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The New Leader

For President
Robert M. La Follette
For Governor
Norman Thomas

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THOMAS THROWS SCARE IN SMITH CAMP

DAWES CHICANERY BARED

**TAMMANY HALL
 FEARS VOTE OF
 SOCIALIST
 NOMINEE**

HELEN MARIA IN UNSAVORY DEAL

**Aided Judge Who Helped
 Him Evade Payment of
 Bank Crash Damages.**

By U. S. SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER
 Socialist and Progressive Candidate
 for Vice-President.

I wish to consider the record of one of my opponents for the office of the Vice-Presidency—Charles G. Dawes. I haven't made this record for Mr. Dawes. He has made it for himself. Every statement I shall make will be based either on court documents, on printed statements of the candidate himself, or on other public records easily obtainable by any one who cares to verify my assertions.

In first place, we should consider his theory of government. In a speech before the Union League Club of Chicago, February 22, 1923, he said: "Governments are framed among other things, to protect peoples against mob movement and the results of mob psychology. That form of government which history has proved most futile and disastrous for the proper protection of a people from the mob is a free democracy. Such steps as have been taken in recent years, along the line of the initiative and referendum and the extension of the primary system, away from the principles of our great constitutional representative and free government and toward the principles of free democracy are leading in the direction of mob rule under evil leaders."

Fears Democracy

General Dawes fears a free democracy. To his mind it means mob rule. So much for that. In that same speech he said:

"Is there any right-minded man in the country who fears this coming contest and who does not see in it the regeneration of constitutional American Government? Does he not note already the progress which has been made by our great, strong and determined President, Warren G. Harding—that progress from the Adamson law to the Daugherty injunction, which, in my judgment, future generations will regard as the beginning of a new era of law and order in this country?"

I do not know whether the Union League Club agreed with Mr. Dawes that the amazing Daugherty injunction was the "beginning of a new era of law and order in this country." I do not know what the people of the country think of that injunction and I do not know what such conservative constitutional lawyers as Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, a Republican, and Senator Walsh of Montana, a Democrat, think of it. Both of them have condemned it in unmistakable terms.

So there you have Mr. Dawes' political philosophy, his view of the relation of the people to their government. It helps to explain certain events of his career and certain of his recent activities. It helps to explain how he could lend himself to a fraudulent banking transaction that robbed 4,000 Chicago citizens of their savings; it helps to explain why he organized the little political army which he calls The Minute Men of the Constitution.

We come now to his record as a General—as a general of the Minute Men of the Constitution. The Constitution in question is the United States Constitution, not a private constitution, owned by General Dawes. It is your Constitution and mine and we may feel perfectly capable of defending it, but General Dawes has his doubts about us. In

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KARLIN OPENS CONGRESS FIGHT

**Branting, Socialist, May
 Be Sweden's Premier**

Although complete returns of the Swedish elections of September 21 are not yet available, the incomplete figures at hand indicate a Socialist victory, and early installation of a Socialist Cabinet under the premiership of Hjalmar Branting. There are twenty-eight voting districts in the country, and fairly complete returns from eighteen show the following results:

	Old House
Conservatives	44 62
Agricultural Unionists ..	14 21
Liberals	4 41
Prohibitionists	17 —
Social Democrats	77 93
Left Socialists	— 6
Communists	1 7

That is, thus far there are seventy-nine non-Socialists to seventy-eight who will support Branting. Even if there is no essential change when the full returns are in it will be impossible for the King to escape inviting Branting to form a Government. A number of Liberals and Prohibitionists can be expected to support the Socialists in their program of social reform and disarmament. As the House stands now, only one vote is needed, while no other party is large enough even to attempt to unite support back of a Ministry.

**Fascists Falsely Call
 Casali Death
 a Political Murder**

LONDON.—The Fascist Government's effort to make political capital out of the murder of Signor Casali, Fascist Deputy—to make it a second Matteotti case in their own favor—has miserably failed.

The official Stephani Agency announced that Corvi, who shot the Deputy in a Rome train, was a paid-up member of the Communist party, with photographs of Matteotti in his pocket. That story was played up heavily for a while.

Further investigation discloses that he was not a Communist at all. He was merely a dismissed servant of Casali's. He is weak in the head, and when drunk, as on the occasion of the murder, given to pointless violence. Previous similar outbursts have been made by him, not up to now fatally.

The press stunt of political motives has now been dropped. Signor Casali's funeral took place in Rome recently, and it was not a political demonstration, as Benito Mussolini had hoped to make it.

**Miners Disregard
 Lewis Support of
 President Coolidge**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—United Mine Workers of America have administered a stinging rebuke to their head, John L. Lewis, for supporting President Coolidge and going against the overwhelming La Follette sentiment among the members. A drive is on to obtain a 100 per cent contribution from the organization for the La Follette campaign.

Local No. 517 of Tovey, Illinois, has forwarded a check for \$750 to H. L. Brunson in charge of the financial campaign. This was \$1 for a bronze campaign emblem for each member. An additional request was made for emblems for the men's wives. The unanimous vote of the local for La Follette was given after a delegation of women voters appeared and appealed for the cause.

LA FOLLETTE IN NEWARK OCT. 8

Senator Robert M. La Follette, Socialist and Independent candidate for President, will speak next Wednesday night, October 8, at a great mass meeting in the Laurel Gardens, Newark. The hall is located at 457 Springfield avenue. This will be La Follette's second appearance in the East, and a repetition of the great Madison Square Garden meeting is anticipated. There will be a limited number of reserved seat tickets at one dollar, none of which will be on sale on the night of the meeting. Information can be secured from the Essex County La Follette and Wheeler Club, George H. Goebel, Secretary, 992 Broad street, Newark, N. J.

OIL STILL OZZES OUT OF CAL'S CABINET

**Secretary Wilbur Persists
 in Defending Teapot
 Dome Steal.**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Oil will persist in oozing out of the Republican Cabinet, no matter how the President tries to check it with new timbers," Robert M. L. Follette, Jr., declared.

"Secretary of the Navy Wilbur, one of Coolidge's own appointees, is the latest champion of the Albert Fall oil reserve leases and defender of the oil men."

Speaking to officials of the big American oil companies at the Petroleum Club of Taft, California, September 10, Wilbur, as a representative of the administration, said:

"Harsh things have been said about the oil men, but I do not believe a more patriotic group than the oil men gathered in this room could be found in the country. Whenever the American Government wanted oil it was forthcoming. There were no slackers in the oil fields."

"In the group which he addressed were representatives of practically all the great oil companies."

"Wilbur denied that their concerns had profited during the war. He said:

"In time of war, oil must be obtained regardless of the cost, and economics cannot be considered when the nation requires fuel that is still in the ground."

"The administration's policy of leasing naval oil reserves as Teapot Dome and Elk Hills were leased to Sinclair and Doheny, and under which leases Federal receivers are still pumping out naval oil, was also upheld by Wilbur."

"Of course, Wilbur's statements were aimed to assure the oil interests of the administration's favorable attitude," La Follette said. "He was the spokesman of the President, a member of his Cabinet, and picked as the man in the Cabinet who would know how to talk with the big interests in California, his home State."

PERLMAN G. O. P. TOOL

**Socialist Alone in 14th District
 Embraces La Follette Program.**

Taking his position solidly behind Senator La Follette and the platform of the Socialist Party, William Karlin is waging a campaign for Congress in the 14th Congressional district of this city which seems certain to result in a victory for his candidacy.

The Socialists and union men of the district are leaving nothing undone to win the district for Karlin. Every Labor leader, in the needle trades and in the other unions, will be enlisted in Karlin's support. Socialists are flocking from all parts of the city to "put Karlin over."

Karlin, a veteran of many battles for Labor in the courts, on the picket line and in countless public mass meetings, has for his opponent Nathan D. Perlman, a Republican.

Perlman, for all his strenuous efforts to appear in the guise of a radical when any of his constituents are in hearing, has taken his stand solidly behind Coolidge and Dawes, strike-breakers both. He has never had a word of condemnation for his party's enactment and brutal enforcement of the Immigration Act which has brought many tragedies to the homes of many who dwell in the 14th Congressional district.

In accepting the nomination of the Socialists and progressive working men of the district, Karlin took a stand four-square for the full progressive platform.

"During my political career," Karlin declared, "I have never received a greater call to duty than the present one. It is a sign of the times that the great masses of workers and farmers have united on a set of candidates backed by all the liberal and progressive elements."

"This is the reply of the people to the corrupt Democratic and Republican administrations which gave away public property to the plunder-bund."

The citizens of the nation, he said, "are abandoning the sinking ships of the Democratic and Republican parties and are coming in legions to the support of Senators La Follette and Wheeler."

"No Democrat or Republican of good intentions, in the face of the control of the Republican party in a great many Republican States, as, for example, Maine and Indiana by the Ku Klux Klan, and a number of Democratic States like Tennessee and Alabama, by the same unspeakable, criminal organization, can continue to support those two old and corrupt parties."

"In the face of large masses of unemployed and lack of homes and school the national Government stood indifferent; but whenever railroad workers, miners and other masses of working-men organized sufficiently strong enough to grasp concessions from the masters the administrations did not hesitate to use the power of the courts and of armed forces to deprive the masses of their opportunities for victory."

"Thousands of millions of dollars of the people's money were given away by Democratic and Republican administrations to favored contractors for rotten ships that could not sail, for poorly constructed

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For Congress



WILLIAM KARLIN

WHEN AND WHERE YOU CAN HEAR N. Y. SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

NORMAN THOMAS.

Oct. 4—Jamestown. 5—Afternoon, Niagara Falls, with Solomon and Vanden Bosch; evening, Buffalo, in Elmwood Music Hall, with Solomon, Vanden Bosch, Perkins. 6—21st A. D., New York. 8—Negro voters' dinner, New York. 10—Elmira. 11—Utica, in Labor Temple. 12—Oneida. 15—Poughkeepsie. 18—Women's University Club, New York. 19—Albany.

CHARLES SOLOMON.

Oct. 4—Syracuse (with Waldman). 5—Afternoon (with Thomas and Vanden Bosch), Niagara Falls; evening (with Thomas, Vanden Bosch, Perkins), Buffalo. 11—Albany, in Carmen's Hall (with Waldman). 14—Auspices Verband, New York. 16—With Waldman, auspices Kings. 21—Auspices Verband. (Utica, 3rd, cancelled.) 24—Auspices Kings 26—Verband.

LOUIS WALDMAN.

Oct. 4—Syracuse (with Solomon). 5—Elmira. 14—Auspices Verband. 19—Buffalo. 24—Auspices Kings County. 26—Auspices Verband.

FRANK CROSSWAITH.

Oct. 1—Rochester (with Holmes and others, C. P. A.). 2—Rochester. 3, 4, 5, 6—Buffalo. 10—Grace Congregational Church, New York.

ESTHER FRIEDMAN.

Oct. 1, 2, 3, 4—Elmira.

Verband To Hold Campaign Meeting In Harlem, Sunday

The Jewish Verband has arranged a mass meeting for the Harlem campaign in New Star Casino, 107th street and Park avenue, for Sunday at 2 p. m. This is the first big indoor Harlem meeting of the campaign. The speakers will be F. H. LaGuardia, A. I. Shiplacoff, Mollie Friedman, Edward Cassidy and Max Pine. Marie MacDonald will preside.

**Zausner Starts Organization
 of Labor League for
 Norman Thomas.**

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, threw a thunderbolt into the Al Smith-Tammany camp this week.

In a letter to the Tammany Hall candidate for reelection, a letter which was widely published in the press of the State—Thomas challenged Smith's platform as grossly inadequate.

Charles Solomon, the fighting Socialist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, followed this up with a smashing attack on Smith's injunction plank.

"The plank offers Labor so little," Solomon said, "that it could have been written by the Manufacturers' Association."

To add to Smith's discomfiture, the five Socialist Assemblymen who were expelled from the State Legislature in 1920, came out with the flat assertion that Tammany and Smith had as much to do with the disgraceful ouster as had the Republicans.

In this whirlwind opening of the Socialist State campaign, Teddy Roosevelt, the nominee of the Wadsworth Republican machine, was not ignored.

First Thomas came across with the facts of Roosevelt's being asleep while Teapot Dome was being stolen by Sinclair, the oil capitalist.

Samuel A. DeWitt followed this with a solar plexus blow that set the people of the State right on Roosevelt's spineless conduct during the Socialist ouster. Young Roosevelt was finally retired by the statement of the five Socialist Assemblymen in which he was also held responsible for the Socialist ouster.

The Thomas letter to Governor Smith produced repercussions which, The Leader having learned of them in confidence, cannot now be divulged. More will be heard of it in a few days.

The immediate battleground will be the Labor unions of the city and State. Philip Zausner, secretary of the District Council of Painters, No. 9, the strongest of the building trades unions, has consented to organize a Thomas-for-Governor Labor Committee.

The fight for support of the unions, regardless of the leaders' stand, will be waged every inch of the way by Thomas. Every leader, likewise, in the needle trades and other unions, will be asked to place himself on record for Thomas.

Thomas' letter to Smith said, in part:

September 27, 1924.

"Governor Smith: "There are certain omissions in your platform, and certain questions with regard to your own attitude that I think you might well clear up in justice to the public and particularly in justice to those Labor organizations which in the past have supported you. I shall for the present only mention some of the most obvious."

"1. Injunctions. You propose that no injunctions shall be issued in Labor disputes 'without reasonable notice and without first having a hearing to establish the facts.' This would strike at one of the present evils of injunctions, but at only one. It would still be possible to issue blanket injunctions and to sentence men to jail for contempt of court for acts that ought to be tried by jury under criminal law. Will you join with me in recommending a more drastic dealing with the injunction evil, even if such a process is found to require an amendment to the State Constitution or a curtailment of the powers of the Federal Supreme Court which has heretofore declared unconstitutional anti-injunction legislation? Your present recommendation falls short of Labor's

(Continued on Page 2)

The Socialist Campaign Will Reach Its Climax With Three Big Red Nights: MANHATTAN, Wednesday, October 8, THE BRONX, Friday, October 10, BROOKLYN, Friday, October 17. On These Evenings All Party Speakers Will Be Thrown Into the Borough of the Day, Huge Auto Rallies Will Be Held. WATCH FOR DETAILS.

HERMAN UP FOR GOVERNOR IN WASH.

Socialist Only Labor Man in Race in North-West State.

SEATTLE.—Emil Herman, old-time Socialist campaigner, is the only bona-fide trade unionist on the ballot running for Governor of this State, and he is making a campaign on that issue. He is also making the demand that the I. W. W. victims of the Centralia massacre be immediately released.

The following is the State platform upon which Herman is running:

The Socialist Party of Washington, in convention assembled this 9th day of September, 1924, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of International Socialism, as expressed in the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party of America, of which it is an integral part.

In endorsing the provisions of the Platform of the Conference for Progressive Political Action we do not lose sight of the fact that only the complete abolition of capitalism can free the workers from want and misery and the fear of want and misery. The earth, with all its wealth, rightfully belongs to those who labor. As measures calculated to assist in obtaining this right, we advocate the following Program of

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS:

1. The repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law.
2. Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press and free assembly.
3. Unconditional release of all political prisoners, including the victims of the Centralia Armistice Day Conspiracy.
4. Legislative action to prevent the arbitrary power usurped by the courts in declaring laws unconstitutional and in issuing injunctions in labor disputes.
5. Free and unfettered use of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.
6. Legislative action to give power to the State to generate and distribute electric energy to the people.

Socialist Party candidates in the State of Washington are pledged to the support of this Program

Block, Bernstein, Meserole Nominated By Socialist Convention for the Bench

S. John Block, Nathan Zvirin, J. J. Bernstein and Darwin J. Meserole were named as Socialist candidates for the Supreme Court of New York at "official" conventions that were held last week. Meserole, who is chairman of the Greater New York La Follette and Wheeler Campaign Committee, was named for Justice of the Supreme Court for the Second District at a convention held Friday night at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn; while Block, Zvirin and Bernstein were named at a convention held Saturday night at 7 East 15th street, New York.

May Harris Mainland, Socialist organizer and delegate to the last national convention of the party, was named for Congress in the First district, Queens, to fill a vacancy in the ticket. Mrs. Mainland was one of the leaders of woman suffrage work in Queens County prior to the adoption of suffrage, and since then she has covered New York State many times and the Eastern part of the country several times for the party.

The First District is constituted of New York and Bronx counties, while the Second District is made up of Kings, Queens, Nassau and Suffolk counties, constituting the whole of Long Island.

Block is one of the most popular Socialists in the country, an able speaker and writer, and frequently defender in court of the Socialist Party and its institutions. He is State chairman of the party. Bernstein is an active Comrade of the Bronx, an able lawyer, and a frequent lecturer for the party's subdivisions.

and to work consistently and persistently for the rapid and systematic socialization of industry wherever possible.

The party is circularizing the entire Labor movement of the State with the platform, and with letters by Herman. It is expected that the Socialist vote will exceed the highest ever in this State at any time. The Socialists likewise are expected to contribute a substantial portion of the vote with which La Follette and Wheeler will carry the State.

Comrade Herman is scheduled to speak on the following dates: Oct. 6 to 9, Seattle; Oct. 10, Puyallup; Oct. 11 and 12, Tacoma; Oct. 12, Centralia; Oct. 13 and 14, Aberdeen; Oct. 15 and 16, Kelee; Oct. 17, 18, 19, Portland; Oct. 20, Vancouver; Oct. 21, Kelee; Oct. 22, Maymound; Oct. 23 and 24, Aberdeen; Oct. 25, Centralia; Oct. 26, Olympia; Oct. 26, Tacoma.

Runs for Bench



S. JOHN BLOCK

TAMMANY HALL FEARS VOTE OF SOCIALIST NOMINEE

(Continued from Page 1.)

just demands. (And this, by the way, is not the only instance in which Labor has found ground for complaint. There is also the failure of the platform to recommend the exclusion of private companies from writing workmen's compensation insurance.)

"2. Housing. Your platform makes no suggestion for the provision of adequate housing in the great cities for families of small means. It recommends municipal control of public utilities, why not of housing? A program of housing, it seems to the Socialist Party and to me, requires municipal aid, the adoption of a plan involving the cooperation of building trade unions, manufacturers of building material, and tenants' cooperative societies. Your own commission has exposed the enormous evils of the present situation. What are your constructive suggestions?"

"3. Minimum wage. Your platform declares in favor of a minimum wage board 'with power to recommend the minimum wage for women and minors in industry.' Why not with power to fix a minimum wage? Is it because you fear that such legislation may be declared unconstitutional by the Federal Supreme Court following its decision in the District of Columbia case, or is it because you do not believe in so moderate a measure of social legislation or an effective minimum wage law for women and children? If you fear the court, what remedy have you to offer for that situation?"

"4. Super-power. I agree with you on the necessity of State development of water power. But that is not enough. There is the problem of distribution of such power; there is the problem of the existing companies which are rapidly creating a private monopoly of super-power derived from water and from coal which crosses State boundaries. To deal with the situation requires more than State development of hydro-electric power; it requires a publicly owned system with proper coordination of Federal, State and municipal agencies. Do you accept this principle? And can you guarantee from your own party somewhat warmer support than you had last winter from Senator Walker, the Democratic leader in the Upper House?"

"5. The need for a national as well as a State program of dealing with public utilities and natural monopolies is evident from a consideration of your proposals with regard to public utilities and water power. From another angle the need of cooperation is necessary from a consideration of the power of the courts in the matter of injunction and social legislation. How can this coordination be attained by the Democratic party with you as the head of the State ticket and John W. Davis as head of the national ticket? How can it be attained by a party which draws its greatest strength from Southern States which refuse even to ratify the Child Labor Amendment?"

"This leads to my final question: According to the New York Evening Post of September 24, Representative Carew was recently in Washington seeking a La Follette endorsement of some sort for your candidacy. On issues of economic emancipation and the proper limitations of the power of the courts the Democratic party nationally is as far removed from the progressive cause as the Republicans. It is necessary to choose. I do not see by what logic any candidate can himself endorse or seek the endorsement of both La Follette, the Progressive, and Davis, the Wall Street lawyer. I do not see how he can permit his friends to seek such endorsement."

OCT. 6 STARTS REGISTRATION DAYS HERE

All Who Want to Vote for La Follette and Socialists Must Register.

The registration and enrolling of voters for the 1924 elections and the 1925 primaries will begin next Monday, October 6, in New York City, and continue until October 11 in the city, and October 18 in other parts of the State.

At the same time, to prepare first voters for the right to register, literacy tests were started in New York City under the auspices of the Board of Education on September 30, and will continue until October 11.

Under the election laws of New York State, no one may vote in the general election without registration; personal registration in all cities and towns of 5,000 and over, and non-personal registration outside of such localities.

Likewise, no one is permitted to vote in the 1925 primaries for the nomination of candidates without enrolling as a member of some recognized party at the time of registration this year. So when you register, don't fail to enroll, by marking a cross (x) under the Arm and Torch.

Everyone should therefore register and enroll at the very earliest opportunity; and having done so, you should constitute yourself a committee to get out your husband or wife; your sisters, brothers, sons and daughters; your neighbors, shopmates, associates, friends and trades people. Every voter who fails to register is throwing away his vote, and is handing a vote to Mr. Coolidge or to Mr. Davis.

Qualifications for Voting
These are the qualifications for voting:

You must be a citizen of the United States, born or naturalized, man or woman, 21 years old on the day of election.

You must have lived in New York State one year, in your county four months, and in the election district 30 days on the day of election. That is, election day is November 4, and if you moved into the State from another State November 5, 1923, or later, you may not vote. Or into the county (borough) later than July 4, 1924, and into the election district later than October 5, 1924.

Citizenship
You are a citizen if (1) you were born in the United States; (2) you were born in another country of parents who were citizens, and were only traveling abroad when you were born; (3) you have been naturalized; (4) you were under 18 when your father was naturalized; (5) if a woman, you were married to a citizen of the United States prior to September 22, 1922.

Prior to the passage of the Cable Act on September 22, 1922, according to S. John Block, Socialist State chairman, alien women became citizens immediately upon marriage to a citizen, and as soon as such women had resided in the United States five years, they could vote without further ado. Since that date, however, women's citizenship is independent of their husband's and women who have not hitherto voted must be native born citizens, or naturalized in their own right, exactly as men. At the same time, women who are citizens no longer lose the right to vote upon their marriage to aliens, as was the case prior to September 22, 1922.

Women who lost their citizenship by marriage to aliens prior to that date must be naturalized again, but no difficulties will be placed in their way.

Literacy Tests
All first voters in New York must pass a literacy test. That is, every man or woman, whether native or foreign born, must satisfy certain legal requirements as to ability to read or write upon the occasion of casting their first vote in this State. If you ever cast a vote in this State at any time, you do not have to pass such a test. But if this is your first vote in the State (no matter if you ever voted in another State) you must pass a literacy test.

The following are some of the rules governing the tests:

All new voters (persons voting for the first time), whether NATIVE or foreign-born, who have not graduated from elementary school must present a certificate of literacy to the Board of Registry on the day of registration. Failure to present such a certificate of literacy or evidence of graduation will preclude the applicant from registering and voting.

These certificates of literacy will be issued as the result of passing the test prescribed by the Board of Regents.

The tests will be conducted in the evening elementary school centers on September 30 and October 1, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 from 7 p. m. to 10:30 p. m. and on Saturday, October 11 from 9 a. m. to 12:30 p. m. and from 7:30 p. m. to 10:30 p. m.

The law applies to women as well as men. Women voting for the first time must obtain certificates of

literacy in their own right. They will not be allowed to register or to vote (as formerly) on their husband's citizenship papers or certificates of literacy.

REGENTS' REGULATIONS
Issuance of Certificates of Literacy
Certificates of literacy shall be issued upon the following evidence of literacy:

To all persons voting for the first time whose educational credentials show that they have successfully completed the work prescribed for the sixth grade of the public schools of the State.

To persons whose credentials show that they have completed the course of study in a day or evening or parochial school in this State in reading and writing English.

To persons who successfully pass the prescribed State Regents' tests.

Persons Who Need Not Show Evidence of Literacy
Men both of native and foreign birth who have not voted previously but were qualified to vote before January 1, 1922.

Women both of native and foreign birth who have not voted previously but were qualified to vote before January 1, 1922. This will include women who received the rights of citizenship because of their husband's citizenship status.

Illiterate men and women who are qualified to vote and who had actually voted in New York State before January 1, 1922.

World War Veterans who took out their final citizenship papers before January 1, 1922.

Women of foreign birth whose husbands became naturalized before January 1, 1922.

Tests will be given in the following schools:

Manhattan. Public School 4—203 Rivington st.; P. S. 16—208 West 18th st.; P. S. 19—344 East 14th st.; P. S. 25—330 Fifth st.; P. S. 27—42d st., east of Third av.; P. S. 29—Albany and Washington sts.; P. S. 32—357 West 35th st.; P. S. 40—310-20 East 20th st.; P. S. 42—Hester and Ludlow sts.; P. S. 58—317 West 52nd st.; P. S. 59—226 East 57th st.; P. S. 61—610 East 12th st.; P. S. 67—120 West 46th st.; P. S. 70—213 East 75th st.; P. S. 71—188 East 7th st.; P. S. 72—Lexington av. and 105th st.; P. S. 83—216 East 110th st.; P. S. 89—Lenox av. and 134th st.; P. S. 93—Amsterdam av. and 93rd st.; P. S. 95—West Houston and Clarkson sts.; P. S. 96—Avenue A and 81st st.; P. S. 103—119th st. and Madison av.; P. S. 109—99th st., east of Third av.; P. S. 115—586 West 177th st.; P. S. 147—Henry and Gouverneur sts.; P. S. 157—St. Nicholas av. and 127th st.; P. S. 160—Rivington and Suffolk sts.; P. S. 165—234 West 109th st.; P. S. 186—521 West 145th st.

Bronx. Public School 1—College av. and 145th st.; P. S. 6—Vyse and Tremont avcs.; P. S. 21—715 East 225th st.; P. S. 39—Longwood av. and Kelly st.; P. S. 42—Washington av. and Claremont Parkway; P. S. 43—Brown pl. and 135th st.; P. S. 45—189th st. and Lorillard pl.; P. S. 61—Charlotte st. and Crotona Park East; P. S. 80—157th st. and Third av.

Brooklyn. Public School 5—Lawrence, Tillary and Bridge sts.; P. S. 13—Degraw, near Hicks st.; P. S. 15—Schermerhorn st. and Third av.; P. S. 40—15th st., near Fourth av.; P. S. 45—371 Lafayette av.; P. S. 50—So. 3rd st. and Driggs av.; P. S. 64—Belmont av. and Berriman st.; P. S. 92—Rogers av. and Robinson st.; P. S. 100—West 3rd st., Coney Island; P. S. 112—15th av. and 71st st.; P. S. 123—Irving av. and Suydam st.; P. S. 126—Meserole av. and Lorimer st.; P. S. 129—Quincy st., near Stuyvesant av.; P. S. 136—Fourth av. and 40th st.; P. S. 141—Leonard and McKibben sts.; P. S. 144—Howard and St. Marks av.; P. S. 147—Bushwick av. and Siegel st.; P. S. 148—185 Ellery st.; P. S. 150—Sackman st., south of Belmont av.; P. S. 153—Avenue T and East 12th st.; P. S. 164—14th av. and 42nd st.

Queens. Public School 6—Steinway av., near Patterson av., Long Island City; P. S. 7—Van Alst av., near Astoria av., Long Island City; P. S. 39—Dinsmore and Nameoke sts., Far Rockaway; P. S. 86—Creek st., near Grand st., Maspeth; P. S. 88—Catalpa av. and Fresh Pond rd., Ridgewood Heights; P. S. 90—109th st., near Jamaica av., Richmond Hill; P. S. 97—85th st. and 85th Drive, Woodhaven; Flushing High School, Northern Boulevard and Union st., Flushing; Jamaica High School, Annex, Hillside and Union avcs., Jamaica; Newton High School, Chicago av., Elmhurst.

Richmond. Public School 14—Broad and Wright sts., Stapleton; P. S. 20—Herberton av., Port Richmond; Tottenville High School, Academy pl., Tottenville.

Lectures

THIS Monday Night!

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N. Y. SOCIALISTS ADOPT LABOR PLANKS

Official Convention Approves Twelve Demands Put Forth by Organized Labor.

The Socialist State ticket, recommended at the unofficial State convention last July, was endorsed, the candidacy of Senators La Follette and Wheeler was ratified, a full slate of presidential electors named and a number of resolutions adopted at the official State convention of the Socialist Party held Saturday night at the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

The motion to place Norman Thomas and his colleagues in nomi-

nation was made immediately upon the organization of the convention, called to order by State Chairman S. John Block, when Joseph D. Cannon was named chairman and Herbert M. Merrill took his place as secretary.

The full ticket is as follows: For Governor, Norman Thomas, New York; Lieutenant Governor, Charles Solomon, Kings; Secretary of State, Frank R. Crosswaith, New York; Comptroller, Theresa B. Wiley, Schenectady; State Treasurer, John H. Vanden Bosch, Niagara; Attorney General, Louis Waldman, New York; State Engineer, Vladimir Karapetoff, Tompkins.

The Presidential electors, 45 in number, are identical with the list filed by the Independent Progressive party, so that votes cast for La Follette and Wheeler under the arm and torch will be added to the votes cast under the independent emblem, and will constitute the total New York vote. If the total combined Socialist and independent vote is larger than either the Davis or Coolidge vote, La Follette and Wheeler will get the 45 electoral votes of the Empire State.

Resolutions were adopted in a number of important matters, as follows:

Demanding the incorporation in the State Anti-Monopoly Law of the declaration, "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

Prohibiting the issuance of court injunctions in Labor disputes.

Establishing the State Insurance Fund as the only form of insurance for Workmen's Compensation in this State.

Restoration of original penalty stopping payments on contracts when Eight-Hour and Prevailing Rate of Wages Law is violated, with complete extension of law to all publicly employed workmen, mechanics and laborers.

Eight-hour workday for employed women and minors and a commission with women workers represented to fix minimum standard wages for employed women and minors.

Free textbooks and medical, surgical and dental treatment and care

for all school children; with school lunches at cost.

Repeal of Motion Picture Censorship Law and defeat of bills repressing freedom of opinion, of speech, of assembly and of publication.

Amendment to the State Constitution to provide for direct law-making by the voters and for recall of elected officials by electors, through the initiative, referendum and recall.

State and municipal development and distribution at cost to homes, farms and workshops of electric light, heat and power generated from water powers, as opposed to the present policy of corporate exploitation.

Immediate ratification by the State Legislature of the Child Labor

amendment to Federal Constitution.

Defeat by the Legislature of 1925 of the proposed amendment to the Judiciary Article of the State Constitution as it restricts the powers of the Legislature in relation to control of courts and judges.

Defeat of any proposal to compel Labor Unions to incorporate and of any proposal to limit right of wage workers to quit work voluntarily, singly or in groups.

The convention enthusiastically endorsed the State platform of the party drawn up last July and recommended by the unofficial convention.

In the matter of the enforcement of prohibition, and the legalizing of light wines and beers, the conven-

tion, after a brief discussion, took no action, but it was the sense of the convention that all Socialist Assemblymen and Congressmen are left free to follow the dictates of their own consciences, without any party suggestions.

Registration Hours

In the city of New York, registration begins Monday, October 6, at 5 p. m., the booths remaining open until 10:30. The registration places will be open likewise Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, October 7, 8, 9 and 10 for the same hours. On Saturday, October 11, registration will take place from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

In cities and villages of 5,000 or more people, outside of New York City, registration will take place October 10, 11 and 17 from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., and on Saturday, October 18, from 7 a. m. to 10 p. m.

Outside of cities and villages of 5,000 or more people, non-personal registration takes place October 11 from 7 a. m. to 10 p. m., and October 18 from 1 p. m. to 10 p. m.

Absentee voters may file their affidavits with the various Boards of Elections from October 5 to 18.

There are but three recognized parties in the State—Socialist, Republican and Democrat. Do not fail to enroll as a Socialist by marking a cross under the Arm and Torch.

PERLMAN G. O. P. TOOL

(Continued from Page 1)
airplanes that could not fly; but when it came to taking care of the wounded American soldiers, the professional politicians used for their own private purposes the very funds that were appropriated for the sick and disabled soldiers.

This is the supreme issue, as Karlin sees it:

On the tariff, Karlin declared: "The old parties have passed tariff measures which provide for an increased tax on sugar."

"The question is: Shall the invisible Government, a small group of very rich men controlling the railroad transportation system, the coal monopoly, and other basic industries, continue to rule as czars, or shall the great masses of the people, under the leadership of their own fearless champion, Robert M. La Follette, take over the Government for their own legitimate purposes?"

La Follette Club

Formed in Brooklyn
A non-partisan professional La Follette and Wheeler club has been formed in Brooklyn. Physicians, dentists, lawyers, and other professional men and women who are interested in the La Follette campaign are invited to join by applying to the secretary, I. M. Lichigman, 83 Thatford avenue.

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

The flood of new subs. continues unabated. Day after day, four and five mails a day, dozens and scores and hundreds of little manila envelopes are dumped on to the desk of the business manager of our paper, each with its check or money order, or bill, adding from one or two to twenty or thirty new members to our big family circle.

But that isn't all. With the checks and filled-in sub. blanks there are letters of good cheer and comradeship that are worth more to the comrades who are getting out the paper than gold, yes, much fine gold.

At the same time, The New Leader is being used extensively in the street campaigning of the Socialist Party. Only Tuesday of this week a huge meeting was held over in Brooklyn at noontime, and hundreds of New Leaders were given to the listeners, together with other excellent Socialist literature. Every listener carefully folded his paper and put it in his pocket. Not one was found on the ground afterwards. A little later, two of the speakers went into a lunch room for a cup of coffee and found scores of people reading The New Leader.

That was one meeting, and they are going on all the time, in every part of the East. New Haven sells a big bundle at every Saturday night meeting. So do other cities. Are you making use of the opportunity to do a fine lick of work for the La Follette and the Socialist campaign with your own paper?

And if you like The New Leader, share your pleasure with someone else. DON'T KEEP A GOOD THING TO YOURSELF! Get a new reader—some more new readers. There is a special rate for the campaign: \$1 for six months and 50 cents for three months. Take advantage of it, and make votes for La Follette and for Socialism.

Here's a letter that will stir the blood:

"Your recent letter was forwarded to me here at the county farm, where I am a pauper, crushed by capitalism, but not dead. A specialist for thirty-five years, seventy-three years of hard work, mental distress, etc.—Your earnest Comrade, Charles Lowell Penhalow." And then he sends in a money order for a sub!

Doesn't that want to make you work for Socialism!

And here's Showhegan again! You remember that noble town, where the noble library trustees wouldn't have The New Leader in their noble library? Well, just as we predicted, so many subs. are coming in from that place that the laugh is on the fossils in charge of the public library. This week there are three yearlies to add to a whole raft of them in the past few weeks.

And here's another Maine comrade. His letter is worth reading: "Last evening I went before the Painters and Decorators' Union in behalf of La Follette and Wheeler, and with only twelve members present I secured \$2.50 for the battle and got five subs. for The New Leader." The letter is signed by J. H. Backman, Bangor. Attaboy!

Some folks think that when they have done a good deed their job is over; others keep at it. This week's roll of honor has the names of a lot of folks who have sent in subs. in the past and who just naturally can't help but keep on sending more and more.

James Darrow, La Salle, N. Y., has sent two batches of subs. in a single week. Not bad, eh what? Then H. L. Frederick of Elizabeth, N. J., is another repeater, this time with two subs.; A. W. French, of Chelsea, Mass.; Dr. F. W. Carstens, of New Iberia, La. (he wants twenty-five sub. cards, forsooth!); Norton Brown, of Carteret, N. J. (he sent eight subs., and this is the second batch in a week); J. R. Tamulmas, Wilkes-Barre; Louis Zicht, of Brooklyn; Jane Scott, of Monaca, Pa. (the worst repeater we have); W. L. Norton, Auburn, Me., and A. D. Atkinson, of South Braintree, Mass.—all are repeaters of the kind that don't get arrested on Election Day.

The week brought us letters from various parts of the world. New subscribers got on our lists from Craig, Alaska (Brrrrrrrrrr! Makes us think of Cal Coolidge!); Cambridge University, England; Honolulu, and various other more or less civilized places.

J. H. Lese von Duffy (yes, the name isn't a fake) used to be one of the hardest working comrades in

the upper Bronx. Several years ago he seemed to have disappeared. Now he turns up with a check and a sub. card from Miami, Fla. You can't kill a good Socialist!

And bundles this week from New Haven, Seattle, and West New York.

Here are some of the good comrades who sent in subs., either for themselves or others, during the week—only a small part:

William Oehlschlager, Bridgeville, Pa., 1 sub.; F. W. Burge, Sunbury, Pa., 2; Sam H. Stille, Binghamton, N. Y., 3; C. F. Wilson, of Santa Barbara, Cal., 2; P. H. Morgan, Buffalo, N. Y., 4; John Williamstown, Jersey City, N. Y., 2; P. A. Vigilante, Albany, 4; C. W. Dewald, Williamsport, Pa., 2.

Edward Piehe, Richmond, Ind., 4; H. Barnett, Rensselaer, N. Y., 2; B. Abel, Providence, R. I., 2; S. C. Yandell, Independence, Cal., 1; R. E. Knapp, Ketchum, Idaho, 1; G. W. Charette, Fort Collins, Colo., 4.

Alvin Huff, Easton, Pa., 2; M. E. Fritz, Lexington, Miss., 1; Aug. Schmidt, Detroit, Mich., 3; J. C. Kanauf, Clearfield, Pa., 3; John H. Lohman, Detroit, 6; C. Ress, Ridgewood, N. Y., 3; F. Gumaer, Middletown, N. Y., 5; Albert Biron, Berlin, N. H., 3.

D. H. Barry, Alascadero, Cal., 2; Louis Lehr, New Eagle, Pa., 4; H. Alpern, Pittsburg, Pa., 3; W. Kern, Norristown, Pa., 3; Joseph Stiles, Brooklyn, N. Y., 3; Mrs. Ida O. Hiell, Corona, Cal., 4; D. Silverman, Brooklyn, N. Y., 3.

W. Kurn is a P. O. clerk and is not allowed to be active in politics, but makes up, by giving us about ten subs.

Dr. Joseph Joffe, Woodbine, N. J., 2; D. Golub, Schenectady, N. Y., 4; F. Silfnesburg, Englewood, N. J., 4; John D. Pashley, Schenectady, 2; J. Pede, New Haven, Conn., 1; Mrs. Aakse, Brockton, Mass., 3; W. L. Pauls, Slatedale, Pa., 1; David Young, Aurora, Ind., 1; N. P. Christensen, Centerfield, Wash., 1.

T. T. Adams, Summit Hill, Pa., 4; Fred Sanders, Syracuse, N. Y., 1; Chas. E. Enright, Buffalo, N. Y., 1; Mrs. C. D. Farnham, Brockton, N. Y., 2; Alex. Hirschberg, Louisville, Ky., 3; John Newman, Port Jervis, N. Y., 3; Ernst Schleuter, Detroit, Mich., 3.

And Tom Flynn and one Massachusetts trio—lots of them!

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2391 SEVENTH AVENUE (between 139th-140th Streets).

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of the CAMPAIGN!

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NEARING says NO!

Foremost Radical Spokesman

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vs. LONDON says YES!

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CHAIRMAN: NORMAN HAPGOOD

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WATER POWER: PRIVATE OR PUBLIC MONOPOLY?

Do you know that you, as a citizen of the State of New York, are a part owner of one of the greatest natural power resources in this country?

Do you know that this resource, if properly developed by the State, would bring cheaper electrical light heat and power to every housewife, to every wage-earner, to every farmer, within our borders?

Do you know that for a generation past predatory water power interests have been engaged in trying, by fair means and foul, to take from the people this most cherished of all their possessions, and to develop the water power resources in the Niagara, in the St. Lawrence, in the Adirondack regions, for private gain?

Do you know that the Socialist Party in this campaign is the one party that unitedly stands against this proposed steal and in favor of State development of hydro-electric energy and its distribution to the citizens of the State at cost?

Giving Away the Niagara

Here are some of the facts. Extending along the northern border of New York State are several great bodies of water capable of generating hydro-electric energy. They include the upper and lower Niagara Rivers, separated by the world-famous Niagara Falls, and the St. Lawrence River. The northern half of these waters belongs to Canada; the southern half, to New York State. While the United States Government reserves the right to supervise navigation on these streams, its representatives have recently admitted the State's contention that the water power on navigable streams in New York belongs to the State and may be developed by the State without federal interference.

Private Interests Win in Niagara

For more than a generation private water power interests have been at work trying to secure from the State the privilege of generating electrical energy from these streams and falls. In 1886 the New York State Legislature gave to the Niagara Falls Power Company permission to divert from Niagara River above the Falls some ten thousand cubic feet of water per second, a diversion equivalent to 200,000 horsepower, or to between a million-and-a-half and two million tons of coal a year. The grant covered a period of fifty years.

Other grants followed. With such avidity did the power corporations take advantage of the generosity of the State that the Canadian and United States Governments were ultimately compelled to step in in order to preserve the scenic beauty of the Falls. By a treaty in 1910, they limited the amount that could be diverted on the American side to 20,000 cubic feet per second. In 1921 Niagara Falls Power Company and two others (consolidated in 1918) were empowered to utilize all of these 20,000 cubic feet per second with the exception of 500. At present the three consolidated companies are generating in the neighborhood of 300,000 horsepower, and when their new development is completed, they will add to this something like 100,000 more. The Niagara Falls Power Company does, of course, pay its taxes, as do other corporations to the State. It pays in addition something like \$85,000 yearly for "administrative charges." However, while New York State has the power to levy a rental on the company for water diverted by it in excess of 15,000 cubic feet per second, thus far it has not paid rental on a single cubic foot of water.

Some 300,000 horsepower are still undeveloped in Niagara Falls, and the State is now urging another treaty with Canada providing for a diversion of water double that now allowed by treaty. Who shall develop this water power? That is one of the important questions of the hour.

The St. Lawrence Raid

As a result of the success attained by private interests in exploiting the power resources of the Niagara, the Long Sault Development Company, connected with the Aluminum Company of America, spent time and money in obtaining water power priv-

Untold Benefits are Within the Reach of the Citizen of New York—Will They Get Them or Will Private Profit Score Again?

By HARRY W. LAIDLER
Director, League for Industrial Democracy

ileges on the St. Lawrence. It secured a charter for this development of a half-million horse power in that river. Luckily, however, in 1913 this charter was repealed. The company went to the Court of Claims to recover the small amount laid out in this development, and the Court of Appeals of New York State sustained the constitutionality of the repeal Act. Thus the State was given another opportunity to develop the water power of the St. Lawrence as they saw fit.

Besides the St. Lawrence and the Niagara, there are also a score of other river systems in the State with undeveloped water power amounting to nearly 1,200,000-horse power. When it is realized that, prior to 1920, the total installation in all water-power plants in the United States amounted to only 9,000,000-horse power, it is seen how valuable is the stake sought by the private interests of the State.

The Fight Against State Control

In 1912, a year before the repeal of the charter of the Aluminum Company's subsidiary, the Conservation Commission of the State presented to the Legislature a comprehensive plan for the utilization of the water-power resources of the State under State ownership and State control. A bill was presented for such development. It was passed by one House, but defeated in the other. In the years that followed, at

times the Assembly, at times the Senate, at times the Executive, blocked all efforts at such development. The last fight for State control was staged in the spring of this year, when a bill was introduced into the Senate providing that the power resources on the Niagara and St. Lawrence always remain under the ownership and control of the State (or the Power authority, a State body), and providing, further, for the generation, sale and distribution of hydro-electric energy by this authority, after a survey had been made of costs and power possibilities. The power interests were, however, again victorious and the bill failed of passage.

The Present Crisis

At the present moment the State of New York has no official policy. Private interests are urging immediate development under private control. Two corporations have already secured preliminary permits to develop electrical energy at Croil Island and Long Sault in the St. Lawrence, one of them said to represent the same group whose charter was repealed in 1913. If they see fit to submit their plans, the present Water Power Commission would have it within its power to grant licenses for private development. Applications are also pending for permits to utilize the water resources of Niagara Gorge, where a diversion of 40,000 cubic feet per second is requested. So that the

people of New York State now find themselves in a position where these vast natural resources which belong to all of the people of the State may be snatched away from them at any moment.

Canada Leads the Way

How differently have the people of the neighboring Province of Ontario, Canada, gone about the solution of their problem! They early realized the danger of private monopoly of the great water-power resources of that province. Viewing the situation in terms of the welfare of the entire community for the longest possible number of years, they determined some twenty years ago that they would develop their own electrical energy. They established a public commission—the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission—with power to buy power plants, to build their own plants, to generate electricity and to distribute it to the consumer. The Commission immediately went into partnership with some of the cities of Ontario in pursuance of this undertaking.

Today the people of Ontario, through their provincial Government and their towns and cities, own two of the three great hydro-electric plants on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls, and the Chippawa-Queenston development below the Falls, one of the greatest in the world. They have acquired thirty hydraulic

generating plants, sixty distributing stations, and twenty water powers. In 1923 they supplied some 380 cities and towns of Ontario with 600,000 horse-power power.

They own a property valued at \$2,500,000. They charge to residents of homes for electric lighting in the larger cities of the province between 1½ cents per kilowatt hour, less than one-third as much as was charged prior to public ownership. As a result of these low charges, they had saved to the people of the province in reduced charges alone, by the end of 1923, over \$100,000,000, and, without increasing taxation, they are gradually setting aside out of revenue enough to pay for the entire hydro-electric power system within a generation.

They have lightened the burdens of the housewife. They have made it practicable to use electricity on the farms of the province. They have eliminated that corruption that comes from licensing out the natural resources of a country. They have developed an engineering corps of unusual ability. They are now ready to develop their side of the St. Lawrence as a public enterprise and are hoping to see the day when the State of New York will join hands with them in the complete development of this great enterprise wholly for public gain, not private pelf.

Your Duty

The Socialist Party advocates the development of the water-power resources by the State and the municipalities. What the citizens of Canada have done successfully the citizens of New York State can also do. We in this State are dependent for the major part of our light, heat and power on coal and oil produced outside of the State. The supplies of these resources are becoming gradually exhausted. It has been estimated that nearly one-third of the anthracite coal and one-twentieth of the bituminous coal in Pennsylvania is already mined. Coal is bound to become more expensive with each passing decade. With dearer coal and constantly greater demand for electricity, our "white power" on the St. Lawrence, on the Niagara, in other parts of the State, will become increasingly valuable, and increasingly vital to the welfare of our people.

If you believe that this "white energy" should be developed by the people of the State for their own advantage, vote the Socialist ticket, the only ticket which, from top to bottom, has pledged itself to oust private monopoly, to restore to the people their inheritance, and to utilize that inheritance in the service of all.

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Me and the Prince

When the Prince came in from the polo grounds, all mused up, sweaty and smelling "horsey," I pushed up to him and says, "I'm Adam Coal-digger from—"

"You don't say so," he exclaims, his handsome face shining with glee and perspiration; "so you're the guy that Ramsey told me to be sure and see." And then he pulls me away from the crowd and kept pulling until we were in the corn crib, back of the polo pony stable.

First thing the Prince said after we had made our escape from the maddening throng of his admirers was, "Adam, do you smoke?" "Sure," says I, thinking he would hand me a royal cheroot from his majesty's private box. "Then let me have a cig," says the Prince; "I'm dying for a smoke and they forgot to put pockets in this confounded polo suit."

Not being a cigar smoker myself, I offered him my old briar and my sack of Old Hillside. Eddy accepted and after disinfecting the stem of my pipe on the seat of his polo breeches, he lit up. I waited until I heard the familiar gurgle of my briar and then I says, "Prince," I says—

"Cut out that Prince stuff," he snaps back. "Call me Eddy or Teddy, call me Wales, Kaburg or Windsor, Sandy, Andy, Jasper or Hiram, but for heaven's sake, can that Prince stuff. I'm sick of it, sick as a dog. I haven't heard anything but 'Prince,' 'Prince,' since I hit Ellis Island. Back home, there are at least a few chappies who treat me like I was a human being. And old Mac, that is, the prime minister who writes the crown speeches for the family, he even treats me like I was a kid. But look at these countrymen of yours! Look at 'em, Adam! Did you ever see a sorrier, humbler lot of kowtowing, tail wagging, lick spittles than they are?"

"Call themselves democrats, do they? Democrats—rats. Republicans—punk. Free born, independent, sovereign American citizens—bah! If that looney old ancestor of mine, George the Third, came over here now they would crawl from York-

town to Bunker Hill to polish his shoe buckles with their fore locks." And he starts to laugh and laughs until I had to slap his back to keep him from choking to death.

"What's the big joke," I says, when his highness had recovered from his noble fit.

"The joke," he chuckles, "the blooming joke is that this is the same crowd which blowed in fifty billion smackers to make the world safe for democracy."

"Yes," I says, "it is a queer state of affairs when the crown prince of the oldest monarchy becomes the idol of the grandest democracy, but what I want to know is, how they get that way?"

What followed was a historic discussion on the nature and origin of aristocracy. I can't repeat all of it, because we talked way into the night, while the mob of frantic sons and daughters of the revolution were scouring the country for their beloved Prince. But here are a few of the main points.

"Mankind," said Eddy, "is made up of those who work and those who shirk. At one time everybody worked and then there was but one class. But by and by, somebody made the discovery that one thief could steal more in one night than ten honest men could accumulate in a lifetime of hard labor. Thereupon things began to happen. Before long the thief had all the cattle, the land which fed the cattle and the people who herded the cattle. After that they built robber roosts above the rivers and highways and proceeded to skin the peddlers who traveled on them.

"In due time the working people accepted highway robbery as the established order of things and after that the robbers had nothing to do but fight the noble brothers who tried to rob them. In that way the thieves developed into warriors and because they owned the available supply of brass knuckles, lead pipes, spiked clubs, armor plates, chains and jails, they soon became the government, that is, guardians of law and order. "By the time a robber had swiped everything in sight, they called him Count, because he was the only gink in his bailiwick who counted. That's how the terms 'count' and 'county' originated. In the course of time,

the chief bruiser among the counts licked the other counts and thereby became king, by the grace of God. In the meantime, the common people counted their bruises and prayed for the fulfillment of the Divine saying, 'The first shall be last and the last shall be first.'

"After the kings got on the job, the small fry nobility could only rob and steal with the permission of his royal nibs. And still later after the king had monopolized robbery as a prerogative of the crown, he employed the nobility as spittoon cleaners, candle trimmers and insect exterminators, around the royal chambers. That is how the Chamberlains, Chambermaids and Lords and Ladies in waiting originated."

"But, Eddy," says I, flabbergasted, "you don't aim to tell me that the noble ancestors of your Lords, Counts, Dukes and Ducks were nothing but highwaymen and cattle rustlers who had degenerated into bedbug hunters, slop jar jiggers and stable boys?"

"Just that," replied Eddy, with a grin, "and that is how the galoot who used to brew the stew on which his majesty got stewed, became the founder of the house of Stuart, and in somewhat the same manner as the Sow herds became Sowards and the Cow herds, Cowards. To understand how highway robbers, cattle thieves and court cuspidor custodians evolved into Aristocrats, it is necessary to be hep to the nature of Aristocracy. Mind if I put you next?"

"Shoot," I says, "I'm listening." "An Aristocrat," Eddy went on, "is a person who don't work, is ashamed of work, and looks down on people who do work."

"You mean a tramp," I butts in. "Nix on that," says Eddy. "To be an aristocrat, it is necessary that others do your work. On top of that you must produce the outward evidence proving that you don't work, don't have to work, have others wait on you and that you would rather die an honorable death, robbing somebody's chicken coop, than soil your hands by honest toil. That is why small hands, tapering fingers and long nails are the signs of 'good breeding.' That is also the reason why the females of the 'better class' set the pace in high heels, tight

corsets, white shoes, cumbersome skirts, and spider web goods that are as fragile as they are expensive. To the woman who works, these things are the first and foremost obstacle in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. But to the women of the upper strata, they are the signs that they don't work, just as the crippled feet of the aristocratic Chinese woman are the painful advertisement that she is the plaything of a man who can afford servants."

"Sounds reasonable," I edges in, "but tell me, Eddy, what has all this to do with the 100 per cent American cattle who are going hog wild over a prince?"

"Just this," he comes back, "they are of the same breed as our European aristocrats and they got their swag in very much the same way as ours did. Only, in holding up people, they used long heads in place of long arms and fountain pens instead of spiked clubs. Now that they got their pile, they find that getting wealth by stealth is not nearly as respectable as getting it by force and that shaving notes can't hold the candle to cutting throats when it comes to a sign of 'good breeding.'

"Wolves and dogs belong to the same family and your money aristocrats are but dogs who are trying to beat their way back to the ancient and honorable order of wolves. And that, Adam, is the reason why your home brew aristocrats scheme their fool heads off to marry their empty headed daughters to the busted descendants of the Chamberlains and Chambermaids, who kept my illustrious forbears from getting too grumpy. The predatory beasts howling for their prince on the outside see in me the crowning glory, culmination and personification of a thousand years of robbery, thievery, oppression and exploitation. I am the Crown Prince of the two-legged beasts of prey. The dogs on the outside are howling for admittance to the ancient robber den. Believe me, Adam, I despise this sorry outfit who would rather be keepers of royal night stools and scavengers of his majesty's cuspidor than be free men among free men.

"But my governor said to me, 'Eddy,' says he, 'pack your duds and go over to the land of the free and the home of the brave and remind them again that blue blood is thicker than water. Our treasury is almost busted and goodness only knows how soon we may have to touch them for another loan to make the world safe for democracy.'"

"Eddy," says I, as we shook hands for the last time, "you're a prince of a fellow, but you are punk as a prince. Ruling people is the same as fooling people, and if the rabble ever find out what you think of your job, the jig is up. Watch your crown and if the bolsheviks should ever get too thick over there, come to this great democracy, where princes are still sold at premium."

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Epitaph of Dick Sapper

By Edgar Lee Masters
(Copyright by Boni & Liveright.)

The ordinance of Spoon River permitted
The preaching of Jesus on the streets

By Salvationists and Fundamentalists.
So I went to the Square one day with the Bible

And began to read: "Woe unto you lawyers,
Who build the sepulchres of the prophets."

And, being known as a Socialist,
They put me in jail for talking Socialism

On the public square.
Well, the war came on, and Ezra

—Pink

Had written a letter to Spoon River
To buy war bonds until we were broke;

And I opposed it and even opposed
The lawless and hellish draft, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, as I thought.

So they put me in jail for twenty years,
Where my body broke and my spirit broke,

And where in vain I tried to be pardoned.
And I coughed and cursed to that awful moment

When the blood of my body shot from my mouth
Like a gushing hose, and I was dead

And some of you call this a Republic!
Well, some of you be damned,

And God damned!

CURB THE COURTS AND LET LIBERTY GROW!

Again we have illustrated the real unity of the two old parties. Messrs. Coolidge and Davis with extraordinary oneness of heart have rushed to the defense of the courts as the bulwark of our liberties, and General Dawes has played the part of a hoisterous echo. The charge is that the progressive movement means somehow to take away the civil and religious rights of the individual because it demands a restriction upon the power of the courts.

One might deny these charges by ridiculing the fears of the gentlemen in question—fears which show them as no true believers in democracy. But the best answer is a plain statement of facts.

1. The power of the courts to grant injunctions and to declare legislation unconstitutional has not been the bulwark of our civil and religious liberty. From the days of the Dred Scott decision, legalizing slavery in the free States until the days of the Hitchman decision making it possible for aggressive employers to prevent the legal organization of unions, the power of the courts to declare legislation unconstitutional, and to authorize injunctions, has been used not for the defense of

No Other Countries of the World Permit Their Courts to Defeat the Legislation of Duly Elected Legislative Bodies.

By NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party Candidate for Governor of N. Y.

civil liberties but of private property rights, often at the cost of human liberty. During the days of war hysteria, the Supreme Court went along with the crowd in practically every case. It did almost nothing to give us protection against those laws or administrative acts which resulted in filling our jails with political offenders and fastening a Prussian spy system upon us. It has done almost nothing to protect the elementary rights of Negroes.

2. On the other hand, the Supreme Court has by many decisions upheld the interests of a master class: It has declared unconstitutional the attempt to regulate child labor; it has stood for the "right" of women to work for less than a minimum wage in the District of Columbia; and above all for the "right" of Labor injunctions, a right under which Labor finds it difficult even to organize

legally, much less to strike legally. 3. This interference of the courts with legislation is not primarily a judicial function. It is a type of social legislation. There are many good lawyers who doubt if the founders of the Constitution ever intended to give the Supreme Court such extraordinary powers. They have been increased readily during the century. For instance, the Supreme Court itself originally held that it had no power to review the action of Congress or the States in fixing compensation to be charged by a public utility. Of late years it has reversed this decision and taken into its own hands the ultimate decision as to what constitutes a reasonable return. Many weighty decisions are made by a majority of one. Not only do the judges not agree but some of the decisions of the court have been contradictory.

the victory of their cause." Injunctions cover acts against which there is an abundance of laws. Employers naturally like injunctions under which men can be tried by the Constitution were plain, and the courts were but enforcing it, do you imagine for one minute that so often four men should uphold what five men condemn, or that decisions should conflict with each other? The fathers of the Constitution did not have to deal with the problem of railroads, child labor, trade unions, agreement in industry. To set up a judge's opinion as to what the fathers might have thought on these subjects, is to inaugurate the reign of the dead-hand. What the judges do is not to act as expounders of law but to read their own economic convictions and social prejudices into the interpretation of constitutional principles.

4. The worst abuses of the powers of the courts are connected with the use of injunctions in Labor disputes. Theoretically, an injunction can be issued by a Court of Equity for the purpose of preventing injury to property or to property rights, when there is no adequate remedy in law. It ought to be used sparingly only in cases where there is no law to cover the offense, directed against a particular individual, and applied to specific, easily understood cases. All these principles are violated in Labor injunctions. More and more such injunctions are issued in blanket form; they include, as someone has said, "the whole world." They cover practically every conceivable act. Under Daugherty's injunction in the shopmen's strike, "the only thing which the strikers could legally do was to pray in secret for judges for contempt of court with-

out the right of trial by jury. Thus they evade the ancient right of a man accused of crime to be tried by a jury of his peers. A recent case during the shopmen's strike illustrates the length to which injunctions may be carried. A barber in a small town was sentenced, without trial by jury, for contempt of court in violation of an injunction because he put in his window a sign, "No scabs wanted here."

Perhaps worse than anything else is the fact that injunctions are issued to employers almost on request. Even if they are not later confirmed and made permanent, the damage to the cause of the workers is usually already done. So real are these objections to injunctions that a lawyer like John W. Davis himself has spoken of the necessity of rewriting the law on injunctions to make plainer limitations on the power of the courts. But Mr. Davis has not explained how this can be done under recent decisions of the Supreme Court in cases under the Clayton Act and in the case of *Truax vs. Corrigan*. These decisions in effect held that neither Congress nor the States could limit the power of injunction.

It is for these reasons that progressives demand some curb on the power of courts to interfere with social legislation. Senator La Follette has not gone back to Roosevelt's remedy of a recall of judicial decisions. Those who call the progressives of 1924 demagogues would be hard put to it to find words adequate to express their opinion about Roosevelt. Yet we doubt if General Dawes himself would want to go before the American people and call Roosevelt a master demagogue, which was the term he applied to Senator La Follette.

Have Messrs. Coolidge, Davis and Dawes observed that European countries, by no means Bolshevik in theory, have not copied our practice of assigning powers of social legislation to the courts? Yet they have protected the liberty of their citizens at least as well as we. Those who truly love liberty will see in the proposal to keep the courts at their legitimate judicial tasks not a proposal to limit liberty, but to strengthen and establish it. The true defense of liberty is in the enlightened public opinion of a democracy, and in that we put our trust.

Umbrella Workers Out Against Large Firm
The Umbrella Workers' Union, Local 17276, American Federation of Labor, is waging a vigorous strike against the firm of Louis H. Cohen, 87 Fifth Avenue, which is now in its fourth week. There are seventeen workers involved and they are holding their ranks well and are fully confident of ultimate victory.

THE WORKERS, THE TRUE MASTERS OF INDUSTRY

The following article shows what can be done by the workers in the matter of building. This German experiment in a workers' building guild is followed by sending two of its representatives to the United States, Dr. Ing. Martin Wagner and Walter Astor, who are now in this country. They will study American economic and technical problems and they will also get in touch with the Labor movement. They are especially anxious to consult with Labor organizations that are interested in building and housing problems. They may be addressed in care of the Rev. John Mueller, 12 Hedden Terrace, Newark, N. J.

The German building workers have always been among the pioneers in Labor's battle for the emancipation of mankind from the private capitalist. But not before 1918 did their hope and aspirations develop into practical action on the field of industry, for it was not before that time that the old spirit of suppression and exploitation broke down.

This moral breakdown of the old powers roused the building workers to openly oppose the capitalist masters of their trade with the new weapon of trade competition. With all their power the workers strove for liberty, trying never yet used new methods in opening their own undertakings. The trade unions have organized, financed and guided this new move towards economic freedom, and soon our building guilds, or "Bauhütten," as we call this new form of cooperative enterprise, developed into a serious and powerful business combine. Organized according to well-prepared plans, they are in existence and at work today in more than 200 cities and towns, all established and backed by organized Labor.

These guilds linked up into a veritable social building trust which undertakes any kind of construction work, such as house building, construction of factories, canals, bridges, etc., employing in all over 20,000 building workers. The local autonomy of each guild, in economic or technical matters, is restricted only in such a way that the proper coordination of all forces in the interest of all and of the public in general rests assured. This coordination is secured through eighteen district societies, into which the whole number of local guilds is federated, the object of the district federation being to control and back their affiliated guilds and to supply them with the necessary raw materials, etc. They own numerous brick-yards, sawmills, stoneworks, sandworks, etc. The whole structure is headed by the "Federation of Social Building Guilds," or "Verband Sozialer Baubetriebe," also organized and financed by the trade unions, in 1921, following the plans of the promoter and leader of this new movement, Dr. Ing. Martin Wagner.

It would be impossible to briefly describe the organization of these guilds and of their trust, for they are essentially different from the British building guilds. No private capital is invested in the German guilds, only capital having been accepted from trade unions and from municipalities. All the shares of the district societies, as well as of the trust, are owned and controlled by the trade unions, who also nominate all the members of the various boards of administration. The individual employee of the trust does not invest personally in these guilds, for he is not to be or to become a capitalist, although in his local guild he enjoys full rights of cooperative control. The guild committee, who looks after the technical side of the work, decides on the engagement or dismissal of workers, fixes wages, etc., is composed of representatives he selects with his co-workers. The employees' delegates also sit on the board of administration. The latter looks after the financial side of the enterprise, appoints the manager, and is responsible for a proper business-like administration of the guild.

GERMAN BUILDING WORKERS CREATING A HUGE BUILDING TRUST

ness-like administration of the guild. The other members of the local board of administration are nominated by the trade unions. Thus every guarantee is secured that these guilds will never be turned into capitalist or private concerns and that they shall not be used against the interests of the working classes. This social building trust has been at work for over three years now. Its various concerns are competing on the open market with private en-

terprises. They are enlarging their field of operations from year to year, although the private employers and capitalists have done all in their power to make this development impossible. The guilds are giving fair dealing, honest and good work, their prices being always moderate and their technical methods up to date, with the result that the private employer is driven back by and by wherever the building guilds turn up.

No wonder that this new trust plays an important role in the gigantic struggles fought out between trade unions and the private employers. The guilds are not taking part actively in these struggles, but their very existence makes it impossible for the employing class to keep their workers locked out for a long time, for the guild would take in the struggling workers and continue the work begun by private firms. The practical value of the

building guilds is a weapon of defense, therefore cannot be overestimated from the workers' point of view.

Unfortunately, the development of this social trust has of late been hampered as a result of the occupation of the Ruhr, which led to the final collapse of our monetary system. The men at the head of the movement then recognized that it would be necessary, during this crisis, to concentrate all efforts on the inner organization and on the technical development of the various guilds. This motto has proven right, for in some countries the guild movement, after a brief and rapid extension, almost collapsed, while the German social building trust is firmly established today, having no hope for the private employer that he can ever see the day when he will be able to overrun the guild. Today the social building trust is recognized to be the leading factor in the whole of Germany's building industries, with regard to technical development, as well as with regard to organization and economic weight.

The only weak point of the movement today is lack of sufficient capital. It was only after the German currency had been stabilized that one was able to fully recognize how far the country is impoverished. During the inflation period the funds of trade unions melted away entirely. Only the sums they had invested in the building guilds were saved, and in some cases even doubled and trebled.

When our trust was formed it had been decided by the big Building Workers' Federation to regularly hand over 5 per cent of all members' dues to the trust, to be used for its further development. They still live up to this decision, but at present all unions are more or less weakened, and thus the capital supplied from that important source is less than it was intended to be. The trust, therefore, depends more than ever on the capital it gains from its own activities. The original stock capital only draws an interest or dividend of 5 per cent as the maximum, while all other surplus is spent on the further development and expansion of the movement. The trust, therefore, is sure of a sound and regular, however slow, development, one of the most outstanding standard bearers of Germany's organized Labor forces.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

By THOS. F. FLAHERTY
Editor The Union Postal Clerk, Official Organ of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks

President Coolidge's veto of the postal pay bill was a grievous wrong against a practically helpless group of workers whose employers—the American people—had signally and with scarcely a dissenting voice approved the legislation.

He added insult to this injury by

making a grotesque political play to placate the postal workers and curry their favor by announcing his willingness to sign a new pay bill—one scientifically drawn to meet his wishes.

The President insults the intelligence of the postal workers by his implication that only with his consent can they secure their just dues—an adequate pay standard. He seemingly forgets that Congress, acting

as the direct representatives of the owners of the service, almost unanimously agreed upon the necessity for higher postal pay rate. The House, on June 6, and the Senate on May 28, voted with but six and three nay votes respectively, for Senate bill 1898.

The President, exercising his right, vetoed the bill. The veto message is now before Congress awaiting action in December. We can not believe the Congress will recede from its position because of the President's opposition. We confidently look to see the veto overridden by substantially the same vote the bill received upon its original passage.

If the President has any genuine regard for the postal workers he should maintain a hands-off policy until there is a vote on his veto. Having temporarily defeated our wage aims, he should not be too relentless in his desire to impose his will on the more or less helpless postal workers.

We are at least entitled to a clear chance for the last big effort—a veto message vote. Mr. Coolidge is making it more difficult for us by his vague gesture and a belated show of interest.

LONDON.—A party of twenty British Laborites, including Miss Dorothy Jewson, M.P., has arrived in Leningrad on a tour of the Union of Soviet Republics. The main purpose of their visit is to study educational methods.

If there is anything that can't stand free discussion, let it crack.—Wendell Phillips.

FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

WAR AND "DEFENSE"

By FREDERICK NIETZSCHE

In "Human, All Too Human"

NO Government will nowadays admit that it maintains an army in order to satisfy occasionally its passion for conquest. The army is said to serve only defensive purposes. This morality, which justifies self-defense, is called in as the Government's advocate. This means, however, reserving morality for ourselves and immorality for our neighbor, because he must be thought eager for attack and conquest if our State is forced to consider means of self-defense.

At the same time, by our explanation of our need of an army (because he denies the lust of attack just as our State does, and ostensibly also maintains his army for defensive reasons), we proclaim him a hypocrite and cunning criminal who would fain seize by surprise, without any fighting, a harmless and unwary victim.

In this attitude, all States face one another today. They presuppose evil intentions on their neighbor's part and good intentions on their own. This hypothesis, however, is an inhuman notion, as bad as and worse than war. Nay, at bottom it is a challenge and motive to war, foisting, as it does, upon the neighboring State the charge of immorality, and thus provoking hostile intentions and acts. The doctrine of the army as a means of self-defense must be abjured as completely as the lust of conquest.

Perhaps, perhaps, a memorable day will come when a nation, renowned in wars and victories, distinguished by the highest development of military order and intelligence and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifice to these objects, will voluntarily exclaim, "We will break our swords," and will destroy its whole military system, lock, stock, and barrel. Making ourselves defenseless (after having been the most strongly defended) from a loftiness of sentiment—that is the means toward genuine peace, which must always rest upon a pacific disposition.

The so-called armed peace that prevails at present in all countries is a sign of bellicose disposition, a disposition that trusts neither itself nor its neighbor; and partly from hate, partly from fear, refuses to lay down its weapons.

Better to perish than to hate and fear, and twice as far better to perish than to make one's self hated and feared—this must some day become the supreme maxim of every political community.

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Through the States

CAMPAIGN TOUR OF CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. BERGER

October 4, St. Paul, Minn.; October 5, Minneapolis, Minn.; October 6, Sioux City, Iowa; October 7, Omaha, Neb.; October 8, Kansas City, Mo.; October 9, St. Louis, Mo.; October 10, Indianapolis, Indiana; October 11, Cleveland, Ohio; October 12, afternoon, Detroit, Mich.; evening, Toledo, Ohio.

Comrade Berger can accept no further dates. Applications from the same territory will be accepted for George R. Kirkpatrick, Birch Wilson and Seymour Stedman.

PHILADELPHIA

STREET MEETINGS
Friday, October 3—Germantown avenue and Bristol. Speaker: William Thompson; 41st and Market streets. Speaker: L. M. Harkins; Saturday, October 4—5th and Cambria streets. Speaker: J. Polstein; 62nd and Sansom streets. Speaker: Charles Soli; 42nd and Lancaster. Speaker: Harry Closser; 3639 North 6th street. Speakers: Harkins and Phillips.

Central and East Pennsylvania

Very large crowds listened to August Claessens speaking under the direction of the Socialist Party National Office and the La Follette county committee in Pottsville, Clearfield, Williamsport, Mt. Carmel and Pottsville. Great sentiment for the La Follette ticket and the coming Labor party exists among the coal miners and railroad men in this part of the State. There is much unemployment among the soft coal miners and a general industrial depression throughout Pennsylvania is making ready listeners. Claessens held an immense crowd in Lebanon last Saturday immediately following a K. K. parade. The Koo Koo brought out the whole town to see them march in their nightie and hood and as many people as Claessens' voice could reach remained for an hour in a steady rain to hear the message of industrial and social improvement.

WISCONSIN

The Socialists are enthusiastic over the primary vote cast here a few weeks ago, the official returns, just made public, indicating that the biggest Socialist vote Milwaukee and the State ever saw will be cast November 4. The Socialist candidates got several times the vote they needed to get on the ballot, and many thousands more than ever were cast before. From past experience this indicates a sweep of the city and county.

Edmund T. Melms, candidate for Sheriff, polled 16,589 votes; more than 2,000 more votes than were ever cast before in a Socialist pri-

mary. Other Socialist candidates for county offices polled over 16,000, the variation between the highest and lowest being less than 200.

Victor L. Berger polled 9,760 votes for Congress in the 5th district. In the 1922 primary he received 8,216, and was elected by the largest majority a Milwaukee Congressman ever received, polling over 30,000 votes. In the 4th district, Leo M. Krzycki received 6,738 votes, an increase of 300 over the vote in the primaries in 1922.

Comrade William F. Quick, candidate for Governor, increased the Socialist primary vote for that office by 1,000, while the Republican vote fell about 10,000. The Democrats have completely disappeared in Milwaukee and the State, the two parties left being the La Follette progressive Republicans and the Socialists.

MASSACHUSETTS

Campaign and organization work continues with unabated vigor in this State. Organizer Albert Weisbord has held during the past week excellent meetings, with large book sales and collections in Maynard, Worcester, Springfield, Pittsfield, Adams, North Adams, Northampton, and Holyoke, returning with a net profit of between \$70.00 and \$80.00 above all expenses of salary, railroad fare, cost of pamphlets, etc. Sales of pamphlets alone amounted to \$57.00. In Adams people are terrorized because of the local textile situation; do not dare wear their La Follette buttons openly.

Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis reports excellent progress in organizing work in Maynard and Worcester. He and Comrade Weisbord will continue their work in the middle and western parts of the State during the coming week, working together in Worcester and Springfield, and then dividing, Weisbord proceeding to Holyoke and Northampton, Lewis going on to Adams and North Adams.

Charles Costello of Milwaukee will be the speaker Saturday night on the New Haven Green.

Martin B. Plunkett, State La Follette campaign manager, and Socialist campaign manager, reports that La Follette sentiment is rising higher and higher every day, and that the vote for Jasper McLevy, Socialist candidate for Governor, will break all records for the State.

Louis O. Krahl of Meriden, has been named to run for Congress against Congressman John L. Tilson.

NEW JERSEY

OUTDOOR MEETINGS IN HUDSON COUNTY

Saturday, October 4
Hoboken—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker: Annie E. Gray.
West New York—Bergenline avenue and 14th street. Speaker: Ernest Meyer.
Bayonne—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker: Frederick Kraft.
Union Hill—Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.
West Hoboken—Summit avenue

and Courtland street. Speaker: Henry Jager.

Jersey City—Jackson and Orient avenues. Speaker: George Bauer.

Jersey City—Danforth avenue and Old Bergen road. Speaker: William Kane Tallman.

Jersey City—Central avenue and Charles street. Speaker: J. R.

IDAHO

Lena Morrow Lewis, national organizer of the Socialist Party in Idaho, and reports the party growing fast. Meetings are better than ever, and new members are joining daily. The party is emphatically on the up grade.

New York Activities

NEW LEAFLET READY

A new propaganda leaflet, "Why a New Party?", written by Norman Thomas, is ready, and locals and branches can purchase them at \$3 per 1,000. The leaflet is brilliantly written, and attractively printed and illustrated. Just the thing for meetings, literature distributions, etc. Orders should be sent at once, to Comrade Herbert M. Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany, or to William M. Feigenbaum, at The New Leader office. Locals and branches that want to print in the names of their local candidates can do so, but their orders must come in at once. As soon as a large enough supply of these leaflets is sold, the next leaflet, "Oil Is Not an Issue," will be sent to the printers. Campaign managers get busy!

Leaflets Going Fast

The two excellent leaflets are going fast. The platforms are nearly exhausted, and Norman Thomas' splendid leaflet "Why a New Party?" is proving one of the most popular ever published by the party. Buttons are also going well. Orders for the leaflets should be sent to State Secretary Merrill, 467 Broadway, Albany, or to Wm. M. Feigenbaum at The New Leader, 7 East 15th street, New York. A new leaflet, "Oil Is Not an Issue—Says Mr. Butler," will go to press soon. All leaflets have pictures of Senator La Follette, Norman Thomas, and a picture of the ballot showing how to vote for La Follette, Thomas and the entire Socialist ticket.

Smallwood on State Tour

J. R. Smallwood of Newfoundland, who has been actively associated with the party as speaker and with The New Leader as contributor while in this country, left Thursday for a three weeks tour through New York State to hold meetings and help facilitate the State tour of the party candidates for Governor, etc. After this tour, which will take him to every city and town in the State, Smallwood leaves for Britain to study the working of the Labor party and take part in the general election that is likely to take place this fall. Thereafter he returns to Newfoundland.

BUFFALO

The Socialist Party in Buffalo is taking on new interest as the campaign gets under way. Branch one is holding meetings led by Comrade Schnabel. The South Side meetings are being run by Organizer Murphy and the West Side and Central Branch are attended to by Robert Hoffman who is now giving his entire time to the work of the organization. The country districts are being organized by Comrade Heister. Esther Friedman has been holding large and very enthusiastic meetings in the city and in Niagara Falls. We are getting assistance from some of the C. P. P. A. group who are helping out in the details of the work.

LOCAL NEW YORK

We have a big speaking program for this week. Let each comrade make sure he or she will not fail in his or her part, nor in any way be responsible for any possible disarrangement of the plans.

Red Night

Wednesday night, RED NIGHT, must be made an outstanding night, a memorable night. Altogether we will have upward of one hundred speakers out. Designated speakers will open at the corners listed for that evening. Branch headquarters will see that their districts are thoroughly covered. Local New York will send reserves where they are most needed.

Every comrade having an automobile, will volunteer with it for service that night. We will have use for all that we can get.

Let New York set a pace for Bronx and Kings.

The Socialist party expects every comrade to do his duty.

THE BALL

The Grand Victory Ball of Local New York will come off this Saturday, October 4. It will be the gala affair of the season. Next Wednesday night will be RED NIGHT. This Saturday night is dance night, fun night, joy night, and victory night, and we'll all have a good time that night.

Old-timers will be there as well as new comrades. The candidates and celebrities will lead in the dance.

Upper West Side Branch... Thanks to the generosity of Comrade Mrs. Florence Margolies Michaelis, the Upper West Side Branch, which in the last two years has been homeless, is now in possession of a very handsome headquarters and steady growth is now looked for by the comrades of the branch. Mrs. Michaelis has turned over her studio for use by the branch whenever it needs it, and the next meeting is October 7.

Help Wanted

Local New York is swamped with letters to be mailed. Help is urgently needed to address them and mail them out. Volunteers can work for a day, or an hour or half an hour, to suit their own time. Report at once to Comrade Joseph D. Cannon, Local New York, 7 East 15th street.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

MONDAY

2nd A. D.—Rutgers square. Speaker: Richard Boyajian. 3rd A. D.—Sheridan square. Speaker: Herbert Rogers. 8th A. D.—7th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Karl, Schwartz and J. W. Hughan. 17th A. D.—110th street and 5th avenue. Speaker: Mrs. Mainland. 4th A. D.—Rivington and Attorney streets. Speakers: S. Beardsley, R. Soilson and Abraham Miller.

TUESDAY

3rd A. D.—24th street and 8th avenue. Speakers: Richard Boyajian and L. C. Kaye. 9th A. D.—59th street and Broadway. Speaker: Herbert Rogers. 9th A. D.—97th street and Broadway. Speaker: Mrs. Mainland.

WEDNESDAY

1st A. D.—Jefferson and Henry streets. Speakers: I. Korn and Abraham Zucker. 2nd A. D.—Rutgers square. Speaker: S. Feinberg. 4th A. D.—Clinton and Broome streets. Speakers: R. Soilson and Abraham Miller. 6th A. D.—7th street and avenue C. Speakers: L. Reiff and R. Soilson. 8th A. D.—7th street and 2nd avenue. Speakers: W. Fitzgerald, N. Fine, H. Waldman, Esther Friedman. 9th A. D.—95th street and Broadway. Speaker: Richard Boyajian. 10th A. D.—Sheridan square. Speaker: William Karl. 14th A. D.—72nd street and 1st avenue. Speaker: Alex. Schwartz. 16th A. D.—79th street and 1st avenue. Speaker: E. Steinberger. 16th A. D.—86th street and 3rd avenue. Speaker: Samuel Beardsley. 17th A. D.—116th street and Lenox avenue. Speaker: Herbert Rogers. 17th A. D.—110th street and 5th avenue. Speakers: M. Friedman, I. Silverman. 18th A. D.—116th street and Lexington avenue. Speakers: E. Cassidy, E. Dutton, Mrs. M. H. Mainland, and August Claessens. 20th A. D.—125th street and 5th avenue. Speakers: R. Boyajian and E. Dutton. 21st A. D.—142nd street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: A. P. Randolph and William Butler. 21st A. D.—133rd street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: L. Randolph, W. A. Domingo and F. Forer. 22nd-23rd A. D.—157th street and Broadway. Speakers: D. Mikol and L. C. Kaye.

THURSDAY

7th A. D.—59th street and Broadway. Speakers: H. Rogers and L. C. Kaye. 8th A. D.—10th street and 2nd avenue. Speaker: William Karl. 17th A. D.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speaker: R. Boyajian. 17th A. D.—106th st. and Lenox avenue. Speakers: M. Friedman and I. Silverman. 2nd A. D.—Grand and Eldridge streets. Speaker: S. Feinberg. 6th A. D.—Houston and Columbus streets. Speakers: R. Soilson, L. Reiff. 8th A. D.—7th street and 2nd avenue. Speakers: William Karl, N. Fine and W. Fitzgerald.

FRIDAY

21st A. D.—137th street and Broadway. Speaker: R. Boyajian. 18th A. D.—Lexington avenue and 110th street. Speaker: H. Rogers. 17th A. D.—116th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: M. Friedman and I. Silverman. 3rd A. D.—Abington square. Speakers: L. C. Kaye, D. Morgan and W. Fitzgerald.

SATURDAY

22nd-23rd A. D.—157th street and Broadway. Speaker: Mrs. M. H. Mainland. 16th A. D.—86th street and 3rd avenue. Speaker: R. Boyajian. 16th A. D.—79th street and 1st avenue. Speaker: Samuel Beardsley. 14th A. D.—72nd street and 1st avenue. Speaker: H. Rogers. 8th A. D.—10th street and 2nd avenue. Speakers: William Karl and N. Fine. 6th A. D.—4th street and avenue C. Speakers: L. Reiff and R. Soilson. 17th A. D.—110th street and 5th avenue. Speaker: M. Friedman.

NOTE FOR WEDNESDAY
WEDNESDAY NIGHT RED NIGHT

Speakers will open meetings at the places designated. The reinforcements from Bronx and Kings with other Manhattan speakers will relieve these speakers and the Branch Headquarters will designate their corners where meetings will be held. Everybody get on the job early and get to work early. We've got a big night.

6th A. D. Branch—Speakers Report to Branch Headquarters: Comrades Weingart, Steinberg, Wexler, Goldstein, Taub, Gottlieb and Wenger.

BRONX

Local Bronx has assembled all its forces under the able direction of Comrade P. J. Murphy for a record breaking outdoor drive for our National, State and local tickets. Numerous meetings will be held throughout the Borough. A vigorous drive will bring the voters into our camp. August Claessens who returned on October 1 from a very successful campaign trip through Pennsylvania is again with us. Comrade Claessens will speak every evening for the balance of the campaign.

All branches are requested to strengthen their platform committees so that they may function more efficiently. Chairmen are urged to attend promptly at meetings. All meetings should open at 8:30 p. m. sharp, and close on or before 11 p. m. Holding open-air meetings later than 11 p. m. should be discouraged except on rare occasions. Speakers should be prompt at meetings. If they are unable to attend, the local office should be timely notified.

thereof. Speakers are earnestly urged to cooperate with the Campaign Manager, P. J. Murphy, and the local office in making the meetings effective. They should make every effort to sell literature. Important events should be stressed at their membership and the new members are very enthusiastic—their aim is a circle in every Assembly district so that they may cooperate with the party.

Friday evening, Comrade Adolph Warshaw will lecture on "A Labor Party in the U. S." The circle will conduct a number of lectures and social affairs this winter. Former members are asked to rejoin and help in the work.

Campaign manager Murphy requests all members to show their good spirit again in this campaign and meet him at the local headquarters.

BRONX CAMPAIGN NOTES

All comrades are requested to use all means in their power to secure the use of open-top autos for speaking purposes "Red Night," October 10. All comrades aiding in this matter should send name and address to local headquarters. It is proposed to hold thirty meetings in Bronx county on this night.

BRONX OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturday, October 4
Longwood and Prospect avenues. Speakers: Abe Tuvim, Fred Paulitsch, P. J. Murphy, chairman.

Tremont and Southern Boulevard. Speakers: Jacob Bernstein, Sam DeWitt, Alex Tendler.

Washington avenue and 169 street. Speakers: I. Phillips, Sam Orr, A. Kanasy, chairman.

156th street and Melrose avenue. Speakers: E. Deutsch, R. Fink, C. Kruse.

Creston and Fordham road. Speakers: William A. Murray, August Claessens.

Monday, October 6
Wilkins and Intervale avenues. Speakers: Max B. Walder, Oscar Pick, Hoffman, Chairman, E. Seidel.

141st street and St. Anns avenue. Speakers: Emanuel Deutsch, Paul Fink, Jacob Bernstein, Sam Padgug, chairman.

Crotona and 180 street. Speakers: F. Nadelman, S. Orr, August Claessens.

Tuesday, October 7
Boston road and 169 street. Speakers: I. Phillips, E. Seidel, Sam Orr, A. Kanasy, chairman.

Tremont and Clinton. Speakers: S. A. DeWitt, Jacob Bernstein, Frank Nadelman, chairman.

163rd street and Prospect avenue. Speakers: L. Painken, M. Ginet, August Claessens, E. Seidel.

Wednesday, October 8
Creston avenue and Fordham road. Speakers: August Claessens, P. J. Murphy, William Murray, chairman.

138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers: Charles Kruse, Paul Fink, Sam Padgug, chairman.

163rd and Tiffany streets. Speakers: Abe Tuvim, Sam Orr, A. Kanasy.

Thursday, October 9

174th street and Bathgate avenue. Speakers: A. Tendler, L. Painken, August Claessens.

Aldus and Southern Boulevard. Speakers: A. Kanasy, Fred Paulitsch, C. Kruse.

Daly and 180 street. Speakers: William A. Murray, S. DeWitt, J. Bernstein.

Friday, October 10

Red Night throughout the Bronx. Speakers from all the boroughs taking part.

BROOKLYN

Friday evening, October 10, a rally will be held in Vienna Hall, 105 Montrose avenue. The meeting will be held for the purpose of forming a branch in the district. Invitations have been mailed out to the voters of that district. The speakers will be Charles Solomon, B. C. Vladeck, A. I. Shiplacoff, Joseph Whitehorn, J. A. Weil will preside.

Local Kings announces a theatre party to be held at the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 McDougal street, New York City, on Wednesday evening, October 29. The play will be "The Murder in the Whistler Room" by Edmond Wilson. The Guest of Honor will be Morris Hillquit. This is the first of a series of such parties that Local Kings has arranged for the coming season. Tickets for this performance are available at 167 Tompkins avenue, to party members only. The regular admission of \$2.20 will prevail. Mail orders at once. The seating capacity of the house being limited, it is expected that the performance will be over-subscribed within a short period.

8th Congressional District

A big ratification meeting of the Second Assembly district and the 8th Congressional will be held Friday, October 3rd, at Columbia Hall. The speakers will be Morris Parris, candidate for Assembly; Bernard J. Riley, candidate for Senator, and William M. Feigenbaum, candidate for Congress.

Saturday night street auto rallies will be held in the 16th Assembly district, with Riley, Feigenbaum, Carl Cummings, candidate for Assembly, and other speakers.

On October 24 there will be a huge mass meeting at the Bay Plaza Hotel, 1916 Cropsy avenue, with Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, and Feigenbaum and Riley as speakers. On the same evening there will be a meeting in (Continued on Page 8.)

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SOCIETY ACCOUNTS ACCEPTED

THE Debate OF THE CENTURY!
"IS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT A WISE PUBLIC POLICY?"

CLARENCE S. DARROW says NO!

(Famous Attorney in Leopold-Loeb Case)

vs. JUDGE ALFRED J. TALLEY says YES!

(New York Court of General Sessions)

Chairman to be announced

Sunday, October 26, 3pm
MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE

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Saturday, October 4th
Tickets in Advance, Admission at the Door,
50 Cents 75 Cents
PRIZES FOR BEST DANCES
Elaborate Program of Entertainment for
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Courses Beginning OCT. 6.
OCT. 6—GRADED ENGLISH Mr. Parelhoff
CLASSES Mrs. Jablonower
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Fee, \$2.50 per month.
OCT. 6—English, Arithmetic and Geography
MARIUS HANSOME
(Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays)
OCT. 14—Physiology and Hygiene
DR. MORRIS H. KAHN
OCT. 4, 1:30, "The Hope of Europe." Marius Hansome

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The Cost

A Review by ROY CHANSLOR

PLUMES. By Laurence Stallings. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.

This is a grim balance sheet, pathetic and real, almost tragic and true. It relates, in brief, the sorry tale of Richard, family of Plume, inheritor of the fighting instinct of his line and of how he went away with his shield, waving his bright plumes and returned on it, legs a-drag, plumes a-drooping. And too it relates the sordid tale of Esme, wife of Richard, the Unknown Soldier who had another Plume torn out of her body while her Richard, brave, strong and beautiful, had blood, dreams and illusions wrenched out of his, partly on the field of battle but mostly in the worse hell of the hospitals.

"Plumes," is not a war novel. With the exception of one battle scene which emerges from Richard's delirium and which seems to me to be rather a failure, the actual war does not enter the book at all. "Plumes," is rather the disillusioned chronicle of the costs of war, written by an incurably romantic fellow who is still a bit bewildered and vastly hurt with the discovery that he is a hero and a fool.

It is the story of the disabled veteran, discovering to his amazement that he has bled, as most heroes and fools do, for an empty abstraction and the ecstatic rhetoric of a word-drunk old man. It is a terrible story of physical and mental pain, of bitterness and despair. It is firmly, strongly written, the willing bitterness held ever in check by a passionate, sincere restraint. In brief, a mordant summary of the costs of war as typified by the incredible price paid by this one man for his delusions of glory.

But, alas, I must report that it seems to me to get nowhere. Finished with the book, one says: "What a hell of a time that guy had," sighs perhaps, and remembers only that a nice young man and a wonderful, loyal girl had their lives ruined because of a gesture. But the nice young man fades and even the wonderful girl. There remains only the memory of much futile sufferings, of much cruel and useless pain, of a plentitude of dogged courage. But the war, and the suffering and the pain, did little to this man and this woman except graphically to illustrate the elementary platitudes that war is hell, that rhetorical demagogues speak nonsense, that the idealist is an ass who is exploited by beautiful bosh, that no slogan, nor abstract projection of an idea or an ideal is worth dying for much less worth the slow crucifixion of a man and a woman and perhaps a child and that the gaudy, fierce and war-like phrases of the sleek and fatuous Babbitts return a-whimpering to

their masters when the last shot is fired and the platoons of delusionaires creep home.

Richard Plume, having thus hardly come by these obvious truths, goes berserk suddenly one night in a radical meeting for the purpose of releasing war-prisoners and puts every ounce of his earned fury into the blows he rains on the faces of the fools, in uniform, who drown out the speech of his twisted and mutilated friend Gary, by arising and singing loudly "My Country 'Tis of Thee." In that glorious, sudden madness, he is liberated, physically, mentally and spiritually.

His rotten leg snapped in that lunge toward the singing imbeciles and he is taken back to Walter Reed Hospital once more and the leg amputated. With the leg goes much of the poison of mind and spirit as well as body, and we leave him on the way to a partial adjustment—perhaps—with the fixed purpose of inculcating in the mind of his little son his own disillusion concerning the glories of war.

There is, as I have said, bitterness in this book, but it is less the bitterness at the wanton, futile squandering of youth attendant upon all wars than the bitterness of the man who has been duped, seduced by the grandiose sanities of snide phrase-fighters. Richard, family of Plume, limps slowly out of my memory a pathetic and pitiful, but not quite a tragic figure.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By James Mavor, Ph.D.

Sometime Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto.

A new edition just published of this important work which The American Economic Review describes as "likely to remain for some time the standard English authority on the general economic history of Russia." A new chapter indicates so far as is yet possible the trend of change since the revolution.—Two volumes.—Dutton's.

CUT THIS OUT.

Put in your scrap book for reference.

Read "The Evolution of Public Ownership," a prophecy of the near future. Intensely interesting; something that will make you think. 25 cents coin.—Address J. N. Young, Center St., Albion, Mich. DO IT NOW.

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RAND BOOK STORE
7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City

Political Fiction

THE POLITICAL NOVEL. By M. E. Speare. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.25.

The possibility of a brilliant study of political novels is buried here beneath the burden of apostolic zeal in the author. Having, in his enthusiasm, decided that the "political novel" is a new type, a thing apart, a distinct and distinctive genre, he cuts his whole cloth on this bias. If we break loose—by the greatest effort—from the snare of this garment, we find much of interest, else.

The career of Disraeli is followed with considerable detail, showing how his novels foreshadowed his deeds. Out of the world he found—a tawdry society of war profiteers swollen upon the miseries of a bowed and ruined populace.—Disraeli appeals for the harmonious union of all classes: a moral, essential aristocracy, a vigorous, industrious, indefatigable middle class, a working class ready to accept the sympathetic help the others bring, and an English church, rejuvenated and generous—between the Crown, the Church, and the People: Faith. "Tancred," written in 1847, speaks of the English Orient as Beaconsfield in 1870 defined England: "an Asiatic power," and he imperial way made rhythmic by Kipling was prophesied, then made real, by Disraeli.

All art is propaganda, says Dr. Speare, attempting to justify the fact that he defines political novels as weapons in the author's particular struggle. And surely this weapon has been hard used. "There is not, in all Disraeli's political novels, a single portrait of a statesman, or of a minor public character, in whom love of country and desire to do service to the State is the sole and moving passion." This the author attributes, not to Disraeli's opportunity for and recognized power of close observation, but to his cynicism. Yet down to Galsworthy (in his plays) and others of today the presentation continues, selfishness and fear and pride being shown as more potent than loyalty and love. Even the vicar in Eliot's "Felix Holt," agrees to support his nephew when he recognizes a good catchword: "That's the word I wanted, my lad. That's a spool to wind a speech on. Abuses is the very word, and if anybody shows himself offended, he'll put the cap on for himself."

In America, sentiment drips like a slow poison through the pages of the political novels, and there come—after Henry Adams' picture of a petty, trivial, insignificant, "Main Street" Washington in "Democracy," the cry of John Hays in "The Breadwinners," and the call of Edward Bellamy in "Looking Backward"—the idealized novels of Winston Churchill, that strike oc-

X-Raying the Candidates

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

YOU TAKE YOUR CHOICE. Portraits of the Six Candidates for President and Vice-President. By Clinton W. Gilbert. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

You pays your money, you reads this book, and if you are not blind, deaf and dumb, you takes your choice by giving three rousing cheers for La Follette and Wheeler, and going out to work for them.

Mr. Gilbert is one of the best-known political writers in America, the political expert of the Curtis papers, the Evening Post and the Philadelphia Ledger. As such, it is his job to make it appear that the election of Coolidge and Dawes is the sole hope of America, that if they are not elected, we are headed straight for chaos and destruction. But in this book, made of essays, some of them actually having appeared in the dailies for which he writes, he tells such a story of the candidates that one is filled with contempt for the mean, empty, narrow-minded, almost dull-witted President; with a feeling of the futility of the handsome aristocrat who is candidate on the Democratic ticket; of utter contempt for the despicable character of Mr. Bryan; of amused contempt for the blustering Dawes; and of admiration for La Follette and Wheeler.

Now, I know that Gilbert did not start out to create those impressions; I know that he is ardently supporting Coolidge and Dawes. But having written, not as a partisan but as a creative journalist (if I may coin a phrase) he set down what he sees, and that is the effect on the reader.

"Like the singed cat," he quotes some one on Coolidge, "he is better

casually home in their portraits of the boss and of the predatory interests, their constant call to the old "ideals of our fathers," and the still more petrified work of Paul Leicester Ford, "The Honorable Peter Stirling," the political boss who is a "practical idealist," who derides the reformer as a laughable theorist—"politics does not consist in being right. It is in making other folks think you are"—yet who rises as a boss to heights of justified and praised success, setting the boss system on a pedestal of righteousness. This is the typical American approach to our national politics, the novels reflecting the disrepute into which our Government has fallen. More serious writers have studied the closely allied fields of economic and social corruption; Dr. Speare and his novelists would do well to recognize them, and to include the splendid work of Upton Sinclair—to mention but the most valuable—in their next studies.

WILLIAM LEA.

than he looks." And if the singed cat looks any worse than the picture Gilbert draws of Coolidge, the singed cat must look like the very devil.

After a few generalities about the essential somethingorother of Cal, Gilbert writes of the blackguardly, if ludicrous, articles "Are the Reds Stalking our College Women?" that appeared three years ago in a women's magazine, signed by Coolidge. Gilbert says that Coolidge did not write the articles, "But even the twaddle to which a public man signs his name is some measure of his mind!"

Mr. Coolidge was the least conspicuous of our Vice-presidents, but when Mr. Harding died, it was necessary to make the new President appear great. "The process of creating the myth of greatness about Mr. Coolidge was unusually amusing. He had been one of the least regarded of our Vice-presidents. He was unprepossessing. He made few friends. And every one was more or less ashamed of having been fooled into unduly praising his part in the Boston police strike. Almost in an hour he had to be endowed with all these qualities which we insist upon having in our Presidents. As a people we rose grandly to the task. In a week the only thing there was in common between Mr. Coolidge the Vice-president, and Mr. Coolidge the President was his name. A new personality had been created. An affable man of fine intellect and lofty character had taken the place of the silent, dried up figure about whom we thought we had been cheated a little when we elected him Vice-president."

Mr. Coolidge had luck. As a hide-bound Tory, he favored reducing the taxes on the incomes of the very rich. "All the most vocal forces in the nation, organized business, the newspaper proprietors with large incomes, the newspapers themselves—or many of them with undivided surpluses—perceived the prospects of Mr. Mellon's tax reduction proposals would be heightened by contributing to the legend of Mr. Coolidge's greatness, wisdom and purity of purpose, and correspondingly lessened by any criticism of the President, no matter how moderate and reasonable."

"He is a kind of man so common in small towns who looks unquestionably to the big man of the town. He has immense respect for success as measured by wealth. . . . It is not without significance that of two of his closest friends and advisers one is a millionaire merchant of Boston, and another is a millionaire cotton manufacturer of Fall River. More millionaires have been entertained at the White House in his administration than ever before in so short a period." "He acted in the Boston police strike only after others had broken it." "He dismissed Attorney General Daugherty only

after public patience had been exhausted."

Gilbert's whole story of Coolidge, is of a man incredibly stupid, incredibly shallow, incredibly blind and deaf to the progress of the world, incredibly unhuman. The one good word that he can say for him is that he is honestly and sternly conservative! Good God! And that's the President we have, as limned by a supporter!

Dawes is dismissed in a word. He is a cultured gentleman; happy, loving life, honest, able. The exploded myth of his friendship for Eugene V. Debs and his defense of Mother Jones is repeated with embellishments. And the summary is that Dawes seems too good to be true.

La Follette is the ablest of the men by far, says Gilbert. The one thing that can be said in criticism of him is his humorlessness. "He has been too serious. He has been too much in earnest in his anger and his zeal too incorruptible but too unyielding to the seductions of friendship of party, of place and of power; a little inhuman in his uncompromisingness in his stark resistance to the temptation to be a good fellow."

Dawes. "Mr. Owen D. Young, a Democrat, made the plan. General Dawes made the noise."

"He is a conformist with such zest that he seems to be following his own sweet will. He holds all the accepted ideas with such passion that they seem to be original with him." "He is a sort of super regular."

Bryan. "His brother, Charles W. Bryan, is small, narrow, rural, intolerant, with his whole mental horizon bounded by another man, who is equally narrow, rural and intolerant."

Of Wheeler, Mr. Gilbert says that of the six men in the book, he is the only close personal friend, and the only one for whom he personally cares. His picture of Wheeler is that of a fine, high-minded fighter, neither giving nor asking for quarter. "He knew that all the power of the Department of Justice would be used to frame him up and ruin him. And I think of nothing more improper in Mr. Coolidge's administration than his permitting one of his subordinates to use the lowest police intimidation methods against a coordinate branch of the Government, the United States Senate."

This book will be forgotten next winter, just as Mr. Davis and Mr. Bryan will be forgotten. It is a campaign guide. Read it! Absorb the damning facts in it, the more damning because written by an ardent supporter of those whom the book's facts damn; read it and go forth armed with these facts and fight a good fight for the two gallant soldiers of the common good that even this writer, their political enemy, is compelled to show to us in such glowing colors.

LA FOLLETTE vs. DAVIS

Morris Hillquit will debate Samuel Untermyer

Resolved that viewing the concrete circumstances of the pending election, the cause of sound, progressive government will be best promoted by voting for La Follette rather than Davis.

At MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
Columbus Day, October 12
2:30 P. M.

Radio Amplifiers to be used - Tickets 50c.-\$1.00

Tickets to be sold at National Labor Forum, 7 East 15th Street; Forward, 175 East Broadway; Rand School, 7 East 15th Street
The best seats for this debate will be sold at the Victory Ball of the Socialist Party this Saturday evening at the New Star Casino

UNION DIRECTORY

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM SAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.
Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 3590
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.
LOUIS HOROWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVI, Manager-Secretary.

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 321 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4150
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION
Local 11, I. L. G. W. U.
Office and Headquarters, 219 Bockman St., B'klyn. Dikema 0633
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANER, Secretary.

CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

DRESSMAKERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.
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MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers
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Office, 231 E. 14th Street
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—311 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—E. 18th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—174 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—105 Montross Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.
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Italian Dressmakers'
Union, Local 39, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at the Office, 311 East 21st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
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31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715
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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
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New York Clothing Cutters' Union
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5546.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
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Children's Jacket Makers
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Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387
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MAX R. ROYARSKY, Chairman. A. LEVINE, Sec'y.
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OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, A. C. W. A. Section "B"
Office 426 Broadway Ave. Bks. Stuyvesant 10180
Exco. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
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J. Forster, Bus. Agent. J. Kleiboh, Fin. Sec'y.

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arlen Pl., Bks., N. Y.
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman. H. TAYLOR, Sec'y.
LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y.

The American Labor Movement and the English

United States Workers are Approaching Stage Where They Will Formulate a Mature Social Program.

By FANNIA M. COHN
Vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

For the first time in history, the English Trade Union Congress met last week in Hull while a Labor Government was in office. The fact that the Labor party had the strength and daring not only to take over the Government of the Empire which was handed over to it by the Liberal party leader with a view to trapping it, but successfully to carry it on for the past several months is, of course, in itself a convincing demonstration of the increasing strength of the organized Labor movement.

The congress met in Hull, the same city where it assembled in 1886. In the report of the Parliamentary Committee (as the General Council was then called) there appears a resolution, thanking the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone "in the name of the organized trades of the country for having appointed Henry Broadhurst, its secretary, to a responsible position in his ministry." At the same time, the Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, Mr. J. Mawdsley, belonged to the Tory party and stood for Parliamentary of the Unionist ticket. It is interesting to know that the highest officers of the Trade Union Congress, its secretary and its president, held opposite political views. The first believed that the millennium for organized Labor would come from its affiliation with the Liberal party—the party of the middle class capitalist, and the other believed that the millennium for the workers would come from their affiliation with the Tory party—the party of the Lords, the landowners, etc.

But then the enlightened minds of the English Labor movement began to realize that such a state of affairs could not continue, that Labor

if it is to take its proper place in society must have an organized political expression as well as economic, and this same congress that met 38 years ago in Hull gave birth to the Labor party. It was at that time that the Labor Electoral Committee was formed by a vote of 59 to 19, out of which came the Labor party.

In America when we discuss the English Labor movement, we very often hear the remark, "We cannot compare the English Labor movement with ours: ours is conservative, the English is radical." Many will be surprised to hear one say that the English Labor Movement is not radical at all; it is only much older and more conscious of its aims and purposes. This consciousness was brought about not by paper resolutions but by the stern realities of English industrial life. The difference between the English Labor movement and the American is not in the degree of radicalism but in the historic development of these movements. A comparative study of the English and the American Labor movement which has had a longer historical development than ours has already succeeded in laying the foundation for the future cooperative commonwealth. With in the movement, three distinct working class organizations are functioning: one in the economic field, The Trade Union Congress; the other in the political, the Labor party; the third, the cooperatives. These three organizations are closely knit together and identified in their ultimate aim and their policy is influenced by almost the same leadership.

The Englishman, by nature, is not radical. He is slow in his thinking, deliberate in his action and inclined to inquiry, but having once arrived at a decision, he will set his mind at it and will work tenaciously for its realization. The English worker is not inclined "to jump." He takes one step at a time but rarely turns backward.

It is not in the form of trade union organization that the English Labor movement is distinctive. Many are inclined to think that our form of trade union organization is in many ways more scientific. Anyone who knows the English and American Labor movement does not doubt that trade union control in our country is as good as that of England.

My studies of the English Labor movement and my visits to England do not weaken my faith in the future of the American Labor movement. As I study the English Labor movement, I see in my imagination the historic path along which our movement is destined to travel. I turn back 38 years and I see the picture of the English trade unions knocking at the doors of the two political parties, pledging their support and loyalty in return for the adoption of some of the labor planks in their platform. I see the leadership of the English trade union movement divided on the question of throwing its fortunes with this or that old party. It is historically true that no group in society feels the need of its own political party until it formulates its social program. The Labor movement in this respect is no exception whether in this country, in England, or anywhere else. As soon as the Labor movement be-

comes more conscious of its strength it is no longer satisfied with its immediate aims, but begins gradually to formulate its ultimate goal. It broadens its outlook on life, it is ready to assume economic, political and cultural responsibility and begins to actively participate in the world's progress. In this development, it comes closer in touch with progressive intellectual and spiritual forces, nationally and internationally. The contact of these two groups—the men of action and the men of theory—resolves itself into a great moral constructive social force, out of which the realization of Labor's political aim is bound to evolve.

At this period of development, the English Labor movement now finds itself. It accumulated within its group for the past four decades experience on the economic, political and cooperative fields. It has learned to cooperate with the progressive intellectual forces of the country who gladly place at its disposal their technical skill, and intellectual and spiritual values. It has secured the assistance of the best trained minds in formulating and realizing its social program. The intellectual leader understands what his function in the Labor movement is. He takes his mission in earnest and he is willing modestly to stand behind the Labor movement, ready to serve whenever called upon, whether in a political, economic, research, or journalistic capacity.

Our Labor movement approaches this stage when it, too, will begin to formulate its social program. In its attempt to realize this program, Labor here, just as it did abroad, will have to organize its political power under its own leadership. We see promising and encouraging signs of such a tendency within our trade union movement and a readiness on the part of the progressive, intellectual and spiritual groups in our country who stand for a new social order based on justice and brotherhood to place their skill and knowledge at its disposal.

Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

Coney Island and in Borough Park, in halls to be announced soon.

Under the auspices of the 13th and 19th Assembly districts of Brooklyn, B. C. Vlasek, Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, J. A. Weil, and local candidates will speak at the ratification meeting on Tuesday, October 14, at

the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion place, near Broadway.

Negro Socialist Rally

A La Follette-Wheeler Socialist Grand Political Rally will be held Monday evening October 6th, eight o'clock, at the Abyssinia Baptist Church, 7th avenue, between 7th and Lenox avenues.

The speakers will be Norman Thomas, candidate for Governor; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of the Community Church; William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.; Frank R. Crosswaith, candidate for Secretary of State; William Butler, candidate for the Assembly from the 21st Assembly district; Lucille Randolph, candidate for Congress in the 19th Congressional district, and A. Philip Randolph, candidate for Congress in the 21st Congressional district.

Street Meetings
BROOKLYN
SATURDAY
42nd street and 13th avenue. Speakers: W. M. Feigenbaum and B. J. Riley. Hart and Tompkins avenue. Speakers: J. A. Whitehorn, Joseph Tuvim and J. Weinberg. Sheffield and Sutter avenues. Speakers: Henry Rosoff, Abraham Fishman and J. F. Viola. Watkins and New Lots avenue. Speakers: Morris Paris, Max Rosen and Frank Rosenfarb.

MONDAY
Havemeyer and South 4th street. Speakers: Jacob Axelrod, Harry Schachner, Henry Cash and I. B. Altman.

TUESDAY
Howard avenue and Monroe street. Speakers: James Oneal, J. F. Viola and Johanna Lindloff.

THURSDAY
18th A. D.—Speakers: J. Axelrad and I. B. Altman. Kosciuszko and Sumner avenue. Speakers: S. Pavloff and J. Tuvim. Stone and Blake avenues. Speakers: Morris Paris, J. F. Viola, Julius Weinberg and J. Bailly.

FRIDAY
319 Grand street. Speakers: A. I. Shipplacoff and local candidates. West 25th street and Mermaid avenue. Speakers: W. M. Feigenbaum, Abraham Fishman, Carl Cummings and Simon Wolfe.

QUEENS COUNTY

Mass Meeting October 11
The Queens County campaign will be launched at a great mass meeting October 11, at Fraternity Hall, 22 Herriman avenue, now 161st street, Jamaica. The speakers will be James Oneal, Barnett Wolf, candidate in the Second Congressional district, and others will speak.

Hansome to Lecture

Marius Hansome, lecturer on Social Geography at the Rand School, arrived on the Leviathan from a three months' study tour of Europe, visiting Norway, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Belgium and England. Mr. Hansome shipped before the mast going over.

Coming with fresh observations from a variety of places and doings, and with the conviction that Europe is slowly emerging (he is not a gloom dispenser) his lecture at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday afternoon at 1:30 p. m., will be: "The Hope of Europe."

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Total Assets over Liabilities Dec. 31, 1922 \$1,847,420.96
Total Sick, Accident and Death Claims paid \$10,109,292.63
A Uniform Death Benefit of \$250.00
Sick Benefits to male members from \$3 to \$15 per week.
Initiation Fees—\$3 to \$7, according to age.
Monthly Assessment—\$1.55, \$1.05, 80c and 30c, according to class.
For further information write to the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Local Branch, or to the Main Office, No. 9 Seventh Street, corner Third Avenue, New York City
(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 161 E. 161st St. Melrose 7590
CARL GRABHER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 3, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0755
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. J. KINE, Vice-President. E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec'y. E. WENNEIS, Fin. Sec'y. R. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y. A. Schwartzwald, Vice-Pres. Chas. Hazano, Treas. LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. Joint Council CAP MAKERS
of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A. Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9560-1-3
Council meets every 1st & 3d Wednesday. Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Buchs, Manager. Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)
Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday. Executive Board Every Monday.
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLANSKY, President. Vice-Pres. SOL HANDMAN, Rec. Sec. L. BAER, Fin. Sec'y.
All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21st East 5th St.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President. ANDREW WENNEIS, General Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office
SAM COHEN, President. ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager.
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Treas. WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Vice-Pres.

FUR FINISHERS' UNION
LOCAL 15
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 32nd St.
A. SOIFER, Chairman. S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman. H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR NAILERS' UNION
LOCAL 19
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 32nd St.
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman. C. ZORENBERG, Vice-Chairman. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION
LOCAL 1
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 32nd St.
WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Chairman. L. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman. N. FISCHOFF, Secretary.

FUR OPERATORS' UNION
LOCAL 5
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M., at 22 East 32nd St.
H. BEGON, Chairman. M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
GENERAL OFFICE:
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman OSSIF WALINSKY, General Manager

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and Headquarters, 2 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1200
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
JOSEPH MOKDOWITZ, MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPER, ANNA MUSICANT, President. Treasurer. Fin. Sec'y. HERMAN WINNER, JOHN REPAEL, JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

LISTENING IN ON THE POLITICAL RADIO WITH McALISTER COLEMAN

It's hard to tell just what makes history but in our opinion Senator La Follette's speech at the huge Progressive mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of the eighteenth will stand out when the political history of our times comes to be written.

But I doubt if in more recent years it has heard such spontaneous enthusiasm as greeted the stocky figure of the fighting little Senator from Wisconsin when he came onto the platform last week.

There was nothing cooked up about that cheering. The lungs were interpreting what the heart was feeling and the roar could be heard a block away.

Men and women in evening clothes stood up on their chairs next to garment workers, postal clerks, railroad men, street-car conductors, the rank and file of those who work with hand and brain to produce the wealth of the State, and cheered and cheered while the La Follette managers on the platform concerned about getting the Senator's speech onto the air begged them to stop and let their idol speak.

It isn't often you find political managers urging a crowd to stop cheering their candidate. It isn't often either, that you find seven to eight thousand people paying out good money to hear a political speech as was the case at the Garden meeting. But then it isn't often that a political meeting has such a man as La Follette to stand up and holler for.

Next to the ovation that greeted the Senator, that accorded Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, was by far the most enthusiastic. Speakers other than La Follette had been allowed five minutes for their talks and it began to look as if the crowd was going to take up all of Mr. Thomas's time by cheering him.

He got them quite at length and then made the sort of speech that only Thomas can make with the inspiration of a great crowd to stir him.

Arthur Garfield Hays, Progressive Campaign Manager for New York State, reported that all of the sixty-one counties in the State have sent in their petitions to put the names of La Follette and Wheeler on the ticket this fall.

Our old college pal, Nicholas Murray Butler, the pooh-bah of the Republican reactionaries in this State has bust loose again.

Nicholas says that if the Progressives want a fight he will take them on, single-handed if necessary.

Nicholas says that La Follette is all wrong about what the fathers had in mind when they founded this here Republic.

Nicholas apparently has a one-hundred per cent ouija board from which he gets the hot dope as to what Hamilton, Jefferson and the rest really meant to start.

According to Nicholas they really meant to found a sort of glorified Union League Club. This country was intended to be run by a bunch of decaying old gentlemen with lumbago and they were to sit around and listen to their arteries harden while the rest of us hustled about to keep them in the luxury to which they were accustomed, according to Nicholas.

It is understood that the Progressive managers are urging the Republicans not to discourage Nicholas in his political senecae, with the spirits of the departed. He is boosting their cause with plain, ordinary folks who slosh around in rubbers wondering where the jack is coming from to pay the butcher, the baker and the bootlegger and who don't give a whoop what Alexander Hamilton was thinking about in 1789.

We're signing off. Continued (a voice, "what do you mean 'continued'") prosperity to all of you.

ELECTRICIANS

Members of Local 2, I. B. E. W. are hereby notified that there will be no regular meeting held on Thursday, September 18, 1924.

R. L. O'HARA, President.
JOHN GOODBODY, Rec. Secretary.

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The Socialist Movement

VIII. The Movement

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

Europe was governed in the early part of the nineteenth century in the main by absolute monarchs. Further, most of the European countries were still suffering from the results of the Napoleonic wars. Most of them had been partitioned without regard to the nationality of the people; and in the case of Germany, Italy and Austria, national unity had never been achieved at all.

Together with the development of modern industry, therefore, there began a demand among the workers in all countries for three things: national unity, universal suffrage, and freedom from economic oppression. Patriots wanted national unity; liberals wanted suffrage, and the workers demanded all three.

The story of the beginning of the Labor movement in Europe, reflecting the development of modern industry, is too long to be told here, but by the middle of the '30s it was already well defined in all countries.

One thing about this early Labor movement to be noted is this, that it was absolutely international. Men were born and worked in France or in Belgium or Germany; but they were found in Paris today, in London or Munich or Geneva tomorrow.

Wilhelm Weitling

There was a journeyman tailor of Magdeburg named Wilhelm Weitling. He was a German, born out of wedlock in 1808, with a positive passion for knowledge and workingman's education. He travelled everywhere; he organized cooperative workingmen's restaurants in Paris and Geneva, and he organized workingmen's educational societies in London. He read everything, and he pondered much. He was a passionate devotee of the cause he did so much to create.

Owen and Fourier and the rest of the so-called Utopians believed that the poverty and evils of the world were due to the wickedness of men, and so they tried to improve men. They were wealthy, and they saw no class lines.

Weitling worked out his own philosophy, writing it down in a number of books. "The World As It Is and As It Should Be" was his first, written in 1838 and printed by a secret revolutionary press. Four years later he wrote "The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom," his best known work, which was widely read and enthusiastically acclaimed.

His Theories

Weitling was an organizing genius. He aroused the greatest enthusiasm everywhere. He propounded his theory, and it was this, that workers are enslaved because of the wickedness of individual employers, and they are to be made free by "eternal justice" and "absolute liberty and equality of all mankind." He planned out a society that is to come based on government by experts and scientists; all this is like Owen's ideas.

But there was one other proposition that he laid down, that modern industry had created two classes, the workers and the bourgeoisie, the exploiters, and that between them there is an irrepressible conflict.

In that discovery, Weitling becomes the earliest of the modern Socialists.

"All Men Are Brothers"

In 1836 a number of the workers who had been roaming all over Europe organized a secret club in Paris, The League of the Just, with the motto, "All Men Are Brothers." The members were interested in the new awakening of the workers everywhere, the demand for universal suffrage, the demand for more liberal constitutions. Little by little the rumbling grew. More and more men became interested in the movements for suffrage and liberalism.

By 1844 the time seemed to be drawing near for the freedom that was coming. The liberals and the workers had united to fight for political liberty. The workers felt that if they could get political liberty, the economic freedom that was their due would be easily attained.

The League

In 1846 there was a Working Men's Society in Brussels, with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as its leaders. In that year Weitling joined it, and in 1847 the remnants of the

League of the Just and the Brussels Club became the Communist League, with headquarters in London and organized in all countries.

This organization was designed to unite the workers in all countries for the revolutions that were then brewing, the revolutions that were designed to dethrone absolutism, and that were betrayed by the cowardice of the liberals who took a little political power as the price of their betrayal.

In November, 1847, the two young men, Marx and Engels, were appointed to draw up a statement of principles of the league, to be read to the executive committee of the organization the following February.

That statement of principles is the Communist Manifesto, the greatest political document in the history of the world, probably the most remarkable piece of reasoning ever drawn up.

"A specter is haunting Europe," the Manifesto begins, "the specter of Communism." And it ends, "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain. Workers of all countries, unite!"

With the Communist Manifesto the Socialist movement was born. That little pamphlet of forty-seven pages contains, closely packed, the history of the world and the philosophy of the revolutionary movement that is to supplant Capitalism.

For the Majority

"All previous historical movements," says the Manifesto "were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority."

With masterly analysis the authors show how modern capitalism developed and how it exploits the workers. With withering sarcasm they recite the idiotic arguments

that were used against them, and they destroy them.

The destruction of education, the destruction of the family, the socialization of women—these time-worn and hackneyed "arguments" hurled at the revolutionists were hurled back into the teeth of the exploiters:

"The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes the more disgusting by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians being broken asunder and the children being transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

And so the terrific indictment is written with fire-tipped pen, and the hope of a new world held out:

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

The Class Struggle

There are two things back of the philosophy of the Manifesto. One is the statement that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the

(Continued on Page 11)

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--: DRAMA --:



ENID BENNETT
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at Moss' Broadway, Monday.

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WEEK OF OCT. 13
"THE SHAME WOMAN"
with the Original Cast

--: MUSIC --:

"Martha," Feature of San Carlo Opera at Jolson's

The third week's repertoire of the San Carlo Opera Company's engagement at the Jolson Theatre, will include "Martha," with Tina Paggi. Mr. Gallo will present four new American singers, Yvonne Treva, Fredonia Frazer, Bernice Schalk and Louis Rousseau during the week. The Pavlovsky-Oukrainy Ballet Russe will be featured at every performance.

The repertoire for the third week is as follows:

Monday evening—"Aida," with Mmes. Bianca Saroya, Stella De Mette and Messrs. Manuel Salazar, Mario Valle, Pietro De Biasi.

Tuesday—"Rigoletto," with Mmes. Tina Paggi, Ada Bore, Fredonia Frazer and Messrs. Demetrio Onofrei, Mario Basiola, Pietro De Biasi.

Wednesday—"Faust," with Mmes. Anne Roselle, Ada Bore and Messrs. Demetrio Onofrei, Mario Basiola, Giovanni Martino.

Thursday matinee—"Martha," with Mmes. Tina Paggi, Bernice Schalk and Messrs. Louis Rousseau, Giuseppe Interrante, Natalie Corvi.

Thursday evening—"Madame Butterfly," with Mmes. Tamaki Miura, Ada Bore, Messrs. Gaetano Tommasini, Mario Valle, Pietro De Biasi.

Friday evening—"Tosca," with Mmes. Gladys Axman, Yvonne Treva and Messrs. Manuel Salazar, Mario Valle, Pietro De Biasi.

Saturday afternoon—"La Boheme," with Mmes. Anne Roselle and Madeline Collins and Messrs. Demetrio Onofrei, Mario Valle and Pietro De Biasi.

Saturday evening—"Carmen," with Mmes. Stella De Mette, Tina Paggi, Messrs. Manuel Salazar, Mario Basiola, Pietro De Biasi.



BIANCA SAROYA
will sing the name role in
"Aida," at Jolson's Theatre, Monday night.

Albertina Rasch has been engaged as artistic advisor on the producing staff of the Hippodrome unit, including the Hippodrome, Royal, Alhambra and Eighty-first Street Theatres. Miss Rasch will assist in the revision and enlargement of acts and the creation of new material for these theatres under the general direction of Mark A. Luescher.

Samuel A. Baldwin resumed on Wednesday afternoon his organ recitals held for many years on Sundays and Wednesdays in the hall of the City College. These concerts are free to the public.

Arthur Hartman, violinist and composer, will give a recital at Aeolian Hall Tuesday afternoon, October 21.

Nina Tarasova will give a program of Russian, Serbian, Polish, Czechoslovak, Spanish, French, Irish and Italian folksongs on October 25 at Aeolian Hall. This will be the first of four concerts planned.

Rhys Morgan, the Welsh tenor, will appear Monday evening at Carnegie Hall in his first song recital of the new season.

Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn and the Denishawn Dancers will begin their season with two weeks in the New England States from October 13 to 27. They will introduce an entirely new program with an Algerian coffee house scene as the principal ballet number.

Glengarry's Review

Written for The New Leader

The BOOKS are open—How MUCH will you bet AGAINST a MILLION That the CONDITIONS Existing NOW In the TEXTILE mills Of North Carolina Are ONLY a continuance Of those ENDURED DURING the OFFICIAL terms Of the LAST two Presidents—One an IDEALIST (?) BECAUSE he was FIRST A DEMOCRAT; The other HUMANE (?) BECAUSE he was FIRST A REPUBLICAN?

SAY, friend, IF the PRESENT conditions WERE NOT remedied DURING the PRESIDENCY Of those SUPER-MEN, CAN YOU openly confess That you ARE A PARTY To the INFAMY Which SUBJECTS both parties To the SCORN of ALL AWAKENED and HONEST voters?

LET US rather BELIEVE That those PRESIDENTS WERE SO independent Of the WEALTH-OWNERS That THEY administered FIRST to the POOR, And THEN (at leisure) ONLY such CRUMBS OF JUSTICE As OVERFLOWED their bounty FELL to the RICH.

But SINCE Those almost FORGOTTEN men MINGLED both IDEALISM

And HUMANITY WITH the common CLAY Of MASTER and SLAVE, A plague of TERROR Is ADDED To the SORDID conditions Formerly IMPOSED On the TEXTILE SLAVES. A HUNDRED-THOUSAND MEN and WOMEN AND (oh, the shame of it!) CHILDREN (to whom is DENIED EVERYTHING a child-heart SHOULD wish for) Are, since April, OUT ON STRIKE AGAINST IMPOSSIBLE conditions.

They were sheltered (Or RATHER hoveled) In their MASTERS' cabins, But, like a CYCLONE, There SWOOPED down A HORDE of armed THUGS (And TERRIFYING blood-hounds) Who RUTHLESSLY evicted OLD and YOUNG, The SICK with the HEALTHY, And the MOB (obediently) THREW the meagre furniture OUT INTO the roadway, And DRAGGED the sick And the CRIPPLED INTO THE OPEN.

LAW and JUSTICE Are STILL mentioned But have NO MEANING SINCE the TWIN POLITICAL PARTIES SANCTIONED And ENCOURAGED The ABSOLUTE RULE OF MONEY.

WHEELER TELLS UNSAVORY TALE OF DAWES

(Continued from Page 1)

April, of 1923, a short time after he had told the Union League what he thought about democracies and how highly he regarded Labor injunctions, he had a conference at Miami, Florida, with Attorney General Daugherty. He came back to Chicago then and organized the Minute Men of the Constitution.

Just how General Dawes proposed to use his little army was not made clear until he issued his first call to arms. The first battle in behalf of the Constitution ordered by the General was here in Chicago a year ago when he directed his Minute Men to go the polls and vote for two judges, then up for reelection. One of those two judges was the same Judge Holdom whose part in saving Dawes' million dollars I have just described.

In his official call to the Minute Men, General Dawes gave as his excuse the fact that certain Labor leaders had attacked two judicial candidates as "injunction judges." This was a local election and you are all doubtless familiar with the facts. Speaking of the Labor leaders, General Dawes said:

"They assume that the acts and conduct of judges in issuing injunctions are against the rank and file of Labor. This is not the fact. Judges Sullivan and Holdom, under the law, were required to issue these injunctions when a proper bill was presented to them. While the law stands as it is, a judge must issue an injunction when a proper bill is filed."

As commander-in-chief of the Minute Men, he then called upon them as follows:

"The twenty companies of Minute Men of the Constitution already organized in Cook County are therefore called in their first fight behind law enforcement and the principles of constitutional government upon a clear issue. Together with all good citizens, they must rally to the polls next Tuesday in support of Judges Sullivan and Holdom and stand together behind the laws of Illinois and our Constitution which guarantees the inalienable rights of the individual and liberty under the law."

The Socialist Movement

(Continued from Page 9)

history of class struggles," and that there are two classes, the workers and the exploiters. The other is the Hegelian philosophy, that all history is a continuity, and that one system develops out of the one before. So, the early Socialists reasoned, as capitalism developed out of the systems that came before, so Socialism would develop out of capitalism.

And Communism? That was the name then used for what we call Socialism now. For the word "Socialism" was used by the pink-tea parlor reformers, and they were very properly despised by the workers. So the workers took another name, changing to Socialism only as the pinks began to call themselves "Communists." What we call Socialism today, Marx and Engels called Com-

Now every lawyer knows, and every intelligent citizen ought to know, that General Dawes misrepresented the Constitution and the laws of Illinois, and what both require of Illinois judges. There is nothing in the State Constitution or laws which requires any judge to issue an injunction against Labor unions or other organizations or individuals merely upon the filing of a bill in equity, as General Dawes would have us believe.

Injunctions shall not be issued in any case unless it is apparent that irreparable damage will be done and there is no adequate remedy at law. And the enlightened view of the American Bar is that no injunction should ever be issued in controversies between Labor and Capital. If Dawes doesn't know that he is too ignorant to be Vice-President of the United States. If he does know better and made those statements knowing they are not true, then—well, he isn't honest enough to be Vice-President.

Now to sum up. First, Banker Charlie Dawes conspired with Banker Bill Lorimer to fool the State Auditor and caused 4000 innocent depositors to be injured, many of them ruined. Second, Judge Holdom saved Banker Dawes from paying the full penalty for his action—saved him more than a million dollars in fact. Third, Banker-General Charlie Dawes ordered out his Minute Men to save Judge Holdom at the polls.

There is the record of the man who is now attempting to kidnap the United States Constitution and convert it to his own private uses, the man who is raging up and down the land shrieking "radical" and "demagogue" at every citizen who is asking for constructive statesmanship in the Government, indeed at any citizen who is asking simple honesty in the Government. There is the record of Charles G. Dawes, Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. And the scoundrels who have corrupted the American Government, true to form, are now trying to hide behind the United States Constitution.

So long as land is privately owned it can exact unjust tolls from public and private enterprise, and its owner can dip his hands in wealth that has been created generally in spite of his opposition, and nearly always without his help.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot, from pore to pore, with blood and dirt.—Marx.

48th ST. 7TH MONTH
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MATS. TUES.
& SAT. 2:30.

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Rafael Sabatini's Greatest Novel
"THE SEA HAWK"
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--: DRAMA --:

Lionell Atwill in "The Outsider," at Bronx O. H.

Lionell Atwill is coming to the Bronx Opera House, Monday night, in his success of last year, "The Outsider." Ann Davis plays the part of the girl. Others in the cast include Ann Davis, Pat Somerset, Jessamine Newcombe, David Glassford, Octavia Kenmore, John Blair, Gilbert Douglas, Thomas Loudon and A. P. Kaye. "The Shame Woman" will be the following attraction.

Elinor Glyn's, "His Hour," at Capitol Theatre

Elinor Glyn's production, "His Hour," will be at the Capitol next week. It is a story of the old Russian court. Aileen Pringle and John Gilbert play the leading roles.

The incidental films include "Cities of Other Lands," a visit to "Bucharest," and the Capitol magazine.

The Hebrew chant, "Eli Eli," sung by Gladys Rice. Frank Moulan in an arrangement of popular college airs.

The Ballet Corps, headed by Mlle. Gambarelli, in a group of Hungarian Folk Dances, and Tchaikovsky's "Marche Slav," will be the musical program.



GODFREY TEARLE
comes to the Hudson Theatre,
Monday night, in Frederick Lonsdale's "The Fake," playing the role he created in London.

Vaudeville Theatres

HIPPODROME
Carmela Ponselle, mezzo-soprano in a song recital, Nina Payne, dancer in the "Follies Bergere," Paris; Toto, D'Apollon, Jimmy Watts, Colleano, Spanish wire walker; Selbit, the European illusionist; The Vernon-Owen Orchestra, the Rath Brothers, Fenton and Fields, Coleman's Dogs, the Hippodrome ballet corps and "Toytown."

PALACE
Willie and Eugene Howard, Jacob Ben Ami, Ivan Bankoff, Dooley and Morton, "The Test," Fred Lindsay, Jack Lavier, Stan Kavanagh and Company.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY
B. S. Moss announces "The Sea Hawk" at his Broadway Theatre beginning Monday. Rafael Sabatini's novel is herein brought to life. The cast includes Milton Sills, Wallace Beery, Lloyd Hughes and Enid Bennett. The vaudeville will include Maurice Diamond and Company with Helen McMahon, Tom Swift and Mary Kelly, Joe Darcey, Handman and Millers, and other Keith acts.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Sea Hawk," from Rafael Sabatini's novel, with Milton Sills, Wallace Beery and Enid Bennett.

CAMEO—"Life's Greatest Game," with Johnnie Walker.

CAPITOL—Elinor Glyn's, "His Hour," with Emily Fitzroy, Dale Fuller and Bertram Grassby.

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STRAND—"Three Women," with May McAvoy, Pauline Frederick and Lew Cody.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, October 4, 1924

REGISTER AT ONCE!

THIS is registration week for New York City. Don't fail to register. If you don't register you cannot vote.

Full details appear on another page of this issue of The New Leader. Read them, and if there is something you do not yet understand about the election and citizenship rules, call us up and we will be glad to help you out.

Don't put it off to the last day. Registration begins Monday at 5 p. m. Every New Leader reader should be registered and enrolled as a Socialist before supper Monday. That will give five full days to get out your neighbors and shopmates and friends.

TEDDY THE LITTLE

HISTORY gives us farce as well as tragedy. Historians have pointed to the seizure of France by Louis Napoleon as the repetition in farce of the tragedy of the rise of Napoleon the Great. Louis came to be known as "Napoleon the Little."

The G. O. P. has staged a similar event in the nomination for Governor of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Louis attempted to repeat the career of the elder Napoleon and the son of the late Theodore Roosevelt strives to follow in the footsteps of his father. Napoleon the Little is the model for Teddy the Little.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy young Roosevelt demonstrated that in the notorious oil leases he was too stupid to be crooked and not intelligent enough to guard his own future. His pitiful performance before the Senate Committee hearings on the oil scandals is notorious. What he didn't know would fill volumes and what he did know could be recorded on a postage stamp. He sat in with those who were perpetrating the swindle and when asked whether he thought that the deal would benefit the nation he didn't know.

The elder Roosevelt had more brains and certainly was more clever. He was a superb politician. He even had the gift of explaining away to the satisfaction of yokels the invitation to Harriman to enter the back door. Teddy the Little can explain nothing. He simply doesn't know anything and what he does not know is considered by the Republican brokers as an asset.

Teddy the Little supplies the farce in the State campaign. A pygmy in daddy's boots and carrying the banner of the richest province in the domain of our princes of finance and capital, he gives us slapstick comedy in the declining days of capitalism.

THE WAY OF THE APOSTATE

ENLISTING with the diplomatic sharpshooters when the United States entered the World War, then accepting the imperialist policies of the State Department, John Spargo, ex-Socialist, has finally moved into the camp of the most reactionary enemies of the masses. In the Outlook of March 28, 1923, he supported the policy of a complete return in all countries to private mastery of industries and exploitation of the masses. Today he is an admirer of that dull, reactionary and parochial politician, Calvin Coolidge.

With the gusto of a Podsnap he waves aside obvious facts. He observes that Socialism "is extinct, obsolete." The Socialist and Labor triumphs in England, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden and the tremendous upsurge of the movement in other countries do not exist for him. He also knows that "there is not the slightest evidence that any appreciable portion of our people are complaining of the autocratic powers of the courts." The resolutions of protest for more than a generation by the trade unions, their present unanimous criticisms, of the courts, the public meetings held to popularize these protests for at least thirty years since the injunction that sent Eugene V. Debs and his colleagues to prison, the protests which Spargo himself joined in making—all this is wiped out by this American Podsnap. Not the "slightest evidence," he affirms.

The mountains that are visible to all are not apparent to him while fiction is translated into fact. In this category may be included his belief that Coolidge has assisted in the recovery of Europe and that the policies of the Secretary of Petroleum, Mr. Hughes, are "doing much to repair the shattered structure of civilization." If finding a policy wherever an oil well is found in the world constitutes a "great Secretary of State," Mr. Hughes deserves the tribute paid him.

The fact is that Mr. Spargo has become a mob, a sanctimonious apologist for everything which he once opposed. It is the way of the apostate. Even the honest men

whom he chooses to associate with now can only secretly cherish contempt for him. His support of one of two parties of Labor injunctions, open shoppers, judicial despotism, militarism and imperialism is a pitiful collapse of one who once fought the good fight for a better and more human world.

A WORKLESS RESERVE ARMY

AFTER five year's study of the problem the Russell Sage Foundation reports that from 10 to 12 per cent of the workers in the United States are continuously out of employment when good and bad years are averaged. The number of the unemployed fluctuates from 1,000,000 to 6,000,000. It is now "a constant phenomenon, with far-reaching economic, social, psychological, and moral bearings."

It is. It constitutes a human waste that is translated into suffering for millions. The present order stands convicted of being unable to use its productive powers, while it inflicts grievous penalties on men and women of the working class. A large "reserve army" always stands begging the masters of industry for work. The owners have the last word. The workman is not a citizen of industry; he is an alien.

Moreover, modern private ownership of industry, by its very nature, requires a reserve of workless men and women. From this reserve is recruited hungry, desperate, and often unprincipled strikebreakers. They are the shock troops relied upon by the ruling owners to break the strikes of men and women for better conditions. Even in times of normal "prosperity" the masters of industry have always been able to gather this by-product of their mastery for service against the claims of the workers in general.

The report goes on to also cite the inefficiency of employment bureaus to relieve the situation. In this field, it is also notorious that a swarm of ghouls swoop down upon the unfortunate, fleecing excessive fees, often swindling the payer and preying upon the despair of the jobless.

What will you do with this sad product of your regime, masters, lords and rulers of industry, finance and transportation? You cannot banish it. It follows you like your own shadow. Some day industry will have other masters, but they will not be you; they will be the great toiling masses, in common with other useful citizens. They will organize all industry for human welfare, not for your enrichment. The gamble for jobs will be succeeded by economic security. We will reduce the hours of labor until all are assured healthful and remunerative employment. Your wretched management will then be a hideous memory of a period when your dividends were accepted as of more importance than the enrichment of human life.

INVERTING THE FACTS

ONE of the interesting phases of the present political struggle is the way in which the guardians of the present social order invert facts. Both Coolidge and Davis warn us that they stand for the preservation of the present powers of the courts, because they are the "bulwark of our liberties." This despite the increasing complaints for thirty years that judges have usurped powers and have tended to read into their decisions their private economic and political views, generally the views of the possessing classes.

Calvin Coolidge has inverted the facts in another matter. He has expressed fears that public ownership of railroads would trench a political group so firmly in power that private liberty would be menaced. This ignores the history of the rail-

roads. Their development was accompanied by their domination of the Federal and State Governments. The owners ran the Government as they did their trains. They have continued to exercise this political power, but they share it now with the banks, steel companies, mining corporations, the oil trust and other big business.

Consider the region of the great steel industry of Pennsylvania. Here we will find the steel companies exercising political sovereignty over village, town, city and State Governments. Trade unionists cannot obtain a foothold in the industry. Public officials have become the mercenary tools of this private steel mastery. Corporate economic mastery carries with it political mastery. The private liberty which concerns Coolidge is crushed by the corporate dynasty of steel.

The same situation prevails in the mining communities. Pennsylvania is a triple monarchy in which governing power is shared between the United States Steel Corporation, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the coal corporations. The organized workers of the State have had sad experience in this matter, an experience that refutes the contention of Mr. Coolidge.

Corporate mastery of the powers of production inevitably brings enormous power to owning cliques, and it cannot be otherwise. It is the mission of the workers to use their political power to overthrow this mastery and establish democratic control of industry which will carry with it democratic administration of Government.

AL SMITH—"REGULAR"

AL SMITH is again the Tammany candidate for Governor. Let it be conceded that he is a "good man," that he has some achievements to his credit, that he is the best product of the rotten soil of Tammany. He is a type that is often advanced by brokers and grafters. He serves as a flag for their merchandise. It is an old game.

But Smith was "regular" in the days when Croker meant open graft, the white slave trade, protected gambling and prostitution, stealing elections and looting the city. He was "regular" under Murphy, that expert in the more refined ways of plundering. He went along with Murphy in ousting Sulzer, the dirtiest job Tammany ever put over. He was more honest than the crooks, but he remained and still remains with the crooked organization.

It is evident that Smith has received his fourth nomination in the hope of helping Davis, the candidate of big corporate interests, and to pull through the swarm of Tammany looters who are running for office. The Smith banner conceals some of the most sinister elements in public life—make no mistake about that. Moreover, the good apple in a barrel of rotten ones will not make them all sound. The good one is likely to become what the others are.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist and Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor, is the only man who represents the ideals of the third party movement. He represents the claims of the toilers and the masses in general who are revolting all over the nation. He has no past to explain, no professional brokers to satisfy, and carries a banner not smirched by contact with the enemies of Labor. A vote for Thomas and his associates on the State ticket is the only vote that counts and that is worth casting.

THE LESSON OF CALIFORNIA

THE Supreme Court of California, by a four to three decision, has refused to place the La Follette-Wheeler elec-

tors in an independent column. It was the intention to run them in the Socialist and independent columns. They can now appear only in the Socialist column.

Of course the Socialist Party of California performs a real service to the third party movement by having carried the independent party banner for more than twenty years. But what interests us in this situation is that it emphasizes what we have said in these columns a number of times about the two capitalistic parties in-trenching themselves in the legislation of the States and making themselves privileged political corporations. They have so legislated their organizations into the statutes as to make it almost impossible for other political parties and groups to obtain a place on the ballot.

What is needed in this country is a ripping out of the legislation which gives certain private organizations an enormous advantage over others. The ballot should be free to every group that can obtain a moderate number of signatures. Onerous filing fees and other arbitrary restrictions should also be wiped out. The two-party system of reaction alone can profit by the old election laws and we play into the hands of the old gang when we ignore their usurpation.

The progressives by concentrating attention on the reformation of primary laws, left the old gang free to place all sorts of barriers in the way of political movements independent of the old gang. Neglect of duty is now bringing its penalties. In the State of New York thousands of dollars have also been spent to put the La Follette-Wheeler electors in the independent column. The old legislation amounts to a financial penalty imposed upon every independent party that challenges the parties of capitalists. That legislation should be rooted out and the demand should occupy a prominent place in the program of the third party in every State.

HOME IS THE HUNTER

IN ALL history there has never been an exploit to stir the blood so daring, so fascinating as the fight around the world by the gallant bird men of America. In a new medium of travel scarcely a decade and a half old, flying through storm and sleet and blazing tropic heat; flying over mountains and glaciers and steaming jungles, these men flew true and straight until they had accomplished a deed that in his wildest dreams, Jules Verne had never dared predict.

And now it is over; and now the men are thanked, and they get their pictures in the papers—and they go back to work.

Their reward? Oh, nothing. They got their pay allowances, and as a reward for the most daring feat in history, they are each about \$1,000 in a hole!

Socialism is impossible, says the editorial writer who has just written a pangyric to the flyers, because it is contrary to human nature which is selfish and which does things only for pay. Socialism is an iridescent dream, says the teacher who has just told the class about the flight over ice floes and blazing deserts, because Socialists actually think that in a well ordered society men and women will have no incentive to be wild beasts and savages, stealing each others' food. Socialism is vicious, it is unpatriotic, it is aimed at the foundations of home and religion and the family relation, say the army officers who have just pinned medals on the tunics of Lieutenant Smith and his comrades, because Socialism denies the basic fact in human experience, which is that the one motive for human activity is the desire for material gain.

Tears

IT WAS not so long ago that Mr. Hughes crept from behind the parapet of the citadel of state, and declared, with the courage of one long besieged, that the "character" of Mr. Coolidge was, in effect, the one indubitable asset of the Republican party. Every day proves more and more that this was no inadvertent boast; no mere idle suggestion. Everywhere one finds increasing evidence of it; a growing enthusiasm among persons of all stations that it is and shall be the one supreme and invulnerable issue of the campaign.

I shall have to thank a certain haberdasher whom I patronize for the clarification of this issue; for it was at his place of business, whither I had gone to make certain necessary purchases, that I was introduced to a shirt salesman of robust and radiant person; one from whom, I dare say, flowed more than a little of the magnetic ecstasies of his race. After reciting, for my delectation, a "poem" dedicated to the mischievous antics of a pole cat, alleged to have been written by Bret Harte, (God save the mark!) he gave what was tantamount to three cheers for "Cal," and for a time made me forget the fulsome pill gilding of Mr. Burton.

At the first pause in his copia verborum I interpolated a remark or two about the transgressions of the Coolidge administration; supplementing it with some stuff I had read in the New York World about Daugherty, Fall, Forbes, Newberry, Burns, et al; and a picture, "The Cycle of Corruption," drawn by that peerless artist, Rolin Kirby, and I must confess he gasped a bit; but came back strong, clutching "Cal's" character in both hands, so to speak, with the light of hope and victory in his eyes.

He paused at the conclusion of my rejoinder; and, for just a fleeting moment, I was conscious of a certain lack of congruity in his make-up; a distinct hiatus separating the corporeal from the spiritual man. It is a tradition that fat men are fond of laughter; that they are veritable fountains of mirth; but there is mere fustian, and is unworthy of an intelligent man's belief. One may be sure that I was shocked and a trifle disappointed. Here was a man, possessing all the properties of humor; girth, weight, rotundity, and ruddy complexion, who was as serious as Cassius. But he began speaking again, and quickly put a stop to my ruminations.

"Where, where could you find a better

A Short Story

"When 'Cal' was governor of Massachusetts, living in that two-family house,—may be you know about that,—and a conference of big men was going to be held at his house one evening to talk things over, he felt embarrassed. 'Here,' he said to a friend; 'all of these big men are coming here to my simple house to talk matters over, and I feel a bit modest about their coming; my simple home and furnishings and the plain fare that I can give them. I hesitate to offer so little to men who are used to so much.' But that just made his friend laugh, and he said: 'These men are big men "Cal"; they're interested in your house; they're interested in you.' And that's all they got; just a plain, democratic lunch: ice cream, sandwiches, coffee and cake. I tell you he is honest and fearless and democratic and brainy; and he's in there all the time, keeping cool with the old bean working, and he's got the old guts to tell them what's wrong and what's right.' His voice grew a bit husky at this point, and a far-away look came into his eyes for about two clock ticks.

"Where is there a man like Coolidge? Tell me that?" he resumed, with considerable vehemence. "A man as fearless and as honest and democratic; in there all the time with the old bean working and with the old guts not afraid to buck Congress and tell 'em what's right and wrong, and veto when it's necessary. He's plain an' honest—why! Say! have you heard that song? 'Keep Cool with Coolidge.' Here a smile shimmered through the sadness that had gathered about him like a miasmic fog, only to disappear as suddenly as it came, as he picked up his theme and pushed on into the cul de sacs of "Cal's" character. "A friend of mine, of the same name but no relation, was telling my uncle, who is a friend of 'Cal's' that he was eating dinner one day up in Vermont in a hotel in Montpelier when he (Cal) was Vice-president; and his wife, who was eating with him, said: 'Why, I believe that's the Vice-president Coolidge.' And sure enough it was. He was sitting there, all humped up, looking as plain and democratic, eating his dinner just as though he didn't amount to any more than you or me; and looking as though he was afraid he would be recognized and people would look at him and expect him to look stuck up and aristocratic when he couldn't and didn't want to; and my friend

By JOSIAH DeNIO

said to my uncle: 'Why, I felt just as though I wanted to go right over to him and tell him who I was and shake hands with him and tell him I knew you'; and my uncle said: 'Why didn't you, Paul; 'Cal' would have been tickled; nothing would have suited him better; it's just what he likes.' That's the kind of a man 'Cal' Coolidge is; a man that acts and don't waste words." "What made him keep Daugherty months after he had been proved guilty and thoroughly discredited?" I asked. "Coolidge inherited a bad lot, I'll admit; but he had to go slow, and you can bet your life he was doing a lot of thinking in there; working the old bean and learning the ropes. He couldn't very well go ahead until he was absolutely certain in every particular. But he is courageous and honest and a great man. All of the Coolidge clubs in New England are going to work their heads off for him, and he'll go across, big! Where could you beat him? A great man, I say; plain, fearless, and democratic, in there all the time working the old bean, and keeping his mouth shut except when its necessary to talk and then telling them where to get off, I tell you I . . ." The speaker stopped on a low, choking guttural. I turned to see a great tear roll slowly down the slightly contorted contour of his cheek and fall with a splash to the floor. "When I get to talking about Coolidge it moves me," he blubbered.

I gazed pensively out of the window while my friend dabbed reflectively at his eyes with a handkerchief. A great light suddenly illumined my consciousness; and I saw, as clearly as Joseph saw in the leaf-fleshed and ill-favored kine of Pharaoh, an ominous and foreboding portent. Surely, I thought, flesh and blood can not stand against it. We are a weak people, after all; and the strategy of the drummer, based as it is upon an uncontrollable emotion, will, in the end, unman us. The Democrats will talk about plutocracy, reaction, dishonesty in the Government, corruption, and what-not, but over all these ill-sounding and contemptuous issues will loom the Gog and Magog of "Cal's" character. One can see them now: the Republican tear brigades, going up and down the land, watering their hopes with the tears of their own making, adding glowing pages to the time-worn volume of American fables; new bricks to the foundations of Yankee folklore. "Take the way he was brought up, for

THE Chatter-Box

Salvation

He loved beauty and the Truth,
And dared to daub as befell his mood;
So he drew a scene of an houri fair,
In sense-suggesting demi-nude . . .
And named it—"One of Satan's Brood."

Such name he thought would give his theme
A gloss to pass the censor's eyes,
And give it favor with the crew
Who roll their eyeballs to the skies,
And preach an age-old set of lies.

But he had made a sorry guess—
No sooner was the lady hung
For public view, the moral mob
Commenced to wag a prudish tongue—
"The witch will damn our precious young."

So presently the artist heard
A mandate from the higher caste
To give his lady cloth or silk,
And have her dress in decent taste,
Or down would come his work in haste. . .

He smiled, and took the wench away,
And fetched her to his studio,
He spent a mystic hour with her
And, then—that self same morning—
She posed again in public show.

But now a halo graced her head
And from her shoulders stretched com-
caved
A set of luminous angel wings
While in her hand a banner waved,
With shining legend spelling—"SAVED."

And now she smiles so seraph-like
A goddess to the well-behaved,
The houri whom the churchmen damned,
Whom Law and Order called depraved,
But whom a goddess artist—saved.

We haven't seen "What Price Glory," although all the other columnists in Capital-dom have crashed in on compliments and complementaries. But we have read enough about its strong army and navy language. Having served our bit as well, we see no reason why one word of the guttural gutter stripe should be softened, sweetened or deleted.

The army or the navy is one exalted university for a course in progressive god-damns, hellpariahs . . . ? ? ? ? ? and all the other blankety-blank unmentionable subjects, and a man's not a man there unless he's had seventy-eight real dead-to-the-dumb-world souses, and at least two of the diseases, for men exclusively. At least so we were told.

Why be a mollycoddle?

The son of William Harrison Riley, Karl Marx's bosom friend during the days of the First International, is welcomed to our contributors' club, with the following initiation:

Glorious Discontent

The swine saith—
"Mine belly is full, mine snout protrudeth
from the mire that I may grunt. All is
well!"
And I will shout aloud a Glorious Discon-
tent,
Of wrongs unrighted, evil wrought of good
intent;
Of gold self breeding and fattening over-
night
A fiendish man-made cycle of most unholy
might,
Begetting yet unbudding, enmeshing more
and more,
Sanctified by ages of befogging mouldy
Lore.
I voice my discontent, then laugh it all
away,
Knowing that the Beast will overgorge
some day.

B. HARRISON RILEY.

The "Coolidge Fourth-of-July club" has been organized to inform the voters of this country that Coolidge was pre-ordered for his job, since he was born on July 4. Will somebody tell us why Warren K. Billings of the Mooney and Billings case, also born on July Fourth, has been kept in prison these past eight years, although every one knows he was convicted on perjured testimony?

Bad logic, Brother.
LENA MORROW LEWIS.

Bushkill Falls

Oh, lie with me on the star-white pillow,
Glide with me o'er the watery wall
'Neath the overhanging willow
Where a slim moon bathes in the water-
fall. . .

Sunset

A flood of wine is pouring from a hole in
the sky
And we thirsty ones below,
Drink with our eyes—until our souls reel. . .

LEONE

This twenty-five dollar prize announcement has stirred up the poetical geni of the nation. Our hardest task these days is opening the mail and emptying the basket. We have received some jim-dandies however, that now lie palpitating on our desk, eager for the linotype. Keep sending them in, ye scribes with heads bloody, but unbowed.

S. A. DeWITT.

instance; the traditions of his family, and his whole ancestral background. Look at the way he acted when he became president and took the oath of office there in his father's house by the light of that oil lamp. Where could you find a better . . . "Sorry to be going," I interrupted; "but I've potatoes that need hoeing and cabbage to set out."