

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

British Labor Problems—A Silver Lining—Internationalism—The Dole—Politics and Gangs—Laymen and the Law—Labor's Martyrs—Housing—A Fine Camp

THE FALL OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

THE fall of the MacDonald government in Great Britain is not, as some of the newspapers say, the failure of Socialism. The Labor government in London held office but not real power. It did not try Socialism.



NORMAN THOMAS

Lacking power as a minority government to begin to achieve Socialism in our time, it nevertheless was able to serve the cause of peace, to administer social welfare legislation sympathetically and to go farther toward a comparatively peaceful (but not wholly satisfactory) settlement of the Indian revolution than any other government. This was a real service. But to keep office at the price of power is always dangerous, especially to men of the temperament of MacDonald and J. H. Thomas. They get the habit of yielding to the immediate exigency and they get a love of office for which they think themselves indispensable. For months the Labor government has been drifting dangerously to the right. It had prepared no adequate programs of its own for a better fiscal system or for saving money on the military establishment or for recovering the land held by a few landlords. (The Secretary for Scotland in the new coalition government owns 100,000 acres!) Hence when the present financial crisis hit it, the bankers were able to put over their pet scheme of making the poor pay for the follies of capitalism. The economy program with "equality of sacrifice" means first and foremost that a family of four now receiving \$7.20 weekly unemployment indemnity will get \$6.48! And the coalition government will not and cannot make up for this by any fundamental advance to socialization, planned production and disarmament. It is for this that the MacDonald who opposed the World War has fallen.

A NEW AGGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

THE silver lining to the cloud—and it is a very genuine silver lining—is that now we can hope to have again a more aggressive socialist party in Britain. Labor will move in the direction of the Independent Labor Party. Its general stand has been vindicated by events. The unions are waking up. Arthur Henderson whose work as Foreign Secretary was the finest thing in the Labor government stays with Labor. To get a real Labor Party back again is worth some present loss and disappointment.

PRESSURE BY AMERICAN BANKERS

WHILE American bankers and officials deny that they exerted pressure on the British government to cut unemployment insurance as the price of further loans, British bankers and newspapers accept the Daily Herald's story as a matter of course. May be there was no formal American banking demand but unquestionably the pressure was there. It always will be there until America has at least the influence of a strong Socialist party to counter-balance the bankers. Capitalism is international and must be answered by international socialism. Impressive as was the Vienna Conference of the Second International in many respects, it did not go anything like as far as circumstances require in making socialist internationalism effective; for instance in opposition to war. For that not the Conference as much as the nationalism of various socialist parties and the lack of a stronger party in America may be to blame. Let's get busy!

CHARITY FOR THE WORKERS

AS I write the terms of Governor Roosevelt's unemployment relief proposals are not definitely known. He says he doesn't want a "dole" which means that he does not accept the principle that society owes the workers either work or maintenance. It is reported that he will try to raise the paltry sum of \$25,000,000 by taxes on tobacco (which is the workers' solace) and cosmetics!

Meanwhile President Hoover is making a last desperate effort to get a Wall Street Committee to raise from the rich in charity enough to keep the workers from demanding more from them in taxes as justice, not charity. And the dreadful winter comes on apace while our rulers siddle.

WARRING ON GANGSTERS

WHAT is the use in New York or any other city of getting politicians at mass meetings to declare war on the gangs that shoot down our children in the streets? Is not politics, the politics of Tammany Hall, itself a racket allied with the underworld? And is not the whole capitalist system which these machine politicians serve itself a racket? Real war against gangs must go deeper than resolutions or giving cops (who too often are themselves allied with gangs) more guns or more encouragement to shoot.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE LAW

NOT long ago in the plainest sort of English I asked a Bar Association inquiry into the action of Justice Sherman of New York in listening to a secret plea from Tammany leader Curry before granting a stay to the notorious Dr. Doyle who was trying to avoid telling Judge Seabury how he split his fees. I expressly said that I questioned not the stay but the political interference. Yet a lawyer named Daru with that desire lawyers sometimes have to come to the rescue of high judges proceeded to make public a long letter to me ignoring Curry and justifying the granting of the stay! In the course of his letter he advanced the old gag which I have heard before from a judicial candidate upholding injunctions that since I am not a lawyer I am not competent to debate these matters. Which is nonsense. Whenever in a social or a political problem any profession takes refuge in some professional hocus pocus which laymen can't understand and under which plain English doesn't mean what it says, watch out! One justification of a jury system is to keep lawyers closer to reality. Perhaps one time in a hundred there is a valid and important point, not technical, but social, which may be misunderstood by the layman. Usually however the cry "You don't understand because you aren't a lawyer" is an escape pure and simple. And Mr. Daru's defence of Judge Sherman which ignores the whole point of my charge; namely, that he permitted Curry to approach him secretly, is emphatically no exception.

WE HAVE PLENTY TO DO

WE who have been remembering the nobility of Sacco and Vanzetti and the everlasting shame of their judicial murder need to remember that we best honor them by seeing that the same sort of thing doesn't happen again. It is likely that the case in Hardin Co., Kentucky unless the miners' cases are well supported, it is happening in California as long as Mooney and Billings are still in jail. It may happen to the Negro boys involved in the Scottsboro cases. We have plenty to do.

COOPERATIVE HOUSING

TWO recent meetings, one at the hall of the Amalgamated cooperative houses in New York City and the other in the beautiful camp of the Workmen's Circle at Ashland, Mass., reminded me once more what things the workers can achieve in the new society. I do not now speak of the spirit of the meetings which was fine or the great generosity of the listeners who gave nobly for the help of their striking comrades in the mining regions. I am thinking of the beautiful and comfortable housing that the Amalgamated cooperatives show that some workers can have now and all workers can expect when housing is no longer left to private profit of speculative landlords and builders. Indeed at no point is our American capitalism blinder, more selfish, and more stupid than in the failure of all governmental agencies, federal, state, and municipal, to use great housing projects like these in Vienna and other European cities to wipe out slums and help reduce unemployment.

OUTDOORS CAMPING

OUT to get back to these meetings. At the Ashland, Mass., camp on Sunday I found a finely run children's camp as well as an excellent adult camp. On Sundays—this Sunday in particular—members of the Workmen's Circle came from miles around to picnic. By cooperation in the Circle even under capitalism they have got some of that beauty of the great outdoors which all workers ought to have.

The Ashland camp impressed me the more because I had driven up from Portsmouth, R. I. where I had left some of my family for the Rhode Island dog show. (My wife is in the business of raising and selling dogs and like others in that business finds exhibiting in these various dog shows not only interesting but very valuable advertising.) Portsmouth is outside Newport. Newport has great national beauty, spoiled and not increased by the pretentious castles of some American plutocrats. The elm shaded streets of the old New England towns through which I drove were far lovelier and more suitable. There is the beauty we inherit from our ancestors. Ashland and similar camps are the first promise of the wider sharing of beauty which will be one of the glories of the cooperative commonwealth.

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Open Letter to President Hoover

Do You Know What Your Nation-Wide Doles Mean for the Jobless and the Hungry Masses?

TO MR. HERBERT HOOVER,
President of the United States.

WITHIN a few months of winter you make your final preparations for the jobless millions. You appoint sixty citizens to advise Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who heads your unemployment relief organization. He is to reorganize relief and coordinate the work of various relief agencies.

That is all that you offer. An inspired dispatch from Washington calls it your "relief plan for the Winter." You still regard the problem as primarily one of local responsibility. You hope in this way to avoid a "deluge of socialistic legislation" which may flood the new Congress. You hope that it will head off a Federal "dole," a name which you give to Federal unemployment insurance.

In your letter to Mr. Gifford you declare your purpose to "cooperate with the public authorities and reinforce the national, state and local agencies which will have responsibility for the relief activities arising out of unemployment."

You suggest nothing in addition to what has already been done and your own Labor Bureau reports an increase of unemployment for July. All that you do is to create another organization to "coordinate" and to "reorganize." Perhaps in December you will summon another body of men and women to "coordinate" and to "reorganize" what has been coordinated and reorganized.

Your Plan Means Doles

This fatuous reeling out of more red tape is your method of facing the crisis of 7,000,000 unemployed workers. To this you add the dishonest statement that unemployed insurance is a dole. A dole means charity. If workers in periods of employment pay a percentage of their wages into a fund upon which they can draw when unemployed, by what logic do you define this as charity?

Cities maintain public libraries by taxation, contributions by the cities, and fees collected from those who use library facilities. When a workman takes out a book is he the receiver of a dole?

Thousands of hospitals and clinics are maintained in the same way. When a citizen accepts the services of these institutions does he accept a dole?

Your attitude on this matter, Mr. President, is all the more hypocritical considering the fact that all your "coordination" and "reorganization" is mainly concerned with the distribution of charity. Your committee cannot give jobs to the idle. There are no jobs in hiding that it can bring to the jobless.

No. You know, and we all know, that there are at least 7,000,000 workers out of work. They and their families must be cared for. How will their needs be satisfied? You favor doles, charity, and nothing else.

And how will the doles be managed throughout the country? Local smelling committees have been set up and more will be

set up. A jobless man whose family has nothing to eat is compelled to apply for help. Smelling agents invade the privacy of his home. He must answer humiliating questions. He must fill out a questionnaire giving intimate details of his family life.

Smuggers Humiliate the Jobless

The record is carried back to smug men and women who sit in judgment upon his case. Perhaps they will pay the rent or send a supply of foodstuffs. He will receive a dole and what he receives millions of others will receive in local communities. They must report from time to time regarding their distress. The smug agents of the dole check up on their applications. The home is again invaded by local upstarts and the worker is subjected to further humiliation.

In other words, Mr. President, your methods consign millions of workers to the worst type of degrading pauper relief. And you want to "coordinate" and to "reorganize" this hateful thing. As though to rub salt into our wounds you select the chief of one of the most powerful exploiting corporations in this country to head the swarm of smugglers who will impose their insolence upon us in the privacy of our homes.

Moreover, your "coordination" and "reorganization" of nation-wide smelling by impudent smugglers does not have the merit of assuring a minimum of relief even by this hateful method. Have you figured it out, Mr. President? As the Great Engineer you are supposed to be an expert in such matters. We can do a simple sum in arithmetic which we pass on to your smugglers.

It is generally conceded that we have about 7,000,000 unemployed. Let us say that there are 6,000,000 jobless so as to allow for a big margin or error. Assume a minimum of \$20 a week for these workless millions. How the average family of three can manage to live on this sum we do not know, but assume that they can.

The Staggering Problem We Face

This means that throughout the nation the smugglers must have \$120,000,000 each week to provide a minimum of \$20 relief for each family!

From December to and including March there are sixteen weeks of winter. To provide this minimum of \$20 per week for this period the smugglers must have nearly two billion dollars! The exact figures are \$1,920,000,000.

This analysis leaves you, Mr. President, as deflated as a bladder emptied of wind. You expect the community chests throughout the nation to raise \$84,000,000 in October for winter doles. Even if this sum is raised it will be short \$36,000,000 of the sum necessary to provide the equivalent of \$20 for the family of each jobless worker one week! Suppose you raise the extra \$36,000,000 through other charity sources. In that case you meet the situation for only one week in sixteen weeks of winter!

Now assume that the workers of the nation have the benefit

of unemployment insurance legislation. That minimum of \$20 per week, probably more, would be guaranteed to every jobless man in the United States. He would know that when he had work he had made a small contribution to the fund in some states while the state and the employers would also contribute. In some states the employers and the state alone would make up the unemployment insurance fund.

Our Program Against Yours

But, however the fund may be established, there would be no smugglers representing charity mongers invading the worker's home and subjecting him to a degrading inquisition. He would regard the unemployment insurance fund the same as he now regards the publicly maintained clinic, hospital and library. It is something that he helps to create. It is a social institution and as a citizen it is as much his as it is any other citizen's.

He is not subjected to humiliating espionage. He is not treated as a pauper. He does not have to face impudent smellers in the privacy of his home. He will not be dependent upon the decision of smugglers. He will not be compelled to accept a private dole. He will know that he has established in law a stake in the industry in which he works. He will know what he is entitled to under the law and he will go to the proper agency and draw it just the same as though he was drawing from his deposits in a savings bank.

There is the issue, Mr. President, between your degrading and insufficient private doles and social legislation that guarantees against the hateful charity of your smellers and smugglers. Your system degrades and humiliates; ours gives the worker a sense of security, of immunity from insolent espionage, and enables him to plan because he knows what he is entitled to under the law.

We Want Security, Not Smugglers

To be sure, Mr. President, it is "socialistic," but we are proud of it. Your program is capitalistic. Your party gives tariff doles to the capitalist class. It votes subsidy doles to nurse capitalist investments in shipping. Government bureaus carry on experiments to show capitalists how they can sweat more values out of labor. Other government agencies at enormous expense search out foreign fields of investment and markets for bankers and capitalists.

You think in terms of the upper classes whose industrial system is diseased. We think in terms of the despoiled millions of workers who are victims of the industrial breakdown.

You are class conscious for your class; we try to be for ours. We resent your insolent smellers and smugglers. We call upon the working masses to storm every legislature and demand unemployment insurance. We urge them to insist on taxing the fat fortunes of the idle rich to help pay for it.

This is "socialistic" and the Socialist Party is behind this program. We want security buttressed by law, not your smug, hateful, and degrading doles.

Boulder Dam Strikers Win Concessions

Some Intolerable Conditions Modified and Workers Continue Determined Pressure to Wipe Out Other Abuses

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LAS VEGAS, Nev., Aug. 17.—The strikers of the Boulder Dam project voted in their strike headquarters camp yesterday to carry their strike back to the job. The motion recorded below is indicative of their intentions to carry on the fight. Moved and seconded that we transfer the strike back to the job and that our demands stand the same for a federal investigation, that the general strike committee be authorized to appoint or elect a committee on the job to carry on the fight for our demands, and that if we find these methods not successful, we renew the strike.

The demands are as follows. Protesting the wage cut, we ask: 1. \$5.00 low for surface workers; \$5.50 low for underground workers; \$6.00 low for miners and carpenters.

2. The continuation of the improvement of living conditions in the camps as rapidly as possible.

3. Ice or cold water in the bunkhouses and on the job at all times because we have suffered from the warm water and lack of water at several times.

4. Eight hours from camp to camp.

5. A flat rate of \$1.50 for board.

6. Strict enforcement of Nevada and Arizona safety and mining laws and a safety miner in every heading.

7. No victimization of any worker who went out on strike; all to be called to return to work. In view of the fact that the U.

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Fall of Labor Government Brings New Alignment In The British Labor Party

Only Four Labor Members in Emergency Ministry Which Faces Opposition by Laborites—Labor Organ Charges Coercion by New York Bankers—Henderson Probably New Labor Party Leader—No Split in Labor Party Likely

By The Editor

THE fall of the Labor Government of Great Britain is the biggest event in labor history this year although it was not unexpected. Readers of The New Leader will find in the article on page 5 by Fred Henderson, our London correspondent, an informative interpretation of events and trends that led to the disintegration of the Labor Government and the formation of the emergency three-party government which has succeeded it. Other articles by the same writer in previous issues set forth the increasing dissatisfaction of Labor Party members with certain policies of the Labor Government, our correspondent expressing the view that unnecessary concessions were made to the opposition because of the desire to hold on as long as possible.

The events of the past week have been charged with dramatic interest for Socialists and others interested in the labor movement of Great Britain. The second Labor government came to an end on Monday. The first one took office in January, 1924, and it lasted hardly ten months under the Premiership of J. Ramsay MacDonald. The Conservatives returned to power with Stanley Baldwin as Premier and in a general election in 1929, which gave no party a majority in Parliament, the Conservative government resigned.

In the new Parliament Labor had 287 seats, the Conservatives 260, and the Liberals 59. The Labor party took over the government but it lived by sufferance of the Liberals who, although a small minority, held the balance of power. This was the situation which faced the Labor party in Parliament as well as the Labor Ministry.

When the Labor government came into office the number of the unemployed registered was 1,112,792 and this increased by 500,000 in March, 1930, but the increase

task a stupendous one. He did his best to encourage relief works by local authorities and private undertakings, but the unemployment figures continued to soar.

Meanwhile Parliament had passed an act making it easier for the unemployed worker to obtain the unemployed benefits.

Sir Oswald Mosley objected that the Cabinet would not endorse his schemes for dealing with unemployment on a grand scale and resigned his Ministry. A few weeks later Thomas returned to the position of Secretary of State for the Dominions, the post he had held in the first Labor administration.

One of the government's weaknesses lay in its inability to rely on the full and loyal support even of its own followers. Hardly a subject came up on which it was not attacked by the Left Wing Laborites. Although the revolt was sometimes confined to party meetings, fundamental party differences were often exposed in the House of Commons.

Blow Followed German Crash

The government's own political troubles were intensified by the financial crisis that followed Germany's crash. There were heavy withdrawals of foreign balances and a drain on the Bank of England's gold reserves.

Then came the report of the economic committee headed by Sir George May, which declared the nation's finances to be in a deplorable condition and called for a drastic reduction of expenditures.

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Socialist Party Urges Program of Relief for Jobless in New York State

Thomas and Waldman Write Governor Roosevelt of Grave Emergency and Need of Legislation for Relief of One Million Unemployed—Program is Suggested

REALIZING the terrible plight which faces the jobless workers in New York State the Socialist Party of New York urged Governor Roosevelt to include emergency legislation to help the unemployed in his message to the extraordinary session of the Legislature which met this week. Louis Waldman, chairman of the State Committee and Norman Thomas, co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, joined in sending this appeal to Governor Roosevelt.

"We face the most miserable winter in America's peace time history," the letter declares. It also emphasizes the estimate of the number of the unemployed in New York State by the Federation of Labor which is placed at one million. The letter to Governor Roosevelt, made public last Monday, follows:

"The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albany, New York:

"Dear Governor Roosevelt: "In behalf of the Socialist Party we urge you to include emergency legislation for the help of the unemployed in the subjects with which by your message the special session of the Legislature will be empowered to deal.

"We face the most miserable winter in America's peace time history. The Federation of Labor has estimated the number of the unemployed in the State of New York as high as one million. What such unemployment means in terms of human misery or its cost to society in sickness and crime no man can exaggerate.

"Infamous Dole Inadequate "We do not assume that so deep seated a sickness, inherent in the very nature of a capitalist society, can be cured by any legislation, certainly not by any program the present legislature in New York can constitutionally enact or would be willing to consider. We do not forget the duty of the Fed-

eral government and local agencies in this crisis.

"But the Legislature can enable us to meet the emergency as private charity and the infamous dole of bread lines cannot. The principle on which it must act is

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Unemployment In Up-State Cities Grave

No Plans for a Million Jobless Except in Three Cities and Tragedy Approaches with the Coming of Winter

THE coming of winter is causing apprehension on the part of organizations that are devoted to relief of distress in normal periods of industrial activity. Long experience has enabled these organizations to forecast the extent of the aid that is needed, and a report this week of the joint committee on unemployment relief of the State Board of Social Welfare and the State Charities Aid

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Attorney for Soviet Govt. Wins Suit

'Counter-Revolutionary' Case Involving Russian Confiscation Pressed by Soviet Lawyer—Will 'Trial' Follow?

NEW YORK newspapers report that the litigation between the New York Life Insurance Company and some 2,800 of its Russian policy holders, residents of Soviet Russia, which has been in progress for some years, has just been settled by agreement between the company and counsel for the Soviet policy holders.

The report is of unusual interest for the following reason: The New York Life Insurance Company was doing business in Russia under a special charter until the Bolshevik revolution.

On or about December 1, 1918 the Soviet government issued a decree nationalizing the business of life insurance, confiscating all property and assets of private companies, including the New York Life, and assuming all obligations under their policies. The Soviet government conducted the business of life insurance, collecting premiums and paying benefits on policies until November 18, 1919, when a new decree was issued cancelling all life insurance policies and substituting for them a system of "social protection and governmental insurance."

In the litigation just settled the New York Life Insurance Company took the position that the Soviet government was effectively expropriating "all the functions of sovereignty" in Russia; that its decrees of nationalization and confiscation were valid and binding on all Russian citizens, and that the company was therefore discharged from liability to its Russian policy holders, particularly those still residing in Russia.

The plaintiff's attorney opposed the company's contention on the ground that American courts will not recognize the nationalization and confiscation decrees of the Soviet government because of the non-recognition of that government by the government of the United States. The issue raised by the plaintiffs in these actions was thus identical with the one presented in the much discussed "Hillquit" case which Morris Hillquit had recently brought and from which he has withdrawn.

But who is the attorney for the plaintiffs in this "counter-revolutionary" suit against the New York Life Insurance Company? Not a social traitor connected with the reactionary Second International, but none other than Mr. Charles Recht, who is described as the "attorney for the Soviet government in this country."

The "counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet" suits were thus instituted presumably by the approval, possibly even on the instigation, of the government of Soviet Russia!

The Communists should not miss this splendid opportunity to stage a public "trial" for treason against Mr. Recht and the Soviet government.

Pittsburgh Plan Fails, Charities Seek 5 Million

PITTSBURGH.—(F. P.)—Pittsburgh papers in an access of frankness that followed recent statements of Gov. Pinchot on the seriousness of unemployment, have acknowledged that the much-touted program of public works for unemployment relief in Pittsburgh is a failure. About \$2,000,000 is the absolute limit of the money available and this, the Pittsburgh Press points out, if used entirely for wages, would give only 42 days' work at \$4 a day to the 12,000 men who will be absolutely dependent in the coming winter.

The Allegheny County Emergency Committee, an employers' organization called into existence last winter, has announced a joint campaign with the Welfare Fund for \$5,000,000 this November. Last year the committee set its goal at \$3,000,000 and raised barely one-third of it in spite of the fact that workers were assessed a day's pay even when they were working only a few days a week.

The Westinghouse employees contributed \$75,000 but today the great plant lies almost entirely lifeless and there have been two wage cuts handed out to those remaining. In the beautiful Koppers building whose scores of stories dominate the Pittsburgh skyline, the Koppers Co. instead of occupying its original three and a half floors, restricts itself to one. A single department has had its force cut from 80 last year to less than 10 at present.

Tri-State Labor Day Meet at Louisville

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Over 100 lodges representing the four railroad brotherhoods in Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee, known as the Tri-State Labor Day Association, will hold a joint Labor Day celebration at Fontaine Ferry Park, Labor Day, with Jonas A. McBride, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of New York, as principal speaker. He will speak over radio station WHAS, at 2:35 p. m. on the shorter work day in seeking unemployment relief for thousands of transportation men thrown out of work, because of increased efficiency of machinery.

All ministers in Louisville have been called upon to preach a Labor Sunday sermon and approximately one-half have replied favorably. The Cossack conditions in Eastern Kentucky mines and throttling free speech and right to organize by Judge Jones, who is interested in the mines is arousing wide-spread interest as nothing has before.

The Taxpayers League is rapidly spreading over the state and gives promise of a non-partisan league. Both candidates for Governor refused to answer the questionnaire sent them by the league.

Socialists Form Jobless Legions in Virginia Cities

HOPEWELL, Va.—The past few weeks have been unusually busy and successful for the Socialist party in Virginia, and instead of activities waning after a spurt, they are redoubting. The L. I. D. group in Hopewell, consisting of Jack Herling, Donald Smith and Donald Lee, has departed, leaving a tremendous amount of work as a permanent monument to their memory.

Now the Unemployed Legion is pushing organization work, with formation of Local Councils under way in Richmond, Petersburg and several other cities. The Organization Committee of the Legion consists of Richard L. Johnson, James P. Rice, and David G. George. With the approval of the S. E. C. of the A. I. W. on the occasion for a State Convention of the Unemployed Legion, this Convention will be held in Richmond, and by that time it is expected that the principal cities of the state will have Unemployed Councils. Hopewell's Unemployed Council now has a following of several hundred men and women.

The Socialist party is steadily forging ahead, and faces an unusual opportunity for action. The Republicans are running practically no candidates. In about 25 legislative districts which the Socialists are contesting with the Democrats, there are only two Republican candidates.

Next week there will be interesting stories on the further development of the Unemployed and Socialist movements.

Baby Starves as Hoover Talks

PITTSBURGH.—(F. P.)—Michael McNulty is dead.

President Hoover has made beautiful speeches on "no one must starve in America," but that didn't help Michael any.

Michael was the 7-months-old son of James McNulty, who had been out of work for a year. Michael's mother had been without food so much that her nursing babe was starving at her breast. Then the family was evicted.

A couple of days later McNulty got a job. Before he could get his first pay, the baby "got sick." City Physician Evans was sent to the home but the baby died soon after his arrival.

"Starvation and malnutrition," he wrote on the report.

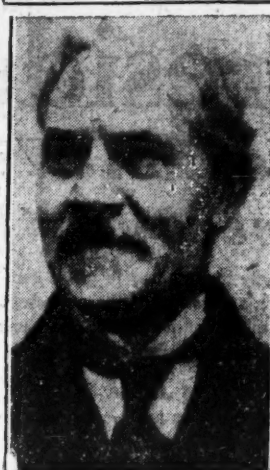
Hoover and Gifford went into session that afternoon to continue what Hoover called "the successful handling of unemployment relief."

SCOTTSBORO LAD THINKS N.A.A.C.P. IS RIGHT ON CASE. Clarence Norris, one of the eight boys condemned to death in the Scottsboro case, has written the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P. under date of August 16, saying he believes, and the other boys have come to believe also, that the N. A. A. C. P. is the right organization to undertake their defense.

"Mr. White," the letter says, "the other boys and I were talking about you today and I think all of them have made up in their minds that you were right." The letter also apologizes for the discourtesy of one of the boys to Roderick Beddow, attorney employed by the N. A. A. C. P., when Beddow visited the prison recently. Clarence requests some cigarettes. The boys are in Kilby Prison, Montgomery, Ala.

Fall of Labor Government Brings New Alignment In The British Labor Party

Out of Labor Party



J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

New Party Leader



ARTHUR HENDERSON

Out of Labor Party



PHILIP SNOWDEN

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to meet an estimated deficit of \$600,000,000 on the next budget.

Faced with more and more economic difficulties as the industrial crisis became more and more acute the Labor Ministry became more and more involved. Its policy with reference to social legislation became increasingly unsatisfactory to the workers who made their dissatisfaction known. When it became known that MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas had decided to form the Emergency government the rift between the leaders and the Labor party became evident. An editorial in the Daily Herald, which is controlled by the trade unions, and a statement by W. M. Citrine, general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, show that the Labor party is not likely to support the new government.

Herald Criticizes

"Mr. MacDonald and those members of his previous Ministry who joined him," said the Herald, "after the new government as individuals, not as accredited representatives of the labor movement. No one who knows the national organizations that express Labor opinions can doubt that, by overwhelming majorities, they will reject any scheme that involves new privations for the unemployed. Today the Labor party enters a new phase, without the leaders who have rendered it services which will make their names live with lustre in history."

Henderson Viewed as New Leader

Arthur Henderson, late Foreign Secretary, who is also national secretary of the Labor party and in that capacity controls the all-important party machine, is marked out as the new leader of the party. How many of the 280 Labor members of Parliament will accept his leadership remains to be seen, but a conservative estimate places the number at 200. Probably faced with the necessity of making a choice between loyalty to MacDonald and loyalty to the party, an even greater number may decide that the party must come first.

A special joint meeting of the Trades Union Congress and the national executive committee of the Labor party and its consultative committee of Parliament was summoned to meet in London Wednesday to consider the situation. Meanwhile Citrine said last Monday:

"It is obvious that nobody can commit the trade union and labor movement to participation in, or support of, the 'national government' without its consent, which has not been asked for and has not been given. Until the properly constituted bodies have considered the matter and reached a decision, it must be understood that our support of the government ceased with the resignation of the Cabinet. The opinion of the trade unions, at any rate, will be that in resigning office rather than carrying out drastic economies at the expense of the unemployed, which other parties have endeavored to impose, the Ministers who have resigned have acted as Labor Ministers would be expected to act by the labor movement."

Though comparatively mild in form, this statement is taken as expressing a condemnation of the decision of MacDonald and other Ministers who have chosen to enter the "national government."

I. L. P. Issues Statement

The Independent Labor party has issued a statement to all its branches. MacDonald and Snowden obtained their training and experience in the I. L. P. and contributed to building it up. The I. L. P. statement says:

"With the formation of a national government under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald, the attack on social services and on wages enters on a new intensified phase.

"The declared intention of the new government ruthlessly to cut down on the plea of financial stringency unemployment allowances and other forms of essential social expenditures and the salaries and wages of civil servants and teachers, while leaving the burden of war debt payments and the new war expenditure of £108,000,000 sterling untouched, will be the sign-

nal for a renewed onslaught on the wages of workers by employers in all industries.

Called Surrender

"MacDonald and members of the late government who are associated with him have surrendered to the dictates of financiers who have skillfully exploited a financial crisis of their own creation for achievement of the political and economic ends they long have been pursuing.

"The working classes can and must be rallied unitedly in the great struggle for the Socialist program which alone holds the solution of problems which confront us. In that struggle the Independent Labor party as always will cooperate with renewed vigor and strength."

The Labor party organ, the Daily Herald, created something of a sensation when it charged that the Labor government had submitted to the pressure of New York bankers who demanded as a price of their financial assistance through loans that drastic cuts should be made in the unemployed insurance funds. Of this the Herald says:

"This virtual ultimatum of the New York bankers played a vital part in dividing the Cabinet on the issue of a 10 per cent reduction in the unemployment benefit. Insistence of the Bank of England on the need for credits—even on these terms—heightened the clash within the late Cabinet."

In its editorial comment the Herald refuses the criticism of lack of patriotism made against the trade union by a reference to this story.

"Where is the patriotism, we may ask," says the editorial, "in allowing the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to dictate the policy to be pursued in relation to the unemployment benefit? This is not patriotism, but acceptance of a dictatorship—not even of a British bank, but of international finance. It is a blow to British prestige equalled only in recent history by the terms of the Versailles Treaty."

Arthur Henderson, Laborite Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is hailed generally as the new leader of the Labor party, while it is considered doubtful whether, following the breakup of the coalition government—which almost inevitably will be a signal for a general election—MacDonald will

lowering of its living standards.

On the other hand there are still large numbers of Englishmen wallowing in wealth and living in luxury, who could meet the needs of the nation without serious privations to themselves.

As usual the ruling interests attempt to mask their proposed raid of the poor under a high and noble sounding slogan—this time it is "equal sacrifices by all." It is a hypocritical and lying slogan. The man who gives up \$1,000 out of an income of \$10,000 or more does not make the same sacrifice as the man who has to surrender \$1 out of a weekly benefit of \$7 or \$8, every cent of which is indispensable to the sheer maintenance of his life and that of his family.

It seems clear that the proper course for a Socialist Premier to follow was to present the workers' demands to Parliament, and, if voted down, resign with his whole Cabinet. That would have been a Parliamentary defeat but a moral victory, and would have provided the Labor party with a strong and clear-cut issue in the coming general elections.

But Ramsay MacDonald chose to forsake his Labor following and to range himself on the side of the Conservative and Liberal parties.

At the head of the new coalition government he will officially urge a severe cut of the salaries

even return to Parliament. If, however, he and his colleagues make a fight of it, there is little likelihood of any extensive rift in the Labor party. All indications are that the party is almost wholly opposed to the new government and its expected policy in relation to social legislation.

MacDonald Radios Defense

In a radio address on Tuesday MacDonald put his case before the country. He stressed the financial difficulties which the government faced, saying that the situation is like a man suffering an attack of appendicitis, which "cannot be trifled with but must have immediate treatment. He did not want to cut down the social legislation but added that "we must cut our coats according to the cloth."

He declared that the cost of living in two years had been reduced 11½ per cent and if cuts were made the workers would still be 1½ per cent ahead. The net impression of the address was that MacDonald is committed to a program which the Labor party will oppose.

In the new Cabinet MacDonald remains Premier, Snowden continues as Chancellor of the Exchequer, J. H. Thomas is Secretary of Colonies, and Sankey is Lord Chancellor. These are the only Labor members of the new government and the fact that they have entered the Emergency government without consulting the Labor Party means that they are acting as individuals without power to commit the Labor party.

Practically no comment has come to the United States from Socialists abroad except from England. In France Leon Blum, Socialist leader, is stupefied at Mr. MacDonald's acceptance of such a situation. Even the fact that any other course by the British Prime Minister would have involved an immediate general election and perhaps a dangerous delay does not, in M. Blum's opinion, justify his fellow-Socialist's association with the hereditary enemies of the right.

What has surprised others is the curious situation of MacDonald and Arthur Henderson. It is recalled that MacDonald refused to enter a coalition government during the war, while Henderson accepted. Now it is Henderson who has refused to enter a cooperative government which MacDonald leads.

MacDonald Forsakes Labor In An Important Crisis

Proper Course for a Socialist Premier Was to Present Workers' Demands and Resign if Rejected, Says Hillquit

By Morris Hillquit

ON the basis of the facts as reported by the press, it seems to me that Ramsay MacDonald's actions in connection with the reorganization of the British Cabinet are entirely indefensible from a Socialist point of view.

The fall of the Labor government was brought about by an acute crisis in England's finances. To maintain the credit of the country and international confidence in the sterling, it was necessary to balance the budget of the British government, which indicated an approximate deficit of \$600,000,000 for the coming year. The spokesmen for the possessing classes proposed to meet half of the reduction of the other half by economies in expenditures, which include a reduction of salaries and wages of government employees and of the benefits paid to the unemployed. The organized workers opposed the contemplated salary reduction and, above all, the cut of unemployment benefits. They urged that the full sum of \$600,000,000 be raised by increased taxation of wealth.

They were right. In the present condition of extensive and protracted depression and unemployment a large portion of the British laboring population subsists barely above the margin of starvation. It cannot physically endure a further

Communists Act Crazy in Negro Case

White Investigator Reports that Their Activities Seriously Prejudice Case of Young Negroes Sentenced to Death

ALABAMA, already at fever heat over the Scottsboro case, has been plunged into a "maddening atmosphere" by a series of other crimes, according to Howard Kester, an impartial investigator for the Fellowship of Reconciliation of New York City. Mr. Kester, who has a wide experience in race relations, has just finished a ten-day visit in Alabama and discloses that the tension between the races is at the breaking point.

Communists Like Crazy Men. A considerable portion of the report is given over to the activities of the Communists among Negroes in Alabama and the writer declares "the tactics of the Communists are the tactics of a crazy man."

"The Communists," the report continues, "are making every effort to capture the Negro. . . I am convinced, however, that the Communists are hurting themselves, hurting those of us who are trying to build interracial goodwill and cooperation."

"The N. A. A. C. P., the Interracial Commission and the Communists have been most active in the Scottsboro case. The Communists have accused both other organizations of 'selling out' to the whites and have tried to convince the Negroes that the N. A. A. C. P. is not their friend. The tactics of the Communists are the tactics of a crazy man. They are trying to bulldoze the state and turn the Negroes against everyone who is not lined up with them."

May Be Another Sacco-Vanzetti. To my mind, the N. A. A. C. P. and the Interracial Commission have followed the only logical and politic method they could under the existing circumstances. Without the Communists I believe the N. A. A. C. P. could get something that would approximate the reasonable.

"It seems to me that the Communists are more interested in proving the necessity of class warfare to the Negroes than they are in freeing the nine boys. In my opinion the case of the eight boys condemned to death in the electric chair has been seriously prejudiced. It things continue to go as they have in the last few weeks we may expect another Sacco-Vanzetti murder."

Bonnaz Embroiderers Confer With Employers Organization

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, met in conference with the Employers' Organization, for the purpose of discussing contractual relations for the future, the agreement which has been in effect, having expired on August 25th.

Due to the illness of Mr. Friedman, president of the Employers' group, the postponed conference did not meet until Thursday in the Council Room of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. President Schlesinger presided. The following represented Local 66: Jacob Jaffe, acting president; William Altman, secretary-treasurer; Morris Fishman, member control committee; Nathan Reisel, assistant manager; and Leon Hattab, manager. Messrs. Kadison, Brackman, Engle, Fador and Stein represented the employers.

After the conference, at which no decisive action was taken, a spirited general membership meeting of the workers was held in the Rand School, at which time a vote of confidence in its representatives was adopted.

Gas and Hunger Kill Vet

PITTSBURGH.—(F. P.)—John Fitzgerald, a World War vet gassed in the Argonne, has claimed the reward a grateful nation gives its veterans—death.

Fitzgerald got his loan of some \$400, despite the opposition of his fellow-townsmen, Billionaire Andrew Mellon, but he couldn't stand to see other workers around him hungry. So he helped out.

When he disappeared, friends found him—in the morgue. He had 75 cents left. A gas-racked body couldn't withstand hunger, too.

of government employees and of the unemployed insurance benefits. He will be opposed by the men who have made him great and whose confidence he has betrayed. In the conflict between the large and permanent interests of the working class and the demands of an ill-conceived and narrow patriotism, Ramsay MacDonald has succumbed to the latter. He has had a rare opportunity to establish himself as one of the great historical leaders of Labor and Socialism and has missed it pitifully.

While grieving over the sorrowful collapse of Mr. MacDonald's career in the Labor movement, the Socialists of all countries have faith in the vital recuperative powers of the British workers and confidence in their ultimate victory in spite of the aggressions of its enemies, in spite of the betrayal of its friends.

Labor Day Conference Of CPLA at Brookwood

The Present Outlook in the Labor Movement will be discussed at the third annual Labor Day Conference arranged by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and Brookwood Labor College beginning Saturday, September 5, at Brookwood, Kenton, N. Y.

Particular consideration will be given to the industrial struggles of the past year and lessons to be drawn therefrom. Some of the leaders in the various struggles in Illinois, West Virginia, Paterson, Brooklyn, White Plains and Ohio such as Louis F. Budenz, Tom Tippet, A. J. Muste, Ben Mandel, Elmer Cope will speak.

In addition, the question, Does Labor Need a New Political Party? initiated by the Executive Committee of the C. P. L. A. will be carried forward. Workers from various industries, exponents of the ideas that existing working-class parties "fill the bill" and, other viewpoints, will take part in the discussion.

Time will also be given to consideration of the Unemployment Situation and 1931-32 Campaign for Relief, Unemployment Insurance, and to the question of building up the C. P. L. A. locally and nationally.

Reservations may be made either at the C. P. L. A. office, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, or at Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

Silk Workers Defy Judge In Paterson

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DEFYING the judge-made laws of Paterson, twenty-one pickets were arrested at the John Hand Silk Co., on August 25. John Hand, with the active co-operation of County Judge Freeman, announced that no strike existed in his factory and that any pickets would be arrested. Ten police, under the command of two sergeants, were posted at the John Hand mill to prevent strikers from picketing.

Under the command of Warren C. Montross, New York Socialist, twenty pickets announced their intention of picketing the mill. The strikers, convinced that any yielding to the bench-made laws of Judge Freeman would cripple their strike, agreed with their leader that a definite test must be made of the anti-picketing bias of the County Court.

Marching two by two as required by the New Jersey state law, the strikers made one trip around the mill before herded into the patrol-wagon by police. The attitude of the police toward judge terror was reflected in their friendly handling of the arrested pickets. Bail was fixed at ten dollars each on a charge of "loitering."

Henry Doherty, owner of the largest silk mill in the Paterson territory, is now conducting a sniping campaign against his 1100 striking workers. Four Doherty workers were arrested on a charge of "intent to kill" because they waited outside the Clifton police station to speak to six armed scabs who had reported there for protection. The ridiculousness of the charges is evident when the bail of ten dollars each is considered. Two other Doherty workers are also under bail of \$100.00 each on charges of "malicious mischief."

The charges grow out of the alleged stoning of a car full of scabs. Both of the defendants were miles away from the scene when the stoning was supposed to have taken place.

Mass picketing of the Doherty mills will be resumed on Friday, August 28th, when a picket line of 2000 workers, headed by prominent liberals, will clinch the picket won on August 11th.

An official announcement of the strike committee was issued by Louis F. Budenz, Executive Director of the A. F. L. strike:

"The workers out under the banner of the amalgamated unions of the Associated Silk Workers, United Textile Workers and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action totaled 6,783 on August 22nd. Settlements have already been made with 52 shops and 1,586 workers have returned to their looms with all demands met. The figures were carefully checked by an accountant to insure accuracy, and the figures as given represent four days work on the part of two clerks."

Relief machinery has been put into action by Ben Gitlow, Chairman of Relief Committee, and George Hayes, Treasurer. Appeals are being sent out to labor and fraternal organizations to contribute to the relief of the strikers who are among the first to protest against the wage-cutting which is taking place all over America. A meeting of delegates representing labor organizations is scheduled for August 26th, at which time details will be worked out for a comprehensive relief plan.

Contributions to the relief of the strikers should be sent to "Paterson Strikers Relief Committee of the A. F. L. Amalgamated Unions, George Hayes, Treasurer, and addressed to 201 Market street, Paterson, N. J."

Boulder Dam Strikers Win Concessions

Some Intolerable Conditions Modified and Workers Continue Determined Pressure to Wipe Out Other Abuses

(Continued from Page One)

S. Government was allowing the Six Companies to employ strike-breakers and also furnishing them protection, the strikers decided to vote the strike back to the job and continue their work there, calling out the whole number again at an opportune time if the demands are not acceded to.

Most of the demands regarding the living conditions are being corrected although not officially declared so by the Six Companies. Demand number two, regarding living conditions is being pushed ahead. The river camp is not to be reoccupied until improvements are made.

Cold water is to be supplied in frigidities, which will be installed at once, according to Archie Cross, Department of Labor representative investigating here.

The demand for a flat rate on board was occasioned by the fact that many men who were working on the graveyard shift were forced, by the hours into which their day was divided, to eat three meals and a lunch on the job. For this they were charged \$2.00 per day. This demand has been acceded to, \$1.50 a day being the rate for all workers regardless of the number of meals or lunches they must eat.

While the Six Companies denied any violation of State mining laws, the workers knew that observance was a bald-faced farce. At this time mine inspectors are on the job conducting an investigation. The Department of Labor representative was given by the general strike committee many concrete examples of mining law violations which occurred in their personal knowledge and experience. He promised a thorough investigation.

The struggle to get an open federal investigation will continue. The wage cut of \$1.00 per day for forty per cent of the tunnel crews remains in effect and no agreement as to shortening of hours has been reached.

The workers realized that the struggle for these demands is not a thing that is fought a few weeks and then forgotten but an endless uphill battle to hold their own and try to make upward headway. They also know that other tunnel work is expected to open in the vicinity in a few months which will create a greater demand for their labor. It must be remembered that this type of work is done by a group who travel the world over, driving tunnels, building dams and who have proved to be indispensable for that type of work. It has been attempted unsuccessfully before to replace them with inexperienced men and it proved a too costly experiment.

The tunnel men know this and they also realize that when demand for their labor increases, their opportunity to raise their pay and shorten their hours will be ripe.

In the meantime they have gone back to the job to organize and prepare. Watch the Boulder Dam project. The struggle and preparation continues until the opportune time comes for renewal of open warfare with the Six Companies.

Socialist Mayor Asks Release of Cal. Martyrs

RACINE, Wis.—The Socialist Mayor of Racine, William J. Swoboda, has written a letter to Governor Rolph of California, urging the release of Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney.

The letter of Mayor Swoboda is as follows:

"I believe I express the sentiment of a vast majority of the citizenry of not only this city but the state and nation, when I say that the evidence in the case of Mooney and Billings vs. the State of California is overwhelmingly in favor of the two men now in prison in San Quentin."

"Until you can produce evidence that is as convincing for the state, I must protest against this terrible wrong, and my conscience will not even permit me to enter the state that is responsible for this crime while these victims are in prison."

"Is justice dead in California? Life is but a phantom, we are here but a moment; to walk uprightly, to act justly, are but little to ask of any man. You have been honored above your fellow men. Has this seared your conscience? Are you so close to the scene that you have become calloused?"

"If justice is dead, surely you must have mercy upon these men who have suffered because of a system that is based upon selfishness. You may feel smugly complacent today, but the time may come in your life when the case is taken out of the hands of governmental authority because of this indifference. Do you not hear the rumblings? Must you wait, listening to the soothing assurance of those who argue that might makes right, until it is too late?"

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Youth of Eight Nations War Against War

Young Socialists Gather in Germany in Big Demonstration Against Fascism and War — German Socialists Fight Wage Cuts

SOCIALIST youths representing Austria, Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, France and Belgium met in Frankfurt-on-Main in Germany last week end in a demonstration against Fascism. "Against Fascism and War; for Democracy and Socialistic Reconstruction" was adopted as the slogan for the international demonstration.

Twenty thousand young men and women marched in a torchlight procession and a huge mass meeting was held in behalf of international peace in the municipal stadium. The demonstration was only second to that held in Vienna by young Socialists during the Congress of the Labor and Socialist International in July.

Among those present were Adolf Grimme, Prussian Minister of Culture; Paul Loebe, President of the Reichstag; Premier Stauning of Denmark and many members of the Reichstag.

While the young Socialists were demonstrating big German capitalists through the Federation of German Industries were insisting on wage cuts to reduce production costs. Confronted with this demand Chancellor Brüning faces pressure by the organized capitalists and resistance by the Socialists who are determined to fight to the last for the workers' standard of living.

The memorandum of the capitalists also contains suggestions for drastic economies in the public expenses of the Reich, the German States and the municipalities, and for reduction of freight rates and taxation, all of which the government, it is asserted, can especially regulate as the finances of States and municipalities are dependent on their share of the Federal tax receipts.

The policy which Dr. Brüning is following in this respect already has forced the municipalities to adopt drastic economies, to cut in half their budgetary expenses and to reduce the wages of public functionaries, resulting in a storm of protests. The government is absolutely determined to see these economies through, but the question of wage reductions is a different matter, as legislative action would be required and the Socialist party regards it as suicidal to give way on this point.

Labor Youth to Discuss War and Unemployment

What young people can do in our present economic crisis and in case of a coming war will be discussed under the general topic, "Youth and Our Times" at a two-day encampment arranged by the Young Circle League of Chicago to be held August 29th and 30th at the summer camp of the Workmen's Circle in South Haven, Mich.

The opening session dealing with "Youth and War" will be addressed by Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, who spent the summer visiting European countries; Max Raskin, prominent Milwaukee attorney; Samuel H. Holland, Chicago Labor attorney; and Mordchai Shulman, director of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The encampment will be attended by followers of the Young Circle League in Chicago, Detroit, Gary, Hammond, Indianapolis, Cleveland and Milwaukee.

Encampment fee including board, meals and admission to sessions will be \$2.50.

The public that sinks to sleep, trusting to constitutions and machinery, politicians and statesmen for the safety of its liberty, never will have any—Garrison.

Socialists of Spain For a Labor Regime

Church-State Problem Becomes Acute When Government Prohibits Sale or Transfer of Church Property

THE new regime in Spain is following the course in relation to the State Church which has been followed in every country where there has been a union of Church and State. Early in this month a parliamentary commission recommended the expulsion of religious orders and advised that the Spanish Republic be defined as a "democratic republic." The Socialists had insisted that the name be "democratic republic of labor."

In Latin-speaking countries severity against the State Church has generally followed a revolution. In Virginia, Connecticut and Massachusetts the State Church in each instance was disestablished without harsh measures and over a number of years.

On August 19 the Spanish Government issued a decree prohibiting the sale, transfer or mortgage of church properties belonging to the Church or religious orders or institutions, thereby tying up millions of pesetas in cash lying in banks all over Spain and making it impossible to dispose of the shares in subways, railroads and utilities which are held by these institutions.

A few days later twenty-eight thousand troops in swiftly-moving columns were marching into the Basque provinces and Navarre the strongholds of Spanish clericalism, and the Basque Liberty was rushing from Bilbao to the industrial city of Bilbao for forestall religious outbreak during the period of difficult negotiations with the Vatican and during the discussion of the separation of Church and State and the seizure of the property of religious orders. Meanwhile the government prepared to exercise these rights in the fullest degree to safeguard the new-born republic and permit the Cortes to finish its task.

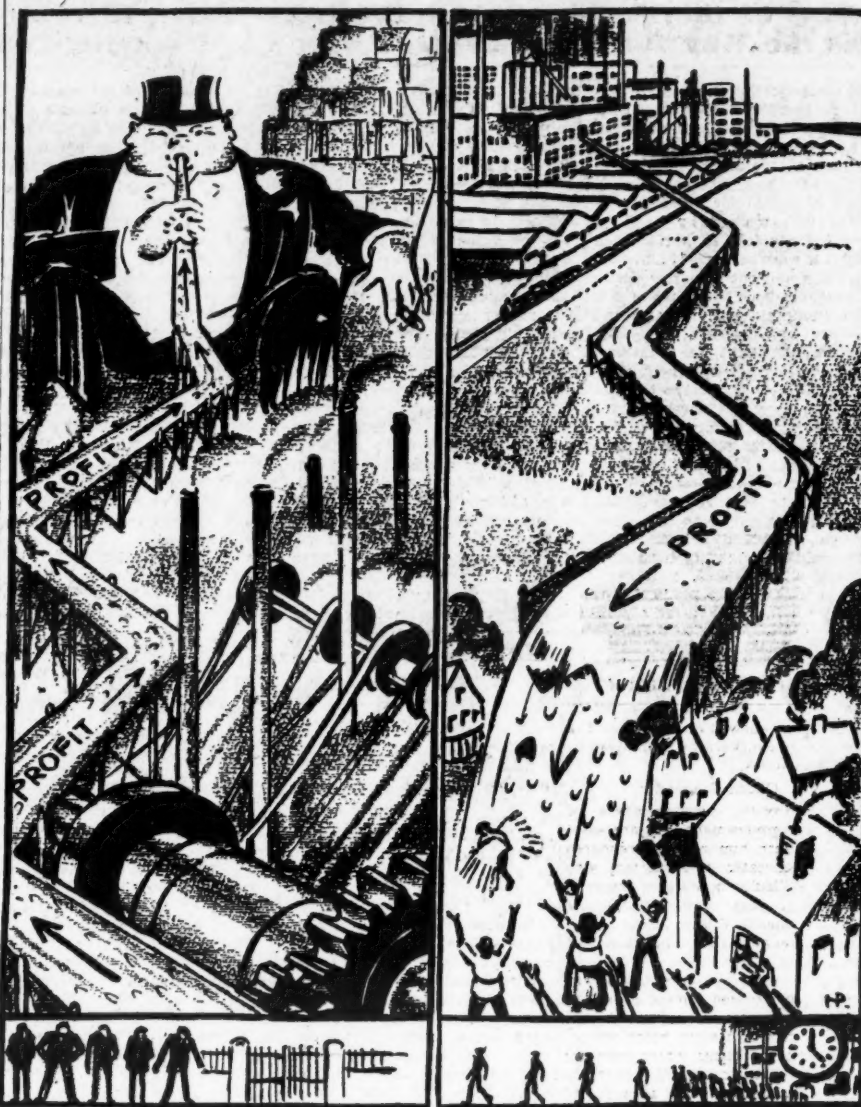
Workers of Austria Affected by Decline Of Big Industries

The Year Book for 1930 issued by the Austrian Trade Unions states that the total membership of the Austrian trade unions has fallen by 82,073, to 655,204. "The reason for this," writes Ed Straas in "Arbeit und Wirtschaft," the journal of the Austrian trade union centre, "is very obvious. The Report records the fact that big concerns which used to employ thousands of workers have now reduced their staffs to a few hundreds! The reports from the federal provinces give a clear picture of how industry is being ruined. This is why the membership has fallen. Regrettably as this decline is, it was to be expected, for every economic crisis means a fall in trade union membership."

At the end of 1930 there were in Austria 38 national unions, 3,024 local branches and 655,204 trade union members. Of these latter, 513,087 (78.3 per cent) were men and 142,117 (21.7 per cent) women; there has been little change in the respective percentages of men and women. The percentage of manual to non-manual workers in the total trade union membership is 64.2 per cent to 35.8 per cent. The finances of the "free" trade unions have not been unaffected by the unemployment of the past year. Income was reduced by 1.9 million schillings and 95.8 per cent of this income was again expended. The total expenditure on benefits amounted to 7,600,000 schillings, of which 4,400,000 was spent on unemployment benefit alone; in fact, 19.4 per cent of the total expenditure went to unemployment benefit. The income per head for the year was 35.8 schillings, expenditures 24.3 schillings and benefit 12.4 schillings. Assets amounted to 45.4 schillings per head.

Nothing has ever remained of any revolution but what was ripe in the conscience of the masses.—Léon Rollin.

CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM?



—International Transport Workers Federation.

The System that Fattens a Few Idlers And Socialism that Enriches Workers

MODERN capitalism is a system that fattens a few at the expense of millions of workers. The cartoonist has portrayed this in the Fat Man who has become bloated with wealth. A profit tube leading from the machines and the workers carries a surplus of wealth from the great plant to him as the master of a great industrial enterprise.

Beneath the machines are workers bent with toil. They are a human layer of laborers who share nothing in the ownership or control of the plant. The industry belongs to the Fat Man. The machines and the raw materials are his.

If we walk through the plant we will not find him at work. Perhaps he never saw it and never expects to see it. All who serve at some useful occupation in this industry are hired by him. There are superintendents, foremen, specialists, skilled and unskilled workers busy keeping the flow of profits going to the Fat Man through the tube.

There he is, the master of the lives of thousands of useful workers. He is fat and content. He and his class never produced a bolt or belt, or tended a machine, or contributed to the transformation of raw materials into finished products. His hired employees do all this and when he dies a relative as idle as he will inherit this kingdom of capital as a Crown Prince inherits the throne of his monarch father.

The Socialist ideal is presented as a contrast. The Fat Man has disappeared from the picture. The plant with its machines and raw materials are no longer his. The income that once passed through a tube into his capacious paunch now flows to the workers. They work for use and enjoyment, not for the enrichment of a Fat Man.

The workers whose backs had been bent with toil now stand erect and with joy receive the income which formerly went to the Fat Man. Industry is no longer the private graft of a few exploiters. It is the collective property of those who do useful and necessary work. Industry has been brought under intelligent control. Machines no longer enslave workers for a Socialist society is the master of the machines.

The passage from the old to the new is not a rosy path trod by the indifferent. It is a road strewn with difficulties. It requires education, organization, courage and solidarity by the working class. Sacrifices may have to be made and abysmal prejudices will have to be beaten down, but the great struggle will be made.

Capitalism or Socialism? It is yours to choose and the breakdown of the old capitalistic order makes that choice imperative now!

Socialist Party Urges Program Of Relief for N. Y. State Jobless

Thomas and Waldman Write Governor Roosevelt of Grave Emergency and Need of Legislation for Relief of One Million Unemployed — Program Is Suggested

(Continued from Page One) that it is the duty of society to provide men and women willing to work with work or maintenance, not as a matter of charity but of right, the cost of such a program to be met by increased income and inheritance taxes, or if necessary by a capital levy, on those who have received far more than an equitable share of the social income.

"Specifically we suggest that to a considerable extent work (which is better than any form of relief) can be provided by the following measures:

Suggested Program
"1. By an emergency law on hours of labor imposing an industry generally the five day week and the six hour day which has been endorsed in theory by notable engineers and repeatedly urged by labor bodies. This law can be sustained in the courts by the same reasoning which applied to emergency rent legislation.

"2. By pushing public works, including housing, on a very large scale. We do not put our trust in making trifling jobs under existing departments; we are aware of the danger of putting the unem-

ployed to do jobs that regular workers should be doing at regular wages. What we urge is that all major public works be pushed, including the abolition of grade crossings. Some of this work now drains unnecessarily. Above all we want to increase individual health and happiness and add to social wealth by abolishing city slums and country shanties. Low cost housing is one of the state's crying needs. A five year program could abolish slums, give direct work to thousands, and indirectly stimulate all legitimate business. No private enterprise in sight can fill this role. No private enterprise or limited dividend company can meet the need for housing which is essential to our well being. The state must act. Completely adequate action may require time. A beginning can be made in the emergency.

Provide Maintenance
"These measures that we have urged, useful as they will prove, will not immediately meet the full emergency need. For those for whom there is no work maintenance must be provided. In this connection we urge:

"1. Reducing the age for old age pensions to 60.

"2. Making available a state emergency fund provided out of increased income and inheritance taxes for direct relief. This should be included in the administrative bodies.

If to these measures is added emergency legislation raising the age at which children may go to work to eighteen, the desperate need of our people can be relieved. In such cases adequate provision must be made for the maintenance of those families depending on the earnings of those children. Unemployment insurance legislation should, of course, be enacted though it can hardly meet the existing crisis.

"Assuming that you will recommend action on unemployment to the legislature, we shall prepare fuller recommendations along these lines to submit to it."

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Unemployment In Up - State Cities Grave

No Plans for a Million Jobless Except in Three Cities and Tragedy Approaches With the Coming of Winter

(Continued from Page One) Association, which has investigated forty up-State cities, declares that the situation is disquieting.

"Very few cities," the report says, "have made any definite plans and there is no evidence of advanced planning of work relief projects, except in Poughkeepsie, Rochester and Utica."

While there is a general apprehension regarding the widespread distress bound to come with the approach of the Fall and Winter months, the report adds, there is no full recognition on the part of public officials or private individuals of the inadequacy of existing relief facilities or of the sinister consequences that may follow continued inaction.

Deplores Complacent Attitude

The most disturbing factor, the report points out, is a certain complacent attitude that the emergency can be met when it arrives, and the failure to grasp the fact that it is no longer a case of dealing chiefly with the proverbially poor, but of considering as well the urgent necessities of thousands who have never before known charity. The requirements of such, it is stated, can not be met with a pitiful public dole for food, amounting, as in one city, to a maximum of \$2 a week per family, regardless of size, and in another city to \$3 every other week.

"The immediate need," the report declares, "is for an active, nonpartisan citizens' group in each city to assume responsibility for planning how to meet the unemployment emergency."

"In only four cities, Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rochester and Utica, are such committees now active," the report says.

The report also stresses the points that virtually every city has spent nearly as much or more for public home relief in the first half of 1931 as in the entire year of 1930, that equally large expenditures are expected in the second half of 1931 and that appropriations for the year are nearly or entirely exhausted, and many cities will have substantial deficits at the end of the fiscal year.

Worse Condition Predicted

There is a general expectation, the report says, that unemployment will be worse next winter than last year, and there is a substantial basis for belief that the number in need will be much larger. The unemployed who maintained themselves last winter through their own resources, credit, savings and assistance from friends, are coming to the end of their resources. Many of those with part-time employment who have been able to get along heretofore by savings and credit will need relief.

Work relief is generally recognized as the most advantageous form of relief, but definite plans for work relief projects are being made in only three cities—Poughkeepsie, Rochester and Utica. While a number of cities are considering bond issues for this purpose, there is no evidence of the advance planning which is essential for effective expenditures of public funds for this type of relief.

The present policies and practices of public relief departments in many cities, the report concludes, must be radically changed to insure relief adequate for the minimum needs of the recipients. The scale of relief in many cities last year was dangerously low. In sixteen cities \$7 is the usual maximum food order, \$6 in nine cities, \$4 in four cities, \$3 in three cities, \$2 in one city and \$3 every other week in another city. Eleven cities pay no rent for the unemployed, and five pay it only in cases of eviction.

The report recommends, among other things, closer cooperation of all relief-giving, public and private, in order to conserve the available funds, to spare the applicants the demoralizing experience of appealing to many agencies, and to avoid the dependency frequently resulting from duplication of relief-giving.

\$532 Raised for Miners by The Amalgamated Houses

The benefit concert of last week arranged by the Amalgamated Cooperative House for striking miners was a complete success. Due to the close cooperation of all organizations functioning within the House \$532 was raised in spot cash which was turned over to the Emergency Relief Committee, 112 East 19th street, New York City, of which Norman Thomas is the chairman.

The artists were G. Rubin, Copel and Mrs. Greenstein. The amplifiers for the overflow crowd were furnished by Local 806 of the Motion Picture Operators Union, who is now waging a brave and persistent strike against the Ochs circuit. Appreciation is expressed to all members of the joint conference who worked hard to make the affair fully successful.

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Machine Tools and Capitalist Production

THIS article is one of a series The New Leader is publishing which will survey the revolutionary changes that have occurred in various industries. Since the end of the World War an industrial revolution has swept old methods into the discard. It is a change that is just as significant as the first industrial revolution which shifted manufacture from the household and the small shop to the factory and, later, to the great plant. It is important that the working class should know what is transpiring and this series will help in throwing light on our changing American capitalism.

By Samuel A. De Witt

NO greater injustice exists on earth today, than the curse that machinery has brought to mankind. Human beings have gone on and by through their successive generations, and in which the hours of leisure would be lengthened for the cultural unfolding and flowering forth of the spiritual forces. But strange and unnatural things have occurred. It might be of profit to muse upon them.

Ever since Jimmy Watts unloaded the genie of steam from the kettle, the most complete revolution has taken place. The power of a billion bodies and ten billion horses has been developed without the need of a live finger adding its pressure or a single tendon getting a strain. Metropolis after metropolis has heaped itself against the sky through processes of demolition and reconstruction. No magic has been greater in all history. No grandeur has been more awe-inspiring. Since 1860, the machine tool, powered first by steam, later by electricity and oil, has turned, dug and fashioned a heap of finished utilities and needs for human consumption that staggers the human mind to compute correctly. It seems that there are no sum large enough to tally the actual amount in wealth produced in the last seventy years.

When one considers that the machine in this country alone produces more than seventy-five billion dollars of useful goods, grain and raw materials per annum, while in 1890, a bare twenty billion dollars was the total output of the nation, you have an equation in acceleration which is interesting indeed.

Of course you had then, thirty years ago a population of some eighty-five million, whereas, today it runs considerably over one hundred and twenty million. But the percentages are intriguing. The percentage of increase in population for thirty years is less than 40 per cent compared to the 350 per cent increase in productivity of wealth. This ratio, to be fair, is tempered only by the change of money values which would lessen the difference between population and production just a trifle.

Nor is the end of this disparity in sight. As machine tools are fitted with bearings that lessen

friction and so increase their speed, as automatic attachments are perfected, as single purpose tools are developed in the dovetailing schemes for mass production and mass assembly of standardized parts for standardized products, the cornucopia of industry pours forth ever increased totals of finished goods.

Until the present depression hits the machine monster below its conveyor belt, that was the case. And if it recovers its wind and capitalism survives that will be the situation we must face.

Industry at the present state of things stands ready to produce with only 35 per cent more people to make, use and consume its goods, almost 400 per cent more grain, foods, gadgets and merchandise than it was capable of, only a generation ago.

Quite naturally then, this disproportion between manufacture and market leaves many knotty problems in immediate sight for solution. Distribution and consumption alone present gargantuan tasks. And then comes the real question. What to do with the ever increasing portion of earnest, trained and willing workers that are being displaced into enforced idleness with every increased speed of the machine's creative gearing. Engineers and production experts have made many intensive researches and estimates on the subject of industry and its market. Even those who base their figures upon the so-called high standard of living among all classes of society, the consensus of judgment brings forth this astonishing surmise: That if we employed every mill, machine and mine, and every bit of our available power, mechanical and human, the workers in the land could produce everything necessary to an enlightened existence, by working fifteen hours each week. And even this average could be lowered considerably with applied economic planning. And surely so, if every able-bodied man and woman now employed in the multifarious and nefarious non-productive fields that capitalism cultivates for its parasitic purposes.

As the situation shapes itself upon the scene of a scene of insanity such as mankind has never witnessed before. We have workers and farmers starving and bankrupt because they have produced entirely too well and entirely too much. And before them looms the shadow of the Frankenstein mon-

The Behemoth Shadow of the Machine Which Displaces Labor, Increases Production, and Which Prepares the Way for the Overthrow of a Fast Decaying Capitalist System

ster machine that capitalism has ordered built for its own greed, and which the tollers have slavishly constructed, and which now threatens to destroy the owner and the maker together.

And the only thing that can prevent an utter cataclysm is just a change in ownership, and a sensible use of an insensate mechanism.

The machine was originally born in the hatred of the master for his human slaves. He hated them every end of the 72-hour week, when he had to make up and pay out the payroll. Living flesh of his employees left a nasty stench in his nose. Social workers and reformers, union agitators and radicals bothered him with petty laws, restrictions, strikes and threats of revolution.

If only he could make gears, wheels, pulleys and belts to do the work of hands and fingers? Machines needed no humane laws to protect them, they protested at no length of hours, they needed no sunlight, or air, vacations and ac-

cent compensation insurance. They had no families to support, they asked for no share in his profits. A little oil, a bit of repairs, and the jerk of the motor pulley was all the machines asked of him.

Out of hatred for living human beings who worked by hand to keep the masters in surfeit, the machines were born. Out of love for humanity and out of a fine desire to ease drudgery, and make life more endurable, the dreamers and creators experimented, schemed, planned and built the machine. How paradoxical, and how complex! And how tragic the thought that the very efficiency of the monster in its fulfillment of the dream that was nurtured in hate on one side and brought forth out of love for humanity on the other, threatens to destroy them both. And unless a sane plan and a new system of ownership is instituted there will be no end to the suffering and misery ahead.

Industries all over the land have grown weak, ill or utterly para-

lyzed from overexpansion. And this spreading out has been urged into reality by the blind greed of the machine owners. Out of a small plant and with few workers, they saw profits coming in. They learned that with more machines, and with hardly any more humans on the payroll the profits grew in accelerated ratio. The race began immediately after the temporary lull following the war. The war had taught manufacturers many things about production by way of mechanical equipment. The automobile industry had set the style with ousting slower tools for the speedier ones. Speed meant lower costs and higher profits. The idea spread to the workers as well. Slower, older employees were discarded with the same heartlessness and replaced with younger faster muscle and senses. And speedier machines meant less and less of even these younger human tools.

And then queer changes took place among the men of the shops.

The all-around trained machinist, who had spent his lifetime at a difficult trade, found himself as a mere attendant at a battery of screw machines, or turning millions of monotonously similar parts on a single purpose lathe. There was not enough tool and die work requiring his experience with micrometer and index milling heads, with the dozens of different machines that make up the usual equipment of accepted machine shop practice. He was forced into the Fordized belt system for all of his skill and knowledge, to tighten bolts, or fit one part a thousand times a day. Then he found himself displaced by cheaper help, men without any mechanical training at all, yet who could quickly learn how to perform the standardized operation on one bolt or part by mechanical nut and bolt tighteners and electric screw drivers. The machinist trade in consequence has suffered so much in prestige and uncertainty of steady work that trade schools are

practically unattended by our youth, and the public continuation schools where tuition is free, are giving half-time courses to half-filled classes of half-hearted pupils. And the story of the once powerful, radical machinist union in this land parallels the rise and tragic evolution of the machine itself. There is hardly an organized trade in America where the wage, hour and condition standards have suffered greater fluctuations and irregularity. And it seems at the present writing that there hardly is any union influence perceptible in any sizeable shop of the land.

And, we have the curse of the machine fallen heavily indeed upon the very ones who build and use it.

There is only one way out of the entire sad mess in which the owners find themselves with too many idle machines, and the workers who are idle for having built too much and too well. And that is just the simple system of the people taking over the full owner-

ship of the mechanical equipment, mapping out a plan of production against public need, manufacturing these needs through a plan of universal work for everybody, creating these goods for human use and happiness, and destroying the profit system forever.

The owners of today will have the opportunity of managing the shops, if their abilities to direct useful production are on a par with their shrewdness at operating for profits and dividends. Otherwise they are useless altogether, and should be trained in lighter and less important social enterprise. Clipping sheep's wool might fall in line with their former professions of clipping coupons and skinning the workers.

For the worker and for his class alone, in the mill, on the farm, on the building scaffold, or in the mine, the machine can be made to shoulder the tedious, back-breaking and spirit-weakening drudgery so that the hours of physical labor will be lessened, and his days and nights grow longer for the happiness that is the rightful heritage of those who create the instruments of joy in living for others.

Many other forces are at work today to hasten the downfall of a fast decaying order. Financial chaos out of the hands of mad financiers, hunger and hopelessness in the depths, fear and hatred on the middle stairs, stupidity and recklessness on top.

But above them all looms the behemoth shadow of the machine. And a voice from somewhere says, "I am the machine. I destroy as quickly as I can create. I eat only. I cannot think. You must do the thinking for me. If you tell me to go on building and making things, whether wisely or stupidly, I obey until you halt me. If you order me to demolish, I do that too, speedily, efficiently, utterly. And whatever you direct me to do, I shall do it thoroughly and well."

Shall capitalism pull the starting lever on the last, mad road down to the destruction of civilized life, or will Socialism step in, wrest control of the machine away from that palsied hand, and set the gears of life and living going in a sane, planned, and orderly tempo to ever increasing peace and plenty for all mankind?

This question the workers of America and the world must answer soon, if all of us are to survive.

Dole System In Coal Empire

By Louis Stanley

THAT Hoover's scheme of fastening the responsibility for unemployment relief upon local communities will bring no substantial help to the distressed hard coal region is revealed by a survey of the territory completed by the writer. Instead of warding off the dole system which Hoover declares unemployment insurance will bring about, the existing arrangement of community relief through public and private charity will prove itself more than ever the vicious dole system that it is.

The anthracite coal industry of Pennsylvania employed 150,804 men in 1930 and produced in that year close to 62,000,000 gross tons worth about \$355,000,000. The economic depression coming on top of the suffering caused by declining markets for hard coal and the displacement of workers by machinery has created a severe unemployment problem. One quarter of the miners have no work at all while most of the remainder work but a few days a week. Had it not been for the savings that the miners accumulated during prosperous times they would long ago have reached the level of the soft coal diggers. Nevertheless, starvation is widespread in the anthracite region.

Private Charity Inadequate.

The publicity agents for Hoover's scheme of avoiding responsibility for unemployment relief have made much ado over the co-operation of the community chests.

Hurried conferences have been held with the officials of the Association of Community Chests. In the anthracite region there are only two community chests that function well enough to be taken seriously, that in the Wyoming Valley centering in Wilkes-Barre and that in Scranton. Campaigns in the hard coal fields to raise funds for charity depend for the most part upon the mally feel obliged—in many instances they are practically compelled—to donate a shift or day's pay. At the present time employment is so poor that collections for charity would only add to the distress. The coal companies do not contribute, while corporation officials are not particularly liberal. New drives to finance additional relief through community chests would not be looked upon with favor in the anthracite fields.

The existing community chests cannot cope with the situation. Collieries have been completely shut down or placed on a negligible operating basis everywhere but particularly around Shamokin in the lower anthracite region, around Wilkes-Barre, "the heart of the anthracite," in the Pittston section, in Taylor, near Scranton, in Archbald, above Scranton, and in Carbondale and vicinity at the extreme northern tip of the hard coal fields. In Shamokin there are no philanthropic organizations at all, so that the miners have been compelled to take the initiative in establishing a soup kitchen which manages to feed 1,500 persons a day. The businessmen have been finding it harder to contribute as the unemployment situation has continued. Around Wilkes-Barre the closing down of mines by the Glen Alden and the Hudson Coal companies has wrought havoc with the miners and strained the resources of the charitable organizations. In the Pittston district, where severe unemployment has been rife for months, the community chest operates on a shoe-string and there is hardly any prospect of early improvement. There, after careful investigation, a family in the direct of circumstances may finally be awarded relief of two or two and a half dollars a month.

In Taylor borough the shutting down of its only two collieries, owned by the Glen Alden, has brought misery into the homes of five hundred families. Though the Taylor miners have contributed in the past to the Scranton-Dunmore community chest they are now finding it difficult to secure relief from that source. A local emergency welfare organization has been unable to raise much money. A Scranton newspaper has taken up the cause of the unemployed miners but at the same time it has advised them to take a wage cut to induce the company to resume operations. Public meetings have been held and negotiations are being conducted to have the Scranton welfare organization assume a larger burden of the relief. At Archbald and vicinity there exists the Mid-Valley community chest, completing its first year of activity, and finding it impossible to keep up with the demands made upon it. In the Carbondale region and as far north as Forest City, where the last anthracite coal crops out, there is not a single secular welfare society. Religious groups are struggling with the relief problem and are wondering

where they will get the money to satisfy the requirements of the situation.

Throughout the entire anthracite region the charitable organizations are having trouble collecting their pledges. They dread further appeals for funds. In the main they must rely for finances upon the miners, who are the very ones who need the financial help. In large cities there are receivers of big incomes who can be expected to contribute to charity even in a depression but in small places this is not the case. The anthracite population is distinctly working class in character. The region is covered with townships and boroughs. There are very few cities. The large owners of coal properties are in New York, Philadelphia and other metropolitan centers—indifferent to what is

happening in the coal fields. The anthracite region has already reached the limit of relief through private philanthropic agencies, meager as that relief has been.

Poor Boards Poor.

The public charities operating through the poor boards throughout the region cannot accomplish much for unemployment relief, no matter how many conferences are held between the Hoover saviors and the American Association of Public Welfare Officials. There are three reasons for this. In the first place, the poor boards have only functioned as an aid to widows, old people and families where the head of the family has been sick or is awaiting compensation payment. Frequently the possession of a home, even if it cannot be used for food, will disqualify a needy family from receiving help. The poor districts have been operating on budgets suited to their historic narrow purposes. They use up all their funds for these objects. Helping the unemployed becomes an impossibility for them because it is an extra burden which they are not prepared to bear. Besides, they have not the experience or the personnel to handle the new problem satisfactorily. In the second place, the taxpayers—and in the anthracite region, home ownership is quite prevalent—find it difficult enough to pay the existing taxes without being confronted with new levies. Tax payments in the hard coal region are everywhere far in arrears. The demands for exonerations grow. Under a new law a taxpayer's property may be sold to recover taxes and that has made it still more difficult for the poor boards to increase the mileage of the poor districts. In the third place, the coal companies, through county taxpayers' associations which they control, object to higher tax rates even if the aim is to help the unemployed whom they have created. The largest taxpayers in most communities are the coal corporations who pay taxes on their coal reserves.

As the coal is mined the valuation of the coal in the ground decreases accordingly and, therefore, the towns and boroughs find that the valuation of the property upon which they may levy from year to year diminishes. Nevertheless, the coal companies vigorously resist the increase of the mileage to compensate for the lessened valuation, although the needs of the poor boards may increase. Representatives of the taxpayers' associations that the coal companies operate, attend the meetings of the poor boards, check the audits and see that expenditures are kept down. Indeed, the coal companies go further. They fight the triennial assessment of their property through the courts and generally succeed in reducing these assessments. An assessment made this year and fear is expressed that the companies will win again, cutting down their own taxes and proportionately increasing those of the small home owners. The poor boards can do very little to raise the money fully needed in the present emergency. They solve their problem by dodging the granting of relief to the unemployed except in the most extreme cases of necessity and by giving material help in the very smallest quantities.

The relief given by the private charities and the poor boards takes the form of orders, usually for food alone, upon the neighborhood stores. Generally the kind of goods that may be secured is specified on the order. The amount varies from two dollars a month to twenty and even more. The welfare workers and the poor district directors are always careful to see that only "worthy" cases receive help. They have developed a whole philosophy about not being too generous in order not to spoil the recipients of their bounty. Forgetting that their dole is of the

most degrading kind they are often heard objecting to unemployment insurance benefits on the ground that they are a dole, although such benefits are given to every unemployed worker as a right.

Despite the Hoover pronouncements there is very little help that the anthracite miner can expect from intensified community effort. The local private and public charities can do little. Help must come from the outside, from the state or the Federal governments. The union officials have already made pleas to both. Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania has been making a survey of the situation through the State Welfare Department and may recommend some form of material relief by the state. The Hoover administration has already declared itself for the continuation of a do-nothing policy. In either case the American dole system will continue to flourish.

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A Beaten Man at the Bottom of the Heap

By Doris Kirkpatrick

HE KNOCKED at my door one bitter day in January. So near are we to the railroad tracks that I was already beginning on the familiar phrases with which I dispatched unwelcome mendicants when I was caught by the expression in his faded blue eyes, and the words died on my lips. Here was no ordinary beggar for the old man was decently dressed in very clean blue jeans and a shabby overcoat that had seen better days but was still presentable. He stood very straight and tall and looked me squarely in the eye. He was not begging—he wanted work. But we had no work for anyone in our modern little house. Suddenly I thought of the unsaved pile of wood which had been delivered the day before for the fireplace.

"Would you like to saw some wood?" I asked him.

"Yes'm," he replied, "I should say I would."

I escorted him to the cellar since he volunteered no further information about himself and returned to my household duties. The noise of the sawing went on steadily for an hour. I thought to myself, perhaps he is hungry and since he had already proved his good intentions I set out a simple lunch on the kitchen table and called him from his work. His face reddened when I asked him if he were hungry as if he were ashamed of the fact. Inquiries elicited the fact that he had not eaten since the day before. Trying not to show haste he began to eat the warm lunch and I mercifully left him alone. When I returned a few minutes later not a crumb was left.

"You are out of work?" I enquired. He sat back in the chair and relaxed a moment in the warm kitchen. It was six months since he had had a regular job. He was a lumberman, had worked hard and regularly all his life but now that he was sixty-five it was the old story—they wanted younger men. He flexed his muscles, he could still work, he was strong, if only they would give him a chance. On small pay it had been hard to save anything and what little he had saved disappeared in a short time. Since then he had lived by picking up a little piece of work here and there and drifting in to the Salvation Army when he could get nothing.

"The winter's been hard but when spring comes I'll find work again," he said confidently.

In the spring—I wondered. He went back to work and I had a talk with the welfare agency. The weary voice over the wire was polite and apologetic, "but we have

one thousand men already registered. It's practically hopeless."

At six o'clock he stopped work. I went to the cellar to find it immaculately swept and the wood sawed into even lengths and neatly piled. I gave him a bag of fruit and paid him for his labors. He smiled blithely and cocked his hat, straightening his shoulders in a self-respecting manner. His blue eyes twinkled. Did I know of anyone else who had odd jobs? I did not but I suggested that he come back and shovel snow from our steps by the next snowfall. He thanked me, tipped his hat courteously and wishing me good night went out into the dark grey night.

I did not see him again for several weeks and then he appeared on a zero afternoon when it was snowing hard. I looked at his soaked feet and suggested that he get warm first. He had no carfare so he had walked. I thought of the two miles of snow through that dry, still air. He sat heavily and slouched toward the fire.

"Have you had any luck?"

"No'm, there's nothing for an old man to do now I guess. Seem's like I'm not wanted." He sat looking at his strong gnarled hands with a look of bewilderment in his eyes.

"I don't want to be no object of charity," he muttered as if to himself.

"So you didn't like it at the Salvation Army?"

"No'm," he said, "there's a low class of people there, beggars and crooks and what all. I ain't one of them kind, I ain't never been one of the likes of them."

My dog lay stretched out before the fire, his sleek, well-fed body relaxed and warm. Looking meditatively at the dog he mumbled, "He's got better than I have. Yes sir, he's got it better than me."

Yes, thought I, we look after our dumb animals. If Jerry should be lost he would be picked up by the streets by the Animal Rescue League. We do not allow our dumb animals to starve. I thought of those years of toil in the lumber camps, a hard life and at the end of it starvation. Who was responsible.

"Haven't you any family or friends?" I ventured.

"There's my brother," he replied, "but he lives on a farm and times is hard. He can't keep me. No there's nobody. I got to look out for myself—somehow."

He picked up the shovel and went out to shovel snow. But this time there was no blitheness in his step. He was beaten and he knew that he was beaten. He would never again get up from the bottom of the heap.

A Reexamination Of Bernard Shaw

By Bernard Kastenbaum

IT is with mixed feelings of futility, anger and amusement that I take up this criticism of S. A. de Witt's take-off on G. B. Shaw.

Let us examine this fossilized and antiquated Shaw. Unless I am mistaken, Shaw's last two works are "An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," and "The Apple Cart." Just what signs of toothless senility or "limpish tickling" do we find in either of these children of his old age. I admit that both are highly interesting and amusing. It is true that both are marked with keen wit and malicious irony. But does all this detract from their worth as social criticism and analysis? That people so often assume that wit and wisdom do not go together can only be due to their incapacity to enjoy or understand more than one of these at a time. Be that as it may, what signs of brain-softening do we find?

Let us turn to an examination of "The Intelligent Woman's Guide." In a long reading of Socialist literature I have not found its equal for a comprehensive, intelligent, interesting analysis of socialist theory and criticism of the existing order. Here we have socialist doctrine bereft of all the antique lumber of 19th century, Hegelianism. Economics minus the professional jargon and profundity. Philosophy and psychology without tenuous abstraction. In the present writer's opinion there are few books which can be classed with it for a consistent exposition of modern socialist thought as distinguished from the vague idealisms and hopes of the centuries. They are Lenin's "The State and Revolution," Marx and Engels' "The Communist Manifesto," and Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

And now the "Apple Cart." Here Shaw scores again—remember I am not engaged in a discussion of the drama per se. This is the old Shaw. Stupidity, cowardice, incapacity, bungling are still the hallmarks in the old parties or Labor Government, such as we remember Shaw's years in England which eventuated in the triumph of MacDonald.

Yet when their ac-

hard, clear-cut standard which he has always applied to the way of the world he is almost pitiless in his irony. Trade unions, labor parliamentarians, democracy all feel his lash that is none the softer for all the laughter. When the Labor Government was weighed in scales and found wanting it did not take Shaw long to say thumbs down.

Anyone can reread his Shaw and find the same clear cut Socialist philosophy in his writings of the last 40 years. The "Apple Cart" does not desert the old tradition. Take it or leave it, Shaw's course has been marvelously consistent and courageous. As a final touch: Shaw's attitude to Russia and his attitude to the Labor government. It's not so hard to tackle one's enemies but how about attacking one's friends and work of many years past? Yet this is what Shaw has done in the past few years. It would repay digging up Shaw's speech to the I. L. P. about two years back. Does Shaw treat Snowden, MacDonald and the whole Labor Party with such gentleness as De Witt accuses him? It would pay many people to have their wives or sweethearts reread "The Intelligent Woman's Guide."

Part 2 of the De Witt thesis: Socialism and the possession of wealth. To take the plunge immediately although I cannot refrain from mentioning that a reading of Shaw should be sufficient to settle this kind of criticism. A millionaire may live on as easily as the humblest proletarian. In fact a good deal easier. Any one who has done any amount of soap-boxing can tell you this. Worry about the job, the wife, the children, the rent, in fact that whole complex which we mean when we use the phrase "making a living" have killed many a starchy-eyed revolutionist. Poverty made Socialists are the kind which wealth convinces of the error of their ways. Shaw was not made a Socialist by poverty he has not been softened by wealth. Poverty alone never made a Socialist; wealth alone never destroyed one. It's much more complicated than that.

The possession of stocks and bonds, under the present regime is no more inconsistent with Socialism than having money in the bank or working for J. P. Morgan.

(Continued on Page Eight)

Our Happiness Column

NOW that the President of the telephone company is down at Rapidan fixing up the employment situation with the President of the United States, there seems to be little for us to worry about this week. To be sure, we are worried slightly about our telephone bill, and unless we worry effectively than we have in the past, there is no possibility that you may not be able to write a couple of dramatic sketches, magazine editorials, publicity programs and the like free gratis for nothing in our spare time, of which, to our sorrow we seem to have a lot nowadays.

As we are not versed in White House economics, or the inner workings of what passes as the Presidential mind, it is not clear to us why the president of the telephone company should be the one man in all the country to fix up the unhappy situation which now prevails. This gentleman, Mr. Walter Gifford, when we knew him, was a bright young Harvard man, a statistician of parts, who knew exactly how many telephones could be wished on the natives of New Rochelle in any given six months. Because of this somewhat uncanny foresight in looking into the seeds of telephone time, he rose rapidly in that anything but amusing organization known as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. It may be that because of his gift of prophecy he has been summoned by the mystic of Rapidan to utter a Delphic prognostication as to the end of the present depression. But surely there have been an awful lot of these just-around-the-corner boys hanging around the White House for the past three years, and if Walter's batting average is no higher than theirs, we see another strike-out in the near future.

One solution might be to have everyone telephone to everyone else for a job. This would give the girls down at Walter Gifford's establishment plenty to do, and might serve to fill up the leisure time of the workless workers about which so many of our best minds were worrying prior to 1929.

For you all realize that if what a college professor called "the threat of leisure" was imminent in those days, it is now upon us in full force. Indeed our leisure class has become so immeasurably swelled that workers have even been seen asleep in Carnegie libraries, their heads buried in books entitled "The Cure for Unemployment."

However, let us not be discouraged, for according to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Henry Prince of the Social Science Department of Kings College, Halifax, the trouble with this age has been its lack of simplicity. "Emancipation from the drag of Western civilization," said the reverend, "can be found only in lessening the denominator of life by mastering the art of doing without." Let the reverend gentleman and all the rest of us take heart, for about 7,000,000 Americans have already reached the least common denominator by going without food, clothing and shelter for three years back. In fact, the wardrobe of the average worker is fast approaching the simplicity of Gandhi's, and if we get any more simple than most of us seem to be today, we will all be shining up trees gathering nuts this autumn.

While that estimable palladium, "The New York Times," prints no formal comic section, its editors make up for this by printing every Monday morning a whole page of sermons such as those of the Rev. Dr. Prince. Here for example is the Rev. Dr. Joseph S. Sizoo, pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church of Washington, saying: "We are apt today to divide life into hermetically sealed compartments, each water tight and separated with a barbed wire fence." Says you, Sizoo. And may be after all you are right. For this sort of division, as far as income goes, (although we don't believe for one moment you had that in mind) is just what we Socialists have been kicking about since 1900.

And now comes Dr. Harold S. Rambo, with the bright suggestion that as a way back to prosperity the country should have a "spurge week" in which "everybody would spend ten dollars that he did not expect to spend." A most appropriate place for the beginning of the National Spurge Week might be among the mining towns of West Virginia. If only Dr. Rambo would go down there and urge the miners to spend ten dollars a week more than they had expected to spend, we are sure his reception would be warm, to say the least.

Sometime since we suggested a "buy-a-diamond-a-week" for the textile workers, but to our surprise the National Jewelers' Association did not take up this scheme with any great gusto. We are sure, however, that a National Spurge Week is what this country really needs. How come that people are bemoaning the lack of leadership in our churches when we have such acute minds as those of Dr. Prince, Dr. Sizoo and Dr. Rambo tackling at close quarters the most pressing of our problems?

So with our country in the safekeeping of Walter Gifford, Herbert Hoover and the holy men, let us look upon the bright side of things. For example, the fact that over 423,000 families are reading what is described as "America's greatest weekly newspaper" a magazine of which we have not hitherto heard called "Grit"; that a new use has been found for shaving soap, through the fact that ladies are now using shaving soap for shampoos and the washing of their fancier lingerie; that ever so many children play in the "Sunny Teddy Bear Cave" on the top floor of the Hotel Roosevelt; and that on the whole, American business, by such acute deceptions, is sturdily hewing itself out of the present cavein.

In the meantime the embattled economists of the American Federation of Labor are right out there in the front line of trenches, fighting it out for you boys and girls on the light wings and beer front.

Their noble struggle resounds through the lobbies of every Atlantic City hotel, and they intend to carry the fight on in Montreal if it takes all Autumn.

From time to time we have had complaints that we have been growing ponderous in this column and that dwelling overmuch on the depression is depressing both to us and to our readers. But surely looking back over all these happy portents, that accusation can no longer be made. It's a short life, perhaps, especially for coal miners, Ford workers and iron puddlers, but surely it is a gay one if one but resolves to look on said life through rose-colored glasses rather than the gray-fogged spectacles of such confirmed pessimists as Socialists and the like. If the above paragraphs do not get us a job writing for some such happiness magazine as "Grit," then indeed there is no Santa Claus and Bruce Barton is not his pet reindeer. Let us all look up and not down, look forward and not backward, and remember that through the grace of the telephone, the simple life and National Spurge Week we can go forward to a new Utopia, England, France, Germany and Czechoslovakia will never know the like of. For this is a land of free men and Freemasons, of up-to-date and benevolent Elks, and blessed with such an abundance of flora and fauna, divine providence will never allow us to slip into the pit in which them dirty foreigners are to be wallowing.

—McAlister Coleman

From Our Foreign Correspondents

On The Eve of The Labor Crisis

Economic and Political Factors Leading Up to the Passing of the Labor Government in Great Britain

The following article was written by the London correspondent of The New Leader about August 18 and it presents an excellent analysis of the trends in the Labor Government, forecasts the formation of the emergency government, and indicates the attitude of the Labor Party in general towards this government.—Editor of The New Leader.

By Fred Henderson

LONDON.

WHATEVER serious criticisms may be passed upon its actual achievements, there can be no possible complaint about the British political theatre in regard to the lighter qualities of quick change and unexpectedness which it stages for us. Some humorist has defined the flea as a creature which, when you put your finger on it, isn't there. That is pretty much what our Parliamentary situation amounts to. You may think you have got it accurately sized up and clearly defined; and within a week it has become something quite different. The past week has witnessed another of these sudden transformations in the outlook.

At the beginning of August, Parliament adjourned for what was to be a long holiday. It was not to be reassembled until about the middle of October. After a long session, in which the MacDonald Government had not been free for a single day from the precariousness of having an adverse majority in the House of Commons held like a pistol at its head, members of the Government scattered to all sorts of remote holiday places; and it seemed to be the safest of safe places for them to go. For two months or more the threat by which the life of the Government has been suspended while Parliament was sitting was unbreakable, and that all worries on that score could be forgotten for a time.

And then, quite suddenly, Mr. MacDonald, who was somewhere up in the remote highlands of Scotland, hurried back to London.

Simultaneously the leader of the Conservative party came back from the south of France; the acting leader of the Liberals made his appearance in London. Within twenty-four hours, the central committee of five, who constitute the inner cabinet within the cabinet of the Labour Government were assembled at Downing Street; long consultations were being held with the big bankers; the representatives of the other political parties were called into conference; and London was in a panic of political excitement as to what it all meant. The fact that the banking interests were the centre round which these movements of the politicians revolved clearly indicated a financial crisis; and within a day or two it was known that the Government were of opinion that we were up against a financial emergency in which the most drastic steps must be taken to face it. It is now understood that the Parliamentary holiday is to be curtailed; that the Government are working hard on an emergency program of new financial arrangements, and that the House of Commons will be called together to deal with the matter at the earliest possible moment.

It is necessary to see this sudden eruption of activity in relation to the known events which preceded it. As I pointed out in my last letter, a very formidable attack on our unemployment insurance law has been carried out by the capitalist interests during this summer; and this attack has steadily developed into an all-round attack upon the cost of our social services. Not only is it demanded that unemployment benefits should be drastically cut down, but over the whole range of working class life reductions and economies are insisted upon; wage cuts throughout all the public services, from the humblest teacher to the highest civil servant; restriction of public expenditure in every direction.

Some time ago the Government staved off this attack by the usual device of appointing a special committee of enquiry into the need for and the possibilities of public economy. And what has now brought matters to a head is the issue of this committee's report. It points out that our present national expenditure is over a hundred million pounds beyond the revenue coming in from our present taxes; and that if Philip Snowden, he has got either to cut off expenditure to that amount or raise the necessary revenue somehow. The committee of enquiry, representing capitalist outlooks in a great majority, expressed the strong opinion that further taxation could not be borne; and therefore recommended reductions of expenditure on a wholesale scale; almost exclusively in the reduction of unemployment benefits, wage cuts throughout all the public services, and in some cases the abandonment of our social services. And it was on this that the Government hurriedly interrupted its holidays and set the world talking about a new sudden crisis in British affairs.

I will ask you not to rush to conclusions about it. At the moment the actual Government decisions as to the kind of action to be taken have not been declared. What you are getting so far is only rumor and hearsay. Every sort of rumor has been set going. The fact that the bankers have been meeting in conclave with the inner cabinet of the Government has given currency to the assertion that the financiers—who, here as elsewhere under capitalism, are of course the real Government—have presented the political Government with an ultimatum demanding the scrapping of many social services. The fact

that the leaders of the other political parties have also been called into the conclave has been interpreted as meaning that the Government, submitting to the dictation of the bankers, propose to invite the others to share the responsibility for such a policy, and that we are to have a so-called national emergency Government of all parties to give effect to it. All that, I would warn you, is at any rate premature. All that is definitely stated so far is that the Government is determined at all costs to balance its budget. That has been hailed by the capitalist interests as being the same thing as a determination to cut down expenditure by starving the social services. I will ask you to bear in mind that it is not necessarily anything of the kind.

There are more ways than one of balancing a budget. Such a balance could certainly be effected by taking weight out of the heavy scale; that is, by reducing and mutilating essential services. But it can also be effected by putting more weight into the light scale; that is, by retaining services and making the wealth of the nation pay up more adequately for them.

The capitalist interests have been pushing this campaign for balancing the budget because they have imagined that there was only one possible way of doing it; the way of cutting down working class standards of life. But there are hopeful indications that when the Government takes up the challenge and says, "Just so; let's balance the budget," they have a good deal of the other alternative in mind; the further taxation of unearned and proprietary incomes and the reduction of the enormous burden of interest and debt charge by which the nation is bled for the advantage of the rentier. There has been a very welcome note about equality of sacrifice in the Government talk on the matter; and you need not be greatly surprised if, when the proposals are formulated and placed

before the hastily re-assembled Parliament, the dominant fact in them will be found to be a stern compulsion on the finance interests to make a more adequate contribution to the cost of our social services.

I do not know. Nobody at the moment knows; though everybody is repeating the sort of rumors I have indicated. I only ask you to keep your minds open to this other possible line of action; and I assure you that the indications are quite as strong in that direction as in the directions to which at the moment rumor is giving greater credence. Probably by the time this letter appears in print there will be more definite knowledge about it, and the editor will be able to point the moral.

One thing, however, is quite certain. If any decision were made, on the ground of financial emergency, to intensify the poverty and suffering of the workers by making the national economies at the expense of their health and livelihood—which is what the whole capitalist campaign has been aiming at—there would be a new political situation immediately created here. As you know, there has been widespread dissatisfaction with the meagre results of a period of Labor Government; dissatisfaction which has not always taken into sufficient account the extraordinary difficulties of a Government holding office without the power of a Parliamentary majority. That dissatisfaction would be multiplied many times over—it would cease to be merely dissatisfaction and would become a new organized political activity against the Government—if any such surrender of our purposes to the claims of finance were to emerge from this present situation. Personally, I think that the capitalist and finance interests may have the surprise of their life when, having worked so assiduously to scare the Government into reaction under the plea of balancing the budget, they know just what the method of effecting that balance is to be.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The Law And Lawyers Under Capitalism

A Socialist Lawyer Speaks

By Charles Solomon

THE legal profession has fallen upon evil days. For that matter, so have the others. But the ancient and honorable calling of the law seems to be especially hard hit. This is true not only of the economic position of the lawyers—I speak, of course, of the general run of practitioners—but as never before he is under suspicion and attack—from the humble all the way up the ladder of the profession.

On the one hand, we have a situation in which there is increasing competition for diminishing sources of business, and on the other a rapid disintegration of public confidence in and respect for the law and those who practice it. The first phenomenon is primarily due to the social trends which, by eliminating the small economic units and hastening the process of merger and consolidation, remove the sources of potential clients for the average lawyer. The commercialization of the law, the conversion of the profession into a business, has stamped the practice of the law with all of the characteristics of business, except perhaps more conspicuously, leading inevitably to a loss of public regard for the lawyer and his calling. This attitude has extended to our courts, not excluding the higher tribunals, yes even to the very highest.

Notoriously, these are days of unprecedented flux and instability, days when immemorial standards and creeds disintegrate with startling rapidity and their substitutes have only begun to form. These phenomena are the inescapable results of the profound unsettlement of our economic and social structure and its incidental relationships. The law, because of its closeness to and identity with our business civilization, is naturally one of the first of the professions to reflect the revolutionary changes taking place in the very foundations of our social life.

The problems of the contemporary lawyer are many and pressing and these are interestingly and frankly discussed by Morris Gismet, a lawyer who has spent a quarter of a century in his calling, in a book entitled "A Lawyer Tells the Truth." (The Concord Press, \$2). The book has an introduction by Norman Thomas.

Gismet, who is a veteran of the Socialist movement, after detailing the difficulties of the lawyer and the problems which confront the profession, concludes that, pending a revolutionary reconstruction of society, relief lies in what he terms the "socialization" of the practice of the law. As steps in the realization of "socialization," the author prescribes

—abolition of all legal costs and disbursements, including expenses of appeals to higher courts; creation of the office of public defender as part of the administration of justice in the criminal courts; the creation of legal aid offices as part of the administration of justice in the civil courts. Gismet hastens to acknowledge that "as long as we shall have rich and poor, it must be conceded that no administration of justice can be perfect in which the rich man will not have some advantage over the poor man." The author also urges improvements in the workmen's compensation acts and that the state be the exclusive insurer carrier.

Most lawyers are honest, Gismet holds, but the victims of a society dominated by the profit motive. He does not overlook the role of the client who, according to the author, the more sharp practice and trickery the lawyer resorts to in his behalf, the better the client likes it and the more he pays for it. "No one wants a lawyer who is just learned in the law nor one who is really honest," says Gismet.

"Once the profession has sunk to the level of mere service men in our business civilization and has accepted the standards which this business civilization imposes upon all who come in contact with it or under its influence, there cannot be any question of professional ethics or even of plain honesty." After many pages loaded down with attack on the bench and bar, the author concludes that: "any dishonesty or plain crookedness on the part of some members of the bar, as well as corruption on the bench, is due entirely to forces and influences inherent in our social, political and economic system . . . in which both bench and bar function."

Corporate entities, which lawyers have done so much to create, have become the bane of the average practitioner—whose livelihood is made even more precarious by the competition of the title companies, banks and trust companies, by collection agencies, and casualty companies—by what the lawyer bitterly describes as lay competition. We have here a parallel of the problem of the average worker and small business man in the presence of increasingly large scale capitalist organizations. Increasingly, the lawyer—as well as other professionals—is being reduced to the economic and social status of the wage worker. Old time barriers are being broken down, chasms spanned, by the inexorable processes of social development.

The writer can remember the time, less than generation ago, when membership in the so-called learned professions was regarded as a guarantee of immunity from the uncertainties and vicissitudes that threatened the worker, and even the small business man. This

is no longer so. Those close to the legal profession today, known to the bitter struggle for existence which is the life of the average lawyer, and notwithstanding this fact, in our planless society the law schools keep swelling the armies of those whose fate is to struggle in intensifying competition for ever diminishing opportunities.

Readings in Anthropology

("The Making of Man," Modern Library.)

HERE is a huge package for ninety-five cents. Almost 900 pages, 39 selected chapters and articles from as many contributing authors, a good bibliography, handy short biographies, and in addition, the latest Calvertonian slam against monogamy. What more would a poor man want for his money?

Anthropology is an important branch of the social sciences, a fascinating study and a valuable aid to Socialist theory. Similar to the other social sciences, anthropology is still in its youth. Much of its data comes from careless and untrained observers, from missionaries, sportsmen and adventurers. Comparative anthropology, particularly, is still full of theoretical confusion and wild speculation. On the other hand, its companion sciences, anatomy, ethnology and particularly archaeology are splendidly advanced and more accurate, and thanks to their aid and example, such workers as Kroeber, Goldenweiser, Boas, Keith and Mead, to mention but a few, are classifying, proving and interpreting evidence that in turn is routing the mass of ignorance, conservatism and prejudice involved in the subject.

Anthropology illuminates the past history of mankind and thus helps in the understanding of the present. All this furthermore provides an effective telescope for a peep into the future. This is why the science so early captured the attention of Socialist theoreticians and why anthropology in its present and much more mature state is so indispensable to our study.

As to the value of any book containing a collection of articles, fragments, chapters, etc., clipped from many volumes there is a conflict of opinion. In some measure it is useful and interesting, as are encyclopedias, source books and compilations generally, but their defects outweigh their virtues. There is not only a confusion of viewpoint, method and style but particularly lacking is that unity and comprehension that inevitably accompanies the work of an individual master.

V. C. Calverton has done a good job in selecting and editing this

assortment of bits and has added an argumentative introduction to the volume. The radical whose reading in anthropology is slight but who probably gets a kick out of it, but the average innocent may wonder what it's all about. The student of anthropology however, will most likely protest the subtle rationalization presented. In this essay, Calverton, applies the theory of economic determinism to the theories, defenses and conservation of writers in social science in general and anthropology in particular. The selection of data and the formulation of conclusions on such dangerous topics as private property, the monogamous family, the democratic political state and individualism by a number of noted writers in analyzed and interpreted quite satisfactorily by Calverton, and his perspective, which he names "cultural compulsives." With this aid and by his friend Briffaut he annihilates Westernism effectively. The "cultural compulsive" undoubtedly effects a number of authorities and muddles thinking generally.

Like all clever devices, however, this theory works best when you choose your victims. Historic materialism or economic determinism is a valuable point of view

but it must be supplemented by cultural, psychological, moral and somewhat eccentric factors. One that may be mentioned is the scientific spirit that animates so many scholars. This betrays a love of truth, a discipline of mind and an enthusiasm for research that drives the intellect to the inevitable conclusion regardless of any "cultural compulsive." Abundant evidence for this observation can be found in modern history, economics, politics, sociology, physiology (particularly in behaviorism), and anthropology. Here are treasures of information and theoretical clarity for the Socialist. Recent anthropological literature is also abundantly rich with matter of great importance to our cause and ideals. This book contains a few specimens of that sort and it should encourage a better acquaintance with this science and its growing literature.

AUGUST CLAESSENS.

It is not a lucky word, this same impossible; no good comes of those that have it so often in their mouth. Carlyle.

The world has never yet known a time when the race of man and the consequent growth of refinement and civilization in the upper section of the community did not lead to degradation and injustice in the lower. —A. E. Zimmerman.

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The Chatterbox

IN another section of this issue, dear readers, you will find a profound, soul searching, and altogether important article by a philosopher from Philadelphia, who devotes great length to a "shallow" bit of journalism that appeared under this heading several weeks ago on George Bernard Shaw.

As for defense or rebuttal, I have nothing to declare in addition to what was originally written, except my regret that I was inclined to be a bit too jocular in spots, when outright vituperation might have been more in place.

It is hateful to me to enter the statement that my critic missed the full point of my reason for attack. It implies that my writing was not clear. It infers many inferiorities in my literary makeup. I am sufficiently vain about my ability as a journalist to shiver a bit at such a suggestion. But really dear readers, I have no quarrel with G. B. Shaw as an important dramatist or litterateur. My bitterness arises on the human equation that enters so directly in this case as a degenerating Socialist, as it does in the case of Ramsay MacDonald, as one who is definitely dead.

It is well enough for articulate lads like my critic to bandy with such phrases as he employs about cloudy ideology, and to prate about being practical in one's conduct. All of which would hold water if the person were not an avowed Socialist, and a leader as well.

Brilliant as Ramsay MacDonald has been, and still is, splendid as has been his service to the Labor movement, and after you have summed up all he has done or helped to do, how can it all be squared with his utter desertion of the old idealism, when personal love of prestige and power yanked him over into the camp of the enemy.

In his case however there is this glad thought. The workers will not divide or suffer much in division if any occurs. In fact his defection will help to inflame a definite revolutionary fervor in their ranks. The example of personal reason to their cause will be like a prodigious fork at their backs hastening them on to action. Ramsay MacDonald, like Leon Trotsky started to worry on how history would record his leadership. Only Trotsky's failing allowed for no attempt at keeping the old dragon alive. Snowden and MacDonald using the pulpit for the collapsing lungs of capitalism is just too funny to be tragic. Old men led the world into the horrible butchery of 1914-1918. Old men committed the equally ugly crime of Versailles. Old men have betrayed and are still betraying the cause of idealism and humanity. And the more brilliant they are personally, the more terrible their guilt.

Shaw, Snowden and MacDonald have lived too long for us. And so I repeat now, as I have said time and time again, that the moment a Socialist ceases to live, think, breathe and serve the cause, all that he has ever done, all the good he has given is utterly liquidated. There are no arguments astute enough, there is no philosophy deep enough, there is no sentiment decent enough to defend or condone him.

Socialism and the party shall offer no dramatic properties and stage for eccentric and temperamental stars or prima donnas. Our cause is a fearfully serious business. It calls for undeviating thought and deed. It exacts tremendous self-sacrifice. And above all it demands the subservience of individual ambition and desire to the general good.

The defense that so many leaders have used when they deviated from strict rule of conduct has always been . . . "It was practical politics . . . Idealism is all right . . . but in practice you have to compromise . . ."

Stale as the smell of old sewage these words are now in our nostrils. The world is dying of practical politics. Practical politicians are hurrying us all on to doom unless a rebirth of idealism from the masses halts the dread judgment, and we remake the fate of humanity in our mould.

We are tired to our very inners with the gestures of warning shaken from shriveled fingers on palsied hands. We are bored to our lower stomachs with speeches and tracts on how careful we must be about pronouncing our ultimate aims, on how decorous we must be when dealing with the enemy. Better a little than nothing at all. Better a slice of bread, than hunger, better a little this or that, than utter nothing. Bah! What has been gained except the low scorn in which we are held for being spineless when we should have stiffened at the risk of even having our backs broken. What have we won except a long list of leaders who have failed, of union officials who have grown corrupt and useless, of houses that we have built with blood and dreams that now lie in heaps of disordered debris.

My critic tells me how clever G. B. S. was with his ironic lance against the established order. The names of John Spargo and Frank Bohn and others come up maledictorously to my nose. These men too did great work for us in old days. Only their treason was direct, clear-cut and in a sense honorable. To remain a Socialist, to profess Socialism, and to give such personal comfort and amusement to the upper classes as G. B. S. has been doing lately, has a name among gutter gamins that is somewhat unprintable even in privately published smut sheets. Let my good friend read and re-read ever so carefully the splendid work of his favorite literary god. Let him laugh till his sides shatter at the drooleries and the jibes against capitalism. Let him re-read again, that monumental re-hash of Marx, Bebel, La Salle, Dietzgen and Hegel, and so ingeniously annotated with personal conclusions . . . entitled, "An Intelligent Woman's Guide . . ." All this will not pronounce him the true Socialist for the likes of me. Literature has its definite use in the halls of mental recreation. In the brutal battle to set the world aright, flesh, blood and mind must be co-ordinated along lines of disciplined action as a bannered by an uncompromising dream.

Upon this point there will always be disagreement between my critic and me. And no plethora of praise for Shaw's genius will flood out my detestation for his unpardonable buffoonery and un-Socialist behavior. One might be an un-Socialist Socialist, perhaps . . . but certainly not an Anti-Socialist Socialist. Mussolini is one of these. In fact G. B. S. has greatly praised that over-blown blow-hard in no uncertain terms.

Mark these down in the book of judgment and see if time does not check you up perfectly within the next decade as lights that failed . . . Trotsky, Mussolini, MacDonald, and G. B. S. And the latter, in spite of his already musty smelling creations in words.

So much then, dear readers, for the men who dared, from Philadelphia. Next week, I hope to have more to say on the MacDonald matter . . . And I am thoroughly conscious of the smirk you greet this announcement with . . . For I am always questioning whether anything I say here has even the least bit of importance to you . . . But I persist nevertheless . . . with your decent forbearance.

S. A. de Witt.

Here is a selection from the Republican platform of 1908. "Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn." Try that on your piano, Mr. Jobber.

"Dreyfus Case" Finely Reenacted at Warner's

"The Dreyfus Case" a Picturization of the Celebrated Treason Affair, Has Its American Premiere at the Warner Theatre To-night

Dreyfus! A generation ago the mention of this name started controversy on the street corners of the world. From the snow-swept wilds of Canada to the sparse white settlements of faraway Africa, the pros and cons of the Dreyfus case sounded day and night.

The trial and persecution of Alfred Dreyfus, captain in the French army, created a sensation in the late nineties that lasted for twelve long and troubled years. Espionage had been detected in the French army. There was a leak of important information. France was just beginning to recover from her defeat at the hands of Germany and building up her military forces as the instrument of "revanche."

Was it possible that her army harbored a traitor that would barter the sacred secrets of her new national defense for a price? The general staff was stunned by the revelation and set its intelligence department quietly to snare the culprit.

At that time, three forces operated in the body politics of France creating three factions—racial, religious and republican. Prejudices stirred by these factors were rife. After a more or less thorough investigation, the secret service reported that the guilty person was a young Jewish captain, whose brilliant attainments and energetic interest in his work had elevated him in a short time to a position on the general staff.

Captain Dreyfus was arrested, accused of the crime of high treason. His handwriting bore similarity to that of the intercepted spy letter containing information only an artillery officer could have known—and Dreyfus was an artillery officer. The most damaging aspect of the built-up case against him was that he had been born in Alsace, of semi-Teutonic ancestry.

He protested innocence when arrested—during the terrible trial of false witnesses—during the nightmare of the degradation scene in front of his fellow-officers—when imprisoned for four years of in-

credible torture on Devil's Island—his never-changing cry in the face of all these indignities was, "Long live France! Long live the army! I am innocent! I am innocent!"

All this time, his wife, his brother and his wife's family, devoted their complete time and fortune to save him from his living tomb. Slowly the web of evidence that had been spun specially to ensnare Captain Dreyfus began to wear thin in spots. The new head of the intelligence office, Colonel Picquart, in picking up the thread of the case at the command of his superiors in order to strengthen them, was astounded to find them so weak. And then a circumstance occurred which revealed the real traitor to him.

But the general staff, bent on pinning the guilt on Dreyfus and not reopening the case, closed ranks even more firmly and banished Picquart to Tripoli. But new champions came to the front. Georges Clemenceau, later to be known as the Tiger and savior of France; Lazare, a famous journalist; Anatole France, who put aside his writing for volubility, to devote his time to what he called "a moment in the conscience of mankind"; Reinach, the great historian; Labori, the most brilliant lawyer in France, and finally, Emile Zola, then at the zenith of his fame as a social novelist, who buried his famous thunderbolt of "J'accuse" at the opposing camp of the anti-Dreyfusards and made them come out into the pen to do battle and establish the false guilt or true innocence of Dreyfus.

The stage has seen this poignant drama in several versions. Now, for the first time "The Dreyfus Case" is to be transferred to the screen at the Warner Theatre, commencing today, with the production of the British International Studios. A fine English cast was assembled to do justice to the significant theme. Cedric Hardwicke, who has been acclaimed by Bernard Shaw, as "one of the three finest actors in England," assumes the name-role. In London, the critics united in praising the sincerity of their performance and the factual realities of the cinematization.

Tense Scenes from "The Dreyfus Case" which has its American Premiere at the Warner To-night



A fine cast brings "The Dreyfus Case" to the Warner Screen to-night, where it begins an indefinite engagement.

Europa, Now Celebrating 2000th Performance Of Zwei Herzen, Reveals Plans for New Season

Every article, which is supposed to divulge plans for the coming season, generally starts out with a statement about what the past season has brought forward and what the links between the two seasons are going to be.

In the case of the Europa Theatre of New York, the key-house for the other Europa Theatres in various American Cities, this observation concerns only one picture, the Viennese screen operetta, *Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt* (Two Hearts in Waltz Time). Opening early last October, this musical importation from Germany will have established an all-time record of any film in New York, when it celebrates its 2000th performance next Wednesday, Sept. 2nd.

One who listens in at the radio, or visits places of entertainment, knows of the tremendous influence that the waltz song *Two Hearts in Waltz Time* has exercised on the musical life of America. It has brought the waltz back to the great popularity it had years back in the days of the *The Merry Widow*, *The Waltz Dream*, and *The Bat*. It is being sung by German, Jewish, Irish, Scotch and French entertainers, in conspicuously plain German and has even been crooned by Rudy Vallee and his imitators.

Lately the Europa Theatre has introduced an innovation in presenting this picture to the American people, by inserting English titles, into the film, so that American audiences, without the slightest knowledge of the German language, will be able to derive as much pleasure from viewing this picture as German or German-American; and this item is perhaps the joining link between the past and future, because the Europa Theatres intend to present in the future all their foreign language pictures in such a way that they are comprehensible to the American people without any knowledge of the foreign language.

The picture to follow *Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt* is another German musical piece, entitled *Die Lindenwirtin Vom Rhein* (The Inn at the Rhine) and marks the screen debut of the most celebrated entertainers of Germany and Austria, headed by Kaethe Dorsch, generally considered Germany's most outstanding musical comedy star (and I predict she is going to create a sensation equal to Marlene Dietrich's); and Hans-Heinz Bolmann, who is a celebrated tenor of the German State Opera. This operetta is a very jolly affair, quite different from anything yet shown in the way of German pictures, and has many tuneful songs and melodies.

In between this musical piece and the next operetta, the Europa Theatre will show a dramatic film from Germany, whose identity can not be revealed at this moment, but the few people who have seen it, acclaim it as a powerful film document. Furthermore, the season will bring two more screen operettas by the creators of *Zwei Herzen*, and the Merry Wives of Vienna, entitled *Das Lied Ist Aus* (The Song Is Over) and *San Leibesleid* (His Love Song).

There are other things ahead at the Europa Theatre, but with 2000 performances of *Zwei Herzen* and the picture still going strong, and with the announcement of four other pictures, the optimistic staff of the Europa Theatre hopes to be able to sail nicely into a prosperous 1932 summer season.

—MARTIN J. LEWIS.

"The Merry Wives" Now In its 9th Week, Still Very Popular at the Little Carnegie Theatre

For still another week-end, "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" will be the attraction at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse where it has now been on view for eight weeks. Evidently the charming old-world atmosphere of this piece, with its sparkling Viennese music and handsome mountings—to say nothing of the lovely Frauleins in its principal parts—has found a very definite place in the hearts of our town's moviegoers. The picture, we understand, was due to be replaced some weeks ago but has been playing to such excellent business that it will now be continued for some time. It is a story, you remember, of the "city of

song" in 1875, directed by Geza von Bolvary and with melodies by Robert Stolz, the two creators of that other German hit, "Two Hearts in Waltz Time."

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Broadway and 11th Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
LIONEL BARRYMORE
in
"GUILTY HANDS"
with
MADGE EVANS, KAY FRANCIS,
WM. BOYD, C. AUBREY SMITH
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
—AND ON THE STAGE—
LOTTIE MAYER
mermaid marvel in "Splashes" with
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Elmer Rice's Pulitzer Prize Drama directed by King Vidor with Sylvia Sydney, Estelle Taylor and William Collier, Jr.
UNITED ARTISTS PICTURE
Popular Prices
RIVOLI
UNITED ARTISTS
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Will Rogers in "Young As You Feel" on "Hipp" Screen—Eight Acts of Vaude. Complete Bill

At the Hippodrome this week Will Rogers, most famous of American wits, and Fifi Dorsay, the French comedienne, are starred in "Young As You Feel," the screen farce of George Ade's stage play, "Father and the Boys."

The Hipp's eight act vaudeville bill includes a variety of entertainment. Pat West, the round gob of job with the petite bit of femininity head the parade of merriment, which includes Grace and Marie Elaine, remembered as the famous Thapfauer Kids of the early movies, and Naro Lockford, popular Parisian dance star in his new production called "A Dance Humoresque." Jean Grasse keeps the fun at high pitch with the help of Brother Charles and Tito De Fiore. Entertainment of another sort is offered by Vernon Rathburn and his clever saxophone-musicians; John and Mary Mason, speed and figure skaters and another RKO act complete this excellent bill.

When ZOLA thundered "I accuse!"

the whole world stood aghast at the spectacle of an organized military clique combining to send an innocent man to Devil's Island.

Now—at last—the TRUE facts of the trial that shook the world!

"THE DREYFUS CASE"

A vivid dramatization of the French "MOONEX" case powerfully characterized and brilliantly enacted by an all English cast headed by CECIL HARDWICKE, "one of England's three finest actors." Bernard Shaw.

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"THE MIKADO"
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HIZI KOYKE VERA BOSS
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"THREE" PRICES—Eves. 50c to \$2. Wed. Mat. 50c to \$1. Sat. Mat. 50c.
IMPORTANT: The fall and winter season of the Civic Light Opera Co. opens Monday, Sept. 7th in
"THE MERRY WIDOW" with Donald Brian and star cast

Heywood Brown Shoot the Works!

"A devil show."—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.
"A knockout!"—The American.
"I shall go to 'Shoot the Works' again and again."—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune.
Dances staged by Johnny Boyle
George M. Cohan Theatre
BROADWAY AT 43RD STREET
Eves. 8:30, \$1 to \$3; Mat. Sat. \$1 to \$2.50; Midnight Show Wednesday.

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PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
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EVERY NIGHT at 8:30
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"The White Devil" Based on Tolstoy's "Hadschi Murat" Opens at Cameo

"The White Devil," the Ufa film now playing at the R-K-O Cameo Theatre, is a colorful drama of eventful days in Russia and Turkey at the time when Leo Tolstoy, the famous Russian author, was a young cavalryman in the Caucasus. It was while he was campaigning in the Daghestan that he experienced the rare incidents which he combined in a story called "Hadschi Murat," upon which "The White Devil" is based.

The role of the Cossack leader, Hadschi Murat, is played by Ivan Mosjoukine, the famous Russian actor known for his characterization in "Michael Strogoff."

Lil Dagover, now in the United States preparatory to starting a film career in Hollywood, is the screen idol of Vienna, Berlin, Paris and other Continental cities.

"The White Devil" was directed by Alexander Wolhoff.

"Singin' the Blues" to Open at Liberty Sept. 16

Alex A. Arons and Vinton Freedley announce that their first production of the season, "Singin' the Blues," a colored musical drama, will open at the Liberty Theatre on Wednesday night, September 16. "Singin' the Blues" played three preliminary weeks out of town last May. John McGowan is the author, and the incidental songs are by Jimmy McHugh and Dorothy Fields. Bertram Harrison is directing the play and the interpolated dances are being staged by Sammy Lee.

Kessler Second Avenue Theatre Opens Sept. 12

Ola Lilith and Willy Godick go into rehearsal today in "The Girl From Warsaw," an operetta by Boracho and Kessler. Joseph Rumshinsky composed the score and is directing the entire production.

The large cast, headed by Ola Lilith and Willy Godick, includes Betty Semmlow, Gertrude Bullman, Annie Thomashefsky, Rose Greenfield and Rebecca Weintraub. Others in the company are Leon Gold, Pincus Lewanda, Moses Feder, Max Walner, Charles Cohan and Mike Wilensky.

As They Appear in the Cameo's New Picture



Ivan Mosjoukine and Betty Amann in a scene from "The White Devil" a Ufa film adapted from Tolstoy's novel "Hadschi Murat". This picture which is now at the Cameo also has in its cast Lil Dagover, the famous continental screen artist.

Stadium Concerts

The fourteenth season of Stadium Concerts closes Monday night. The Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Albert Coates, will play an all-Russian program. It will comprise the Fourth Symphony of Tchaikovsky, the March of the Nobles from Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Mlada," Scriabin's Poem of Ecstasy, and the "1812" Overture.

PROGRAMS
ALBERT COATES, Conductor
Sunday Evening, August 30
Ein HeldenlebenStrauss
Overture to
"The Flying Dutchman"Wagner
Dance of the Blessed Spirits

ROXY

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VINA DELMAR'S
INSPIRING STORY
BAD GIRL
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and SALLY EILERS
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Directed by
FRANK BORZAGE
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Music, Movement and Color in
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The WHITE DEVIL

with
IVAN MOSJOUKINE **LIL DAGOVER**

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ALL SEATS TODAY TO 1 P.M. 35c

NEWEST VIENNESE FILM OPERETTA
"DIE LUSTIGEN WEIBER VON WIEN" (The Merry Wives of Vienna)
By the same Director and Composer as the celebrated "TWO HEARTS IN WALTZ TIME"
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Charming German Musical Romance
An Alfred Zeisler Production of Ufa featuring
ELSE ELSTER—ARTHUR HELL
AT UFA COSMOPOLITAN
58th St. & B'way, Cool and Comfortable.
Cont. 12:30 to 11:30 POP. PRICES

THEATRE Parties
Party Branches and symphonic organizations are requested when planning parties to do so through Theatrical Department NEW LEADER, Phone 4622 or write to Feinman, Manager New Theatrical Department, 15th St., New York.

In Long Running German Film at the Europa Theatre



Carl Etlinger as the Cashier Schloesinger in the Viennese Screen Operetta, *Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt* ("Two Hearts"), which is celebrating this week the 200th performance at the Europa Theatre.

"Bad Girl" at the Fox B'klyn. Theatre

"Bad Girl," although still playing at the Roxy, is this week being presented to Brooklynites at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

"Bad Girl" is the film version of Vina Delmar's profound study of motherhood as it affects a typical young couple of New York's working class. In its screen presentation, the story has gained strength through the masterful direction of Frank Borzage and the able acting of the two leads—Sally Eilers and James Dunn.

An especially festive show has been produced by Fanchon & Marco to accompany the feature, and comes to the stage under the banner of "Carnival" Idea. In it are Raynor Lehr and Co., The Andressens, Teddy the Bear with Louis E. Goode, Croypley & Violet, Strange Men "Dancing Strange Dances," and the Carla Torney Girls.

NEW LEADER

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

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Contributing Editors:

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

100 SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1931

The British Labor Party

EVENTS in the British Labor Party this week amount to practically a revolution in the party. Its two most conspicuous leaders, J. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, if cable dispatches are reliable, are out of the party and Arthur Henderson is to be the new leader. Without consulting the party the leaders decided, because grave financial difficulties faced the government, to form an Emergency Government with the anti-Socialist parties. The Labor Ministry had depended upon the small group of Liberals to carry on since 1929; in the present shift MacDonald and Snowden form a "cooperative" ministry with Conservatives and Liberals. It was an astonishing maneuver, but still more astonishing is the fact that the former Labor Ministers desired the Labor Party to also pay a heavy price for this amazing shift.

This price means not only a reduction of 10 per cent in unemployment benefits but reduction in other social services of importance to the working class. Moreover, the contribution of the workers to the unemployment insurance fund will increase from 15 to 25 cents each week. The savings on education are expected to reach \$7,500,000, health services will be cut \$8,750,000, the road fund about \$40,000,000. All these items are vital to the workers. They total over 66 million dollars, not including what is lost on the unemployment insurance services. The fighting services are reduced \$45,000,000. Add to all this the probability of an increase of taxes on spirits, beer and tobacco, which will mainly fall on the workers, and it is evident that whatever increases may be made in luxury and income taxes the workers will pay a heavy price if this program goes through.

The adventure of MacDonald and Snowden leaves them without any standing in the Labor Party. That is as it should be. MacDonald has already been deprived of membership in his own branch and Snowden will certainly be deprived of his membership. When the Emergency Government has completed its special task, assuming that it will succeed, the two former Labor Ministers will be through, but in the meantime they will have encountered the bitter opposition of the Labor members of Parliament.

The Labor Government faced complex difficulties, some of them due to its policy of seeking to stay in office by making concessions to the Liberals, but they did not face anything like the complexities that face the Socialists on the continent; particularly in Germany. There is no threatening Fascist movement in England and no Communist movement of any proportions as in Germany. In England there are three parties, one of them, the Liberals that appeared to be on the road to extinction, while in Germany there are a dozen or more to complicate the political situation. Moreover, England does not face the necessity of paying usurious tribute to conquerors as Germany does. Bad as the economic and financial situation became in England there was no justification for this alliance with Liberals and Conservatives.

However, the shift of the Labor Ministers has cleared up a situation which had become murky. The Labor Party is fundamentally sound. This class has been patient although disaffected and the heartening thing is the reaction of the party to the actions of its ministers. We may be sure that the workers of Britain will settle this matter in a manner that will make their party stronger, more clear-sighted, and creditable to a party of the workers. We have more confidence in the British Labor Party than ever and we are sure that it will rise to its responsibilities, sweep aside any obstacles within, and move forward to the conquest of power.

Meantime let us not forget that the American

banking oligarchy brought pressure to bear against the Labor Government and apparently dictated the legislative program as the price of a loan. American capitalism is today the backbone of world reaction. The working class abroad look to the American workers for aid. Our duty is to build a powerful Socialist movement to check and eventually dispossess our ruling classes. The fortress of world capitalism is in the United States and to destroy it will not only mean emancipation at home but deliverance of the workers of all countries.

Help the Jobless!

WE cannot emphasize too often the urgent need of Socialist and labor organizations forming pressure groups to insist on state legislatures acting on jobless relief for the coming winter. If the legislature does not meet this fall in any given state such organized groups should begin agitation to have a special session held. In New York state a special session is being held and the Socialist party has urged that jobless relief be considered and has suggested some measures that will be helpful.

On another page in this issue will be found a story of the problem that must be met in New York cities. It is based upon a survey and it indicates that the public authorities are drifting without any intelligent comprehension of the stark needs that must be satisfied. The report declares that the most disturbing factor in the whole situation "is a certain complacent attitude that the emergency can be met when it arrives." That is the smug view of officials despite the fact that all evidence indicates that unemployment will be worse next year.

In every city throughout the state there are unfortunates endeavoring to eke out a bare existence selling trinkets from door to door. Men, women, and children are engaged in this and their distress is pathetic. It is constantly thrust upon women of the households and what is occurring in this state is occurring in every state in the Union. So many ring door bells and are turned away because homes are stocked with things these unfortunates are marketing that it is getting on the nerves of sympathetic people.

To awaken public officials to the crying needs of suffering men and women and children of the workers is a solemn duty imposed on Socialists. Do that duty now!

Washing the Babies

THE Governor of Louisiana calls the legislature of his state in special session—for what? To consider the state of unemployment? No. He wants a cotton growing prohibition law enacted for next year! This is the next thing to the Federal Farm Board's advice to destroy one-third of the present crop. In telegrams to other governors he advises them to do the same.

The Governor of Texas, in answer to the suggestion, wires the Governor of Louisiana to "wash the baby first." The Governor of Louisiana answers the Governor of Texas by saying that "Louisiana will wash this baby from head to foot, dress it up, and it will soon land on Governor Sterling's desk and say 'Da Da' to Texas."

And so two great men meet a great problem like American statesmen. But why stop at the cotton baby? Why not include wheat, hogs, corn, sugar, shoes, steel, clothing, homes and other things? Let us put millions of men to work destroying what they produced, then turn to producing what they destroyed, then destroy what they produced, and—well, keep it up.

It occurs to us, however, that there are other babies we might wash to much better advantage. We could sweep these politicians out of office, wash the babies, and put them in institutions for the feeble minded. When they died we could pickle them in jars and preserve them as curios in museums. For centuries thereafter curious people would be informed that they were specimens of politicians in office whose idea of relieving human distress was to destroy things. They are the babies we would like to wash.

It's A NUTSHELL

Extra! Hoover is still opposed to the dole on one side of his brain and on the other side he wants the idle rich to pass us a dole.

The Department of Commerce estimates that "we" have over \$1,138,000,000 invested in Cuba. Wouldn't you like to cash in on your share?

If "our" investments in Cuba become endangered by insurrection and Hoover sends a few soldiers after these dollars the army uniform will not cover one American capitalist or banker.

One thing you must admit about the Republican leaders who wrote the Republican platform in 1928. They promised to place agriculture on an equality with industry and they have kept the promise. Both are in the ditch.

Those Western farmers who want to abolish interest probably prefer to be skinned through profits and dividends.

The reason why millions of workers find it difficult to get enough to eat is because there is too much to eat. As a famous man once said, "Who's looney now?"

Of course, Socialism might wreck civilization but even at that we could not hope to equal the job of the ruling capitalist parties of the nations.

For the workers of the nation capitalist politics means out of the breadlines to put a Democratic or Republican label on the industrial depression and then back to the breadline to get a dole.

Governor Roosevelt is riding the political escalator in the hope of reaching a presidential nomination at its end.

View of the American Scene

By Arthur C. Parker

Charlie Chaplin, America's funny man, possesses not only a splendid education but an exceptionally brilliant mind. He numbers among his most intimate friends George Bernard Shaw, Prof. Albert Einstein, and Theodore Dreiser.

He recently released to the Federated Press the following statements:

"Generals die in bed. Old men profiteers and capitalists plot wars and wear stars and the imposing looking decorations; while the young saps play with the rats in the trenches, live in mud and filth, plunge bayonets into enemy entrails, inhale poison gas, leave their arms, legs, or heads on the battle field and do all the dirty work of war!"

The fiery outbursts of patriotic oratory inciting to war usually emanate from those who haven't the remotest idea of getting into personal contact with an enemy. If they are too old to be included in the draft, they may be connected with some organization which does its fighting from the side lines; or else they may be cock-eyed, flatfooted, toothless, sway-backed or mentally disabled in such manner as would interfere with the performance of their patriotic duty of killing or being killed. So like our good generals they also die in bed.

In view of the light, increasingly being thrown on the horror and futility of war and its nasty tentacles it is somewhat an amusingly tragic-paradox to see colored Americans clamoring for an opportunity to join the Army and Navy. Colored Americans have always faithfully answered America's call to arms in all her wars. Thousands of colored boys bled and died in the gory battle fields of France. Their reward was unemployment! Segregation! Jim Crowism! and lynching!

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, demands that President Hoover call a conference of business leaders, economists, and bankers to Washington to make a study of the present unemployment problem and formulate plans to solve it or admit that the existing economic structure is an abysmal failure.

President Green is a labor leader. That man is supposed to represent the organized interests and opinions of the American working classes. Working class folks are the ones who suffer, sicken, and die from prolonged unemployment. Strange President Green forgot to demand adequate working class representation on that committee.

It costs about \$25,000,000 to elect a president in the United States, about \$5,000,000 to elect a Governor, \$2,000,000 to elect a Senator and several hundred thousand to elect a Congressman. Working men and women seldom or never contribute as much as five cents to Democratic or Republican campaign expenses. Yet somebody donates these tremendous sums to these parties at each election.

Who are the elected officials obligated to serve—the working class citizens or the folks who pay these enormous bills?

The Ku Klux Klan circulated Boston with handbills soliciting membership. Here is part of their oath. Certain other parts affecting colored people, Jews and Catholics were left out to be administered in secrecy:

"I, K. K. Oath (in part), swear to the following without any mental reservations whatever: I believe the Holy Bible to be the revealed word of God. I promise to uphold the enforcement of all Constitutional Laws. I believe in free public school, the Protestant Church, the sanctity of the home, the defense of womanhood."

"I am an American Citizen and believe political office holders should be persons believing in pure Americanism, and I will not recommend or vote for any persons for office who I know are not as good Americans as myself. I pledge to keep secret the names of those whom I come in contact with in this organization."

A most subtle and hypocritical document. They mean uphold all Constitutional laws except the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, protect the sanctity of white Protestant homes, and defend any and all kinds or types of white Protestant women. Not to vote for anyone not 100 per cent American means to vote for no one not a clansman or very friendly to the Klan.

The Indian is the only real American and the rest of us either came here, were brought here, or chased here; or are the children of persons who landed here for one reason or another, mostly another. American citizens will do well to drive this hooded abomination back into the far South from whence it was spawned and thence into the Gulf of Mexico and Selah!

The National Benefit Insurance Company of Atlanta, Georgia, has been declared insolvent and placed in the hands of a receiver by the district court.

It is significant that this company is owned and operated by colored people and the receiver appointed is a white man who now holds full power to manage the business and handle all the money collected. It is in this man's power to completely wreck this large

SINKING A CONTINENT



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The New Leader Mail-Bag

DISARMAMENT

Editor, The New Leader:
It would be interesting to know exactly the reasons that influence the French government to make such an ado over the building of one small arm over the building of one small arm. It is not always a suggestion is made of actual limitation in armaments with a view to gradual proportional disarmament.

According to the Treaty of Versailles Germany was allowed a certain number of naval vessels and she has not as yet built up to her allowed quota.

The August issue of The New World, the official organ of the No More War Movement, published in London, Mr. Walter H. Ayres, M.P., writes as follows: "It is not always realized that Germany, of all countries, though infinitely weaker in armaments, has rights under the Treaty of Versailles to build up to a definite limit of destroyers, cruisers, battleships, etc. But she has not done so by any means. She has, for example, treaty rights to:

6 Battleships.
6 Light Cruisers.
12 Destroyers.
12 Torpedo Boats.

"Yet she has not built 50 per cent of what she is entitled to build. The armaments of France, therefore, is incredible, and one can acquit Germany of militarist designs. As regards the Socialists of Germany they are strongly opposed to any further building, even up to treaty rights. They consider it a privilege to be disarmed—an example worthy to be followed by the Socialists of all countries."

"I feel, therefore, that at the Disarmament Conference we should leave Germany to the internal pressure of the growing body of pacifists in Germany and Hiltner on obtaining agreements among the other Powers to fulfill their moral obligations to scale down their armaments to the human standard. If the other nations are not prepared to agree to do that, then I am more than ever convinced this country should set the example. To say we have already done that is just nonsense to those who know the facts."

Knowing, as we do, that France has deliberately impeded every move toward disarmament and has built fortifications along frontiers to a greater extent than hitherto, does any other conclusion seem logical than that France is actually making ready for a future war? She certainly is not showing the spirit of willingness to cooperate with other nations for proportional disarmament which would be the surest road toward that security which she claims she is so desirous of obtaining. The question cannot fail to come constantly to mind: What are the real intentions of the French government?

Are Socialists throughout the United States doing everything that can be done to encourage and assist our comrades in Europe? Their problems are ours. They are striving for the success of the Disarmament Conference. Is every one in this country doing his duty in that respect? Disarmament may not be the cure for war, but it is a decided step in the right direction and cannot fail to help. There are petitions to be signed which will be presented to the Disarmament Conference from 40 countries or more. Every Socialist in the United States should sign one or more of these petitions for disarmament. Letters should be written to the President, Mr. Henderson and others in protest against the huge cost of armaments and their criminal purpose should overwhelm our government. A mighty wave of protest against the huge cost of armaments and their criminal purpose should overwhelm our government. A mighty wave of protest against the huge cost of armaments and their criminal purpose should overwhelm our government.

colored corporation. If this did happen certain well known large white insurance corporations would benefit from the acquisition of the defunct business and the enrollment of the thousands of colored policy holders in the National Benefit Company. John H. Risher, President of the company, declares the company is not bankrupt and is suing to have the receivership lifted immediately so it will be possible for them to again resume business operations. We hope he succeeds.

try, have declared that an aroused and enlightened public opinion will assure the success of this great move. I implore every comrade who has not made special effort to exert himself now in trying to make the United States lead in the demand for a proportional reduction in armaments that will be the beginning of their elimination. Why should not the Socialist Party of the United States concentrate on this issue for the rest of the year?

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH, Brookline, Mass.

TAXES AND PUBLIC WORKS

Editor, The New Leader:
The New York Times for Thursday, August 13th, carries an interview with Comrade Hillquit in the course of which some remarks of his on public works projects as emergency unemployment relief schemes are quoted. The quotation is:

"Certainly some such relief would be more dignified than our present headlines and methods of distributing private charities. What we are facing is unemployment, and the only way to create work for these unemployed by public works does mean that it will have to be paid for. But such a program would be the beginning to aid the present situation, an emergency, and it is hoped it would be paid for in the future in a time when taxpayers are more able to pay."

We find ourselves greatly perplexed by the phrase "it is hoped it would be paid for in the future in a time when taxpayers are more able to pay." It has always been our belief that one of the distinguishing features between Socialist and liberal proposals regarding public works is that the project, according to Socialists, should be financed through greatly increased taxation on the upper income brackets. Surely Hillquit does not believe that the Rockefeller, Fords, Schwabs, Morgans, et al have been hit so hard by this depression that they could not pay higher income taxes.

Let us not forget that all immediate demands of Socialists are calculated to aid in bringing about the Socialist commonwealth. Rapid expansion of public works financed immediately by heavier taxes on the wealthy is a socialist proposal; public works "paid for in the future in a time when taxpayers are more able to pay" is a liberal proposal.

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, RAYMOND C. KRUEGER, Philadelphia, Pa.

When I arrived from Europe I found myself surrounded by a school of ship reporters. They came down to interview a lot of returning "notabilities," including some movie stars, financiers, a society belle and myself. The boys had hard work in confining the interview of each victim within the particular sphere of his or her competence.

I was questioned about the plight of Germany, the depression in Europe, the Vienna Congress, the prospects of Socialism in the United States and the weather in Paris. Among the avalanche of questions was one asked by the representative of the New York Times. "Do you believe in public works as a remedy for unemployment?" I said: "It is one of the plans in our program of unemployment relief."

"But," queried the argumentative reporter, "would not the cost of such works have to be raised by taxes and would not that mean taking money from one pocket to put it into the other pocket?"

To the best of my recollection I made answer thereto substantially as follows: "The cost of any public works will, of course, eventually have to be covered by taxes. But the immediate expense may be raised by a bond issue, so that it could be repaid over a period of years and when eventually repaid the money would not all come from the workers but mostly from those better able to pay."

The unclassy conscious, non-Marxian reporter in his innocence simplified the answer above quoted.

not appreciate the relation of our immediate demands to the ultimate purpose of bringing about the Socialist commonwealth as keenly as Comrades Biemiller and Krueger do.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

ASCERTAINING THE TRUTH

Editor, The New Leader:
My letter addressed to you and which you referred to Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee for reply, was not of the fault-finding kind with regard to the conduct of the police department of Milwaukee.

My purpose was to call your attention to what appeared to me to be quite an inconsistency between a new item which held that the Socialist Mayor is wrongfully blamed for the conduct of his chief of police whom he cannot remove, and an article in the same issue of The New Leader by John M. Work which expressed a contrary view.

It was for the purpose of ascertaining the truth as to the power of the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee over his police commissioner, that I wrote you, and this, it seems to me, Mayor Hoan has satisfactorily explained in this week's Leader.

DR. MAURICE S. CALMAN, New York City.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

Editor, The New Leader:
In these days of agony and suspense when the whole structure of "The Acquisitive Society" is teetering and tottering, when the laboring man is either driven for all he can do or else is looking for a place to sell his energies for a pittance, out of the very mouths of the apologists for the existing conditions of things come revelations of the true conditions in unguarded moments. No capitalist newspaper dares to state editorially how miserable the lot of the small capitalist or the wage-earner has become. But in the Aug. 6 issue of the Boston Herald, New England's leading "financial" and reactionary daily, is this statement of Mr. Benjamin F. Cleaves, secretary of the Associated Industries of Maine, when protesting the proposed 15 per cent increase in freight rates to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Former Judge Cleaves, who dominates each session of the Maine Legislature, and opposes every progressive measure, "Socialistic," thus paints the picture of economic affairs in Maine, one of the few states that boasts that it is less affected by the "depression."

"I find that the volume of business done by our manufacturers is from 15 to 50 per cent less than it was three, four or five years ago. In the majority of our industries the crew operating the first six months of this year is anywhere from 15 to 50 per cent less than the crew operating three, four or five years ago. Nearly every producer and the most of the merchants, report an actual loss during the first six months of this year, with the losses ranging from a very small percentage up to as high as 33 per cent. The majority of our employers have made a cut in wages and salaries during the present year, showing a minimum of 5 per cent and a maximum of 15 per cent."

WENDELL F. FARRINGTON, Livermore Falls, Me.

A Reexamination

Of Bernard Shaw

(Continued from Page Four)

Sentimentalism, idealism, charity, etc., good or bad as they may be on their own merits are not synonymous with Socialism. In a Capitalist system we are all smeared with the same brush as we will be under Socialism. It is about time that Socialism was recognized to be distinct from ethics. It is just this sort of cloudy idealism which leads us to the creation of such amorphous massings as the Labor Party in England and the Social-Democrats in Germany. It is just such parties with such inclusive philosophy that find themselves at checkmate when the opportunity for action comes to hand.

WENDELL F. FARRINGTON, Livermore Falls, Me.

Cermak Confab Fails:

City Drivers To Strike

CHICAGO. (F.P.)—The City Sanitary Teamsters Union has issued another strike call following Mayor Cermak's refusal to give its members five days' work instead of four a week. The mayor first led the union to believe he would agree to the demand. Now he says that the city has not enough money to keep the drivers working five days. About 500 may be affected. The garbage disposal system of the city will be by a strike.

Trust that man in nothing but a conspiracy.

The Fight Goes On

By Douglas B. Krantz

GEORGE said, "Aw, what's the use!" And Abe answered, "Yep, the people are nuts. Imagine, not a Socialist elected and after all the facts and proof of the crookedness that exists."

I listened attentively. My heart was just as sad. I was as bitter as disappointed as they were. We walked along Fourteenth Street—paused at a movie house—glanced at some pictures and continued our walk toward Second Avenue. A number of thoughts in quick succession came to my mind and it was not until after we reached Schimmel's Knish House that I said, "Boys, we must never acknowledge defeat. Some day, we'll reap the fruits of our labor."

To which George answered, "Yep, the fruits of our labor—bananas, perhaps."

I continued, "What we need at this time is a stronger organization. The Tammany machine must be attacked with weapons similar to their instruments. If they use cannon then we must use cannon for it is obvious we cannot succeed with little rap pistols. My plan would consist of changing the name of the party to the American Labor Party. Then we ought to organize worthwhile branches everywhere to function adequately all year round."

"Also, I would like to see these groups conduct dances, debates, sociables, lectures, theatricals and numerous delightful activities. In that way, we are certain of retaining the interest of all the members."

"I should like to see speakers trained many months before campaigns. I should like to see each branch meeting place a happy, congenial rendezvous where one could come at any time and find it a place to read, write, discuss matters, listen to radio music or even find rest. It can be done and if the cause is worth the efforts thus far expended then we ought, by all means, to continue."

"I fully realize that some of us become somewhat dismayed year in, year out, by the responses we receive. I know that discouragement creeps in when the answer of the mass of voters on Election Day is so consistent with stupidity. I know how Panken feels after the many long days of intense campaigning. And the same applies to the glorious work of Thomas, Brown, Viadeck, Claessens, Oeal, and every other energetic Comrade that bravely carried on."

George looked at Abe, who in turn looked at me. For a moment there was silence.

Then I added, "Whatever you think, remember this—that despite the results—despite the disappointments—the spirit of the movement shall go forward and never backward. For as long as conditions remain as atrocious as they are; as long as they remain as despicable as they are—the fight goes on."

Harvey Convention At Monte Ne Proves Inglorious Fizzle

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ROGERS, Ark.—The thousands expected at the national convention called by "Coin" Harvey to assemble at Monte Ne turned out to be about 300. The delegates were to organize a new national party which was to get large support on the one issue of abolishing "usury" but the proceedings and the attendance show that a one-plant money platform is not likely to get a large following.

William H. Harvey, "Coin" Harvey, was nominated for President. He at first refused but finally accepted "to save the convention from the wiles of enemies." In a convention address he declared that his book was divinely inspired. Andrae B. Nordskog, of Los Angeles, president of the Southwest Water League, was nominated for Vice-President.

The platform declares for government ownership of banks, a five year moratorium for private debts, free coinage of silver, paper money redeemable only in government services, and reduction of the President's salary to \$25,000 a year.

Covington Hall, of Louisiana, led a fight to call a third party convention but this proposal was defeated. The delegates bore no credentials from responsible organizations and each represented only his individual views. A. E. Townley, former head of the Non-Partisan League, was present and among the Socialists present as observers were Oscar Ameringer, W. L. Garver, and Harold Kelsor.

The Socialists distributed literature among delegates and visitors but it was evident that the vast convention that Harvey expected had proven a fizzle.

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