a refreshing, liberal point of view and a brilliant mind to express it.

## Goldberg and Meserole Endorsed for Bench

The Citizens Union has made public its recommendations to the voters concerning the candidates for the fourteen vacancies in the Supreme Court, Second District. The Union has endorsed two candidates of the Socialist Party.

"The Citizens Union cannot support any of the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties for the Supreme Court in this district. Their nominations were brought about as the result of an indefensible bargain, inspired by greed and selfishness," the report says.

"Voters who wish to maintain their self-respect will vote only for independent candidates or candidates of the Socialist Party for these offices."

Of the Socialist endorsed, the report says:

**"LOUIS J. GOLDBERG (Soc.) ENDORSED.** Mr. Goldberg has had long and varied legal experience and is distinctly gifted. His character is above reproach."

**"DARWIN J. MESEROLE (Soc.) ENDORSED.**—He is able, has been active in a variety of political and social movements, and stands well in his profession."

## Literature Distribution, Meetings in 18th A.D.

The dinner given by the 18th A. D. of the Socialist party in Brooklyn on Friday, Oct. 9, in Fields Manor Hall, 1493 St. Johns place, was an enjoyable affair. B. Charny Vladeck, manager of the Forward, was the toastmaster, and served as only Vladeck can serve.

About a hundred members of the two branches in the district attended and a collection of \$200 was taken for the campaign. Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Charles Solomon, Harry W. Laidler and Joe Viola were the speakers.

Several very successful street and school meetings were held last week and an appeal is now made to all the members of the two branches to serve as volunteers next Sunday morning and afternoon to distribute literature. These members should assemble at either of the two headquarters, one at 303 Albany avenue, and the other at 3820 Broadway avenue, and help in a big literature distribution.

Friday evening of this week a campaign meeting is held in Public School 156, Sutter and Barrett avenues. The speakers are B. Charny Vladeck, Charles Solomon and all candidates in the 18th and 23 Assembly Districts.

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## Yellow Dog Slavery O.K.'d By Pa. Courts

**Minority Opinion Dismisses Socialists and Labor Voice Protests Against Ruling**

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL  
(New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Sarah Limbach, executive secretary for the Socialist party, has bitterly arraigned the recent decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court upholding the Yellow Dog contract, as an approval of chattel slavery. The decision upheld the injunction issued against Louis Budenz in his efforts to organize the employees of the Kraemer Hosiery Co., at Nazareth, Pa.

The decision was made some months ago but withheld from publication in a vain hope of persuading the lone dissenting member to abandon his intention of writing his opposing opinion in which he strips the issue of judicial phrases to reveal the willingness of the supreme bench to destroy free speech and assembly and throw their power on the side of "an oppressive bargainer—comparable to an avaricious money-lender who forces a hungry man to agree to usury for food money." The failure of the attempt of the black-robed corporation lawyers filling the bench to prevent free speech even of their fellow jurist has led to the issue being broadcast all over the state.

The State Federation of Labor opened a determined drive for legislative action against labor injunctions at the last session of the General Assembly. The two Socialist members of the House early drafted a program that outlawed both the labor injunction and the yellow dog contract but withheld it upon request of the Federation who had come to an agreement with the professedly reform Governor Pinchot. Three rather weak bills were drafted by the Governor's Attorney General, two limiting injunctions and one outlawing the inalienable yellow dog. When some mysterious force kept these bills gathering dust on the Attorney General's desk, Socialist Rep. Darlington Hoopes introduced his bill to outlaw the yellow dog contract, forcing the introduction of the Governor's three bills the following week.

Here the fatal weakness of the A. F. of L.'s political policy betrayed organized labor again. The supposedly liberal Governor Pinchot controlled the Penna. House only through an alliance with the bitterly anti-labor forces of manufacturer Joe Grundy. The Federation of Labor's two injunction bills were assigned to the proper committee but the Grundy controlled Speaker assigned the yellow dog outlawer to the special Grundy Manufacturers Committee, renowned boneyard for all labor bills.

The Socialist bill, introduced by Rep. Darlington Hoopes of Reading for force action by the palaver Governor was brought to the floor by the same pugnacious tactics where it was defeated by a 60 to 60 vote on the same day that Assembly rejected unemployment insurance proposed by Socialist House members. The two injunction bills were reported in time to pass by a narrow margin but the Socialist Party now points out that the rejoicing of organized labor at the time was baseless as the fight on Judge-rules was really lost when the lesser two-thirds of the campaign was won. In Pittsburgh the Socialist Party has taken the initiative in calling together the Pittsburgh Conference on Unemployment. Indemnity formed by 70 Pittsburgh trade unions last winter to back the Socialist Unemployment Indemnity Bill. Action to further the interests of unemployment insurance at the coming special session of the state legislature on unemployment relief will be considered as well as the Socialist demand that the Governor include immediate action by the legislature on the yellow dog contract in his call for the special session on November 9th.

## "Such Is Life" Will Be Played for East Side Campaign

Mischa and Lucy German, as well as Mark Schweid, Menasha Skolnick and other stars will appear this coming Wednesday and Thursday evenings, Oct. 21 and 22, at the Volks Theatre, in their new production which has been highly praised, "Such Is Life."

Both performances will be given with the proceeds to be used in the interests of the campaign committee of the Socialist Party branches throughout the entire East Side, taking in the 1st and 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th A. D.'s.

As an additional attraction for these two performances only, two tickets may be secured for the price of one. Tickets can now be obtained at the box office of the Volks Theatre, Second avenue, corner 12th street.

## Gold has wings which carry everywhere except to heaven—Russian proverb.

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## Fish-Solomon Debate To Open Brooklyn Forum Sunday, Nov. 8th, at the Academy of Music

WITH Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr., clashing with former Assemblyman Charles Solomon on the comparative merits of Socialism and capitalism, the Brooklyn Forum will get under way for its 1931-32 season Sunday night, Nov. 8, at the Academy of Music, Lafayette street near Flatbush avenue, Brooklyn. Rep. Fish was chairman of the House Committee which recently completed a study of American radicalism and its causes. The report was received with varied expressions. Mr. Solomon is one of the most eloquent of the Socialist party speakers.

The forum will bring to Brooklyn a number of outstanding authorities in the field of public affairs, with special emphasis on social and economic problems. On Sunday, Nov. 15, the subject of Russia will be discussed from four angles. This discussion will bring Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, to the same platform. Other speakers will be Prof. George Counts and H. V. Kaltenborn. On Nov. 22 Prof. Leoy Bowman, of Columbia, and Clarence Stein, noted architect, will discuss city problems. Dev. 6 will bring a lecture by Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff of Cornell. On Dec. 13, Heywood Brown and Michael Gold will talk on Communism and Socialism, under the debate heading, "Can Socialism Be Achieved Through Democracy?" On Dec. 20 Morris Hillquit and George Gordon Battle will debate on, "Does America Need Socialism?" The following Sunday, Alexander Woolcott will lecture.

The Brooklyn Forum has been organized by the Socialist Party of Kings County. Tickets when purchased for the whole series can be had at reduced rates. They are on sale at the Rand School Book Store, 7 East 15th street, and at the Academy of Music box office.

## Bronx Rally at Hunts Point Palace Oct. 28; Communist Tactics Bring a Street Riot

The campaign in the Bronx is now in full swing with every active Socialist lined up and busily engaged in work best suited her or his capabilities. The speakers are being shifted from corner to corner to cover as many meetings as possible every evening. With our twenty-odd speakers, party members and Yipsels, we are having between thirty and forty meetings weekly.

Our enemies are on the job too. The Communists and the police are equally zealous in their attempts to break up our meetings. Last Saturday night at 161st street and Prospect avenue we had a perfect example of the harmony existing between them. At about 9:15 when David Kaplan, candidate for Assembly in the 4th A. D., was about to make way for the next speaker, after speaking for about an hour to a crowd of 500, a bunch of Communists showed their way through the mob and planted their platform four feet in front of ours and made an attempt to speak. This was met by hisses from the audience.

Before long a free-for-all was in full progress. Then the police brushed in and cleared the street. The victims of the melee on our side were Comrade Dobris, an elderly comrade, who had his face cut, and Al Yankowicz, who had his glasses broken. The Communists sustained the loss of one member who tore up his membership card as a result of his disgust with Communist behavior. Another Communist sympathizer declared his intentions of joining the Socialist party.

Other activities of the Socialist party in the Bronx and in the near future include active canvassing every Sunday morning. The Hunts Point Palace has been engaged for Wednesday, Oct. 28. A large parade to wind up the campaign has been arranged for Saturday, Oct. 31. In addition to this our regular Sunday afternoon speakers conferences are being held under the leadership of Dr. Hendin. A theatre party has been arranged at the Prospect Theatre for a Jewish performance on Thursday evening, Nov. 12.

## Button Workers Union Is Making Progress Despite Gangsters

The recent efforts of several employers in the button and novelty industry to prevent the unionization of their workers through the efforts of gangsters, appears to be petering out, according to the members of the Button and Novelty Workers' Union. The policy of intimidation on the part of the bosses, has included the making out of affidavits against members of the union, charges that were proven to be false in every instance, threats against union officials by racketeering gangsters and the policy of spreading rumors in order to weaken the ranks of the workers. Members of the union are now working in forty two shops in the industry, several having reached an agreement with the union recently. Only five shops are outside of the union fold. Officials of the organization state that it will be but a short time until the non-union shops will realize that the main beneficiaries are the racketeers to whom they have been paying tribute. Meanwhile the Button and Novelty Workers' Union is keeping up its organization work which includes a series of educational meetings in the union headquarters and is confident that it will soon have all the shops in the industry organized.

**N. Y. Bakers, Local 505 Holds 200 Meetings For the Union Label**  
That the depression has not interfered with the agitation work being carried on by Bakers' & Confectionery Workers' Union Local 505, may be seen in the fact that during the past 14 weeks almost 200 meetings have been held, the purpose of which has been to popularize the union label. Not only have the many meetings been effective, but there has been a good response on the part of the public to the many thousands of circulars that have been distributed by the Bakers' Union.

Among the organizations that have been active in support of the work, has been the Jewish Socialist Verband and several of the branches of the Socialist Party. Officials of the Union point out that even greater progress could be made if more labor organizations cooperated with the bakers in the forward drive they are making in their organization and agitation work. They ask, especially, that union workers and their friends insist that the union label should be used on all the bakery products that they purchase.

## Phila. Memorial Rally For Debs Oct. 24th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA.—Socialists here have planned a Debs Memorial Meeting for Saturday night, October 24th. The meeting will be held at the Labor Institute. James H. Maurer will be the principal speaker.

A democracy is a state in which the government rests directly with the majority of the citizens.—Ruskin.

## Credit Clearing House Workers Resent Pay Cuts

A wage cut, the second one in recent months, resulted in 250 employees of the Credit Clearing House registering a "kick" the echoes of which were heard in the office of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union, where a number of these white collar workers heretofore imperious to unionism joined the organization. In a number of other offices it is reported that workers are seeing the light and unionization is following the awakening of the office workers to their class interests.

Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, will speak under the auspices of the union Monday, at 8:30 p. m., in the Auditorium, 3 West 16th street. Dancing will follow. The meeting is open to the public.

Gold has wings which carry everywhere except to heaven—Russian proverb.

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## Terminal Co. Miners Ready For New Strike

**Socialist Relief Committee Prepared to Offer Relief to Fight Pay Cut**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—A new turn of events for Socialist Party Miners Relief Fund activities was given in this storm and strife area industrial district when 700 members of the U. M. W. A. at Pittsburgh Terminal Mines sharply called district officers to time by notifying them that any attempt to inflict an announced wage cut of 15 per cent would mean a strike.

The Terminal miners were organized into the U. M. W. A. during the recent mass strike under National Miner Union leadership with the direct aid of the operator, the public press and government officials in the evident hope of breaking the strikers' spear head and creating a docile union. The hope of the company, Dock conciliators and the capitalist press was rudely menaced when a rank and file mass meeting announced on behalf of the U. M. W. A. members at the Castle Shannon, Mollenauer, Horning and Coverdale mines, that a 15 per cent wage cut proposed by the company at the end of the 90 day period permitted in the contract would mean the immediate walk-out of at least 700 men present at the open air meeting in a field near Coverdale.

District and International U. M. W. A. officials concentrated in the East on the problems of ending the insurgent strike in the hard coal fields returned to Pittsburgh to face the rank and file's ultimatum and were formally notified that the Socialist Party Miners Fund, Room 613, Lyceum Building, Penna. avenue, Pittsburgh, would raise and distribute relief to miners struck against the wage cut of 15 per cent in a scale already at starvation level.

District President P. T. Fagan announced the day set for the strike that the miners had postponed action for a week pending an attempt to reach an agreement without a strike. Should a new wave of strikes, organized or unorganized, break out in expression of the miners' agony and discontent, the Socialist Party Miners Relief Fund will be prepared with machinery and experienced workers to carry on this vital aid to embattled workers. Generosity of contributors continues to make possible the continuance of relief to large sections of the blacklisted strikers and to settlements where the desire to punish revolts and the state of the industry permits operators to keep mines inactive. Over forty communities are now being served by the Fund, in this Pittsburgh district.

Contributors who may have noticed warning of diversion of money and supplies from the Socialist Miners Relief Fund, Jane Tait, treasurer, 613 Lyceum Bldg., Penna. avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., are further notified that receipts of the Penn-Ohio Miners Relief Committee, acknowledgments signed by Alfred Wagenecht, are from the Penn-Ohio-West Va.-Ky. Committee, a subsidiary of the Communist Party. Send receipts, cancelled checks to Fund for checking up.

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# AFL Pledges Support to Mill Strike

Marks Carries Message From Green to Lawrence Textile Workers

LAWRENCE, Mass.—(F P)—Full support of the entire American Federation of Labor in case of a prolonged strike was promised 8,000 workers who have signed up with the United Textile Workers of America at a meeting October 12, by Alexander Marks, personal representative of Pres. William Green of the A. F. of L., who has been ordered to Lawrence indefinitely.

Marks said that if the strikers really "mean business" they can depend on the A. F. of L. backing relief this winter. He was sent here from New York office of the A. F. of L.

Communists, who claim 2,000 members in their National Textile Workers Union, announced that they will demonstrate in front of the state house in Boston and also in front of Labor Hall here and will send a small committee to demand that the state board of conciliation and arbitration keep its "hands off" in the present wage cut dispute. "There is nothing to arbitrate," declared James P. Reid, national president. "We will not accept the wage cut and that is final."

The Lawrence street carmen's union furnished buses for the workers' committee going to the state house to confer with the state arbitration board. Marks, National Organizer Horace A. Riviere, and Robert J. Watt, president of Lawrence Central Labor Union, will accompany them. The committee is composed of five workers from each mill, two of each group who are getting more than \$20 a week and three who are receiving less than \$20.

"The mill owners say that your average wage is \$23 a week. You will show that it is \$16," Marks told them at an executive session to which newspapermen were admitted. "We have nothing to hide from the public. Your pay envelopes will show that your pay has been cut already and you will testify that the amount of work has been increased."

Walter L. Oswald

With the death of Walter L. Oswald in Essex Mountain Sanatorium at Verona, N. J., Tuesday night there passed one of the pioneers in building the Socialist Party in New Jersey. Comrade Oswald's health broke down in 1905 as a result of his labors for the movement. He was then bookkeeper in the National office in Chicago where he contracted tuberculosis.

He returned to the East and spent a year or two at a sanatorium in the Adirondack Mountains and was released in good health but he was never able after this to resume his activities. Five years ago the old ailment returned and for about two years he was in the institution where he died. Comrade Oswald was the brother-in-law of James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader. His wife, Ella Oswald, joined the party in the early days when her brother Walter died in Hudson County, N. J. Comrade Oswald is survived by his wife, a daughter, Peggy; a foster son, David, and two brothers, Edwin of Westfield, N. J., and Albert, who is in Los Angeles, Calif. The funeral services were held in Caldwell, the home of the deceased, on Friday afternoon.

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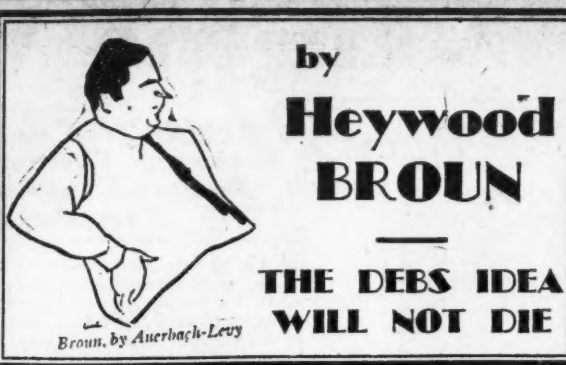
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**THE DEBS IDEA WILL NOT DIE**

**THE PROBLEM DEBS RAISED**

EUGENE V. DEBS has been dead five years and everybody now says that he was a good man. He was no better and no worse when he served a sentence at Atlanta.

I imagine that now it would be difficult to find many to defend the jailing of Debs. But at the time of the trial he received little support outside the radical ranks.

The problem involved was not simple. I hated the thing they did to Debs even at the time, and I was not then a pacifist or a Socialist. Yet I realize that almost nobody means precisely what he says when he makes the declaration, "I'm in favor of free speech." I think I mean it, but it is not difficult for me to imagine a situation in which I would be gravely tempted to enforce silence on any one who seemed to me dangerous to the cause I favored.

## BETTER TO HAVE LOST THE WAR

FREE SPEECH is about as good a cause as the world has ever known. But, like the poor, it is always with us and gets shoved aside in favor of things which seem at some given moment more vital. They never are more vital. Not when you look back at them from a distance. When the necessity of free speech is most important we shut it off. Everybody favors free speech in the slack months when no axes are being ground.

It would have been better for America to have lost the war than to lose free speech. I think so, but I imagine it is a minority opinion. However, a majority right now can be drummed up to support the contention that it was wrong to put Debs in prison. That won't keep the country from sending some other Debs to jail in some other day when panic psychology prevails.

## A MIRACLE AT CANTON

EUGENE DEBS was a beloved figure and a tragic one. All his life he led lost causes. He captured the intense loyalty of a small section of our people, but I think that he affected the general thought of his time to a slight degree. Very few recognized him for what he was. It became the habit to speak of him as a man moulded after the manner of Lenin or Trotsky. And that was a grotesque misconception. People were constantly overlooking the fact that Debs was a Hoosier, a native product in every strand of him. He was a sort of Whitcomb Riley turned politically minded.

It does not seem to me that he was a great man. At least he was not a great intellect. But W. E. Woodward has argued persuasively that neither was George Washington. In summing up The Father of His Country, this biographer said in effect that all Washington had was character. By any test such as that Debs was great. Certainly he had character. There was more of goodness in him than bubbled up in any other American of his day. He had some humor, or otherwise a religion might have been built up about him, for he was thoroughly Messianic. And it was a strange quirk which set this gently sentimental Middle-Westerner in the leadership of a party often fierce and militant.

Though not a Christian by any precise standard, Debs was the Christian-Socialist type. That, I'm afraid, is outmoded. He did feel that wrongs could be righted by touching the compassion of the world. Perhaps they can. It has not happened yet. Of cold, logical Marxism, Debs possessed very little. He was never the brains of his party. I never met him, but I read many of his speeches, and most of them seemed to be second-rate utterances. But when his great moment came a miracle occurred. Debs made a speech to the judge and jury at Columbus after his conviction, and to me it seems one of the most beautiful and moving passages in the English language. He was for that one afternoon touched with inspiration. If anybody told me that tongues of fire danced upon his shoulders as he spoke, I would believe it.

## ON MEETING DEBS

WHENEVER I write anything about churches, ministers write in and say: "But of course you have no faith in miracles and the supernatural." And that is a long way off the target. For better or worse I can't stand out for a minute against mysticism. I think there are very few ministers ready to believe in as many miracles as I accept, because I cannot help myself. The speech which Debs made is to me a thing miraculous, because in it he displayed a gift for singing prose which was never with him on any other day of his life. And if you ask me, I'll also have to admit that I don't see how Lincoln came to the Gettysburg Address by any pathway which can be charted. There was in that nothing to suggest the utterance of a man who had been a small time politician and who might reasonably be expected to have formed his habits of speech in the rough and tumble school of give-and-take political debate in which his formative years were spent.

Something was in Debs, seemingly, that did not come out unless you saw him. I'm told that even those speeches of his which seemed to any reader indifferent stuff took on vitality from his presence. A Socialist told me once, "Gene Debs is the only one who can get away with the sentimental flummery that's been tied onto Socialism in this country. Pretty nearly always it gives me a swift pain to go around to meetings and have people call me 'comrade.' That's a lot of bunk. But the funny part of it is that when Debs says 'comrade' it's all right. He means it. That old man with the burning eyes actually believes that there can be such a thing as the brotherhood of man. And that's not the funniest part of it. As long as he's around I believe it myself."

## THERE CAN BE A BROTHERHOOD

I've said that it did not seem to me that Debs was a great man in life, but he will come to greatness by far. There are in him the seeds of symbolism.

The Debs idea will not die. To be sure, it was not his at first at all. He carried on an older tradition. It will come to pass. There can be a brotherhood of man.

# Party Policies Discussed at Chicago Meet

Foreign Federations and Vienna Congress Among Subjects Taken Up

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—A Socialist party membership conference met Sunday, October 11, at the Labor Lyceum. The conference was very well attended. Morris Franklin, Dr. Green and Hyman Schneid acted as chairmen.

Dreifuss stated that the language federations in Cook County compose about one-half of the party membership. While it is true that some federations do their full share of the party's work others content themselves with activities in their own groups. Everybody in the party agrees that these activities in the federations are necessary, but our foreign speaking comrades must nevertheless find time to take part in all affairs of the party as a whole, attend the party councils, and show in their press that they are part and parcel of the whole. It is not enough to print the press notices of the county office in the foreign papers, the editors must be around in the party, in order to give the party news soul and color. The speaker-produced evidence where certain federations should have been present but shone with absence. He reported that the Executive Committee of Local Cook County had arranged to thrash this matter out in conferences with the foreign language federations and their press.

Members of various federations admitted the justification of the complaints but pleaded mitigating circumstances in the trying conditions under which they have to work. They promised, however, to render the party more help and assistance in the future than they were able to give in the past. A motion was adopted asking the foreign press to send delegates regularly to the meetings of the Cook County Central Committee.

**The Farm-Labor Party**

On the Farm-Labor Party of Cook County progress was reported. There is a nucleus of trade unions organized in the party and also a number of individual members. The Farmer Labor Party has also approached the question of candidates for public elections and instructed its chairman McVey to appoint a committee to confer with the Socialist Party. We are asked by Secretary Hammond of the Farmer Labor Party to elect a like committee.

Comrade Loewenthal gave a report as delegate to the Illinois convention of the Farmer Labor Party at Galesburg. He said he had no criticism to make. He would have wished, though, that a greater number of non-Socialists had been present at the convention. He is afraid that very few people that could not also be reached by the Socialist Party. As things are now he proposes to stand by the Farmer Labor Party solely for the reason that it might develop into something more influential than it is now.

Hyman Schneid, the other delegate to the Galesburg convention, presented a more optimistic picture than Loewenthal. In his opinion there were not more than one-third of the convention delegates members of the Socialist Party, some of them not even active in the party. When the rest did not object to our leadership or were very sympathetic, it is something to rejoice over instead of to belittle. It is true, the Farmer Labor Party is still small, but it shows remarkable progress.

No one wished to abrogate our connection with the Farmer Labor Party, and a motion was finally passed to refer the election of a committee for further negotiations to the County Central Committee.

The secretary reviewed party activity and plans for the immediate future. Dr. Green presented the financial report. The latter balanced for the fiscal year with close to \$6,000. The year was started with \$1,400 debts on our hands. Today we do not owe quite \$700. It is the aim of the party to repay the remaining debts as soon as possible so that we may have a clean slate and use our funds for propaganda only. Green made a strong plea to the members to help make the party affairs successful so that we never need to borrow any more money but can rely on our regular income. He urged the comrades to attend the banquet on Sunday, October 25, at Baron's Restaurant, 714 Roosevelt road, not only because it should bring funds to the party, but also because its program is worth while.

## Senior on Vienna

Clarence Senior, reporting on the Socialist Congress, started by saying that the Labor and Socialist International should not be confused with the Second International. It is a merger of the Second International with the Vienna Working Union of Socialist parties.

The American delegates were dissatisfied with the majority report on disarmament which took up more time and energy than any other item, Senior reported. Morris Hillquit made a demand for

# Debs and Lincoln

By Daniel W. Hoan  
Mayor of Milwaukee

THE life of Eugene V. Debs, like that of Abraham Lincoln, should be an inspiration to every Socialist. It gives answer to the occasional question: "Why sacrifice for Socialism?"

Both loved the common folk; their souls craved for human justice; their hearts beat for humanity. It is for this reason, mostly, that neither can ever be forgotten. Their example lives to urge us on in spite of all discouragement. They are not only known nationally, but their pictures may be seen in the humble cottages of the workers in all parts of the globe. Their philosophy may be summed up in substantially their own words: "Labor creates all wealth and by right it belongs to those whose labor creates it. It is a worthy object of any good government to see that labor receives the full product of its toil." I have often thought that these words of Debs and Lincoln would make at least as good, if not a better state, if not national platform for the Socialist Party than any I have yet read.

a resolution giving the Socialist case against war and urging disarmament by example and unceasing struggle against war.

Senior reported that the Congress was disappointing in some respects. If it had been held after the fall of the Labor government in England, it probably would have taken a more militant stand on several matters, including India. The keynote of the Congress' attitude toward the German situation seemed to have been sounded by De Brouckere who said, "We must count on a return of German prosperity to solve the world economic problems." In addition to this the resolution dealing with the situation in Germany placed its stress upon an appeal to the international bankers to give adequate credit in order that Germany might be saved. Senior said that it had been his impression before going to Vienna that it was Socialism that was going to solve the world's economic problems but the leaders of the larger parties in Europe, who determine what the International does, seemed to think that the more capitalism displayed its weakness and the nearer it came to a total state of collapse, the less Socialist action was possible.

## Calls for More Activity Here

In response to questions and discussion following the report, Senior defended the ability and will of the L. S. I. and the International Federation of Trade Unions to carry on effective anti-war activity. He estimated that approximately one-third of the Congress delegates would have followed the so-called "left-wing" resolutions if they had not been prevented from doing so by the "bloc" system of voting. The chances of a Communist revolution in Germany he thought were getting smaller because the Russian masters of the Communist International had given out the word that the Communists must not precipitate a revolution in Germany because such action would do a great deal of harm to the Soviet government's attempts to make the five year plan successful.

Sol Lariks, who was also at Vienna, made a scorching attack upon the German Social-Democratic Party for supporting the "Fascist" Brüning government, and contended that the resolution and petition campaign of the joint L. S. I.-F. T. U. committee had called for would be ineffective.

In closing the discussion, Senior called attention to the role which America was playing in world affairs and to the fact that it had become the key to the world capitalism and, therefore, the key to world Socialism. He pleaded with the comrades present to put European problems in the back of their minds, using them only as lessons so that we will not make the same mistakes, and concentrate upon Socialist activity in America where we are living and where the American working class is waiting for the inspired leadership which the Socialists can and must furnish.

# Union Health Center Announces Winter Plans

The Union Health Center announces that a clinic for general examinations will be held on Fridays from 11 a. m. to 1:30 p. m. The Dental Department is open every day except Sundays from 10 a. m. to 7 p. m.

The Center invites all to make use of its well equipped facilities and bring their children for an examination. The cost for a physical examination is only one dollar, and examinations in the Dental Department are made free of charge.

Plans for the winter include many necessary improvements in the Medical Department. There will be more clinics during the day in order to accommodate those who work at night. The Union Health Center Alliance—composed of men and women who wish to see the Health Center grow and expand—is planning to raise a fund for the purpose of helping the people who are both unemployed and sick. Membership in this group is open to all those interested in the Center.

# Debs Was Foe Of All Wars, He Declared

"I Would Not Kill a Man Under Any Circumstances," Socialist Leader Said

By Mary Winsor

IN NO respect were the undaunted courage and far-sighted wisdom of Eugene Debs revealed more clearly than in his stand against militarism.

After the World War, the Women's Peace Union, a small group without money or influence, formulated a constitutional amendment which Senator Frazier has now introduced in the United States Senate, providing for the outlawry of war and the total disarmament of the United States. In importance this measure ranks with the constitutional amendments emancipating and enfranchising the Negroes and the amendment giving suffrage to women. The Disarmament Amendment is indeed so far in advance of its time that its proponents were ridiculed for their audacity. They turned instinctively to the great spirit, the noble humanity of Eugene Debs.

On May 22, 1923, a Debs Mass Meeting was held in New York at the Madison Square Garden. On the following day, Mrs. Alice Beals Parsons and Elinor Byrns—the latter, a Socialist Party member—went to the Breslin Hotel where Debs was staying. Elinor Byrns says:

"We met Debs about ten o'clock in the morning. He took us from the sitting room of the hotel suite into the next room, which was a bedroom. The sitting room was full of people, all demanding his attention. One of the secretaries said he could give us only ten minutes. However, we were with him almost three quarters of an hour, although various persons came to the door and demanded that he break up his interview with us. Debs walked around part of the time while talking with us, because he was very animated and enthusiastic, but finally sat down on the bed.

"Debs said that the work being done by the Women's Peace Union was the first real flowering he had seen as a result of the suffrage movement. He recalled his early acquaintance with Susan B. Anthony and a suffrage meeting in Terre Haute where she had spoken. He said the spirit which had animated the movement had apparently been killed when the suffragists handed over their organization to the war; it was like a bush which had appeared to die but after an interval sent out new shoots. The figure was a little mixed, but the idea was clear—he felt that women, in working against war in this way, were going to bring new life to the woman movement.

"I especially asked Debs whether he thought Socialists would be justified in waiting until the economic system had been changed before working for the abolition of war. He said definitely 'No.' When I told him how many people had refused to walk in our 1921 Disarmament Parade because they must first remove the economic causes of war, he said that was foolish. Debs expressed his great pleasure that there was an organization willing to take an uncompromising stand against all war and all preparation for war, and said: 'You have my unconditional endorsement for your Amendment. I, myself, would not be willing to kill a man under any circumstances, even to save my own life.'"

## A Labor Lie Book

In the political and economic struggles of the workingclass, the facts of the battle form an important part of the arsenal. The true story of the exploitation and the battles of the workers should be in the hands of every advanced member of the workingclass. Whoever poisons the minds of the workers with misinformation does the workers' cause irreparable damage. The International Publishers has seen fit to lend its imprint to the so-called "Labor Fact Book," which includes in its pages an assortment of the usual Communist lies about the Socialist party. The book was collected by the Labor Research Agency, a Communist group. The value of whatever germane and true facts may be found in its pages—most of them culled from other sources—is vitiated by the barefaced misrepresentation of the aims and tactics of Socialism. In these days when the workers' book budget is limited, investment in the "Labor Fact Book" would be so much money thrown away.

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As he uttered his words the force of this great lover of the oppressed shone brightly; the light of a new revelation gleamed in his eyes. The charm of his voice aroused the magnetism of his personality, assessed me and penetrated my entire being. I can still feel the aroma of that fragrant spirit that was 'Gene Debs.

Five years have gone by since the South has taken him from the Socialist movement. And the magnitude of our loss mounts with the years. In these trying days of stumbling capitalism we stand especially in need of courageous and loyal leaders who shall be ready to serve our movement without regard for their personal ambition or welfare. Today more than ever we miss the courageous spirit, the radiant smile, and the great loving heart of 'Gene Debs.



## "A Hunting We Must Go"

YOU will be glad to hear, boys and girls, that the hunting season is on.

I don't mean the sort of hunting in which you and I have been the quarry for the past two years or more. There is no closed season for us.

Always the pack of bill collectors, creditors, mortgage hounds and Morris Planners are in full cry at our harried heels. There is no news in this.

What stirs me is a recent story in The New York Herald Tribune that "Columbus Day started the hunting in earnest in Westchester." I read:

"The weather was decidedly cold and a strong wind out of the north guaranteed poor scent for all packs. At Golden's Bridge the hounds, cast at 7 o'clock slightly east of North Salem, brought up a fox but could not keep it running. There followed an hour's milling through M. Roy Jackson's fields and those of his neighbors, and in a deep covert another fox was brought up. This one, a gray, went to tree and was inspected by the field of forty-eight. The hounds were lifted and got nowhere, chiefly because of the stout wind, which carried the scent away as soon as laid.

"An hour later the hounds were brought back to the tree, out of which the fox had been shaken, but with 'Charlie' in sight the pack could not follow down wind, and so the trail was lost. A lark home over Mr. Jackson's brisk line of jumps wound up the hunt at 11 o'clock."

All this may sound like so much blarney to you, but take it from me, it is a serious business, especially for the fox. Up to now I had not known that Golden's Bridge was a rendezvous of our smart, red-coated hunting set. In fact, the only red I have ever seen around there was at a banana-skinned Communist camp, whose denizens were hunting, all right, but hunting animals much smaller than foxes.

But who am I to chide our masters for their jolly larking over Mr. Jackson's brisk line of jumps? I wish I had a brisk line of jumps myself.

It is just green envy that makes me look askance upon the pastimes of our rich. But as long as we are on the subject, may I humbly suggest to the Yorkicks of Golden's Bridge that they combine utility with pleasure by getting a new sort of "Charlie"?

Last summer I addressed meetings of Westchester road workers who were on strike, and I understood that many of them have been blacklisted since that time, and are now unemployed. Why, in the name of sport, should they not offer themselves up for the delectation of our Westchester gentry? All of them are undoubtedly lean by this time and could afford no end of jolly larking if given a decent head-start.

This would keep them out in the healthy open. It would reduce unemployment, stave off the menace of the dole, and undoubtedly add to the ruggedness of the individual substitute for the fox.

What more inspiring sight than to come upon a bellowing pack of thorough-breds, hot on the scent of a fleeing worker? Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your brushes, and you are fuller than them.

I always like to see a young writing man getting on in the world, and as a grizzled columnist it gives me pleasure to greet the appearance in this paper of a novice who all too modestly signs himself "A. L." A few words of advice from one who has been in what is ironically called this "game," so, these many years might be in order.

There are pitfalls and mantraps to be avoided in this writing business as well as in any other, and if I can divert young feet from disaster, surely it is my duty to do so.

First, A. L., never be as funny as you can be. Humor is a dangerous weapon in inexperienced hands, and I feel somehow, from reading your initial contribution, that your gentle whimsies may be over the heads of many of your readers.

Satire, as Dean Swift and other famous columnists of the past well knew, has its uses, but it must be sparingly employed. I am glad to see that you are going after the fundamentals, that you realize that life is real and life is earnest, and that the correct instruction of the young is after all the chief end of the Socialist scribe.

In this laudable effort I wish you all the luck. For many weary moons I have attempted in this column to throw some rays of light into those dark and tortuous places which are the minds of my readers. Look at the result.

Only yesterday I received a letter from one of my students in Southern Illinois, asking me for a copy of "The Descent of Man" by Karl Marx. He wanted it autographed.

He ought to know that I can't afford to give away books for nothing, and the beginning columnist should make it very plain at the outset that he is not in the book-dispensing business.

Let him also beware of contributions with a penchant for verse. By now he is undoubtedly in receipt of long and tragic poems, penned by unemployed locomotive engineers, running presumably somewhat as follows:

"Ho! I am an engineer.  
As I sit in my cab up here  
I have never a fright or a fear  
Since I know that my God is here—  
And besides I am a pure wool, brass-bound dyed in the button engineer."

These poems, indicative as they are of what Mike Gold would call "Proletcult," or the state of culture among the American proletariat, should at once be returned to their authors, provided stamps are enclosed, with the advice to despatch them immediately to the editorial offices of The New Masses, where they are on the lookout for just such up-from-the-soil material.

Columns should begin halfway down the first page, and should be typed neatly on one side of the paper only. Thereafter they are on the knees of the gods, and at the mercy of the printer who fears neither man, god, nor devil, and who would just as soon as not run run a string of "etain" through the throbbing midst of one's most meticulously polished masterpieces.

Anyhow, A. L., you are welcome to your column, and if you emerge at the end of a year of it with sanity unimpaired and faith in the educational properties of journalistic enterprise unshattered, you are a better man than

McAlister Coleman.

# From The Tongue of Debs

## THE CAPITALIST PARTIES

THE Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties—differing only in being committed to different sets of capitalist interests—they have the same principles under varying colors, are equally corrupt and are one in their subservience to capital and their hostility to labor.

The ignorant workingman who supports either of these parties forges his own fetters and is the unconscious author of his own misery. He can and must be made to see and think and act with his fellows in supporting the party of his class and this work of education is the crowning virtue of the Socialist movement.

## TRUMPH OF THE WORKERS

The economic basis of society is being transformed.

The working class are being knit together in the bonds of cooperation, they are becoming conscious of their interests as a class, and marshalling the workers for the class struggle and collective ownership.

With the triumph of the workers the mode of production and distribution will be completely revolutionized.

Private ownership and production for profit will be supplanted by social ownership and production for use.

## THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic! That is the demand. The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN! That is the demand. This is Socialism!

## THE FLEA AND THE DONKEY

A flea nestled in the ear of a donkey. The flea bit off the tip of a pore and lunched at leisure. The donkey brayed and kicked. Moral: The interests of fleas and donkeys are identical. (See revised code Civic Federation).

Without fleas donkeys would have no incentive to kick and bray and would soon completely lose their donkeyality.

## TASKS OF THE WORKERS

The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

Child labor must be abolished by the working class. Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

The working class must be employed by the working class. The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

These are the principles and objects of the Socialist Party and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellowmen.

## CAPITALISTS AND WORKERS

Both sides are organizing in this class struggle, the capitalists, however, far more thoroughly than the workers. In the first place the capitalists are, comparatively, few in number.



Drawn by Art Young

ber, while the workers number many millions. Next, the capitalists are men of financial means and resources, and can buy the best brains and command the highest order of ability the market affords. Then again, they own the earth, and the mills and mines and, locomotives and ships and stores and the jobs that are attached to them, and this not only gives them tremendous advantage in the struggle, but makes them for the time the absolute masters of the situation.

The workers, on the other hand, are poor as a rule, and ignorant as a class, but they are in the overwhelming majority. In a word, they have the power, but are not conscious of it. This is the supreme demand; to make them conscious of the power of their class, or class conscious workingmen.

## THE AIM OF SOCIALISM

Socialism is first of all a political movement of the working class, clearly uncompromising, which aims at the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system by securing control of the national government and by the exercise of the public powers, supplanting the existing class government with Socialist administration—that is to say, changing a republic in name into a republic in fact.

Socialism also means a coming phase of civilization, next in order to the present one, in which the collective people will own and operate the sources and means of wealth production.

"When I Rise, It Will be With the Working-class and Not From It."

## The Chatterbox

### For Debs

They said that you were dead, Gene,  
But when I saw the sun  
Pour gold out of the blue  
Down to the green,  
And with the same profusion  
Flood and drown the dun  
Of city streets,  
I knew you were not gone.  
I knew as long as light  
Still waved upon this sphere,  
You, so much a part of radiance,  
Were near.

And this I always will attest,  
For those who weep the loss  
Of substance to the sense,  
That flesh may bleed and burn  
Upon a cross,  
But that is all  
That passes out beyond recall.  
The warmth you gave  
The love you breathed in every breath,  
The dream you walked within,  
Are these concerned with death...

Flesh goes the way of seasons  
In a year. Did we not see  
Your tree-like figure  
Topple like a tree  
All stripped of twig and leaf  
And sapless to the winter's axe...?  
There was an awesome silence when you fell.  
And if there came a legend, men will tell  
Of you, as something that had fallen down  
Too majestically fine  
For common grief.

As long as I will march within your dream,  
As long as I may feel  
The pain of those  
Under the iron heel,  
You are not dead...  
As long as rhapsody  
In red rebellion's time  
Enters heart and head  
Of any being anywhere  
You are there...

When I grow weary  
And there is still so much to do,  
The wine of all your warmth  
And the bread of all your love  
Will strengthen me anew  
When men about me laugh my striving down,  
Or form a phalanx of stupidity  
Against my charge of reason  
You will stand with me  
And say the words of courage to my brain,  
That I may gather to the charge again.

Oh, I have heard and seen  
Men who are worldly stuffed and wise,  
Expound upon the fallacies of love  
The silliness in dream-illuminated eyes,  
The soft quixotic madness poets show  
Searching the star-scattered skies  
For some quick haven from the hell below...  
And you were always near me  
All the while  
And how I heartened as they shrunk  
To microscopic notes  
Dangling to the slightest beam  
Of your smile.

And I have heard how you had grown  
Too old and sentimental for these days  
When even dreams must wear a solid cloth  
And write their purpose with a careful phrase,  
And how your speech and invocations blurred  
The thought and rasped the ear of men  
Attuned to faster rhythm, coarser rhyme...  
In dullard deference they said it when  
They fancied you were dead and out of time.

Again I see your devastating smile  
Dissemble and diffuse sterility  
Of sterile minds. They have the adult scorn  
For any poet or his prophecies,  
And for the music of his words  
The snicker, that the hand and strong  
Always show to hide their cringing inners  
From the sword of song.

They think that you are gone, Gene,  
They do not know, but when the sun  
Pours fire out of the blue  
Upon the living green,  
And golden all the dun  
Of city alleys,  
You are here and warm,  
And that as long as light  
Will wave upon this sphere,  
You, so much of love and radiance,  
Are near.

They do not know but when the storm  
Assails the ancient tyrannies  
Enscathed in granite hills  
Your voice, now freed of flesh and form  
Sends song of freedom  
Into stolid trees  
That strain and toss until  
The stressed air fills  
With anthems of rebellion.

They do not know, only the dead  
Are still.  
And while men march within your dream,  
As long as they can feel  
The pain of those  
Who writhing beneath the iron heel  
As long as song of revolution throbs  
Within a heart and head,  
You are not still, or done,  
Or dead.

S. A. de Witt.

## Shatter the Glass

Shatter the glass,  
Shatter it shivering down the pit of time,  
Shatter the image distorted,  
Shatter the crippled figure in the glass.

Too long have you worshipped your idol,  
Too long the impotent body has stood in  
your sight  
As yourself.

Shatter it. You are more divine than  
"your god."  
Shatter it. And you are free  
Of a figure crucified,  
Of a figure running blood from the  
spear-points,  
Free of Golgotha.

Shatter the glass,  
Shatter it shivering down the pit of time.  
S. C. SOBIN.

## The Spirit of Eugene V. Debs

### By Morris Hillquit

FIVE years have passed since his death, yet his memory remains as fresh as if he were still among us. To the Socialist movement of America, Eugene V. Debs will remain unforgettable.

He was not the founder of a new social school or political movement. He was not a creative theoretician, but he was the embodiment of all that is noble and lofty, inspiring and compelling in the struggles of the toiling masses for liberty and justice.

He was the soul and the spirit of American Socialism, and it is a well-nigh impossible task to attempt a summary of the elements that went to make up this marvelous spirit.

It was in the first instance the spirit of revolt. Debs was a born rebel, a rebel against all forms of tyranny, oppression and cruelty. Any act of social injustice struck his tender heart like a heavy physical blow and threw him into a paroxysm of indignation.

In keeping with it was his single-minded devotion and loyalty to the working class.

"The working class may it ever be right, but right or wrong the working class," was his slogan and credo.

He did not idealize the workers. He was not blind to their shortcomings and faults, but these weighed as nothing to him in comparison with the heavy wrongs and brutal oppression inflicted upon them by the ruling classes throughout the ages.

In all the struggles between the workers and their exploiters he stood on the side of the former without questioning or moralizing, without hesitation or reservation—simply because it was a fight of the weak against the strong, his fight.

To the cause of the oppressed classes, races and nations, to the cause of social justice and world peace he gave his whole being, his flaming soul, his eloquent voice and pen. He was one of the rare spirits, born once in a century, who through magic ethereal waves reach circles far beyond the spheres of their direct personal contact, spreading faith, courage and inspiration.

May the spirit of Eugene Debs guide our movement in the critical years ahead of us.

## Debs' Cause And Ours

### By Morris Berman

IN OUR great Socialist movement the world over we have men of the highest idealism. Some of these men and women I have had the good fortune to meet. Yet I feel that Eugene V. Debs was endowed with personal charm and beautiful thought the like of which

Oh, say to Morris that his beautiful as brilliant speech...  
and his defiant challenge to the enemy...  
my heart will always be true to his love...  
inspired more to me than all the gold in the mine

Facsimile of a note sent by Debs from Atlanta, to Morris Hillquit. The note was scribbled on both sides of an envelope and was sent

to Theodore Debs, Gene's brother, who forwarded it to Hillquit. Note the inspection stamp of the prison authorities.

## The Prophecy of Debs

### By Jacob Panken

FIVE years have passed since the death of Eugene V. Debs. In that period the world has seen tremendous changes. The prophecies he made have come true. The distress he saw is upon us. The helpless starving millions whom he foresaw even in the midst of plenty, are with us.

His loving heart and great soul were seared. Like the prophet of old, he called upon the workers to mend their way lest adversity overtake them. He warned them, for he saw clearly, the impending doom.

Our people lived in a fool's paradise. Only the best amongst them responded to Debs. Only the intelligent saw eye to eye with him. Only the initiate felt with him. And these he led. He encouraged the faint-hearted, the wavering, when the cause they espoused seemed to lag. Unshaken in his convictions, he instilled in others a determination that saw no setback and knew no defeat. Pessimism was as strange to him as optimism was part of him.

The loss of our good comrade is felt more acutely as time passes. The false hope, the so-called prosperity, fed to the American people, turned into disillusion, bitter despair. Millions of our workers are groping blindly for a way out of the abyss into which they have been cast.

Hopeless, disheartened, workless, and without promise of a change for the better, labor is becoming desperate. The middle class is despondent; it is growing restless. Insecurity is the lot of all, except for the few who have

the organizations that practice it or upon their leaders. Here too, I find the logic faulty and the conclusion not in accord with past experiences.

But what more to say on this subject will have to wait—A. L.

more in possessions than they can possibly use. Yet, even these few feel insecure in their position of power and affluence. For who can tell what tomorrow will bring? Who can tell what the desperate, hungry and destitute fathers and mothers may do?

The system thought impregnable is tottering. Capitalism is breaking down; it is making way for a Socialist world.

Tens of millions poverty stricken people in dire need are praying for a change. Resentment, discontent, everywhere—that is the situation of America as is the case the world over. One spark, and there is no telling where it will lead. Clear heads, brave hearts, inspiring leadership, is the need of the moment.

Oh, for a Debs to inspire, to organize, to enthrone, to point the way, to lead.

The masses are ready. Who is to lead them out of their misery? Who is there to blaze the path? Who is to take the place of that flaming torch that death extinguished? Who amongst us can replace him? If only he had lived, how he would have heartened and inspired us all.

Labor! Weep! A great soul has gone from our midst, a beautiful spirit has departed, a great leader is no more. Yet, he lives. His spirit is abroad. It is with and of us.

His prophecy of a better world will come true, just as his prophecy of the breakdown of capitalism is coming true.



# New York Repertory Starts a Fine Season

## In New French Film at the Little Carnegie



Albert Prejean, well remembered for his delightful work in "Sous Les Toits de Paris" can now be seen in "Un Soir de Raffle" ("Night Raid"), the latest French film which is on view at Leo Brecher's charming little playhouse on West 57th Street.

## A Busy and Important Actor-Producer



Maurice Browne who will present "The Unknown Warrior," "The Improper Duchess," and "The Venetian" in America this season.

## Baliuff Opens Next Week at the Ambassador

With the arrival recently on the Belgianland of the entire company of Baliuff's Chauve-Souris, numbering forty people, together with the scenery and costumes of the triple bill which is said to embody a revolutionary idea in theatrical entertainment, Morris Gest announced that he will be able to carry out his plan to open next week the first season of the great Russian comedian and his company in two years.

The Ambassador is the theatre chosen as Baliuff's Broadway home this season.

The first performance of the new triple bill, including Pushkin's "The Queen of Spades" in English, with an English company headed by the well known actor George Hayes; a Mozart ballet and an Offenbach-Lecocq opera will take place on Thursday, Oct. 22.

For the first time in ten years' association with Mr. Gest and the American stage, Baliuff will open a new program at popular prices. Mr. Gest announced last night that the top price for all evening performance will be \$3 and for both midweek and Saturday matinees \$2.

## Essays the Feminine Lead in "The Left Bank"



Katherine Alexander does some fine acting in Elmer Rice's play about Americans in Paris, "The Left Bank" at the Little Theatre.

## "Spirit of Notre Dame" Interesting Foot Ball Film at Mayfair Thea.

"The Spirit of Notre Dame," tribute to Knute Rockne, which has been acclaimed as the most realistic and entertaining football picture to reach the screen, is now at the RKO Mayfair Theatre. Lew Ayres plays the lead with William Bakewell as his "buddy." The film features Andy Devine, J. Farrell MacDonald, who bears a striking resemblance to the beloved coach, Harry Barris, Sally Blane, Frank Carideo, twice All-American Quarterback; the famous "Four Horsemen," Miller, Layton, Crowley and Studer, and ten other celebrated Notre Dame players. These not only participate in the stirring football sequences, but carry on throughout the entire production.

This Universal product in which Christy Walsh had originally arranged for the appearance of Knute Rockne, was directed by Russell Mack. The story by E. Richard Schayer and Dale Van Every deals with Bucky O'Brien (Lew Ayres) entering Notre Dame University from the Hookerville High School, where he had been a big shot on the local football team. After some of the cockiness is knocked out of him he and his roommate, Jim Stewart (William Bakewell), settle down into being real factors on the Freshman team.

## In Artistic German Film at the Cameo Theatre



A scene from the "Song of Life" much heralded German Film, which has its American Premiere at the Cameo Theatre.

## "Un Soir de Raffle" New French Film Has Its Premiere at the Little Carnegie Playhouse

"Un Soir de Raffle" ("Night Raid") the French screen drama which opened at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse in West 57th Street last Thursday, is serving to bring back to American audiences Albert Prejean, already familiar as the star of "Sous Les Toits de Paris," and the attractive Gallic star, Annabella, who will be remembered from "Le Million".

## "Die Lindenwirtin Vom Rhein" Continues At the Europa

"Die Lindenwirtin vom Rhein" ("The Inn at the Rhine"), romantic German screen opera, is to continue at the Europa and entered the fourth week of its engagement Wednesday, October 14th.

This German film has played to capacity business in the first three weeks of its engagement and will continue indefinitely.

## ROXY THE WORLD'S THEATRE

7th Ave. & 50th St.

HEARTBREAK

Charles Farrell

Madge Evans—Hardie Albright  
3rd of "Football Thrills" series  
"NERVE WRECKERS"  
—On the stage—"ASIA"  
Royalties—Singing Ensemble—Ballet  
Orchestra

## CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street

GRETA GARBO

and CLARK GABLE

in "SUSAN LENOX"

(Her Fall and Rise)  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture  
—ON STAGE—  
Augmented Capitol Ballet Corps—  
Yasha Bunchuk and Orch.

## 2 Great Russian Directors

OFFER FILMS ON THIS SENSATIONAL PROGRAM

ALEXIS GRANOWSKY

of The Kamera Theatre, Moscow

"SONG OF LIFE"

"Ten Days"

A Sentimental Romance in Russia

## CAMEO & B'way

42nd St.

TOBIS VANDERBILT

The Outstanding Picture Program of the Season

CAMILLA HORN in

DIE GROSSE SEHNSUCHT

(The Great Passion)

with Lil Dagover, Walter Janssen, Liane Haid, Fritz Kortner, Fritz Rasp, Charlotte Susa, Franz Lederer,

MUSICAL—NOVEL—FUNNY BURLESQUES OF RECENT HITS

"MELODIE DER WELT"

## THE FLUTE

Concert of SANS SOUCI

German Film Romance of FREDERICK THE GREAT

European Musical Hit

UFA Cosmopolitan Theatre

Broadway at 39th Street

ROXY THE WORLD'S THEATRE

7th Ave. & 50th St.

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### LESSON UNLEARNED

"THE STREETS OF NEW YORK, OR POVERTY IS NO CRIME." By Dion Boucicault. The New York Repertory Company at the 48th Street.

Whatever play the newly gathered N. Y. Repertory Co. presents, we may expect it to do well. The company includes Dorothy Gish, Rolfe Peters, Romney Brent, Winifred Lenihan, Moffat Johnston, Fania Marinoff and more, who play with understanding and imaginative grasp. Lawrence Langner is general director. The first play of their series, Boucicault's "The Streets of New York," they put on with quick humor, deft capture of whimsy in incidental song, and delicate over-stressing at the right moments.

Of particular interest in the way Boucicault's play, picturing its time, foreshadows ours. It begins (not a line is added in the present version) in 1837 with the failure of the United States Bank. It goes on, in 1857, with a picture of the hard times then prevailing. As Harper's Weekly put the case, on Oct. 10, 1857:

"It is a gloomy moment in history. In France the political cauldron seethes and bubbles with uncertainty. Russia hangs as usual like a cloud dark and silent upon the horizon of Europe; while all the energies, resources and influences of the British Empire are sorely tried, and are yet to be tried more sorely, in coping with the vast and deadly Indian insurrection, and with disturbed relations in China.

"Of our own troubles no man can see the end. If we are only to lose money and by painful poverty to be taught wisdom, no man need seriously despair. Yet

### MUSIC

#### The Society of the Friends of Music

ARTHUR BUDANZKY, Conductor  
Walter Wahlen, Chorus Master  
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
First Concert  
Sunday Afternoon, Oct. 25  
Mgt. RICHARD COPELY (Steinway)  
at four o'clock sharp

#### \$1-CHAMBER MUSIC—\$1

Six Fri. Eve. Concerts: Oct. 23, Nov. 1st (Sat.), Dec. 1, Jan. 8, Feb. 12, Mar. 11.

Gordon String Quartet, Cornelius Van Vliet Trio, Russian Symphonic Choir, Budapest String Quartet, Broza String Quartet, Musical Art Quartet.

#### \$1-ARTISTS' RECITALS—\$1

Six Sat. Eve. Concerts: Oct. 24, Nov. 29, Dec. 26, Jan. 26, Mar. 5, Apr. 16.

Mitscha Levitzki, Charles Nargle, Alirezaev, Muzs Yelly D'Arany, Benno Rabinnoff, Cornelius Van Vliet, Washington Irving High School, Irving Place & 16th St.

\$1 For subscription to each series of six concerts. Both series \$2. Mail orders to People's Symphony Concerts, 33 Union Square (Stn. 9-9977). Also on sale at Gimbel Brothers and Wanamaker's.

#### DANCE RECITALS

Six Sat. Eve. Dance Recitals: Oct. 24, Nov. 14th, Dec. 19th, Jan. 2nd, Feb. 26th, Mar. 26th.

The Ted Sharron, Hans Wiener, Dancers: Tamara, Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, & Miriam Marmein, Charles Weidman, Washington Irving H. S.

Irving Place and 16th Street.

#### \$2

For the series of six recitals. Mail order to Students' Dance Recitals, 33 Union Square, (Stn. 9-9977). Also on sale at Gimbel Brothers and Wanamaker's.

#### PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY

ERICH KLEIBER, Conductor

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Soleist: ALBERT SPALDING, Violinist

Brecht-Bentheim-Weinberger—CARENIE HALL

Thurs. Eve., Oct. 22, 8:15; Fri. Aft., Oct. 23, 2:30; Sat. Eve., Oct. 24, 8:45; Sunday Afternoon, Oct. 25, 3:30

SEICKENBERG—BREG—RAVEL SCHUMANN—SMITAN—ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

#### TOWN HALL, SATURDAY AFT., OCT. 24, at 8

#### HORTENSE MONATH

PIANO RECITAL Mgt. Vera Hall Hall, 113 W. 57 St. (Steinway Piano)

### TIME TAKES THE TOLL

"PAYMENT DEFERRED." By Jeffrey Dell. From the novel of C. S. Forester. With Charles Laughton. At the Lyceum.

The ordinary murder mystery play, in which we wonder through two and a half acts, amid loud gun shots and ghostly visitants, who has committed the crime, this straight guessing game of the crime melodrama, has been superseded by a more sophisticated form of murder play. "Rope's End" was the first prominent sample of the new type, that play in which the murder is committed early, in sight of the audience, the body hidden in a chest—on which the victim's father is invited to eat dinner, and the driving consequences of the two killers relentlessly watched until their sin finds them out. In "Payment Deferred," again, there is no mystery; we watch the grim changes in the character of the bank-clerk who has committed the crime, and the effect on his relations with his wife and his daughter. We watch the patient suffering of the

### ROBERT LORRAINE

Haldee Wright and Dorothy Dix

in

THE FATHER

By AUGUST STRINDBERG

Preceded by "BARBARA'S WEDDING" By J. M. BARRIS

"One of the great works of the modern drama. And Robert Lorraine has put the seal of greatness on it."

—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times

49th St. Thea., W. of B'way, 40th St. Thurs. & Sat. \$1 to \$2.50

### BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN

Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

SMART WOMAN

How she holds her man!... with MARY ASTOR—ROBERT AMES

—And What a Stage Show—FANCHON & MARCO'S

"AROUND THE WORLD"

Idea

"HAPPY" Sam Jack KAUFMAN

Sunkist Globe Trotters

Harry & Frances Usher

44th St. Thea., W. of B'way, 45th St. Thurs. & Sat. \$1 to \$2.50

LEE SHUBERT Presents

JULIAN WYLLIE'S Production—THE

Good Companions

Adapted by J. B. PRIESTLEY and EDWARD KNOX, from J. B. PRIESTLEY'S World Famous Novel. Now Playing at His Majesty's Theatre, London

### "The Recruiting Officer" At the New School

George Farquhar's "The Recruiting Officer," the first play ever professionally presented in America, will be revived on Saturday by the Fortune Players in the New School Auditorium, 66 West Twelfth Street. Four performances only will be given—matinee and evening Saturday, October 17th and 24th. Olga Katzin is in director of this company of professionals who are planning five plays for the current season. Charles Stepanek, Jr. has designed and constructed the settings. Its last New York showing was in 1885.

wife, as she grows from vague suspicion that something is not well, to the dread certainty of what has occurred—still a loyal wife, until the last straw carries her beyond her power of endurance. The final punishment of the husband is not written inevitably in his own deed, but is an ironic turn of circumstances that beats him down.

Charles Laughton, here with a reputation from England, gives ample justification for his reputation, making the muddling bank-clerk a figure that, despite the crime, commands a measure of our sympathy. The remainder of the cast moves easily along the swift, tense ways of the melodrama, making "Payment Deferred" a grisly, gripping play.

### MORRIS GEST announces the

Gala Public Premiere of

THE FIRST PROGRAM OF

Nikita Baliuff's

New

Chauve Souris

on THURS. EVE., OCT. 22

At the Ambassador Thea.

FIRST TIME at POP. PRICES

Evs. at \$4.50, 50c to \$2.50, Mats. at \$4.50, 50c to \$2.50

(No advance in price for opening night) mail orders now for the premiere at Le Morris Gest, 3 E. 29 St.

SEATS NOW AT BOX OFFICE

LAWRENCE LANGNER'S

New York

Repertory Company

in

"STREETS OF NEW YORK"

THURSDAY NIGHT, OCT. 22nd

"PILLARS OF SOCIETY"

40th St. Thea., Evs. \$1 to \$3; Pop. Mats. 40c to \$1.50; Thurs. & Sat. \$1 to \$2.50

"Represents the Modern American Theatre at Its BEST" says THE NEW YORK TIMES of

THE LEFT BANK

ELMER RICE'S NEW PLAY

"The Left Bank" is Mr. Rice's maturest play... Characters are a

fashioned out of life. And what his young Americans talk about in a

gaily hotel bedroom on the Boulevard Montparnasse are the sort of

things that interest intelligent people... "The Left Bank" represents

the modern American theatre at its best." —J. BROOKS ATKINSON, The Times

Thurs., W. 41 St. Evs. \$3.50, Mats. Wed. & Sat.

LITTLE

44th St. Thea., W. of B'way, 45th St. Thurs. & Sat. \$1 to \$2.50

LEE SHUBERT Presents

JULIAN WYLLIE'S Production—THE

Good Companions

Adapted by J. B. PRIESTLEY and EDWARD KNOX, from J. B. PRIESTLEY'S World Famous Novel. Now Playing at His Majesty's Theatre, London

### "The Song of Life" Artistic German Film Has Premiere at the Cameo Theatre

Elie Faure, author of "The History of Art," in the current issue of "The Art Digest" again raises the cry that the silent film represents the art of the motion picture and that the introduction of sound marks the death knell for artistic motion picture.

Ever since "sound" we have found many critics who never acknowledged the presence of anything artistic in the silent film. Already a Russian director, Alexis Granowsky, working in Berlin has turned out a sound motion picture, which this writer believes is as important to the sound technique as "The Birth of a Nation" was to the silent method.

The film, "The Song of Life," is the same film which the Berlin censors sought to forbid because of its startling Cæsarian operation scenes. Luckily the New York censorboard passed it practically uncut and starting today, we shall be able to see "The Song of Life" or as it was called in Germany "Das Lied vom Leben" at the R. K. O. Cameo.

### Opening TUESDAY EVE.

CURTAIN AT EIGHT-FIFTEEN

GILBERT MILLER presents

"The SEX FABLE"

A Comedy by EDOUARD BOURDET

with MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL RONALD SQUIRE

Seals Now On Sale

HENRY MILLER'S Thea., 124 W. 43 St.

Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:15

"The most remarkable character actor New York has been privileged to see in years."

—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.

GILBERT MILLER presents

PAYMENT DEFERRED

A New play by Jeffrey Dell

with CHARLES LAUGHTON

LYCEUM Thea., 43 St. E. of B'way

Evening at 8:30

Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.

West of B'way.

Evs. 8:30. Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. \$1 to \$2.

GEORGE WHITE'S

1931 SCANDALS

with Ethel MERMAN

VALLEE White & Eugene HOWARD

Everett MARSHALL BOLGER

GALE QUADRUPLES

THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW GIRLS ON THE STAGE

SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT BOX OFFICE

EARL CARROLL

VANITIES

8th Edition—All New—with WILL LILLIAN WILLIAM

MANONEY ROTH DEMAREST Mitchell & Durant

Fifty Notable Principals and a Company of 200 Featuring

75 of the most beautiful girls in the world

Nights Entire Orch. \$3. Bal. 50c

MAT. Tues., Wed., Thurs. Entire Orch. \$2. Sat. Mat. \$2.50. Bal. 50c.

SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT BOX OFFICE

EARL CARROLL Thea., 7 Ave. & 60th St.

### All Star Cast at the Ufa Cosmopolitan in

"Das Floetenkonzert

Von Sanssouci"

"Das Floetenkonzert von Sanssouci," which will open at the Ufa Cosmopolitan today, was said to be the outstanding event of the German film world. The filming of a picture about Frederick the Great seems to have become a national event in Germany after the war, and Ufa has corralled virtually all of the leading luminaries of the "Deutsche Cinema" as the cast supporting Otto Gobrecht, leading delineator of the character of the Great Frederick, reads like a page of Germany's directory of stars. The finest actors and actresses of the film world literally stampeded the offices of Ufa in order to participate in this picture for they realized that it would place them in a position to share in the reflected glory of this event.

### "HE"

A Theatre Guild

Production

By







Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

st that man in nothin  
a conscience in

...let us not forget that the American