

# YOUR CANDIDATES

FOR JUDGE  
of MUNICIPAL COURT  
JACOB PANKEN  
For Alderman  
NORMAN THOMAS  
For Assemblyman  
SAMUEL E. BEARDSLEY

# NEW LEADER

Thomas  
For  
Alderman  
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# THOMAS OR TAMMANY and Homes and Hovels?

## Norman Thomas Gives Seven Counts Against Tammany

**Socialist Candidate For Alderman in the 8th Manhattan District Arraigns Democrats—Tells What He Would Do On Housing, Transit and Other Vital Problems**

WHY worry about electing a few Socialist Aldermen, Assemblymen and Judges?

Won't Al Smith keep Tammany from getting too rough with graft grabs, injunctions and the schools? Why buck Tammany now?

What difference will it make?

So speaks the indifferent voter to-day. He is willing to let George (Olvan) do it, forgetting that George never does anything for nothing.

There are a number of answers. Here is the reply of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Alderman in the 8th Manhattan district:

1. The election of only a few Socialists will save money for the voter of New York City—money that is now being taken from him in needlessly high rents, in the bad supervision of the sale of food, milk, ice and other necessities, in city debt payments and in fat contracts awarded to Tammany men.
2. Under the camouflage of the Al Smith myth, Tammany Hall is robbing New York City of all faith in representative government, making of it a two-sided camp of masters and servants, with Tammany acting as the high-priced go-between, taking money from both

## Tammany Is All Powerful, Thomas Says; Over-ruled Smith on The Milk Scandal

3. It is not true that Al Smith can boss Tammany. Al Smith can't make Tammany Hall do anything Tammany Hall doesn't want to do. When it comes to a showdown, Tammany still runs Al Smith. Smith wanted a showdown on the Milk Scandal; Tammany Hall didn't. Tammany Hall won. There was no showdown.
4. Tammany Hall doesn't want an honest five cent fare and municipal ownership of subways. Everybody in Tammany Hall, from Gov. Smith down to Mayor Walker and George Olvan, is shadow-boxing with the subway problem until it can be got into the courts, where the companies hope for better treatment than they can expect from the sardine public.
5. In New York City there are only two political camps—Tammany and the Socialist Party. The local Republican organization is simply a jackal, hanging on the flank of the Tiger, taking small favors in exchange for keeping quiet and occasionally punishing a Democrat who won't stay "regular."
6. With the local Republican organization sold out to Tammany and with every daily newspaper in New York too "polite" to tear the lid off the city administration and show WHY the new budget is the largest in the history of the city, the election of a

(Continued on Page Two)

## Mr. WRONKER YOU HAVE A DATE

NORMAN THOMAS  
Socialist Candidate for Alderman  
has invited his Tammany opponent

LOUIS J. WRONKER  
and his Republican opponent

MR. ETZEL

to meet him in public debate on

Friday, November 3rd, 9 p.m.  
at Second Ave. and 7th St.

**Subject: Who Will Best Represent the  
8th District in the Board of Alderman?**

LOUIS WALDMAN will preside

Other speakers will include:

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN AUGUST CLAESSENS  
S. A. De WITT PAUL BLANSHARD

Voters of the Eighth;

Come and Bring Your Friends.

## For Alderman, 8th District



Norman Thomas

## THE REV. STEPHEN S. WISE SAYS:

I would consider the election of Norman Thomas a triumph for the best hopes for our city. He has understanding of city problems, vision of the city's needs and passion for the city's well-being. He is as far above the petty and self-seeking partisans in politics as were Lincoln and Wilson and Debs. What this gallant, fine-souled being might do with the Board of Alderman, a supremely inept and futile item in our municipal account!

Norman Thomas is fit for the highest office. Let the citizens of New York eagerly claim his characteristic offer of service.

## Tammany Plans Huge Transit Steal, Thomas Charges

**Socialist Candidate For Alderman In Eighth District Says Tenements Should Be Replaced With Decent Houses at Reasonable Rentals—Urges Election of Judge Jacob Panken**

By Norman Thomas  
Socialist Candidate For Alderman, 8th District

ALDERMAN WRONKER, my Tammany opponent in the 8th District, says "there are no issues."

Well, let's see.

How about transit?

The other night a democratic lawyer of national prominence told me that in his judgment "they" were getting ready for a transit steal in New York that would make Teapot Dome look like small potatoes. The indefensible grant of a bus franchise to the independent Equitable Coach Company is, I suspect, only a foretaste of what is to come.

Aside from all questions of honesty the system which the city administration is flirting with for paying 62 per cent. of the cost of the new subways is neither scientific nor just. For instance, it will make the East Side which had had no new rapid transit facilities for more than twenty years bear a considerable part of the cost of the 8th Avenue subway which is adding 300 per cent. to property values. The East Side will pay in an increased tax rate or a reduction of other services that it has a right to expect from the city.

We Socialists have a real transit program: municipal operation of a unified system for a five cent fare with an equitable assessment of the cost of new lines on the property benefited.

New York is the richest city in the world but every progressive city in Europe is doing more than New York in providing decent housing for its children. For years we Socialists have been agitating the housing situation. The Democrats and Republicans have done not one single thing except to pass a law. Not one spadeful of earth has yet been turned to begin housing for the workers. We have a municipal housing program.

## Pledges Fight To Win Pensions For Old-Aged; Raps Injunctions

The Democrats and Republicans have laughed at the demand of the workers for a restriction on the power of judges who break strikes by injunctions. They have taken not even the first step to decrease by social insurance the awful fear that men and women have that they and their children will go hungry in times of unemployment or when old age comes upon them. We Socialists as always will fight against injunctions and for employment and old age insurance.

Every election, and particularly this election, gives us a chance to do something on such issues as I have mentioned. Yet Alderman Wronker, and his Republican colleagues say there are no issues! We need Socialist Assemblymen and Aldermen not to turn on the light to show up waste and graft, but also to illuminate a picture of the New York City we might build.

The reelection of Judge Jacob Panken is in itself an issue of national importance. He has become a symbol of the intelligence and determination of the workers of the East Side. The "they" means all of you who will read these lines—raise a mighty protest in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. Judge Panken became a mouthpiece and symbol of that protest. Now if he

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## Judge Panken Calls on Voters Of Eighth to Elect Thomas

DEAR Fellow Citizens:—

As your neighbor living with you in the 8th Aldermanic District, I know that you are intelligent men and women, and have a high sense of civic duty.

You, as well as I, are vitally concerned in everything pertaining to our city and our country.

We are concerned in the housing question. We are concerned with the fact that many of our houses, not only in our district, but throughout the city, are fire traps and disease-breathing pest holes.

These tenements are a menace to the health and morals of our people.

They should be replaced by homes fit for human habitation. Homes where we can bring up our families in decency and instill self-respect in our children.

You as well as I are vitally interested in the transit question. We want buses, but we want these to be owned by the municipality and democratically managed. We want a five cent fare. A large profit can be made on a five cent fare if the transit facilities were owned and operated by ourselves for use and not for profit.

In the next two years there ques-

tions affecting us will arise before the Board of Aldermen.

We are fortunate that Dr. Norman Thomas has agreed to be a candidate for the position of Alderman from our District. He is one of the most outstanding men not only in the City of New York, but in our country. He is a man of sterling quality, tremendous ability and an unswerving fidelity to the cause of mankind.

Imagine Norman Thomas on the floor of the Board of Aldermen demanding the reason why our public streets are kept in filthy condition, and tens of thousands of dollars spent for the entertainment of visiting queens to whom the City Mayor bows in abject servility and many more thousands for reception and junkets.

The eyes of the nation are upon us. The 8th Aldermanic District will be envied by the people of the country because of their representative in the Board of Aldermen.

I have known him many years, and I have learned to love him. He is my Comrade. He is my friend. He is your Comrade. He is your friend.

Yours Sincerely

Jacob Panken



# WRONKER SAYS HE WORKS HARD DEALING IN "FAVORS"

A little man sits in a high-backed, throne-like chair of the sort that is used in masonic meetings. It is at one end of the big room in the house at St. Mark's Place where the Democrats of the Eighth Assembly District have their headquarters.

Towards this chair and its regal occupant come the faithful, shouldering their way through a crowd of smoking, low-voiced men. One by one they slide chairs on either side of him until finally they have reached his ear into which they whisper their messages. The Satrap of Marks listens with inscrutable face, while at a fat cigar whose refuse he refuses luxuriously to fall from his end. He is dressed as the custom of the house, "quietly but with impeccable taste." He wears a knife-edged pressed pink stripe suit. An unostentatious diamond gleams in his tie beneath the starched collar. Above this collar there is a prominent nose running up into baldness.

## Tammany Candidate for Alderman Defends Police Arrests of Pickets "Traffic Lights on 2nd Avenue" His Accomplishment of 6 Years

### "Two-Bits" Sits on His Throne

You are present at the nightly court of Louis J. Wronker, Alderman of the City of New York from the Eighth District for six years and Norman Thomas's chief opponent. He is none other than that Louis J. Wronker whose slogan in this campaign is, "He put the lights on Second Avenue." (For the benefit of our out-of-town readers let us hasten to explain that this means traffic lights, Second Avenue being one of the last of the city's main thoroughfares to be so illuminated.)

In certain circles Mr. Wronker is also known as "Two-bit Wronker," a mysterious appellation whose origin you shall have to guess for yourself.

When four or five of the sliders have been disposed of, Mr. Wronker is ap-

proached by the pressmen, hats in hand. The emissaries of the press have come to beg an audience from the throne.

"Alderman," asks one, more bold than his brothers, "What are the issues of this campaign?"

### "There Are No Issues"

"There are none" replies the Satrap snappily and then on second thought, "that is, I am campaigning on the fact that after a fight of one year and one-half I have put the lights on Second Avenue."

This achievement being duly noted, he continues: "And then of course Tompkins Square. I put in the wading pool in Tompkins Square where fifteen hundred little kiddies can get

cooled off in the summer time and where they can skate in the winter. I want to make Tompkins Square a haven of rest for the poor, full of sunshine and flowers where the mothers can bring their children and babies."

A pause and then the brah one again. "What about Norman Thomas's statement that the Board of Aldermen do nothing?"

"Very general," with a wave of the cigar, "Why the Board of Aldermen do whatever they are called on to do."

"Is there any interest in the discussion of the proposed city budget in your district?"

"None, the people believe that the expenditures are in good hands."

### Works "Hard" Giving "Favors"

"What about Thomas's proposal for an East River parkway?"

"Why if it's possible, I'm for it. I'm for that, but the Board of Estimate has the power over streets not the Board of Aldermen."

The pressman drew a deep breath and then plunged in with:

"Thomas says that the Board of Aldermen doesn't do any work, it's just a bunch of rubber stamps."

Above the cigar, indignation.

"Why we work hard every week. We have one meeting in July and one in August. September is the only month when we get a rest. We have no meetings in September. But let me tell you it's hard work. I

am here at the club-house practically every night of the 365 seeing people who want favors."

"What sort of favors?"

"Oh, you know, one of my constituents gets into a row and gets arrested and then his people come to see me here and I go down to the judge and ask that he be let off."

### Defends Police on Strikes

A moment of thought follows this. And then the addendum: "Not of course if he is really a criminal, then we let justice take its course."

"Thomas says that something should be done to stop police tactics in breaking up meetings of workers and in their wholesale arrests of pickets."

"Nonsense," replies the Man Who Put the Lights on Second Avenue, "the police never arrest pickets unless the pickets have been molesting pedestrians. If pickets keep walking they are not arrested. When they stop traffic they are arrested and taken to court and there the judge warns them against standing on the street. As for breaking up meetings, I was at some workers' meetings over on Union Square and the only violence I saw there was started by the workers themselves. The police only acted when they were attacked."

"Will you make an active campaign, Alderman?"

"No, I never go out doors during a campaign. I shall make one or two indoor speeches."

"What about?"

"Oh, Tompkins Square and the lights on Second Avenue."

## Furniture Workers Declare A Strike on Miller Frame Co.

The Furniture Workers District Council on Monday, October 24, officially declared a strike against the Miller Parlor Frame Co. of 256 Mauger Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Furniture Workers' Union tried its utmost to bring about a peaceful settlement, but Mr. Miller point blank refused to deal with the Union. The conditions of the men in his shop are deplorable, wages being 50 per cent lower than in the Union shops.

Mr. Miller went further than refusing to deal with the Union and had the business agent arrested, thinking that the arrest of the business agent will scare the men off from going out on strike; but it had an opposite effect. As soon as the union gave the call for the strike, 75 per cent of the men immediately walked out. It is the belief of the union officials that the other 25 per cent will follow in a day or two, and thus force one of the biggest shops in the trade to become unionized. Furniture workers and carpenters are asked to stay away from that shop.

## Karlin To Address League of Women on November Third

William Karlin, former Assemblyman and now Socialist Candidate for Judge of the General Sessions, has accepted the invitation of the New York League of Women Voters to address a meeting of that organization at Public School 165, at 225 W. 106th Street, on the evening of November 3rd, at 8:15 p.m.

## Aaron Sapiro To Open Brooklyn Jewish Forum

The Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 697-699 Eastern Parkway, will open on Monday evening, October 31st, at 8:15 o'clock, with an address by Aaron Sapiro, the famous Chicago attorney who has recently secured his million dollar suit for libel against Henry Ford and his Dearborn Independent.

This will mark the beginning of the twentieth season of Forum lectures. The following are expected to address the Center gatherings during the coming season: Heywood Brown, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Dr. Stanton Coit, Prof. Jerome Davis, Secretary of Y.M.C.A., Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Aaron Sapiro, Anna Louise Strong, Max D. Steuer, Norman Thomas, William English Walling, U. S. Senator David I. Walsh and Rev. Dr. S. S. Wise, etc.

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## Norman Thomas Gives Seven Counts Against Tammany

(Continued from Page 1)

Socialist—even one—to the Board of Aldermen, will open the star-chamber proceedings at City Hall to the public eye and nose.

Huge appropriations and contracts will no longer be rushed through without discussion.

With one Socialist present and voting, many measures, either stupid or corrupt, or both, will never even be proposed. When such proposals do come up, even a lone Socialist, acting as a watch-dog in the public interest, could question, discuss and warn against it.

The same holds true in the Assembly.

Norman Thomas can talk in terms of dollars and of cents. But he can't talk about them separately. That's why he isn't up in a Fifth Avenue church today leading out denatured religion on Sunday and pulling in dollars on weekdays, all the time overlooking the piece of Fifth Avenue dollars come from.

Just now he's running for Alderman, with a very good chance of being elected. If he is sent to City Hall, New York City will learn more wholesome truths about where its money goes than it has known for years. In showing up Tammany's "honest graft" and stupidities, Norman Thomas will also suggest a better way to get lower rents, better transportation, better police protection, better garbage disposal, better traffic regulation and better schools.

## Real Estate Interests Ties Tammany Hands On Cheaper and Better Homes For People

"Tammany will never give cheap housing to you because the real estate owners won't let it happen; Socialists can get it, if you give them the power."

In other words, "A vote for Tammany is a vote for the profiteering landlord; a vote for Socialism is a vote for a fair rent" on municipally owned tenements such as European cities have built. We need a municipal business authority.

That Five Cent Fare  
Main, talking about the transit problem which Samuel Untermyer, after taking on a trip around the world with his failed or refused to solve: a five-cent fare is a simple issue. It clings to the nickel fare as one of some rights in dealing with companies. The public stubbornly to be "educated" to see the need for a higher fare. Mayor Walker may rush through some funny-looking franchises, but he is afraid to do with the five-cent fare.

The Tammany game is to play for a five-cent fare until it can pass the test to the courts for a decision appealing a higher fare. At the time, Tammany has no intention of doing anything to give the city honest municipal service. Such service cannot be given on the new subways unless the larger part of their cost is assessed on the property benefited."

The Tiger is a romantic emblem. Thomas goes behind it to show that Tammany is in business—the public bus—for Tammany and that the men, women and children of New York City

## Norman Thomas Sizes Things Up

Tammany Will Never Give Cheaper Housing Because The Real Estate Operators Won't Let It.

The Tiger is Cleaner Looking Than He Used to Be. Al Smith has Held Him While The New Tammany has Smothered Out His Fur. But It's the Same Old Tammany, Living on Two Kinds of Graft, Honest and Dishonest.

The Public Pays Tammany Dollars and Gets Back Pennies.

No One Ever Sold His Birthright for a Cheaper Mess of Potage Than New York Gets.

The Republicans live on the crumbs that Tammany lets drop.

Socialists Sitting in the Board of Aldermen can save the People of the City Millions of Dollars a Year.

Justice in the Magistrates Court Goes by Favor. Political Pull is More Powerful than Justice.

"Honest Graft" Comes in Getting Contracts Awarded by the City. "Dishonest Graft" is Collected Principally Through Minor Offices Where "Fees" are Charged for Services that Should be Supplied Free by the City.

are all sorts of city jobs where, directly or indirectly, honesty or dishonesty, a petty official, an inspector or police officer gets "something on the side."

"Out of this great reservoir of strength in money and men, Tammany lets dribbles go back to the public which has supplied all of it. The public pays Tammany dollars and gets back pennies."

"There is no idea so firmly held in working class districts as this: that justice in magistrates courts goes by favor; that to know the judge is more important than to know the law, and that political pull is more powerful than justice."

As a Hackman Said  
"As a taxi-driver said the other day: 'You know I'm an enrolled Democrat. I wouldn't dare be anything else and drive a cab in New York.'

"I know of two teachers who have become enrolled Democrats in order to 'get along' in our Tammany-controlled school system."

"What you get out of this situation finally is a great mass of ignorant or cynical voters who don't know or care about how much they lose in rents, the extra cost of poorer quality of the food they buy because of graft in markets. They either don't know, don't care or won't do anything about it. They vote for the machine candidate who is most likely to give them or their friends, a personal favor."

"The average voter, having no self-respect as a voter, no faith in any political action and no imagination as to what political action in New York might do, sells his vote—if not for actual cash, then for hope of some favor from a machine."

"No one ever sold his birthright for a cheaper mess of potage than the New York voter gets."

Republicans Pick Up Crumbs  
"For this condition the voter is not wholly to blame. It is now unfashionable to muckrake. There isn't a single daily paper in New York today that has the courage or desire to let light into what is going on in the city government."

"Religious leaders either don't know or don't care."

"Social workers are so grateful to Al Smith for small favors that they can't or won't see what's happening."

"The Republican Party doesn't want to show up Tammany in any essential because in many districts the Republicans live on the crumbs that Tammany lets drop."

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## Tammany Plans Huge Transit Steal, Thomas Charges

(Continued from Page 1)

defeated not only will we lose a good judge, not only will the exploiters of New York take fresh courage, not only will the day when justice shall take the place of political pull be more remote, but the reactionaries everywhere who supported the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti will have a right to say contemptuously "the protest of the workers burns up like a bon-fire and like a bon-fire dies down to gray ashes with nothing accomplished." It is unthinkable that Judge Panken will not be elected. His program requires support in the Board of Aldermen and the Assembly.

I have spoken of the importance of reelecting Judge Panken. I have given some of the reasons why I should like to fight your fight in the Board of Aldermen. I have explained why we should send Sam Beardsley from the 8th District and other Socialist assemblymen from other districts to Albany.

But after all no man's election and no issue is so important as to build again a strong Socialist party to fight the battles of the producers in city, state and nation. I ask the voters of the 8th Assembly District to vote for Panken, Beardsley and myself. But far more than a big vote for us I want to see a big vote for the Socialist Party in the 8th and other districts. Vote the Socialist ticket straight.

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# THOMAS CHANGED CAREER TO ENTER LABOR'S BATTLES

## Nominee in the 8th Has a Dramatic And Brave Record

By Louis Stanley

PEOPLE like to imagine Norman Thomas, the present Socialist candidate in the Eighth Aldermanic District in New York, unfashionably striding out of the fashionable Brick Presbyterian Church on Fifth Avenue never to return again. They conjure a theatrical setting, a council of the elders perhaps, with the promising "white haired boy" who has been associate pastor, coaxed, reasoned with, tempted, intimidated and finally told to go. The Reverend Dr. Thomas has been communing publicly with Reds—Socialists who sacrilegiously threaten to disturb the God-ordained order of the classes and Christians who take seriously the pacifism of Christ. He has remained obdurate when his unbecoming conduct has been censured, turned his back upon a church career that glittered before him and thrown himself into the rebellion of the social radicals.

### Thomas Leaves His Fifth Avenue Church To Take up His Labors Among The People

Thomas and his wife were on the alert for more congenial work. An opportunity presented itself in 1911, when the Presbyterian Church undertook a large program of combined social reform and missionary labors on the Upper East Side of New York. Thither the Thomases went from the fastidiousness of Fifth Avenue. The American Parish, as the territory covered in the assignment was called, was made up of workmen. Along the East River factories absorbed some of the local labor. In the midst of this throbbing community Norman Thomas took up his work as minister of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and chairman of the American Parish. The Thomas family set up home in the heart of the district.

It is in the American Parish that Norman Thomas first came into intimate contact with the working-class. Through his activities in East Harlem he acquired first-hand knowledge of the mind and problems of the wage earner. The Brick Presbyterian legend only leaves room for a academic interest on his part. Actually his professional work forced upon him the role of social investigator at the very scene of action. The homes, the lives of the workers were laid bare to him. With a sensitive nature like that of Norman Thomas it meant identification with the suffering of the oppressed.

To the generalizations derived from personal acquaintanceship with individual

this time was no more than that of the social worker. He condemned sweat-shop conditions and sympathized with the striking clock-makers but then such views were respectable since none of those selfish employers could be found in the congregation of the Brick Presbyterian Church. At times he would express himself a little less mildly but it was laid down as only a youthful deviation.

workers' families Norman Thomas added the reflections that arose in his mind from the presentation of more general labor problems. In 1914, for example, his attention became focused upon the unemployment that was rife at the time. Through funds received from the municipal government—then under a Reform administration—the American Parish joined with the Union Settlement House in conducting workshops for the unemployed. Thomas recognized this as merely a dole system under a more pleasant designation.

About the same time a number of his parishioners became involved in a spon- taneous strike in a wire mill on the East River front. The European War was beginning to make its relentless demands upon American industry and the factory in question was profiting already. Wages were nailed down, while production was whipped into a maddening pace. The management in the meantime divided the workers by aggravating the racial antagonisms that the war had stirred up. The revolt of the two hundred or so men did not tie up the mill but the minister of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church discerned here a nucleus which could be augmented under expert leadership. He called upon the American Federation of Labor and an organizer appeared at the meeting of the men. Within two days, however, the strikers had returned to work.

### Opposes Bloodshed, Supports Hillquit And Angers His Wealthy Churchmen

It was part of Thomas' program to allay the animosities that the various nationalities within the parish directed against one another, as they adopted the ill feelings of their compatriots across the Atlantic. He held a grand pageant in Pleasant Avenue, he used diplomacy, he utilized the foreign language services that took place in shift. Fundamentally his opposition to the war was founded on much more than reasons of convenience and good fellowship. His Christian faith made him a pacifist and his studies—especially of the writings of Braithwaite—made him an opponent on economic and social grounds.

When the United States entered the war in April 1917, Thomas did not make any surrenders in his opinions as did others with calisthenic views. He maintained his hostility to the war because he still believed it an un-Christian deed committed for the gain of private economic interests. He participated actively in the American Union Against Militarism and in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. While he addressed public meetings, mainly in proletarian quarters, his speeches did not quite reverberate to the wealthy dwelling places of Presbyterian donors. It was another matter when he announced his support for Christian as well as civic reasons of that Red, Morris Hillquit, who was contending for the mayoralty.

### Fought For Workers' Liberties In Passaic and West Virginia

Thomas was now a-throb with the post-war struggle of the social radicals. He and Roger Baldwin invented the American Civil Liberties Union as a bulwark against the encroachments of officials and self-constituted authorities upon freedom of speech, assembly and the press. The most crucial episodes occurred in connection with industrial struggles and Thomas was always in the thick of the fight. In 1919, for example, there was staged a free speech test in Passaic during the course of the strike that the Amalgamated Textile Workers were staging. The meeting had to be held by candle-light but the civil rights of the strikers were asserted. Later the cause of the West Virginia miners was similarly defended.

The more one knows Norman Thomas the more one wonders how he can accomplish so much with so little publicity for himself. Any reporter in New York will tell you that the newspapers are always ready to snatch up a Thomas saying or doing and therefore, public notice comes despite himself. He was active in Patterson in 1919 during the textile strike of that year—his brother was an organizer. He mobilized the

## THE MILK GRAFTERS



Drawn by Rollin Kirby

There are two kinds of milk grafters. Big ones and little ones. The **LITTLE ONES** are Tammany Hall Health Department inspectors. Some of them were careless and so they went to jail. The Tammany secretary of this graft-ridden Health Department has been promoted, however. He is now Director of the Budget. Tammany permits Mr. Kohler, who let inspectors graft left and right, have charge of spending \$525,000,000 (525 MILLION DOLLARS) of the city's money in one year.

But there other and **BIGGER GRAFTERS** than the Tammany milk inspectors.

The **BIGGER GRAFTERS** are the milk companies themselves. They rake in heavy and unfair profits on the milk we need for our children, and on the butter, cheese and cream we need for ourselves.

**NORMAN THOMAS IN THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN** would fight to take the milk business OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE BIG AND LITTLE GRAFTERS. He would have the city sell milk and other dairy foods to the people at cost price.

## EUGENE DEBS GUIDES US ON

By Judge Jacob Panken

EUGENE V. DEBS is dead, yet he is alive. That which was earthly is gone.

His spirit is alive. His spirit will never die. The poetry of his life is an inspiration to those who are left behind to carry on the battle which he so valiantly fought.

Love radiated from his soul. He made life more beautiful for all who came in contact with him, and even for those who had only been privileged to be in his presence.

Hatred was unknown to him. The lowliest amongst men were his brothers. The most depraved were forgiven. He knew, and he preached the thought that men are what they are because of the conditions in which they live. No man too mean to be redeemed, no woman too low, who cannot be raised to the highest level. These were his beliefs, his hope, and what he lived for.

An artist's soul in a soldier's body. That was Eugene V. Debs. Appreciation of beauty as of a "DeVinci", and the fighting spirit of a "Marx". That was Eugene V. Debs. A love of man as of a Jesus Christ, and a will to fight for that love, as that of a Jaures. That was Eugene V. Debs.

Made His Prison Holy When Debs was in Atlanta his prison became a shrine to which many of us vended our way as the pilgrims throughout the world to the holy places.

I made my pilgrimage to him. I shall never forget it. I remember coming before the forbidding walls, ten feet thick, which imprisoned his body. I remember gates being thrown open to admit me. I remember waiting at the head of a long hall, and in a moment the lanky figure of Gene Debs, garbed in his prison uniform, came strolling along. He took me into his arms and kissed me on both cheeks. Then the prison warden took us into a room and locked us both

in, where I spent an hour with him. The eagerness with which he sought information from the outer world, of the comrades on the firing line, of the workmen in their unions and on the picket line, drove from my consciousness the fact that he was in prison.

When the time came for me to leave, he again took me into his arms and his long fingers caressed me, and like a child I wept.

When I left those forbidding walls I left part of my soul. I came out of it with greater courage to battle for the cause of man.

His Spirit Leads

Coming from the prison I met a Catholic priest who was attached to the prison. Evidently he knew that I had been to see Debs and knew who I was. He stopped me and asked, "have you seen Gene?" All those who knew Debs called him "Gene." I said "yes." He then told me that when Debs came to the prison he felt antagonistic to him, but after he had talked with him two or three times Debs, whom he had called to solace, had solaced him. He was opposed to Socialism, but Debs made a convert of him. These are the very words of the priest, "Never in my life have I thought that I shall have the privilege of meeting a Jesus Christ in the form of an earthly man. I have met Debs, and I have seen the spirit of a Christ in human flesh."

The murderers who were confined with him in prison were softened by contact with his spirit and his love. Hardened criminals who were his prison mates were again made men, because of their touch with Debs.

On this anniversary of his death, his spirit is abroad in the land. His spirit is in our midst. His spirit guides us in the task that is before us; the abolition of the capitalist system which produces criminals; which turns men into beasts. His spirit leads us out of this darkness into the light; out of capitalism into Socialism!

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## Maurer on Stump In Reading Contest Socialist Tide Grows

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—Having returned from a visit to Russia, James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, has cleaned up work that accumulated in his absence and is now speaking at open air meetings in support of the Socialist candidates. He speaks at three such meetings a week.

Gossip is now current that politicians of the old parties are considering a combination to defeat the Socialist candidates. Trading votes has been successful in former campaigns but the workers are so aroused this year it is doubtful whether "deals" will very much affect the vote.

In his campaign for Mayor, J. Henry Stump relates some amusing incidents. "Our difficulty is not to gather crowds but to get the people to return to their homes after we have concluded our addresses," he said. "At every meeting the people gather in groups. After one meeting, held near a social club, a group of club men found it impossible to continue a card game because the bulk of the membership was demanding a discussion of political affairs. At another meeting women carried rocking chairs from their homes to the corner where we spoke and sat in comfort to listen to our demand for an administration of city affairs in the interest of small home owners and renters instead of for the profit of landlords and coupon clippers."

## Mrs. Linville Dellinger, An Unknown Hero, Dies

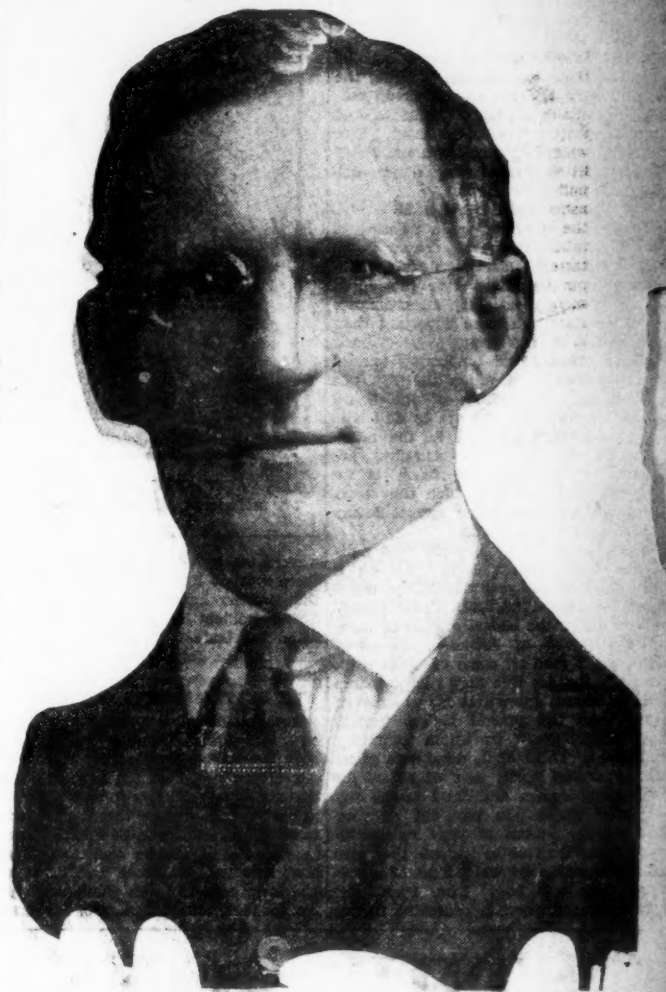
In the old Moravian Town of Lititz, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Linville Dellinger spent her lifetime tirelessly working for the regeneration of society, for the birth of the cooperative society and Socialism. Her death is a great loss not only to her near and dear ones, but to the labor movement as a whole.

Surrounded by religious bigotry and seventeenth century superstitions, she and her husband upheld the torch of liberty in the face of all derision, abuse and material suffering. When during the war hysteria her good husband was dragged out of his bed in the middle of the night, thrown into the sleet and snow and hazed by an infuriated mob, she did not flinch or waver in her convictions. Forbidden the right to any meeting place in town, they threw open the doors of their humble dwelling to all seeking a ray of hope, though it meant the immediate loss of her husband's job, with no prospect of ever finding another.

Her last words related to her beloved movement, her last breath a hope of coming freedom.

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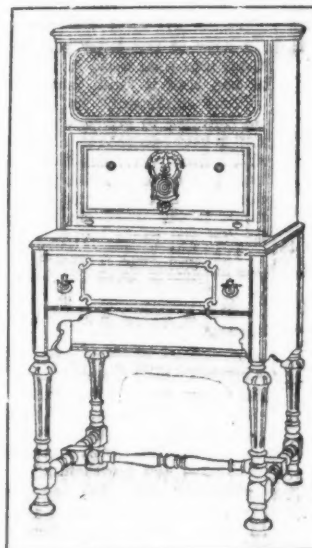
## Keep Faith With Meyer London



THE LATE MEYER LONDON

As the campaign on the East Side for the election of the Socialist candidates enters upon its final stage, the thoughts of thousands revert back to Meyer London. For more than a quarter of a century Meyer London was the idol of all who labor, the champion of the oppressed, the prophet of a new social order based on humanity and justice. Meyer London's familiar figure is gone. The inspiring message he would deliver in each campaign from hundreds of street corners and halls as he led his comrades on to victory, is only a memory which they all cherish. But the inspiration and idealism which his presence and speeches imparted to the numerous battles in which he took part remain, and drive his comrades forward to victory. Remembering the battles in which Meyer London was their champion, encouraged by the devotion with which he served his fellow men all these years, and heartened by the pictured of a world to come from suffering, the Socialist comrades he left off, so that the cause for which he lived and labored may triumph.

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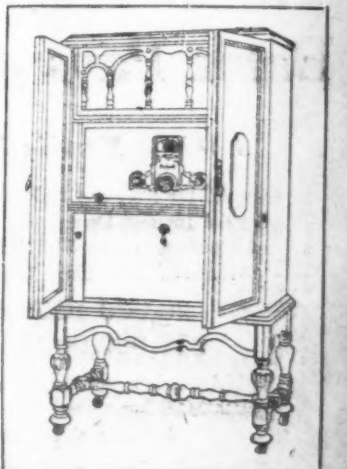
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# Why You Should Send Socialists to the Board of Aldermen

By Norman Thomas  
Socialist Candidate for Alderman  
8th District

THE Board of Aldermen is the most useless and expensive collection of rubber stamps in New York. It ought to be the useful and honorable legislative body of the richest city in the world. As it is we pay \$5,000 each to a lot of politicians for going to something like forty meetings a year and O. King the particular thing that the higher-up politicians of the Board of Estimate and Tammany Hall put before them. Two or three leaders of the Board get \$7,500 a year and an official car. Why? Ask Tammany Hall, it knows.

**WHAT THE BOARD IS**  
Look at any journal of a meeting of the Board of Aldermen. There is no record that any Alderman since the Socialists left the Board ever introduced more his own responsibility an ordinance or resolution much more important than is calling on the Mayor to proclaim a holiday in honor of Lindbergh—one of a few things on which the city was unanimous. Proceedings of the Board of the Socialists left are so dull that they are rarely reported in the newspapers. The members themselves are red. Their only enthusiasm is for saving their salaries which they earn, at all, by doing some special favors a particular constituents.

This bunch of tired, indifferent politicians has to pass every year on a budget which this year reaches the enormous total of \$474,893,300. They simply rubber stamp the budget as sent to them by the Board of Estimate. Most of them don't read it; some of them can't read it. Besides this they rubber stamp a lot of special appropriations which even more than the general budget furnish the "honest graft" by which Tammany Hall lives. Think of it, these men spend money at the yearly rate of \$81.00 for each man, woman and child in the city—money which you pay out of your direct taxes or out of your rent—with less debate than as individuals they give to the question of what kind of cigarettes they will buy. Mrs. Pratt, the one woman Alderman, presented figures

## These Will Be Representatives, Not Rubber Stamps



AUGUST CLAESSENS  
For Alderman, 6th Dist., Manhattan



HARRY W. LAIDLER  
For Alderman, 35th Dist., Brooklyn



MRS. SADIE H. RIVKIN  
For Alderman, 50th Dist., Brooklyn



EDMUND SEIDEL  
For Alderman, 25th Dist., Bronx



SAMUEL ORR  
For Alderman, 36th Dist., Bronx

worked out by accountants to show that there was at least \$50,000,000 waste in the present budget. Whereupon the Board politely congratulated her and voted the budget. That was Tammany Hall, but the Republican machine is no better.

**WHAT THE BOARD MIGHT BE**  
Now this Board of rubber stamps might be a real powerful and useful legislative body genuinely representing the interests of the people in the government of the city. To fulfill this function it ought to have certain powers that it now lacks. It should be able to initiate expenditures as well as to reduce them. But the powers it has are great and important and largely untried. It could check the frivolous and criminal waste of the money

which the workers struggle so hard to earn. It could end, for instance, the \$3,000,000 automobile bill which we pay so that our city officials, their wives and their children, can joy-ride around the city. It could stop the mischievous habit of voting meeting after meeting extra items not on the budget. One dollar out of every four that we citizens pay for the support of our city goes to meet charges on our city's huge debt, a large part of which was incurred for objects that nobody knows much about or has ever discussed. The Board of Aldermen could turn the light on this business.

Moreover the Board has other powers—none knows just how great—under our cumbersome charter and the municipal home rule law. A determined and in-

telligent Board could find a way effectively to legislate on many matters touching transit, housing, markets and milk supply. At the very least even a minority of the Board could bring these problems up for discussion and by resolution focus attention on them. Even a minority of the Board could bring up for inquiry questions concerning the conduct of city departments—say of the Police Department in time of strikes.

### WHAT SOCIALIST ALDERMEN CAN AND WILL DO

In few places can representation of a minority party be more useful than the Board of Aldermen. Of course one Socialist Alderman or a dozen can't set the whole world right, or even New York City. But here are some of the real

things every Socialist candidate for Alderman is pledged to do:

1. Effectively serve the legitimate interests of his district on the Local Improvement Boards, to which Aldermen belong, and in every other honest way.
2. Fight against waste and graft in the city budget and in special appropriations. Even one Socialist Alderman by his objection can prevent the vicious practice of passing phony special expenditure bills by unanimous consent without debate or examination. But though we oppose waste we favor decent pay for all city employees and endorse the demand of firemen and police for the eight hour day.
3. Bring before the attention of the Aldermen, and hence of the city, the

improper conduct of the police in strikes or graft in the Tenement House Department or the Health Department.

4. Introduce ordinances or resolutions as the existing powers of the Board of Aldermen may permit to further an intelligent understanding and solution of the great municipal issues which affect every citizen of New York.

### THE GREAT ISSUES FOR A BETTER CITY

1. Housing. New York's housing is a disgrace that would not be permitted in any modern European City. Both the old parties, at Albany as well as at the City Hall, are engaged in fooling the people by plans that have not worked and will not work. Any solution of the housing problem in New York requires a city

program which will correlate zoning and the provision of parks, with the creation of a non-political, municipal corporation publicly controlled and financed to provide housing at cost. To this the Socialist Party is pledged.

2. Transit. The Socialist Party is pledged to work for a unified transit system and the five cent fare under a non-political municipal corporation on the directorate of which the workers will be allowed representation. We oppose a directorate selected by Chambers of Commerce and Realty Boards. Of course on such a system unionization of the exploited workers of the B. M. T. and I. R. T. will be permitted.

3. Milk and Markets. The Socialist Party is pledged to honest and competent inspection of markets and especially of milk on which the life of our children depends. The Socialist Party is pledged to make the distribution and sale of milk and the provision of markets a public function. At present the great milk companies have both the producing farmers and the citizens at their mercy. We pay for the wastes of competition when four or five milk wagons rattle over the same streets morning after morning without getting any of its blessings.

These are the chief issues but to make New York a comfortable and beautiful home for our people requires attention to the almost equally important problem of sewage disposal, parks and playgrounds, and other matters which affect the voters and their children every day of their lives.

None of these things will receive attention in the Board of Aldermen or elsewhere except as we build a strong party of the workers determined to make government in city, state and nation the servant of the people. To this great cause every Socialist candidate for every office dedicates himself. That Socialist pledges are not idle words is shown by the record in former years of Socialist Assemblymen and Socialist Aldermen as well as by the record of Jacob Panken, the single Socialist judge on the bench. Vote for yourselves and your children by voting the entire Socialist ticket.

# "THE SONS OF HELL HAVE THE UPPER HAND"

## Bernard Shaw and Friedrich Adler Clash On the Merits of Fascism

We publish below the salient points of the exceedingly interesting correspondence which has passed between Bernard Shaw and Friedrich Adler, the secretary of the Labor and Socialist International. The correspondence was the sequel in an article written by Mr. Shaw in a London paper, which was published as "The Defence" of Mussolini, and has been widely reproduced in the press—especially in the press of Fascist methods.

The first letter of the series is from Mr. Shaw to an unnamed correspondent who had criticized this article. "You cannot," says Mr. Shaw in this letter, "dispose of Mussolini by simply repeating in a tone of virtuous indignation the admitted and even vaunted fact that he owes his power to a coup d'etat."

"Our attitude towards a new regime cannot be determined by the means employed to establish it."

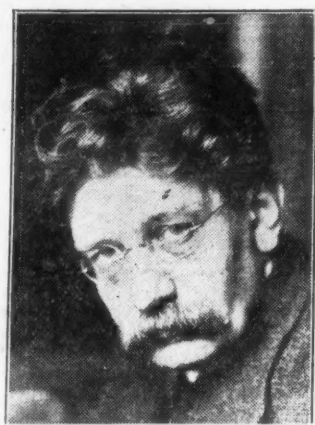
### ITALY AND RUSSIA

"It is silly to refuse to trade with Russia because the Soviet connived at regime and made an end of the nice dinners given by the dear Beckendorffs. It would be absurd to pretend that the Kaiser is still the rightful ruler of Germany because the substitution of a Republic was accompanied by the murder of Rathenau as well as Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg."

"It is equally irrelevant and silly to refuse to acknowledge the dictatorship of Il Duce because it was not achieved without all the usual villainies."

"The only question for us is whether he is doing his job well enough to induce the Italian nation to accept him *faute de mieux*. They do accept him, some of them *faute de mieux*, several of them with enthusiasm."

"His enemies—if you like, his victims



FRIEDRICH ADLER

—cannot pretend that they had not as good a chance as he. But they were incapable of taking any chance. They could neither lead nor follow."

"If that did not seem good enough for Mussolini, and he finally had to come down on the side of a militarist Fascism, which was at all events, ready to do something. Have they, of all people, the right to blame him?"

"Some of the things Mussolini has done, and some that he is threatening to do go further in the direction of Socialism than the English Labour Party could yet venture if they were in power. They will bring him presently into serious conflict with Capitalism, and it is certainly not my business, nor that of any

Socialist, to weaken him in view of such a conflict."

"As long as he can say 'J'y suis, et j'y reste,' and the Italian people say 'So you shall: viva il Duce!' we must accept the situation, and we may as well do it with a good grace."

"All the tyranny I saw in Italy was of the kind which our capitalist Press denounces as characteristic of Socialism; and I do not boll with indignation at it as the Liberals do. But that is not my point, which was, and is, that the campaign of abuse against the Mussolini dictatorship is just as stupid as the campaign against the Soviet dictatorship in Russia."

### Dr. Adler Answers

"CHILDISH AND PROVOCATIVE"  
A copy of this letter was sent to Dr. Adler, who then wrote to Mr. Shaw that he had read it "with real indignation." "Your standpoint," he continued, "of not 'refusing to accept an accomplished fact' is very adequate to a Buddha sitting with a fixed stare; but it is a really astonishing one for a militant Socialist, who can never agree that we should 'accept the situation' when the Italian people say 'So you shall! Viva il Duce!'"

"The idea that a people should accept absolutism 'faute de mieux' can only be put forward by someone for whom absolutism is merely a mental exercise in history."

Mr. Shaw's point of view, he says, is dangerously near the attitude of the British ruling class to "natives." "His view of history might be suitable for judging a football match, but as a criterion for great struggles it is 'childish and provocative.'"

"You are altogether right, that the dictatorship of the Fascists cannot easily be fought, if the dictatorship in Soviet Russia be recognized as a permanent institution. In this consistency you differ—to your advantage—from many of your countrymen."

"But we draw the converse conclusion. We are for the restoration of democracy in Russia as well as in Italy, and accordingly we have a moral right to fight against Fascism with all our strength."

"You may qualify as 'stupid' the fight against dictatorship, but we inhabitants of countries who have had to wage this fight in reality will indeed never 'ignore' the fact of a dictatorship, but we will always feel sympathy for the fight against it in all countries, and give our help in the fight. We shall never allow ourselves to be led astray by the idea of 'accepting an accomplished fact.'"

### G. B. S. Defends Himself

"DEMOCRATIC IDEALISM IS DEAD"

The third letter is Mr. Shaw's reply to Dr. Adler, written from Italy. His original article, he says, was "a demand for common sense and common civility in dealing with the foreign statesman who had achieved a dictatorship in a great modern State without a single advantage, social, official, or academic, to assist him, after marching to Rome with a force of Blackshirts which a single disciplined regiment backed by a competent Government could have routed at any moment."

"To tell us that this extraordinary success was achieved by murdering a hostile deputy and administering castor oil to his supporters is childish."

"The obvious retort to it is 'If dictatorships can be established in Italy so easily, why did not the Communists establish the dictatorship of the proletariat by the same simple means?' They have as much as done it at their disposal as the Fascists; and they have not hesitated to shoot and throw bombs."

"In your letter you speak of the restoration of democracy in Russia and Italy. But you do not seriously attach any value to the status quo ante in Russia and Italy? I take it that after the war, Italy was left in a condition not unlike that in which Napoleon found France under the Directory when he returned from his Egyptian campaign."

The Government was so feeble that silly Syndicalists were seized in factories, and fanatical devotees of that curious attempt at a new Catholic Church called the Third International, were preaching a coup d'etat and a crusade in all directions; and imagining that this sort of thing was Socialism and Communism."

"Mussolini, without any of Napoleon's prestige, has done for Italy what Napoleon did for France, except that for the Duc d'Enghien you must read Matteotti."

"Are we to give him credit for his work and admit its necessity, and the hopeless failure of our so-called Socialists, Syndicalists, Communists, Anarchists, etc., etc., to achieve it or even to understand it, or are we to go shrieking that the murderer of Liberty and Matteotti is trampling Italy underfoot?"

"Of course, if you compare Italy with a Mazzinian Utopia, it is full of abuses and tyrannies. So is America, so is France, so is England, so is Russia."

"Because I face the facts on the full knowledge that the democratic idealism of the XIXth century is as dead as a door nail, you say that I come dangerous-

ly near the point of view of the British ruling classes."

"But are you not delighted to find at last a Socialist who speaks and thinks as responsible rulers do, and not as resentful slaves do? Of what use are Socialists who can neither rule nor understand what ruling means?"

"Do you expect me to lecture Mussolini as Kautsky lectured Lenin, as Marx lectured Thiers, as Victor Hugo lectured Napoleon III and Flus IX, as all the Socialists who have never had to administer a farthing of public expenditure or employ a single workman (to say nothing of signing a death warrant) lecture the Cabinets of Europe, especially the Socialist ones?"

"You can hardly believe that the brutalities and retaliations, the assassinations and counter-assassinations, which accompany the eternal struggle of Government with anarchy do not disgust me as much as they disgust you. If they were peculiar to Fascism our continual harping on them would have some excuse."

"As it is, the murder of Matteotti is no more an argument against Fascism than the murder of St. Thomas a Becket is an argument against Feudalism."

"Mussolini may have to hang some of the cruder Fascists for trop de zèle before order is completely restored in Italy. Meanwhile, nothing is to be gained by pretending that any indictment can be brought against him by us or anyone else that he cannot meet by a crushing *tu quoque*. The blots on his rule are neither specifically Fascist nor specifically Italian; they are blots on human nature."

### Adler's Final Word

In reply to this Mr. Adler, seeing that any agreement is hopeless, limits himself

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## "WHO THREW THAT CANTALOUPE?"

WE ARE now in the clutches of the law. But don't cheer too quickly, boys and girls, it's not what you think.

We are engaged in upholding the hands of justice as a juror in the Supreme Court. Ooh, think of being in a Supreme Court! Well there we are and we aren't half as impressed about it as you might be who have never been in a Supreme Court. Because whenever the leaves begin to fall and we begin to run for Alderman, Assistant Dog-catcher or whatever place on the ticket happens to be vacant, and the Columbia football teams begin to drop their mid-season games, as sure as shooting, round comes a rather despondent old gentleman with the dolorous word that they want to have us back at the Supreme Court as a juror again. We must be darn good at juring. Our mistake was in being too good at the start many years ago so that now when they get stuck they say, "Where is that Coleman guy? He knows his stuff. Go fetch him, Jake." And Jake always does.

We have just finished a most momentous case, what the frogs would call a "cause celebre", and as long as it's all cleared up, we are sure that it's no breach of professional ethics to let you boys and girls in on it.

It seems that on August 25th, 1925, a Polish young lady who lived at 103rd Street and Park Avenue, New York City, went out to buy a cantaloupe. She went to the push-cart of Hyman Scheimann and said:

"Got a mush-melon?"

"Sure, I got a mush-melon," said Hyman.

"Let me feel it," said the lady and Hyman did and the lady said "That mush-melon is rotten."

"It is not," said Hyman.

"You are a low-down Russian pig," said the lady, and so for quite a while there was parrot back and forth until finally someone threw the mush-melon at someone else.

Who threw it at whom? you ask. Aha. That's where we and eleven other good men and true come in and that shows you what a job it is to be a juror in a great, big, 'nornous Supreme Court.

The lady and the lady's lawyer are unanimous in their opinion that Hyman threw the mush-melon at the lady hitting her in the stomach and causing her such contusions and abrasions that she ain't been the same girl since. For which she asks \$5,000 damages. And Hyman and his lawyer are equally confident that the lady threw the mush-melon hitting Hyman on the nose and likewise damaging his reputation.

So an expensive judge and twelve men and three or four lawyers and practically all the Poles and push-cart men in the neighborhood of 103rd Street and Park Avenue and a lot of court-attendants who keep hollering, "Take your hat off," and "Sit down," and a very irritable court stenographer, all get together in a legal huddle to settle this weighty matter.

If you think for a moment that cantaloupe throwing is not conducive to oratory, you should have heard the summing up of the lawyers. There was quite a lot about the sensitive nature of the Polish people. They just don't like to get hit in the stomachs with mush-melons. And on the other hand push-cart men have their fine feelings too and are averse to having their wares returned in a manner described above.

I would be liable to contempt of court if I told you what went on in the jury-room when the case finally reached us.

So this turns out to be a mystery story, after all and you will have to go to your graves wondering who threw that cantaloupe.

Don't forget, boys and girls, that respect for law and order is one of the corner-stones of this Republic and take your hats off and sit down.

Being on the jury has cut in a bit on our campaign for Alderman in the Twelfth District of Manhattan. We have however managed to dash off a rather neat little speech to deliver to the committee which will notify us of our election.

We realize that election is still quite a bit off but this is our column and we give ourselves leave to print in advance of the necessary.

So here goes:

"My Fellow Citizens: It is with feelings that are difficult to describe that I come before you tonight to have from your lips word of my overwhelming victory in the Tenth Aldermanic District, the home of Judge Olvany and the heart of New York's famous Greenwich Village. By casting your votes for me you have indeed made good your privilege of franchise as free citizens of this Republic. (Cry of, "When did he get to be a Republican?") How glorious it is to think that in this manner you have renewed your faith in the principles of democracy. (Cry of, "When did he get to be a Democrat?") For years innumerable we Anglo-Saxons struggled to bring to every man and every woman the right of self-representation. And now we got the Board of Aldermen of New York City. (Cry of, "Look at the damn thing.") We have as head of the greatest metropolis that the world has ever seen, a city that dwarfs in sheer magnificence all the towering piles of antiquity, that outdoes the beauty of Athens, the grandeur of Rome, the bibulousness of Babylon, the cretinism of Crete, we have, I repeat (Cry of "Throw him a fish") as head of this glittering galaxy that is New York—Jimmy Walker.

"My Fellow Citizens I promise to uphold Jimmy Walker in every way. (Cry of, "That's a considerable bargain, bo.") In the swift course of his appointed rounds, or whatever it says over the Post Office, he shall find no more faithful servant at his side than your Alderman. Nor rain nor heat nor winter's snow shall stop us from doing our full duty to the night-clubs of this fair city. Where Jimmy goes there shall I go also and he may count on me to the last drop of Scotch in my veins. I thank you." (Meeting breaks up with cheers and cries of "When do I get my license?")

McAlister Coleman.

## American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

### The Constitution

**THIRTEEN SOVEREIGNTIES.** The Peace of 1783 brought the usual aftermath of war in economic prostration, widespread poverty and distress. Moreover, the colonies were not united. In fact, sectional, provincial, economic and religious prejudices had weakened unity during the war. Southern soldiers distrusted the "damned Yankees" of New England. Quakers of Pennsylvania and Catholics of Maryland resented bad treatment of their co-religionists in other colonies. Even Washington wrote that New Englanders "are an exceedingly dirty and nasty people." A brigadier-general observed that "the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other" as the British.

The colonies also failed to pay the full financial requisitions asked for by Congress and the latter was forced to issue paper in such quantities that it rapidly depreciated. "Not worth a Continental" became a synonym for cheapness. Each colony also issued paper that rapidly depreciated. The colonies quarreled over territory and boundaries and levied tariffs against each other. There were four currency systems complicated by local variations and numerous issues of paper. Clipping of coins became so common that coin finally passed by weight and "tables of exchange between States would have filled a fat volume."

**ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.** The colonies had loosely united under the Articles of Confederation adopted in 1781 and this precarious union was agreed to in secrecy to conceal the divisions and jealousies that developed in debate. The articles did not provide for an executive or a judiciary. Voting was by States. The one House could not declare war, make peace, coin money, or pass any important legislation without the consent of nine States. It could not regulate commerce or levy a tax for raising revenue. The Articles could not be amended without the consent of each State and it was a rare occasion when all thirteen States were represented.

**DISUNION AND REACTION.** Meantime thousands of workers and poor farmers, many who had fought in the Revolution, were being imprisoned for debt. Poor debtors acquired considerable power in a number of State Legislatures, especially in Rhode Island, and passed paper money acts and "stay laws," i. e., laws postponing payment of debts. Merchants closed their shops and refused to accept paper. In the winter of 1786-7 armed risings of workers and debtors occurred in New England. In Massachusetts a rising led by Daniel Shays, a revolutionary veteran, required special enlistment of soldiers, paid by private contributions of the wealthy to suppress.

Moreover, the soldiers were discontented because of arrears in pay. In June, 1783, 300 mutineers drove Congress out of Philadelphia. Three months before this event the "Newburgh address" of army officers to Washington urged that the army should not be disbanded until their pay was assured. Washington wrote to Madison, during the progress of the debtors' rebellion, of the talk of monarchy, saying that "the period is not yet arrived for adopting the change without shaking the peace of the country to its foundation." These words indicate that he was not wholly averse to the change. In 1787 through Nathaniel Gorham, formerly President of Congress, secret advances were made to Prince Henry of Prussia to accept the American throne.

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.** Meantime some quiet conferences

of politicians and upper class gentry were being held to consider the intolerable condition of internal commerce and out of these conferences came a request to Congress that a convention of the States be held to "revise the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate." On February 1, 1787, Congress resolved that a convention be held "for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." By the following May delegates were chosen by all States except New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The convention met May 25 and adjourned September 17 when it reported the draught of the Constitution of the United States.

The convention was a conservative reaction against mechanic and agrarian Radicalism. The delegates, with a few exceptions, warned of the possibility of Radical control if conditions continued to drift to chaos. They urged the necessity of a strong government to protect property and spoke contemptuously of popular rule. The planters, merchants and commercial men and their lawyers draughted the Constitution.

The debates were secret. No member was permitted to reveal the decisions to the people outside and no member was allowed to copy the official record. James Madison's copious digest of the debates and decisions of the convention was not published until after his death fifty years later. Instead of revising the old Articles, as instructed, the delegates clearly exceeded their powers.

**THE CONSTITUTION.** The new charter of government was considered by the States, either by the Legislature or by a special State convention. In either case the acting body rested upon a very restricted suffrage, the Revolution having made few changes in political rights.

The Constitution created a strong executive (President), indirectly elected through an Electoral College, the number of Presidential Electors in each State to be "equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." He was also given a veto power over Congress equal to two-thirds of the members of each House. He was made commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and given the power of appointing judges of the Supreme Court, ambassadors, ministers, consuls and many other officers of the United States, with the "advice and consent of the Senate."

Congress consists of two Houses, the Senate and House of Representatives. Each State has two Senators and each State's Representatives or Congressmen are apportioned according to its population. Until the abolition of slavery the Slave States were permitted to include three-fifths of their slaves in apportioning representation and apportionment is made every ten years when a census of the population is taken.

Revenue bills originate in the House but the Senate may propose amendments and the Senate is associated with the President in making treaties. Many former powers of the States, such as coining money, making treaties, levying tariffs, were transferred to the national Government and they were expressly prohibited from passing any laws "impairing the obligation of contracts." This struck at the debtor "stay laws" postponing payment of debts.

The supreme judicial power was lodged in a Supreme Court (now nine members) and other inferior Federal Courts as Congress may determine. Although the power is not expressly granted, the Supreme Court has assumed the power to nullify State and Federal laws on the ground of their alleged conflict with the

Constitution. Federal Judges are appointed for life by the President or during good behavior.

The restricted suffrage of the States was not disturbed. Provision was made for the recovery of fugitive white servants and Negro slaves escaping from one State into another. The slave trade was guaranteed to the year 1803. The Constitution, the laws of Congress, and treaties were made "the supreme law of the land." Nine States were sufficient to ratify the Constitution, a provision that exceeded the powers of the delegates and that was in conflict with the old Constitution, which required all States to ratify.

**AMENDMENTS, CHECKS AND BALANCES.** Amendments were made almost impossible. They require a two-thirds vote of both Houses or the application of two-thirds of the several States. The Constitution embodied the theory of checks and balances between the Executive, the Congress and the Judiciary. In 1814 John Adams enumerated eight balances: eighteen States and Territories against the Federal Government; the House against the Senate; the Senate against the House; the Executive against Congress; the Judiciary against the House, the Senate, the Executive and the State governments; the Senate against the Executive in appointments and making treaties; the people against the Representatives; the State Legislatures against the Senate in senatorial elections; and the Presidential Electors against voters in choosing a President. The result has too often been a deadlock between various powers and functions.

**RATIFICATION.** In the secret convention that framed the Constitution the delegates were frankly aristocrats in their views but in urging ratification they supported and expounded the Constitution as a democratic charter representing the people. What they said behind closed doors could not be effectively challenged as the records of the convention were not available. A few members of the convention opposed ratification but the weight of "eminent men" was against them.

Of the 4,000,000 inhabitants of the States probably not more than 120,000 men could qualify for the suffrage. The distribution of the vote shows that the Constitution was generally favored in the more wealthy sections and was opposed by the people of moderate incomes. The

disfranchised masses had no voice in the matter and where the Constitution was carried it was generally by a narrow margin.

The opposition to the Constitution had become so formidable that its advocates, in order to win support, made an important concession. The Constitution contained no guarantees of freedom of assembly, of speech, of the press and other civil rights and its opponents pointed this out with considerable effect. Prominent supporters of the document pledged that upon ratification amendments guaranteeing these rights would be adopted. The first ten amendments carrying out this pledge were adopted in 1791.

Six states approved the Constitution without amendments and five qualified their approval by proposing amendments. The close struggle in New York kept that State out of the Union till six months after Washington took the oath as President in April 1789. So bitter was the opposition in Rhode Island that this State did not ratify until May, 1790.

**SUGGESTED READING:**

Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization," Vol. I, Chap. vii.

Beard, "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," Chaps. vi, vii, viii.

Dunbar, "Monarchical Tendencies in the United States from 1776 to 1801."

Ford, "The Rise and Growth of American Politics," Part II.

Johnson, "Union and Democracy," Chap. II.

Krauel, "Prince Henry of Prussia and the Regency of the United States, 1786," American Historical Review, October 1913.

McLaughlin, "The Confederation and the Constitution," Chaps. x, xvi, xvii.

McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," Vol. I, Chap. v.

McMaster, "With the Fathers," Chap. v, Oneal, "The Workers in American History," Chap. viii.

Schlesinger, "New Viewpoints in American History," Chaps. vii, viii.

Smith, "The Spirit of American Government," Chap. iii.

**QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT**

1. What were the political and economic conditions of the States at the end of the Revolutionary War?

2. Why were the Articles of Confederation unsatisfactory?

3. What were the causes of the conservative reaction?

4. Is the Constitution the fruit of aristocratic or democratic ideas? Give reasons.

**FOR DISCUSSION**

Is it easy or difficult for a majority to have its will expressed under the government provided by the Constitution of the United States?

## HOW SHALL WE HONOR DEBS?

By Norman Thomas

A LONG and crowded year has passed since Gene Debs' voice was stifled in death. He did not live to see the crowd make Jack Dempsey a hero. He did not live to see how far the country which he loved would go on the road to empire. He was spared the ghastly tragedy of the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. For him perhaps it was as well, but not for us. Strong men and good there are among us but none to take Gene's place. There was in him a quality of lion hearted courage, irresistible love, which made him unique in history.

In a true sense Gene Debs cannot die. He is immortal here on earth. Even in distant days should he die in the conscious memory of the humanity he served he still will live in the streams of unconscious influence which float out from those whose thoughts and affections and deeds he inspired.

Yet it is not enough for Gene Debs, say, rather, it is not enough for us—that he should live in memory and influence as a great personality. He cared more for the immortality of the cause which he loved than for himself. And if his spirit now could speak to us he would sadly, perhaps indignantly, disclaim the tributes of affection that we bring to him who have deserted the cause to which he gave the whole measure of his devotion.

Something we have done for the cause. The Debs Memorial Radio Station WEVD in New York City is a peculiarly fitting monument to him. For it is a living thing through which the hopes and aspirations of men may speak as once they spoke through him. No single tribute to Gene Debs can be more effective than the adequate maintenance of the radio station named in his honor.

No single thing, that is, if we accept the building of that mighty and passionate party of the workers dedicated to the peace and freedom of happiness of mankind for which he so unrelentingly toiled. And, to build up that party is not a single or a simple thing. It requires the cooperation of men and women all over America. It means loyalty to hum-drum and commonplace tasks. It means courage to work without false expectations of immediate victory.

It is not true that we are too prosperous to need a labor party inspired by socialist ideals. Almost one third of our population of sixty-five years of age and over is dependent or partially dependent on some sort of public or private charity or family help for support. That would be inconceivable if we were as prosperous as the propagandists tell us. It is not true that we are so hopelessly weak that we cannot if we will build up a stronger labor movement and with it a labor party. The two must go hand in hand.

Gene Debs was a great man. He was also a great leader. And his greatness as a man and as a leader was derived in no small part from the greatness of the cause which he served. How shall we honor him unless we also dedicate our lesser gifts in ways most appropriate to the particular problem of our time to that same great cause.

NORMAN THOMAS.

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I'M glad I'm not living in Russia, Turkey, Spain or any of those dictator and king-ridden countries of the old world, but in the good old U. S. A., the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Here, for instance, a man can work any time he has a job, can walk in patent leather shoes if he has the money, or go barefooted if he hasn't, eat meat three times a day or twice a month, in strict accordance with his pocketbook, choose his own government from a carefully selected bunch of candidates without having to pay a red cent or a drop of blood for their selection, because the bosses of the bosses attend to all such minor details of democracy.

I even can go on a strike without asking some Mussolini or Lenin or Rulbarsky for permission.

Leastways, I enjoyed all these above enumerated blessings of liberty until the world was saved for democracy. But since then, things don't look so good any more. For instance, a free born American citizen still can work when he has a job, or go barefooted when he hasn't got any shoes, and he still can strike any time he feels like striking and stay out as long as his landlord, grocery keeper and nature let him. But even strikes ain't what they used to be.

Take the Pennsylvania coal strike, for instance. It's seven months now since the boys went out and, believe me, fighting full safes with empty bellies for seven months is no slouch of a job.

People who can do a thing like that are the greatest unknown heroes that ever dug and sweated for a country. They ought to be decorated with the Cross la Worry, or whatever they call the Iron cross in English, and the president should pin it on them with his own hand for distinguished bravery in the face of the enemy of the grandest thing America stands for.

What, for instance, I ask, is the proudest boast of the citizens of this great democracy? The American Standard of Living, of course. An income which allows even such common people who do nothing but work, to eat, drink and sleep and raise a flock of heirs to their funeral bills.

It's true, the working people of all countries always managed to earn enough to enable them to keep on working and propagating, else the "superior classes" would have starved to death long ago. But nowhere and at no time did the working people get such a plentiful of eats, drinks and wears as in this country. Nor was there ever another country, yet, not even classical Rome and Greece, where the workers owned so many phonographs, radios, autos and such like evidences of culture.

Now, there are a number of reasons for the American standard of living. First among them is America itself, for no other part of God's green earth is so blessed in soil, climate and natural resources as the country which we have honored with our presence.

Yes, nature surely was kind to us chosen people but all her prodigality could not have established the American standard of living without the assistance of organized labor.

How come?

It's this way, brothers. Ever since the good Lord booted Adam and Eve out of Paradise and told them to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, there have been people who tried to bring about a specialization of the task by dividing folks into those who sweat and those who eat. Numerous members of the Tribe of I-Eat and Yon-Sweat also blessed America with their presence and proceeded to skin Aborigines and new comers, not even forgetting the first born of the last come and the last born of the first come.

Soon the population was separated into those who own and eat and those who sweat and owe. In spite of its tremendous wealth, black chattel slavery and white bondage developed on the North American continent. Men worked in mines, fields and factories inhuman hours for beggarly pay. Women and tender children were dragged into the money mills and ground into dividends and if this process had continued, the U. S. A., instead of being the land of the free, undoubtedly would have developed into the mightiest slave empire of history by now.

But something happened. The all sweat non-eaters driven to desperation, banded themselves together in Unions. The war between empty belly and full safes was on. Much shooting, burning and jailing followed. But little by little, hours of labor went down and the wages of labor went up and thus the American standard of living was established in spite of all that the best people, statesmen and master minds could do.

The war for the American standard of living is still on. Just now its shock troops are the striking miners of Pennsylvania. But you don't hear any brass bands blaring the praise of these brave defenders of America's greatest boast. Do you hear any four-minute speakers spout over their heroic deeds? Hear of any tag days, wheatless, meatless, sweatless, heatless and seatless day promulgated for their benefit? You haven't, have you?

Well, neither have I. But on the other hand, I just read where a Federal Court, also known as a bulwark of American Liberty, issued an injunction against the striking miners around Pittsburgh which for ferocity beats any atrocity ever perpetrated by the late Czar of Russia or his Royal Cousin, Woodsaw Bill of Hohenzollern, now Dorn.

Under this latest declaration of American dependence, the enjoined American sovereigns are still permitted to cough and spit provided they don't do it in duos and trios and not less than one hundred feet from any building, premise, policeman, employe or court official belonging to the enjoinee.

Well, all I got to say is it ain't right for the government of the country, founded by Washington, saved by Lincoln, and made by Labor, to take sides with the Standard of New Jersey against the American standard of living. Besides, the Declaration of Independence says clearly that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and how in the 'ell can a fellow live in this Union on the wages paid by non-union operators, enjoy liberty in jail and pursue happiness with an injunction around his neck?

Well, it could be worse. For instance, if the American working people realized what's happened to them since they made the world safe for democracy, they might lose interest in baseball and what, then, would become of the great American question, "What's the Score?"

Adam Coddiger.

## "FRATERNALLY YOURS"

The New Leader, sends a check for two dollars to cover the subscription of Hugh McIlwraith, the Irish comrade whose letter appeared in this column last week. Dr. Vanpelt writes:

"You are making a grand fight for Socialism and liberty. Your success which I hope for will cheer our Socialist comrades all over the country."

And in the same mail comes another check for two dollars for Comrade McIlwraith's subscription. This one was from Michael Clancy and to him go our heartfelt thanks.

Sam Dewitt gets a letter from the Bronx telling him that he is the best writer on The New Leader staff and now Adam Coddiger and Jim Oneal are hanging round the postman to get their endorsements as well.

Norman Thomas's campaign in the Eighth Aldermanic District of Manhattan is boosting the distribution of The New Leader throughout the East Side. Norman, Eddie Levinson of The New Leader staff and Paul Blanchard, Norman's campaign manager, are speaking every night and collecting good crowds. Neither of the old party candidates have put in an appearance as yet. Which is wise from their standpoint as they might be compelled to answer some of the Socialist arguments and that would be a pretty mess.

Special editions of The New Leader are making a big hit. Both Judge Panken and Norman Thomas will have their editions which sell like wild fire at all meetings. These editions consist of all the regular features of The New Leader with the front page devoted to the Socialist candidate's platform and biography with cuts and compelling headlines.

If Socialists in other cities want similar editions for their campaign work they should get into communication at once with the Business Manager of The New Leader at 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York City. These editions are invaluable for propaganda work and their cost is surprisingly low.

New Haven Socialists are doing yeoman's work in helping the strikes at the runway neckwear shops in that town. Dave Berger, the manager of the union, and Louis Waldman are doing a grand job and have our heartiest good wishes for ultimate success.

There are still some copies of Upton Sinclair's gripping novel, "Oil", in this office waiting for you and your friends to take advantage of our offer, namely a six month's subscription to The New Leader and a copy of Sinclair's book, both for \$2.50. This ought to be of especial interest to our Boston comrades as this is the only chance they have, thanks to their vigilant police department, to buy unpurgated copies of "Oil". The book alone cost two-fifty so that you are getting your subscription for six months to The New Leader for what you would have to pay your book dealer. So come across, gentle readers, and hustle those checks or money-orders through. That will do a lot to brighten up The Office Window.

Three good-sized bundle orders have just come in from the Borough Labor Lyceum, the Brighton Beach Branch of the S. P. and the Harlem Branch. And up in Boston, Comrade Lewis is calling for hundreds of copies to distribute at his meetings. Attaboy Lewis. We wish there were a million like you.

"I am enclosing you two dollars." Is the welcome start of a letter from Springfield, Mass., "to renew my subscription to The New Leader which expires early in November." That's the way. If all our readers would take care of their renewals like this, one of our big problems would be out of the way.

Ben Belsky, our energetic news-stand booster has just come in after but a few hours visiting around and he reports that the following dealers want to handle The New Leader for the first time:

Cohen, Second avenue and Houston street.

Swersky, Bovey and East Houston street.

Sokolowski, Third avenue and Eleventh street.

Fischbein, 764 Second avenue.

Which is pretty good judgment on the part of the above-mentioned dealers and pretty good work on the part of Ben.

Another subscription for Comrade McIlwraith of Belfast has come in since we wrote about the two above. We want to assure the generous comrades who have answered our appeal that these and other subscriptions that may come in will be used to send The New Leader to other comrades who are in a plight similar to that of Comrade McIlwraith.

The Office Window.

**Luncheon in Honor of Vicent Vaciera**

Le Cercle Victor Hugo is arranging a luncheon in honor of Vicent Vaciera, former member of the Italian Parliament, on Tuesday, October 31st, at 1 o'clock sharp, to be over at 2 o'clock.

Among those who have already promised to attend are Norman Thomas, Paul Blanchard, etc.

The luncheon will be 75c, to be paid at the door of the Civic Club at 18 East 10th Street. Send for reservations at Le Cercle Victor Hugo, Room 411, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 3432.





# Amusements



## The Week On Stage

Eva Le Gallienne's Theatre;  
"The Belt" Again;

### REVEALING PERFORMANCE

The effective performance Eva Le Gallienne's company at the Civic Repertory Theatre gives to Helmer's "The Good Hope" serves, unfortunately, to emphasize the ponderous nature of the lesser realistic drama of a generation ago. We are willing to make our tragedy grim, black, even; but we object somewhat to dwelling for a time in a funeral parlor, hearing the woes of the bereaved. This impression, for all the power of its local color, "The Good Hope" lingeringly gives.

The cottage life of the poor seamen of Holland is well pictured in the play. The submissiveness of the mother, the rebellious spirit of one son, the frightened revolt of the other, the courage (and the fear) of the women, are all made real. But the story is one of those which sought by representing a special case to prove a general rule; it shows an owner of a fishing fleet who sends out a boat he knows to be unseaworthy, without notifying the doomed crew, knowing that in case the expected happens, he will collect his insurance. Recent newspaper accounts of individual drowning for the same purpose show that the motive still operates, but it must be admitted as only a partial presentation of an era or industry. There are surely enough evils widely distributed through society, that lend themselves to dramatic treatment, without an author having to prejudice the case against him by choosing a more or less exceptional happening—especially as he does not render it real by making the characters seem true.

Furthermore, we drag through an entire act (the well-made play of the period had four acts, not the present three) waiting for the news to come. When, an act later, we finally hear that the ship has gone down, we have already heard several women tell the tale of their family losses; to these are added the full reading of the ship's crew, with the number of dependents left behind, when the sailor with seven now orphaned children to the cabin boy aged twelve. To add to our pleasure, two unmarried pregnant women are among the mourners. Naturally, the deeper its lengthened gloom; it is almost unfortunate, therefore, that Eva Le Gallienne's company makes such a good production. Yet one of the functions of repertory is perhaps to test the play of yesterday; we may be thankful to have learned that "The Good Hope" is definitely dated.

I omitted from my discussion of "The Belt," Paul Sifton's play, that The New Playwrights are producing on Commerce Street, consideration of one slight inconsistency that my enthusiasm over ran. For the sake of a moment's laugh (which is iron), character is falsified, when Jim Thompson, faithful ten-year employee, who idolizes Ford, admits owning a Chevrolet! I hope that in the printed play, Sifton has considered consistency more important; he may, if he needs that laugh, make Mrs. Thompson scold Bill, in the course of the rating she gives him, because Old Man Henry, on leaving the loyal Thompsons, will come face to face with Bill's Chevrolet.

Several phases of our industrial society touched in the play might still be dwelled upon, indeed, "The Belt" pounds or taps, emphasizes or suggests, almost every basic problem or difficulty that big business brings into our lives. There is, for instance, the thought of these laborers, so diligently, so loyally, so thoroughly working themselves out of a job. Production is speeded up, what is the chain?—increased efficiency, mass production, lower production costs, greater output, more work, increased demand, larger production, increased efficiency, lower production costs, greater output—until one day someone wakes up to discover that the market is glutted, and down close the factories, out of work go the laborers.

It's a great game as long as you can play it, from another angle. For the process means more work, higher wages, perhaps even shorter hours—while it lasts.



PAUL SIFTON  
Author of "The Belt," labor play at the New Playwright's Theatre, 33 Commerce Street.

There is even the five-day week. But at what cost? Eternal competition within the firm that keeps the pace ever faster. Boston beats Detroit one month, so Jim Thompson is dropped from foreman; then, of course, Detroit must speed up to overtake the Boston record; then Boston must not allow itself to be beaten. There are also St. Louis, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, a half-dozen more. One plant is matched against the others in eternal rivalry, until the five days of work (for most, of course, it is still six) and the eight hours daily, leave body limp from overuse, and mind stagnant from mechanical repetition of a dull round. Free time—a little money to spend? No power to enjoy. This is the story of jazz and synthetic gin. It is the tale of hectic, fevered hunting for pleasures powerful enough to stir jaded bodies, stultified minds, warped souls. It even breeds such curious creatures as—

For twelve hours daily—this was non-union work; the tale is true—Tom Marcher, aged almost sixty, had the comparatively easy task of rolling an empty barrel beneath a powdered sugar spill and rolling it, filled, away. This process he repeated throughout the day, moving in a circle of perhaps five feet, for twelve hours. Then he went to the hospital. He was treated well by his boss; a small pension was drawn toward him, when he recovered, but remained too weak to work. That man of sixty used to go to the factory, watch his successor roll in an empty barrel, roll out a full one, and he would weep that he was not working. Almost sixty years of toil, and a mind so empty, so habit-grooved, that his escape from the utter boredom of having to face his own emptiness, would have been to go on working... Try another. That sweet paper The Providence News, in its daily column of wisdom, shortly after Labor Day ran a sketch and account of an imaginary worker who had had the holiday, but had been so bored at home, had found everyone so much in his way, that he swore because there was a holiday, and wanted the simpler routine of the regular workday. The paper ended this picture, with the remark "And there's a hundred million others like him." Just what his little fable is supposed to carry I shall not venture to say for the News; perhaps it honestly believes that most citizens and workers of the country would prefer not to have holidays—not to mention (as logic might insist) free Saturdays and Sundays. Yet the tragedy lies precisely in the fact that so many men and women have had their spirit dried of its imagination and its fire. This may seem a far digression from dramatic criticism, but a vital play thrusts ten-

tacles wide, and I am here developing, in the main, what came up in my talk with Horace Gregory on the way home from "The Belt." Those candy workers he told me of, for instance: taken to work in the midwestern factory at thirteen, learning the candy trade for four years, while they go to continuation school once a week, then discharged to make room for a new batch of thirteen-year olds; at seventeen these young girls, masters of a trade in which they can get no work for the rest of their lives, held from the chance of studying stenography or another trade during the years when one is most likely to study, penned for long hours through the days of adolescent flowering. What is the spiritual life of the workers in our industrial society... and what curious avenues of escape, in jazz and gin and hundred-per cent support of the institutions they boast instead of battering, in rush from the work to fevered agitation and sodden rest, or blind loyalty shielding weak spirits from the pain of recognizing how evil is their lot—what devious windings "The Belt" makes round us all! Go see "The Belt."

### In Brief

Despite his comparative youth, Ben-Ami's rise to stellar heights in the theater was no meteoric flight. It is not the story of an unknown suddenly transformed into one of the most interesting, most discussed personalities of the stage today. It is the story of ability and idealism triumphing over seemingly insurmountable obstacles. For the featured player in "John," the glowing historical play of Philip Barry's which the Actor's Theatre will present at the Klaw Theatre on Wednesday evening, November 2nd, struggled and toiled—both in his native Russia and in America—keeping in mind the finer details of his art.

"John" opening at the Klaw Theatre on Wednesday, November 2nd, is a play by Philip Barry, with Constance Collier and Jacob Ben-Ami. The Actor's Theatre, of which Guthrie McClintic is director, is producing this play. Our readers need no introduction to Jacob Ben-Ami. His exploits on both the Jewish and English stages will always remain in our memories as being of the highest caliber.

The Civic Repertory Theatre reports that its production of "The Good Hope" may be added to the list of sell out. All performances last week were completely sold out, with the old Fourteenth Street Theatre housing the Saturday night, "Cradle Song," chosen as one of the ten best plays last year continues as a hit, the house being completely filled at the two performances last week.

On Monday Walter Hampden will enter the fifth week of his quite remarkable engagement in Henrik Ibsen's comedy "An Enemy of the People" at Hampden's Theatre. Ibsen as entertainment for the masses as well as the intellectuals was something unheard of before Mr. Hampden made this humorous and altogether human production of one of the Norwegian master's most powerful, but neglected, plays. The actor-manager has made the modern bespectacled and side whiskered Dr. Stockmann as much his own role as the poetic Cyrano, Hamlet or Capuchin; thus revealing a versatility not vouchsafed many actors nowadays. The quick and enthusiastic public response to this play has been one of the delightful surprises of the theatrical season. Mr. Hampden is most ably seconded by his company of fifty.

There are few enterprises in any field of amusement which The New Leader can recommend as highly as it recommends The Peoples Symphony Concerts. Here is an organization which offers to music lovers, rich and poor, material wealth, an opportunity to hear music that only top prices can usually buy. There are six chamber music concerts offered on Friday evenings, Nov. 13th; Dec. 9th; Jan. 7th; Feb. 10th; March 16th; and April 13th. The entertainers include the Stringwood Ensemble, Flonzaley Quartet, Letz Quartet, Tolleson Trio, Mr. and Mrs. David Mannes, and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Hughes. Six artists' recitals are also announced: Nina Tarasova, Ely Ney, Leonora Sparkes, Joseph Szegeli, the Denishaw School, William Durieux. These concerts are to be given at the Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th Street. The unbelievably low price of \$1 is being charged for each of the series of six concerts: two dollars for both series. That means just 16 2-3 cents per concert by such artists as Ely Ney and the Letz Quartet.

**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14TH STREET AND SECOND AVE.  
Entrance 242 East 14th Street  
Sunday October 30th, 1927  
5:00 p.m. Lecture  
"The Book of the Month"  
Dr. G. F. Beck  
7:15 p.m. American International Church  
"Does Faith in God Make For Social Progress?"  
REV. LEON R. LAND  
8:30 p.m. Forum  
"The Quest for Happiness"  
DR. WILL DURANT

**The East Side Open Forum**  
At The Church of All Nations  
No. 9 Second Avenue (near Houston)  
GEORGE COLLINS  
Will Speak On  
"Is Force Justifiable in Industrial Conflicts?"  
October 30 8:30 P. M.  
Admission Free Everyone Invited

**The East Side Open Forum**  
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October 30 8:30 P. M.  
Admission Free Everyone Invited

**Rand School of Social Science**  
7 East 15th Street, New York  
Algonquin 3094  
John Macy  
"Story of World Literature"  
Mondays, 8:30  
A. A. Goldenweiser  
"The Story of Religion"  
Wednesdays, 8:30  
V. F. Calverton  
"New Drama in Europe"  
Fridays, 8:30

Henry E. Crampton  
"The Origin of Species"  
Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.  
Algernon Lee  
"The Story of Class Rule"  
Thursdays, 7:00 p.m.  
Morris Hillquit  
"These Ten Years"  
Tuesdays, 8:30  
(Beginning Nov. 22nd)



FOKINE AND FOKINA TO REPEAT BALLETS AT CENTURY SUNDAY

Michel Fokine and Vera Fokina's presentation of "Cleopatra" and other ballets at the Century Theatre last Sunday evening was received with such enthusiastic appreciation by a large audience, and there is such a demand for the

"The Main Event" with Vera Reynolds, a romance of the "squared circle," will come to the Roxy Theatre last Sunday, October 29th. It is from the studios of the De Mille Corporation and the director was William K. Howard of "White Gold" fame. The film is based on a story by Paul Allison called "That Makes Us Even." Supporting Miss Reynolds are Rudolph Schildkraut, Julia Faye, Charles Delaney, Robert Armstrong and Ernie Adams.

Louis Graveure, the famous baritone, will be the soloist at the Sunday morning concert, at 11:30 a.m. The Roxy Chorus of 100 and the Roxy Ballet of 80 will present numbers in the style which have brought them fame. Market's "16 American Rockets" will also be on the program.

"If," the Actor-Managers current production at the Little Theatre, in West 44th Street, offers discriminating theatre-goers one of the treats of the season. This comedy by Lord Dunsany has been produced in association with Sidney Ross.

Actors from outside Broadway's usual beat are prominent among the lasting plays of the season. The New York Yiddish Theatre, for instance, makes several contributions to the cast of "Four Walls," including the effective Muni Wisenfreund. This play, at the John Golden, emphasizes the line "four walls do not make a prison," by indicating that the most confining cells are those of the spirit. The part of the East Side gang leader who leaves out of the hands of the police is one of several, including a Jewish mother and a marriage broker, that demand knowledge of types plus power of individual portraiture; Muni Wisenfreund weaves this combination into a sincere and accomplished study.

The cast of "Porgy" at the Guild is another of the current invasions of Broadway that achieves success. Several of these negro players have appeared with the Provincetown group, in Harlem.

**SIX LECTURES**  
on  
"Great Authors and Great Books"  
by Bertha Sullivan Papozian  
(Writer, Lecturer, Little Theatre Director)  
at the  
**Bronx Free Fellowship**  
1301 Boston Rd., at 169th St.  
Thurs. Eve's, at 8:30 o'clock  
Nov. 3.—SAMUEL BUTLER  
His Utilitarianism  
and "The Way of All Flesh"  
Course Tickets \$1.00  
Single Admission 25 cents

**BY POPULAR DEMAND 2 PERFORMANCES**  
**CENTURY—Tomorrow, Sun. Aft. and Evening**  
**MICHEL**  
**FOKINE**  
And the FOKINE BALLET in "CLEOPATRA" and Other Ballets  
SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA  
Dir. Hurok Att. Inc. 55 W. 42 St.

**Grand Opera**  
Gallo Theatre, 54th St. W. of B'dway, Evs. 8:30  
2 Weeks Beg's  
Monday, La Boheme; Tuesday, Rigoletto; Wednesday, Madame Butterfly; Thursday, Faust; Friday, La Traviata; Saturday Mat., Martha; Saturday Eve., Aida.  
San Carlo Grand Opera Ballet  
Prices, Orchestra \$3, and \$2.50  
Mezzanine \$2, Balcony \$1.50, \$1  
Saturday Mat., \$2.50 to \$7.75  
(Plus tax). Seats on sale at box office.

**PHILHARMONIC**  
MENDELSSOHN, Conductor  
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
SUNDAY AFT. NOV. 6, AT 3:00  
Saturday Mat., \$2.50 to \$7.75  
(Plus tax). Seats on sale at box office.

## THEATRES

### A PLAY FOR THE MASSES

"A play which should be seen by all who are interested in human progress toward honesty and honor." JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY in The New Leader.

**WALTER HAMPDEN**  
In Henrik Ibsen's Comedy  
AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

"Thrilling story. Superb play. Enthusiastically received." New York Times.  
The most powerful arraignment of hypocrisy and corruption in high places in all dramatic literature.

HAMPDEN'S THEATRE, Broadway and 62nd St.  
EVENINGS AT 8:30 MATS., WED. & SAT. at 2:30

**THE ACTOR-MANAGERS**  
(Formerly The Grand Street Follies Company) in Association with Mr. Sidney Ross Present A COMEDY BY LORD DUNSANY  
"IF"

at the LITTLE THEATRE, West 44th St.  
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

World's Greatest Theatre  
50th St. and 7th Ave.  
"THE MAIN EVENT"  
with VERA REYNOLDS  
JOSEPH SCHILDKRAUT  
CHARLES DELANEY  
ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA of 110  
ROXY CHORUS of 100  
THE ROXY BALLET of 80  
LEWIS RICHARDS  
Harpischordist  
IRVING AARONSON'S  
"THE COMMANDERS"  
MARKET'S 16  
AMERICAN ROCKETS  
Sunday Concert 11:30 A. M.  
LOUIS GRAVEURE  
Soloist: (Baritone)

Open. Wed. Eve., Nov. 2d  
An Actors' Theatre production

**"JOHN"**  
by Philip Barry  
with a cast headed by  
JACOB BEN-AMI & CONSTANCE COLLIER  
Play staged by Guthrie McClintic  
45th St. W. of Bway  
KLAW THEATRE. Evenings at 8:30  
Opening Wed. Eve., Nov. 2d  
SEATS NOW ON SALE

**PLAYS FOR THE PEOPLE!**  
Eva Le Gallienne  
at the  
Civic Repertory Theatre  
14th Street and 6th Avenue  
MON.—"The Good Hope"  
TUES.—"The Master Builder"  
WED. MAT.—"The Cradle Song"  
WED. EVE.—"The Good Hope"  
THURS.—"The Cradle Song"  
FRI.—"La Locandiera"  
SAT. MAT.—"The Cradle Song"  
SAT. EVE.—"The Good Hope"  
Prices: 50c, \$1.10, \$1.65  
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30; Evs. 8:30

**ESCAPE**  
Winthrop Ames presents John Galsworthy's  
LAST PLAY  
BOOTH Thea. West 45th Street  
Eves. 8:40  
Mats. Wed. Sat. 2:30  
POP. \$2 MAT. WED. with Leslie Howard

**LOEW'S CANAL**  
Canal and Ludlow Streets  
Sat. Sun. Mon. "THE BIG PARADE"  
Oct. 29, 30, 31 First Time at Pop Prices  
Tues. Wed. THOMAS MEIGHAN "WE'RE ALL GAMBLERS"  
Nov. 1, 2 Max Davidson Comedy  
Thurs. Fri. "DEATH VALLEY"  
Nov. 3, 4 With an All Star Cast

**GRAND OPERA**  
An ambitious program of grand opera is offered at the Gallo Theatre, 54th street, west of Broadway, beginning Monday, Nov. 7th, and continuing for two weeks. The fare includes La Boheme, Rigoletto, Madame Butterfly, Faust, La Traviata, Martha and Aida, with Saturday matinees and including the San Carlo Grand Opera Ballet. Music Lovers will be tempted by the selections offered in this program and a choice will prove a problem.

**The Community Church**  
Park Avenue and 34th Street  
Next Sunday, October 30  
Russian Revolution Anniversary  
11 A.M. John Haynes Holmes  
"What the World Owe to the Bolsheviks"  
First sermon in a series of four on "Russia in Revolution"  
3 P.M. Forum—Jerome Davis  
"Ten Years of the Bolshevik Revolution"

**YOU can't get away from The SPIDER**  
MUSIC BOX  
JOHN HALLIDAY  
MUSIC BOX  
JOHN HALLIDAY  
MUSIC BOX  
JOHN HALLIDAY

**JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE**  
Matinees WED. and SAT. 2:30.  
DANA BURNETT and GEORGE ABBOTT'S

**4 Walls**  
with MUNI WISENFREND  
Former Star of—  
JEWISH ART THEATRE  
Staged by  
GEORGE ABBOTT  
Seats 8 Weeks in Advance

**THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS**  
**PORGY**  
A FOLK PLAY  
by DUBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD  
GUILD Thea. W. 52d St. Evgs. 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

**LOEW'S DELANCEY**  
Suffolk and Delancey Sts.  
Mon. Tues. Wed. THOMAS MEIGHAN  
Oct. 31, Nov. 1, 2 in "WE'RE ALL GAMBLERS"  
BUZZINGTON'S BAND  
3 — Others — 3  
THURS. FRI. BUSTER KEATON  
Sat. Sun. 3, 4, 5, 6 "COLLEGE"  
BRONSON & RENEE REVUE  
Frank Mulhane & Greta  
3 — Others — 3

**LOEW'S COMMODORE**  
2nd Ave. and 6th St.  
Mon. Tues. Wed. THOMAS MEIGHAN  
Oct. 31, Nov. 1, 2 in "WE'RE ALL GAMBLERS"  
Premier Dialect Comedienne  
Clinton & Rooney Revue  
Others  
THURS. FRI. BUSTER KEATON  
Sat. Sun. 3, 4, 5, 6 "COLLEGE"  
SARANOFF'S REVUE  
"Teak You"  
JIMMY GILDEA & CO.  
Others

**LOEW'S AVENUE B**  
Avenue B and 5th St.  
Sat. Sun. Mon. "THE BIG PARADE"  
Oct. 29, 30, 31 First Time at Pop Prices  
Tues. Wed. THOMAS MEIGHAN  
Nov. 1, 2 in "WE'RE ALL GAMBLERS"  
Max Davidson Comedy  
Thurs. Fri. "WHAT PRICE LOVE"  
Nov. 3, 4 with JANE NOVAK  
with an All Star Cast

As a reward for her work in "Hidden", at the Lyceum Theatre, David Belasco has placed Beth Merrill under a five-year contract. Mr. Belasco has decided that he will not star her in her next production, as he is desirous of her achieving even further laurels before her advent to stardom.

## SPECTOR & SON PIANOS

Thinking of Buying a PIANO?

No matter what kind of a Quality Piano—Player or Grand you may want, Spector has the Piano—A Finer Piano—A Better Quality—and for less money than you have to pay elsewhere. Nothing proves this so convincingly as a visit to our store.

Joseph Spector  
322 Grand Street





# The Socialist Party at Work

## National

**ASSESSMENT STAMPS**  
The drive for the sale of Memorial Voluntary Assessment Stamps will close on December 15. This will give our members an opportunity to put these stamps in the hands of our members and others who are willing to purchase one. State and District secretaries will please take note of this.

## Montana

**Literature Agitation**  
Recently a shipment of a thousand assorted pamphlets were received from the Rand School Book Store. Some of this literature will be distributed free. In many communities the farmers have community clubs with circulating libraries and a supply of each pamphlet is being sent to each club. The pamphlets will also be sold at meetings to help finance party organization work.

James D. Graham, State Secretary, writes that Earl McConnell of Musselshell has organized a local of the Party with ten members. This is a good hope for new organizations in other parts of that state. McConnell is a live wire and understands the Party and its purpose.

## Wisconsin

**Debs Memorial Meetings**  
Preparations are being made for a number of Debs Memorial meetings in Milwaukee County and other parts of the state. On Friday, Nov. 4, the North Milwaukee Branch will hold an open meeting at their community hall, William Coleman, State Secretary, will speak. On Saturday, Nov. 5, the 11th-23rd-24th Ward Branches of Milwaukee will hold a joint Debs Memorial meeting in Siskowski's hall. Other meetings are under way.

The national voluntary assessment stamps have been mailed to all locals and members-at-large, with the urgent request that the sale be pushed as rapidly as possible.

**Milwaukee**  
Now that the summer vacation is over, the movement in Wisconsin is gradually picking up. Milwaukee County is preparing for the winter vaudeville shows which always draw a large audience. At these shows Socialist propaganda is disseminated.

In Milwaukee County the branches are actively engaged in proposing candidates for the spring election, as the party members realize that the year 1928 will bring on the greatest political battle that the Socialist Party has ever engaged in. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Milwaukee's fighting mayor, will, no doubt, again be our standard bearer.

John M. Wark writes The New Leader that it is true Edmund T. Melms is seriously ill, but the auto injury to Emil Seidel, while painful, was not serious. He was laid up for a week or two with a sprained leg, but is almost recovered and is about his duties as usual.

## Illinois

**Chicago**  
Local Cook County held a general membership meeting at the Douglas Park Auditorium on the afternoon of Oct. 3rd. The matter of continuing our activities and getting ready for the 1928 campaign was discussed and more than \$300 was pledged to carry on the work through the winter.

## Indiana

**Indianapolis**  
The Socialist organization of Indianapolis holds its Debs Memorial Meeting on Friday Oct. 28, 8 p.m., at 49 1-2 S. Delaware St., Indianapolis. An interesting program has been planned, with refreshments as well as speaking.

## Ohio

Debs Memorial meetings were held in Cleveland, one on Oct. 25, at Collinwood, speaker, John G. Willert. A second meeting on Oct. 25 at Workmen's Circle Hall at Kinsman Road and East 14th St., Wm. J. Van Essen, speaker. Other meetings have been held.

## Pennsylvania

**Mayor Hoan in Reading**  
The Socialist campaign in Reading includes two large meetings the last two Sundays before election in the Orpheum Theatre. Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, will be the principal speaker in the Orpheum Theatre on Sunday, Oct. 30. On the last Sunday the city candidates will speak in the theatre. Four street meetings are also being held each week.

Three leaflets have been printed and will be placed in the home of each voter. The distribution is organized by districts and is undertaken each Sunday morning beginning at 6 o'clock. Shop meetings are also likely to be held the last week of the campaign.

## New England

**Leaflet for Trade Unions**  
The State Executive Committee will circulate all trade unions in the state to arouse sentiment against injunctions, against the criminal syndicalism bill, in favor of our Unemployment-Insurance bill, and in favor of independent political action. A special leaflet on the latter subject has been authorized.

The New England District has done more for the Debs Memorial Radio Fund than any other state or district office. The latest contribution is from the small group of comrades in Amesbury, who sent in \$40.00.

**Debs Memorial Meetings**  
Debs Memorial meetings have been held in Amesbury where Louis Rabinowitz was the speaker; in Quincy, where Alfred Baker Lewis, George Makela, and Saville Sayre spoke; and in Gardner where Octavio T. and Alfred Baker Lewis were the speakers.

The Northampton and Greenfield locals have arranged a joint Memorial meeting for Friday, Oct. 28, and the Pittsfield branch and Yipsels have arranged a meeting for Nov. 6. On Oct. 30 the Lawrence Socialists will hold their Memorial meeting at 41 Berkeley St. at 2:30 p.m.

**Yipsels**  
The Quincy and Gardner circles had full charge of the Debs Memorial meeting in their respective towns. Both made a good success. The Maynard circle will start a study class Oct. 30 at 11:00 a.m. The Boston Circle study class meets every Sunday at 5:30 p.m. at 21 Essex St. and is growing in attendance.

**Beak's Campaign**  
Joseph Beak's campaign for City Council in Ward 14 of Boston has so scared the Republicans that the Republican State Committee has sent special workers into the district to save it from going to the Socialists. Beak's opponent, the present councillor, is seeking to take credit for opening and paving of streets, the contract for which was let before he ever got into office.

## New Jersey

The Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment stamps have been sent to all the branches and members-at-large, and an immediate reply was received from an old time Jimmie Higgins who is now parading, William Walker, who sent in a dollar. Other replies have also been received.

**Debs Memorial Meeting**  
The Debs Memorial Meeting in Hudson County is going to be big with Jacob Panken and Victor Berger on the job and maybe Theodore Debs to help. Another circular letter sent out for same will let you have particulars immediately after the meeting for publication.

**Local Essex County**  
Local Essex County will hold a Debs Memorial meeting in Newark on November 11th, in the new Workmen's Circle building, 190 Belmont avenue. They are planning a big affair. Speakers will be James Oneal and William Karlin of New York.

## Connecticut

**State Executive Meets**  
The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday, Oct. 30, at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak Street, New Haven. All members are urged to be present as there are very important plans for the winter's work to be considered.

**New Haven**  
The opening meeting of the New Haven Trades Council Forum, Thursday evening, Oct. 20, was the largest held in a number of years. Professor Jerome Davis, of Yale College, was the speaker. He told of his experiences in Russia this summer.

William Brandt, business agent of the Cigarmakers Union of St. Louis and former member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will address the local Cigar Makers Union on Nov. 20.

## New York State

**Uptate Agitation**  
Locals unable to place speakers or distribute literature have been advised to put advertisements in local newspapers and to use the State Secretary's mats for newspaper use to advertise the candidacy of Hezekiah D. Wilcox, Socialist candidate for Associate Judge of

the Court of Appeals, who is the only opponent of Judge O'Brien endorsed by both old parties.  
The State Office has on hand several thousand copies of the leaflet "What is Socialism?" Update branches or individuals willing to distribute literature can receive up to 500 copies of this leaflet gratis on application to the State Secretary. The State Office will accept orders for larger quantities at the price charged by the National Organization, \$2.00 per thousand.

**Stealing Socialist Nomination**  
State secretary Merrill has communicated with the enrolled Socialist voters of the City of Rome advising voters of the Socialist ticket to cut Democratic Mayor candidate, Jeremiah Carroll, who was written in on the Socialist primary ballot sufficiently to receive the nomination over Tony Spadafora, bona fide Socialist. Carroll, albeit not Socialist, did not have the grace to decline the nomination. Hoping it is alleged to be re-elected with the help of Socialist votes. Rome Socialists have been advised to write in the name of Spadafora in the place on the voting machine provided for that purpose.

**Political Apathy**  
The State Secretary reports that the apathy of the voters of all parties is very pronounced update this year. Schenckel Democrats were satisfied to open their 1927 campaign in one of the smaller theaters. Lunn was the principal speaker, and old-time enthusiasm was sadly lacking. That any campaign is in progress in Albany is not apparent. Victories in New York City for the Socialist Party, declares the State Secretary, will be wonderfully stimulating to politics generally.

Herman Kobbie of Nassau, member of the State Executive Committee, addressed a Debs Memorial meeting in Poughkeepsie on Oct. 21.

## New York City

**Watchers**  
Every member of the Socialist Party and sympathizer who can volunteer to watch on Election Day to make this fact known at once. Experienced, courageous and efficient watchers are needed to assure the success of our campaign and the canvass of the vote for our candidates. In the 2nd Judicial District a huge vote will be cast for Judge Jacob Panken and our other candidates. These votes must be protected. We must prevent our voters from being intimidated and see to it that the correct figures are reported to the Board of Elections as the official canvass. The mere fact that the vote is registered on the machine will not mean that it will be properly recorded and credited to the candidates. In the 2nd Judicial District, there are 11 polling places that must be covered. This will mean a staff of at least 300 efficient watchmen.

The other section in which we are assured of victory is the 23rd Assembly District, Kings County. There are 28 election districts and that means that we must have at least 20 competent watchers to insure the election of Charles Solomon to the Assembly and Sadie Rivkin to the Board of Aldermen. Every Brooklyn Socialist and sympathizer interested in winning this district for the Socialist Party should assist in this important task on Election Day. Those desiring to help should get in touch with Max Rosen of the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

**BRONX**  
A campaign mass meeting will be held this Friday evening, Oct. 28, at the Huntspoint Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard, between Judges Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, S. John

**WHEN YOU BUY CLOTH HATS AND CAPS**  
Always Look for This Label

**Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.**  
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION of U. S. & C. Penn. 7932  
28 W. 31st Street  
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.  
EDW. F. McGRADY, Manager

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION No. 808  
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue  
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, 944. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.  
JOHN HALKETT, President  
ALFRED ZIMMER, Secretary  
ED. W. SMITH, Treasurer  
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President  
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary  
SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 6021 Stage  
Office hours: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening  
WILLIAM WENBERT, President  
HUBERT BULL, Vice-President  
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y  
CHARLES PLUM, Fin. Sec'y  
ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 408 E. 160th Street  
OFFICE: 601 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674  
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. ELBERT, Fin. Sec'y  
CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent  
CHARLES M. BLUM, Rec. Sec'y

**DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS**  
LOCAL UNION 1454, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA  
67-69 Lexington Avenue  
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday  
Charles Johnson, Jr., President  
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y  
Christopher Gulbrandson, Charles Johnson, Jr., Recording Secretary  
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**BROOKLYN**  
4-14th A. D.  
The campaign in Williamsburgh is being concluded with three large public school meetings. The first was held last Friday evening and a huge turnout greeted our speakers at P. S. No. 56 (South Third street and Driggs avenue). On Friday evening, Oct. 28, another meeting will be held in P. S. No. 19 (South 3rd street, between Kew and Rodney streets). Speakers are B. C. Viadeck, Harry W. Laidler, Anthony De Biasi, M. Blumenreich, M. Wolfman, Hyman Nussner. The last meeting will be on Friday evening, Nov. 4, at P. S. No. 50. Speakers are Norman Thomas, B. C. Viadeck, Harry W. Laidler, Paul Blanchard. There will be a fine musical program headed by Mrs. Agnes Laidler, soprano.

**Yipseldom**  
Special Announcement  
The City Office of the Young People's Socialist League is granting its regular space for the Yipsel Column to other news matter. This is done in view of the large amount of campaign news to be published in The New Leader. The column will again commence in the issue Saturday, Nov. 5.

Philip Goodman announces that he will produce an elaborate operaetta based on the life and compositions of the great "Waltz King," Johann Strauss.

With "The Bell" definitely launched, the New Playwrights have placed "The Centuries," scheduled to be the second production of the season, in rehearsal. "The Centuries" is the work of Em Jo Basche, whose "Earth" was produced last season by the New Playwrights uptown.

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The Executive Board meets every first and last Wednesday. Regular meetings.

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Tel. Gramercy 0843  
LOUIS RICHIN, P.D.  
WM. LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer

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Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

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**Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.**  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East



# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the  
Socialist and Labor Movement  
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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1927

## Elect Norman Thomas

### Send Socialists to the City Hall

NEW York City is the largest city in the world yet there is no labor representation in its legislative body. New York State has a population in excess of Austria and Switzerland combined and there is not one labor representative in its Legislature. What little the masses get from these bodies is begged and what they do not get is more important than the occasional bone that is passed out.

For generations New York City has been ruled by Tammany Hall. Its chief leaders began life as poor men and retired or died as millionaires. Tammany is a business investment for them, as much so as gambling in oil, steel and railroad stocks, with this difference. The Tammany vulgarians run no risks. Their trade is a "sure thing". Tweed, Croker, Murphy and many lieutenants have been and are dealers in voting stock and trade the power of voters into power for upper class interests and handsome dividends for themselves.

In 1851 the city council under Tammany was known as "The Forty Thieves" but that body was a collection of innocent children compared with the Tweed thieves of the seventies. Tweed was a chairman by trade, vulgar by nature, a politician by profession, a boss by evolution and a grafter by choice. The colossal looting of the city is an old story, but even the dead had to pay tribute to Tammany. Seagrist at the court of Common Pleas was charged by an aldermanic committee "with robbing the funeral of Henry Clay when his sacred remains passed through this city". At a later period the dead bodies of unknown persons proved grist for Tammany mill. Undertakers who served the grafters were allotted a proportion of the dead for burial. In one instance, in order to teach an undertaker who displayed some independence a lesson, Tammany placed him on short rations. He was to receive only one dead body each month.

The dead served as raw material in other ways. Names taken from tombstones in the cemeteries were registered as voters. Tammany seemed to be jealous of the Philadelphia Republican machine where dogs, cats, horses, anything living or dead, having a name, served the same purpose. Heavy-jawed and illiterate bruisers were hoisted into seats of power with an occasional "good man" in the list as a flag to advertise Tammany merchandise. At Albany Tammany members of the Assembly introduced bills aimed against corporations. These were known as "strikes." They had a certain advantage. These "strikes" gave voters expression of "champions of the people" on the bill. But each strike was a piece of blackmail. The corporation got Tammany Hall on the telephone, a price was arranged with the chief, and the latter telephoned to the "striker" to "let go." The bill then died in committee or was forgotten.

Time passed and Tammany became "respectable." More refined ways of looting were evolved and Tammany waxed fatter than ever. Tammany washed its ears, put on a white shirt, and went in for the "uplift," but always kept in mind the main chance. All the brokers were required to maintain the new style. They floated William Sulzer into the office of Governor in 1912 and in 1913 he turned against the machine and declared his independence. Eight articles of impeachment were drawn up against Sulzer, five of them ridiculous but three with some basis of facts to sustain them.

Sulzer was impeached and removed from office. Every person of any intelligence knew that Sulzer could have stolen the furniture in the capitol building and received another nomination if he had obeyed Murphy. Tammany in the role of "virtue" was a scream in vulgarity but its exhibition of power in publicly disgracing a man who refused to be its tool became a "moral lesson" for other Tammany governors and officials. Since that notable episode every Tammany official has been "good."

Enough of this history. It is a crying shame that in this city with its hundreds of thousands of workmen and women there is not a fighting

group of labor men in the Board of Aldermen and the Assembly. Elections come and elections go but Tammany goes on forever. With the franchise in its hands the working class is disfranchised in the City Hall and the State Assembly. With power to establish a labor administration of the city the working class has no power at all.

A heavy price is paid for this indifference and neglect, especially in housing. In the working class districts thousands of tenements survive that are not fit for dog kennels. The housing problem became grave in the immediate post-war years as it did in European cities. Abroad the working people sent fighting groups of labor men into the city councils with the result that hundreds of thousands of model homes have been built in the laboring sections of these cities. Municipal housing has thwarted the appetites of the rent hogs and speculators. Life and health have become more important than profits.

For years workers have been moving out of the pest holes in Manhattan in the hope of escaping the filthy, disease-breeding firetraps. Others have moved into these dens. Those who escaped to Queens and the Bronx found the speculators awaiting them, reaping fortunes out of rising land values and the jerry-built boxes which they erected as "homes." Some buy these boxes on the installment plan, paying for them within ten or fifteen years only to find the shoddy houses crumbling in decay, leaving the buyers swindled after all their efforts.

This is criminal neglect and profiteering. What we need is a fighting delegation of labor men in the Board of Aldermen, a delegation knowing the needs of the working class in housing, transportation, health and so on, a delegation that will bring brains and a program to the task of making public power serve the common welfare. We need men of the type of Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Harry W. Laidler, Edmund Seidel, and women of the type of Sadie Rivkin in that body. Men of the type of Charles Solomon, Isidor Corn and Samuel Beardsley should be in the Assembly. They will represent the masses, not a political corporation; human welfare, not rent hogs, realtors and profiteers.

Let us make a beginning this year by voting for the interests and the welfare of ourselves, our families and the toiling masses. A Socialist vote is the price. It costs nothing. It will bring power and without power nothing is possible and nothing we will get.

## HYSTERICAL HISTORY

NO more humiliating spectacle has been staged in years than the crusade waged by Mayor Thompson of Chicago against certain works on American history in the public library. A man with the brains of a parish beadle, a demagogue of the lowest type, half clown and a perfect fool, sets himself up as a judge of historical interpretation. He and his following of cheap patriots and dishonest politicians accept the Mother Goose standard of "history" set by Parson Weems and purpose a dictatorship over historical scholarship. Even a march back to the Middle Ages is proposed by burning "heretical" books on the lake front.

There are two groups of lunatics to contend with in this country on this issue, the pro-British and the anti-British. Both are dishonest and the last thing they want is the truth. The illiterate executive of Chicago represents the second group. The version of this group is that everything British comes out of hell and everything American comes out of heaven. Imps of darkness on one side and angels of light on the other. The Devil on one side representing original sin and God on the other fighting against impious odds. The other group presents another version with the Devil not so bad as he is painted and God standing by pained that relatives should ever misunderstand each other.

This simply repeats the history of the World War. All scoundrels on one side and Christian gentlemen on the other. Civilized people with any knowledge at all have nothing but contempt for these fakers and crooks. To the fakers truth lies not in impartial study of evidence. It lies in ancient prejudices and hates and these are capitalized and turned into votes and public offices.

This Chicago outburst is one phase of the fundamentalist wave. The scientist may spend a lifetime of earnest study in the field and the laboratory and publish the results of his investigation. Out of the cotton belt rises a swarm of low grade intellectual shepherds who march upon the legislatures. Science goes into Siberian exile. The same thing happens to history in Chicago. Hundreds of thousands of invaluable documents have become available in the past fifty years that were not known to the earlier historians. Moreover, American conflicts and more scientific judgments of the past are possible, but the fakers seek to exile the scientific historian as they have exiled the biologist in some states.

The Socialists and trade unionists of Chicago should speak. The fakers tend to cultivate national animosities and there is no more deadly influence in keeping workers divided. We understand that many of the Chicago unions supported Mayor Thompson. If so, they are being repaid in base coin.

We have no use for pro-British or anti-British history. We cherish scientific history, history written by men without hates and prejudices. On the other hand we would not play the part of illiterate vandals by throwing out any historical works, not even Parson Weems' absurd biography of Washington. Dictatorship is the creed of either illiterates or cowards and often of both. If Chicago does not hoot Thompson into oblivion the League of Nations should appoint a constable to rule Chicago and place the leading Thompsonites in padded cells.

## The Joys of Winter—Thanks to Mr. Wronker



In the stifling heat of summer, when the air is poisoned by the filth of tenements, wooden rookeries and decrepit yard-houses, New York workers pray for Winter and COOLER WEATHER.

When Winter Comes, the freezing people who have to live in heatless rooms, LOOK FORWARD TO SUMMER. Here is a Winter scene on the East Side. Garbage and dung heaps mix with the snow blocking the walks as well as the gutters. There is disease in every breath of air.

MR. WRONKER, why don't you see to it that the

snow is cleared from East Side streets as quickly as it is removed from Fifth Avenue and other sections where the wealthy people live and do business? You have had six years to do something about this.

NORMAN THOMAS IN THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN AS A SOCIALIST WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THE EAST SIDE GOT A DECENT BREAK.

Wronker is interested in HOLDING HIS JOB. Norman Thomas would be interested in THE PEOPLE. WHO DO YOU WANT IN CITY HALL?

# NORMAN THOMAS: A Career Dedicated To The Workers

## Some Facts About the Socialist Candidate For Alderman

THE story of Norman Thomas is the story of a brilliant intellectual who has thrown his lot wholeheartedly with the workers in their struggle for justice regardless of the effect upon his career. Mr. Thomas is the product of the Middle Western section of the United States although he has lived in New York City for twenty-two years. Born in Marion, Ohio, in 1884, he attended the Marion Public Schools and later entered Princeton University. He graduated from Princeton University in 1905 with the highest scholarship honors in his class.

His friends predicted for him a career of great achievement and financial success, but he was not interested in financial glory and spent the next two years after graduation from college as a worker in the Spring Street Neighborhood House where the problems of the crowded city were impressed upon him. He decided to give his life to some definite form of community service.

From 1905 until the present time Mr. Thomas has given his entire energy to some form of social service in New York City. He was Chairman of the American Parish on the upper East Side where he concentrated for almost seven years upon problems of poverty and overcrowding. In cooperation with Union Settlement he organized and ran extensive relief work during the terrible unemployment of 1915. For some years he was secretary of the local school board.

The World War made Norman Thomas into a definite and wholehearted progressive in political and social thinking. It increased his growing dissatisfaction with social and economic patch-work remedies. He opposed the entry of the United States into the war on social, religious and economic grounds. In 1917 he campaigned actively for Morris Hillquit for mayor in the great campaign which was chiefly fought on the war issue. He met with serious objection from the wealthy men who helped finance his work and in 1918 he resigned his duties in the American Parish to commit himself entirely to the labor cause.

He founded the anti-war magazine, The World Tomorrow, which became a considerable intellectual force. He joined the Socialist Party and became an active force in it.

Mr. Thomas has held several positions of trust and importance in the journalistic world. In 1921 he served as Associate Editor of The Nation. He was chosen as Editor in Chief of the daily labor paper, The Leader, which had a brief existence in 1924. For the last three years he has been Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and has spoken to hundreds of thousands of college students and others on problems of war and industry.

Mr. Thomas is one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union which has fought for the rights of workers in many courts before many prejudiced judges. He has never hesitated to go on the battle line with workers in great strikes. In Passaic he was arrested by the Jersey police and held in the county jail under \$20,000 bail because he insisted on the right to speak for the strikers. The test case in which he was arrested greatly affected public opinion and ended the Czaristic interpretation of the Jersey Riot Law. He is actively interested now in the work of the Paper Box Makers and in the Neckwear Makers Union.

As a trustee of the National Ball Fund Norman Thomas has aided also in the

bailing out of the many workers in time of strike and arrest by reactionary police. He is perhaps best known to the voters for his remarkable work for Sacco and Vanzetti. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case his voice and pen were used for many

months as effective weapons in attacking American injustice and prejudice. In the battle for the office of Alderman in the Eighth District Norman Thomas' personality will count quite as much as his record in winning the sup-

port of the voters. A speaker of commanding presence and mellow voice he is thoroughly at home before any citizen's audience. He meets and mixes with the workers as one of them—because he IS one of them.

## THE CHATTER BOX

### Sonnet.....

I have lain fallow for a season's length,  
And stubble of an old fall harvest lies  
In hard reminder of a latent strength.  
And quite contemptuous of lazy skies....  
No plow of dalliance or deeper deed  
Can churn the futile field; no theme  
Will drag the furrows smooth above the seed....  
What use for planting when there is no dream?  
What need for toil against sterility?  
When love alone is seed and succulence;  
When you who once made fertile soil of me  
Are gone; and pride, the drag pretense  
Of grief, must rise and grimly bear the long  
Cold Summer that must pass without my song.

Boosting Norman Thomas for Alderman is a good deal like recommending Beethoven to Tin Pan Alley. I somehow feel proud of putting into print right here my expression of love and votive regard for a Comrade who, in these days of low pressure enthusiasm, stands shoulder-lined with the great men of our movement; and surely heads above the Al Smiths and Hoovers of our day. It is only a firmer proof of his intrinsic worth as a Socialist and a modest big man to find him hammering away at street corners on the cotton stockinged East Side, giving every ounce of his fine ability, every breath of his splendid soul to our Cause. Norman Thomas as Alderman is a tremendous influence in my eyes these days. He is root and trunk and leaf and all of our faith. Socialism is indeed a vital, vibrant and hallowed hope with his tall form and taller service standing out against the cool heart breaking nights of a noisy East Side autumn. I could march to hell-and-gone, to heaven's gate and back again with such a comrade and leader as the Socialist candidate for Alderman, 8th District, Manhattan.

Which reminds me that I ought to thank the Citizens' Union for their hearty endorsement of my own candidacy in the 3rd A. D. Bronx, Assembly District. These indulgent gentlemen find me alert, intelligent and unusually equipped for legislative task. Many, many thanks, amicably-disposed enemies of mine. Surely, the electorate in that district will not take your remarks too much to heart. Those who know me from years of street cornering will readily admit that I am a much better speaker than my Democratic or Republican opponents; especially since I tell better jokes, and every now and then bring home to them a rather impressive truth. Yet with all that, they just enter the voting booth, and through sheer force of habit, or in just dumb perversity, x-mark the circle under the Star or the Eagle. I am getting to suspect that we Socialist spell-binders are being exploited too cheaply by our admiring pre-election audiences. In fact, I would rather stand and listen to Gus Claessens holding forth of a night, then sit through two hours of a garish movie program. I am beginning to believe that the reason why we have such large attendance at our street meetings, compared to what other political parties attract, is because we are more entertaining, and certainly less expensive than Loew's Theatre around the corner. Only this and nothing more. And yet a character actor like Cal Coolidge can rustle forth more votes in his ten gallon hat, and cowboy pants after a screen appearance, than all our orators and their impregnable logic combined. Nevertheless, I feel some few do get a permanent education from our efforts. And the party will grow if we keep heartily at it. Our English Comrades can tell you that we are going

through today what they confronted thirty years ago. And the English Labor Party of today is no little mark to set for ourselves....

### Two Poems

#### The Wicker Chair

If you must go why don't you go  
Instead of leaving half of you behind?  
There is the wicker chair:  
An hour or two ago  
Youself was sitting there.  
If you must linger after you have left  
Why don't you stay?  
Why must it always be this way?  
I saw you go—your step I heard  
Upon the creaking century-old stairs.  
There is the wicker chair—  
This feeling is absurd—  
That you're still sitting there!  
If you must let me hear you shift your feet  
Why don't you let me see?  
Why must you always torture me?

#### Bitters

O'er the river spans a bridge  
On the bridge walks my lover  
With another.  
O'er the hill floats a cloud  
On the cloud sits my lover  
With another.  
In the meadows grows sweet grass  
On the grass lies my lover  
With another.  
By the stream stands a house  
In the house lives my lover  
With another.  
In the house is a nook  
In the nook sleeps his child  
By another.

JUDITH HARA.

And since this week's column picks up with poetry after weeks of prose, I wish to announce that the Chatterbox Group foregathered last Friday night at the Rand School and made final judgement on the Prize Poem for its first year. The work done by the Group so far has been gratifying to me at least. Evidence of its power for the creative talents of its members was conclusively shown in the splendid work of those who felt themselves prepared to submit to the contest. Out of twenty entries, six were chosen at a previous reading, and at the last meeting after careful perusal two were judged worthy of prize award. A. M. Sullivan's "Plentitude" won the first prize, and Clifton Cuthbert's "Farm In Autumn" forced the breaking up of the original one prize money into two parts....Prizes will be awarded at the next meeting. The winning poems will be published shortly here.

I also want to take occasion to thank J. A. C. Meng of Youngstown Ohio, Christian and Socialist, for his generous letter in which he praises my Polish article of two weeks ago. This also goes for the other interested readers who have written in and made compliment. A writer is no less vain than an actor. Applause is the inspiring food for both....

S. A. de Witt.

# DEBS MEMORIAL MEETING

Sunday Eve.,  
October 30

MORRIS HILLQUIT

WILLIAM KARLIN

B. C. VLADECK

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

NORMAN THOMAS

CHARLES SOLOMON

ESTHER FRIEDMAN

JACOB PANKEN

ALGERNON LEE

JAMES ONEAL

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Cooper  
Union