

Thomas Brings Socialist Message To The Northwest

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

Socialist Candidate
for President

MRS. KNAPP is a pitiful figure for whom one does not wish further punishment out of vengeance. Yet two contrasting observations inevitably occur to anyone contemplating the fate of New York's once self-confident Secretary of State. The first is that if she had been a poor woman without influence who stole \$50 from a department store instead of \$25,000 from New York State no judge would have thought 30 days a long enough sentence, whatever her physical condition. The second is that if she had been more expert she could have stolen a lot more and got away with it. How some of Jimmy Walker's Tammany friends and subordinates must laugh to think how this woman novice in politics got caught.

The victory of "Kohler," the multi-millionaire open shop manufacturer of Wisconsin in the Republican gubernatorial primaries proves two things: The first is the power of money, not necessarily illegitimately spent, to win elections. In my travels around Wisconsin I couldn't escape Kohler banners and posters. They tell me every little hamlet had them. But even so, I doubt if Kohler would have won except that the La Follette machine is slipping. Partly the trouble is with the elder La Follette's not too happy choice of lieutenants. These so-called Wisconsin Progressives in Congress and elsewhere don't average up very high.

Partly the trouble is that the La Follette movement neither in the state nor nationally ever developed its own implicit philosophy. Social movements never get far without great organizing ideas and ideals. And these must operate nationally, yes internationally, in our modern interdependent world to operate effectively locally. Immediately the Wisconsin situation offers a great chance for our Socialist gubernatorial candidate, Comrade Houser. More fundamentally it shows the need of a genuine socialist philosophy for any really effective and truly "progressive" movement by whatever name it is called.

The so-called progressive Senators of these parts furnish a subject for melancholy mirth. Even Shipstead of Minnesota is pussy footing a bit on the Farmer Labor party that nominated him. Brookhart, Nye and Frazier by long running broad jumps landed on the Hoover band wagon. And what they used to say about Hoover! Wheeler of Montana who four years ago stumped the country with a funny story to prove there wasn't a quarter's worth of difference between the old parties is now a red hot Democrat. And so it goes.

But one thing here is very noticeable. The "progressivism" of Al Smith which moves the New Republic to rejoicing only equalled by its former joy in Wilson and its hope that he, with the advice of its editors, could liberalize the World War simply doesn't register in these regions. When Rudolph Spreckels, a nominal liberal, endorses Smith solely and explicitly on the liquor issue he speaks the mind of these parts which sees in that issue the only point of difference between the old parties. The joke is to believe that the Democrats of the South or of Ohio who have the whip hand will even give these brethren their beer—legally, that is.

Maybe Smith on his western trip will develop some of his allegedly liberal ideas. And maybe not. Anyhow I'm leaving behind me in these towns a few simple questions, such as:

1. On foreign relations. Where do you stand, Gov. Smith, on the World Court, League of Nations, debts and reparations, and the recognition of Russia?
2. On imperialism and armament. You have denounced Republican imperialism in Nicaragua. Will you withdraw the marines? And will you withdraw the marines from Haiti where a Democratic president put them? Will you refuse under all cir-

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Challenges Myth of "Prosperity" at the Coolidge Retreat and Speaks at Big Minnesota Meetings—Old Party Boodle Plenty in Badger State

By Edward Levinson

DULUTH, Minn.—A large and enthusiastic audience greeted Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, in this city on Sept. 7. This was the first big Socialist meeting held here in ten years and the success of the meeting surprised the local Socialists. The local newspapers gave generous space to the demonstration and every voter knows that the Socialist Party is on the map in this state.

Before coming to Duluth Thomas spoke to a big meeting in Superior, Wisconsin, where President Coolidge is keeping cool during the summer. Thomas spoke within two blocks of the presidential palace and ridiculed the Coolidge myth of abundant "prosperity."

Here in Minnesota the Socialists expect to receive a large vote as there are many active party members and they all work like bees. The Socialist revival in the United States has reached this Canadian border state and former members are coming back into very active service. The chairman of the Duluth meeting was Sigmond Slonim, an old and active Socialist and a prominent figure in Duluth.

Many Socialists have played and are playing an important part in the Farmer-Labor movement. They decided not to nominate candidates for state offices as this would divide the vote with the Farmer-Labor candidates. This wise action has won for the Socialists the friendship and sympathy of the mass of the Farmer-Laborites and it is certain that the Farmer-Laborites will support Thomas and Maurer in November.

In The Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Three addresses by Norman Thomas in the progressive cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul Saturday brought to the masses of Farmer-Labor and Socialist workers a presidential candidate who perfectly expressed their political ideals. First at a meeting of the influential Saturday Lunch Club, with almost every Farmer-Labor leader of any consequence in attendance, then at an enthusiastic meeting in St. Paul, and finally at a large meeting in the Garrick Theatre, Minneapolis. The presentation by Thomas of the Socialist position on issues which confront the masses won a spontaneous ovation for the Socialist candidate.

Origin of Farmer-Laborism
The Farmer-Labor movement grew out of a reactionary terror begun during the days of the World War. Heresy hunts were the sport of the capitalist politicians and their big corporation backers and in sheer desperation the farmers and workers organized to wrest political power from the ruling gangs. Having bolted years ago from the two parties of capitalism, these workers organized the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. They are steering clear of Hoover and Smith although their managers in this state have plenty of boodle for the purchase of "influence."

With the excellent beginning made by Thomas in the meetings here and in Duluth there is no doubt that the Socialists will win the Farmer-Labor vote. It remains for the party to get its candidates and the Socialist platform before these voters to insure this result. Minnesota is likely to bring the party the fullest returns for whatever can be invested in organizers, speakers and literature.

Smith Boodle Plenty
The Smith people are making a strenuous effort, buoyed up by hundreds of thousands of dollars supplied by Raskob and Company, to capitalize the long revolt against the Republican Party in Minnesota but few farmers will vote for Smith and they will do so because they hate Hoover, not because they love the Tammany Sachem.

Norman Thomas was at his best before the Saturday Lunch Club. Among those present were Ernest Lundeen, Farmer-Labor candidate for Governor, other Farmer-Labor candidates, George B. Leonard a veteran Socialist and known as the "brains" of the Farmer-Labor Party, and more than 200 other progressive representatives of the workers in the political, trade union and social movements of the Twin Cities.

With an earnestness that was heightened by brilliant satire and humor, Thomas demolished the myth of Smith the "progressive." He cited the record of Tammany Hall in New York, the Smith evasions on farm relief and imperialism, and Smith's evasive and inadequate water power program. As-

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Our Need Is Funds! Match Your Dollars For Principle With The Millions For Bunk And Boodle Parties

TO OUR Readers and Friends:

Last week we called special attention to the drive in all states by the National Campaign Committee for contributions to the Socialist campaign fund. Several hundred thousand men and women will receive the call together with a contribution list for gathering funds. Readers of The New Leader constitute the picked troops of this collection army and we expect them to take the lead in this important work.

Here we desire to make a few comparisons. There are three political parties of national importance with tickets in the field, the Socialist, the Republican and the Democratic parties. Of the three parties ours is the only one that will not receive a cent from great bankers, capitalists and corporations. The other two parties will receive millions of dollars from these sources. *These facts stamp the character of these two parties. They also indicate the character of the Socialist Party.*

This is a distinction that we may well be proud of. Any political party that is financed by the economic masters of this country is owned by those masters. In office it will serve those masters. It will not, it cannot, serve anybody else. The parties of Hoover and Smith are parties of the ruling property interests of the nation. The success of either is the success of those interests. Both are entitled to the financial support of labor sweaters, of the war mongers, the munitions and armament gang, of the super-power oligarchy, of the feudal open shoppers, of those who rob the farmers, of all those who fatten on the useful labor of this country.

The party of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer is not entitled to the support of these economic masters and it has no desire to earn their support. In office we would not serve the ruling classes. They know it. Our candidates for city, state and national offices would serve the toilers of the nation. They would use every measure of power entrusted to them to release the grip of the financial and capitalist oligarchy. They would take up the task of destroying the corrupt political oligarchies that are agencies for financial and capitalist rule of city, state and nation.

So our electoral struggle means that we must match the dollars of enlight-

ened men and women against the multiplied millions at the disposal of the Hoover and Smith parties. We would not have it otherwise. Moreover, a dollar contributed to the Socialist Party campaign will accomplish more for our purpose than a hundred will for the purposes of the Smith-Hoover parties. They must peddle bunk while we discuss real problems. They must hawk hokum while we educate. They must deceive the voters while we enlighten them. *They must seek power for corporation oligarchies while we seek power for their victims.*

So we raise genuine issues in collecting campaign funds as well as raising issues in attacking the two-party strumpet of capitalism. What is more to the point, our movement is clean, wholesome and honest. On the other hand the politics of capitalism never sank to such depths of degradation as it has this year. It has never been so barren of sincerity and issues. As the slave power once owned the two leading parties so the capitalist and financial powers own the two major parties today. *Smith is the Franklin Pierce and Hoover is the Winfield Scott of the slave politics of 1852.*

So this electoral struggle is one between those who own this republic, who are masters of its industrial life, and those who are human commodities in agriculture and industry. To supply speakers, to pay for advertising, to pay office rent and to provide literature require funds. We again urge you to draw upon your purse for your own contribution and then circulate your contribution list among your friends. You are working for a cause as important as the struggle against the pro-slavery parties before the Civil War, a cause that was finally triumphant because of the devoted bands of men and women who destroyed the politicians and parties of property in human beings.

Then do not forget The New Leader. Thousands of new subscribers have been placed on our mailing lists in the past few months. We must have more. You must get more. While you collect funds carry The New Leader with you and get subscriptions.

Send your collections to the Socialist Campaign Fund, The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Every cent will be acknowledged.

Socialists Of Reading Fight Politicians

Insist on Appointment of
Socialist Registrars —
Voters Registering

READING, Pa.—Warning the County Commissioners that they would rest their case with the plain people of Berks County, "in whom the spirit of fair play still lives," the Socialists have addressed a formal protest to the commissioners condemning the latter's action in refusing to heed the popular verdict of the last election in the appointment of registrars. Although the Socialist victory in Reading was overwhelming, not a single Socialist was appointed on the registration boards despite the fact that petitions for such action had been presented to the commissioners by Socialist party officials.

The first of three registrations days

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The Low Down On Fuller And Raskob; Socialist Hopes

By The Backstairs Spokesman

THERE is one man in politics for whom we have the deepest contempt, if contempt is not a weak word for our real feelings.

This person is Governor Fuller, of Massachusetts, one of the official murderers of Sacco and Vanzetti.

He had the brass the other day to stand up on his hind legs and bray as follows: "Education is becoming more widespread. A very heavy responsibility rests upon the individual citizen in every self-governing modern state. He owes it to himself to take every advantage of these educational opportunities whether for youth or for adults which his community offers, to inform himself candidly and as thoroughly as may be upon those questions which require immediate answer and to hold himself free from bigotry, intolerance and lust for persecution, which unhappily still linger, and from time to time manifest themselves with barbaric and much more than mediaeval ferocity."

What do you think of that? If any man ever proved himself possessed with the "lust for persecution" it was this same Alvan T. Fuller.

Now he's making speeches like the above on behalf of Herbert Hoover. It strikes me that if both candidates

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Campaign Of The Socialist Party Throughout States

Berger Vote Larger Than Vote In 1926

Results of Primary Fore-
cast Re-election of Mil-
waukee's Socialist Con-
gressman

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — Complete returns of the primary vote in the 5th Congressional District, where Representative Victor L. Berger is a candidate for re-election, show that Berger exceeded the primary vote he received two years ago. His Republican opponent, W. H. Stafford, who was also his opponent two years ago, suffered a loss in the primary vote as compared with two years ago.

These figures also show that while Stafford received almost two-thirds of the Republican vote in the primaries two years ago, in the recent primary election he received less than one-third the total Republican primary vote.

Stafford Loses Many Votes
In the election Stafford lost votes, as compared with two years ago, in the following wards: 2nd, 7th, 10th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 22nd, 25th and Town of Milwaukee.

This loss of votes in his own party was considered all the more surprising by Socialist leaders in view of the extremely strenuous efforts made by Stafford and his managers to get out a record primary vote. Thousands of people were reached by telephone immediately before the primaries by Stafford's workers, and urged to go to the polls and have their friends do likewise. His failure to reach even the vote he had two years ago therefore bodes ill for his chances on election day.

Opponent Snowed Under
Two years ago, when Representative Berger received a larger vote in the primaries than he did last Tuesday—Stafford, immediately after the primaries, proclaimed his election. When the votes were counted on election day, however, Stafford was snowed under.

Stafford received less than one-third the total Republican primary vote as compared with the two-thirds of the total that he received in the primaries two years ago. The prospects of electing Berger with a much greater majority this year are, therefore, very good.

News of the primary vote, and the analysis made of the results, naturally created enthusiasm in Socialist circles.

Aid for Progressives
It was furthermore pointed out by Socialist leaders that the primary vote showed that many thousands of Socialists, who undoubtedly will vote the Socialist ticket on election day, entered the Republican primaries to help out the progressive candidates.

This has been often done by Socialists whenever the progressives were in a difficult contest with the stalwarts for the nominations. That is why some of the greatest victories for the Socialist party in Milwaukee were achieved when the primary vote was lowest.

Six Miners Injured In Union Battle

"Save the Union" Convention
Called by Communists
Produces Clash

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The national convention called by the "Save the Union Committee," which is guided by members of the Communist Party, resulted in a riot in which six men were seriously injured, one said to be dying in a hospital. A large group of miners, estimated at nearly a thousand, came to the hall and asked for admission and to be heard in opposition to the Communists.

Shortly after 8 o'clock Sunday morning about 150 delegates were stationed in the hall, many carrying clubs. It appears that they were expecting opposition. Nearly an hour later the much larger group of miners appeared, each wearing a large white

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Campaign Contributions
Must Finance This Im-
portant Work To Insure
Encouraging Results

THE Socialist National Campaign Committee is flooded with letters of inquiry and reports of work by field workers and local organizations from all over the country. The daily grind at the office of the committee and the volume of work that falls on the office staff would break their spirit if they were not devoted to their work.

The following items are taken from correspondence accumulated in a few days at the campaign office and indicate the wide spread of Socialist activity throughout the states.

Birmingham, Ala.—J. W. Brown writes that he is prepared to file the requisite papers placing the Socialist Party candidates upon the ballot in Alabama but that the state law prevents him from doing so until sixty days prior to election. He sends in a selected list of Socialist sympathizers in Birmingham. Amusing and significant is his account of breaking into an Anti-Smith Democratic meeting at Trion, so successfully that the chairman of the meeting sent him an invitation to address the group again, granting all the time he needed.

Gadsden, Ala.—From Walter S. Standen comes these encouraging words: "Disseminate your literature judiciously. You will be hearing from it between now and November. Send me all the copies of the New Leader and the Platform that you can and I will have them distributed in Etowah, Cherokee, DeKalb, Marshall and Blount counties."

New Haven, Conn.—"For the past three weeks," writes Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary-treasurer of the Socialist Party of Connecticut, "we have been touring speakers in the state. I am now in the Northeastern section of the State with a speaker. We are speaking at the factory gates at noon hour and at street meetings in the evening. We are loaded with literature," and he modestly adds, "we are really doing some good work."

Washington, D. C.—The demand for the Platform of the Socialist Party, which may now be distributed at cost under Congressional authority, is growing. The privilege continues to grow. Alfred Baker Lewis of Massachusetts sends in orders for 30,500 Platforms to be distributed in New Bedford, Roxbury, Boston and Springfield, Mass. Carl Cummings of Brooklyn, N. Y., ordered 10,000 and W. E. Davis of Connecticut, 2,000. Orders for these Platforms should be given thru the National Campaign Office at 15 East 40th St., New York, N. Y. Congressman Berger also has available various speeches of his, setting forth the Socialist point of view, which can also be sent out under his franking privilege.

Marx Lewis sends in \$20 from a contributor to a "Thomson" Club, which is being organized in Washington, D. C. Aldeo, Ill.—Fred Kinkle of Aldeo, Ill., sends in a donation of \$10, \$4.50 for literature and 50 cents for buttons. He tells of distributing the Platform in Western Illinois, where the "plum full of discontented farmers. In the Northwestern stronghold, a meeting is being arranged at which Comrade Kinkle is going to give a talk on Socialism."

Des Moines, Iowa—J. S. McMillin promised to have all the necessary nominating papers filed at the earliest date to take advantage of the twenty day period of grace for corrections of possible errors. Various teachers who heard Norman Thomas at Cedar Falls have become his supporters. A follow-up campaign is being pursued to line up all Socialists and their sympathizers.

Paducah, Ky.—John L. Wraether has facilitated his task of securing signatures on the Socialist petition by obtaining the names of prominent citizens to head the list. He sends in an order for 1000 "Women" leaflets and 15 "Voters' Guides." Here is a cheerful note of his: "I was driven indoors by rain yesterday and I put in my time securing names for our petition."

Burlington, Vermont—The work of securing signatures on Socialist petitions is proceeding, according to a report from Louis L. Clay. The union members at the Barre Central Union Labor Day Field Day added their names. A house to house canvass is contemplated for Barre. The Socialist ticket will be filed by September 28, 1928.

Laconia, N. H.—Pierre Denio is organizing a local at Portsmouth and sadly reports that it "will NOT include in its membership all the residents." Why not? That is what we want to know. He has secured members at large in Exeter, has spoken at the Finnish local at Newport and is arranging for a big Socialist meeting at Manchester. Otherwise, he and other workers are busy gathering in signatures.

Omaha, Nebraska—S. Lerner, Financial Secretary of the Nebraska State Socialist Committee, informs us that the work of filing petitions is being pushed along. He adds: "We have just opened up our headquarters at 213 South 19th Street (Lyric Building). It is in the heart of the town. There are many people passing by and coming in. The interest in this Socialist movement seems to me surprising. I am more than sure it will bring good results for our movement."

New York, N. Y.—John L. Wraether has elected two representatives to the National Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party. The comrades are Samuel Boncheck and Philip Cruso. Pittsburgh, Pa.—Local Allegheny County orders 25,000 copies of a proposed campaign folder postal as well as ten more copies of the Voters' Guide. William J. Van Esen reports further that the comrades are going to make a "Thousand Dollar Fund" and more, if possible, for folders and Berger speeches.

Exploitation Of Tobacco Farmers

Collusive Price - Fixing Robs Southern Growers While Politicians Discuss Rum and Religion

By ART SHIELDS

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—At the mercy of the "Big Five" tobacco companies, the farmers of the bright leaf cigarette belt of North and South Carolina and a portion of Virginia are being their crop to the warehouses at prices ranging from 12 to 16 cents a pound, as compared with an average of 28 cents last year.

It is a desperate prospect for the tens of thousands of growers who depend on the proceeds of this money crop for their groceries, clothes and the school books of their children.

In answer to the outcry of the farmers the Eastern Carolina Chamber of Commerce, with headquarters in Raleigh, is advising them to burn 30,000,000 pounds of the weed, to raise the prices of the rest. Overproduction is the trouble, says the business association. But overproduction is only part of the trouble. The farmers' chief grievance is against the buyers of the big companies who fix his prices by collusion.

Neither the Republican nor Democratic platforms offer any relief from this conspiratorial price fixing by the "Big Five." Neither party hints at using the Sherman Anti-Trust Law nor any other federal statute against the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., American Tobacco, Liggett & Myers, P. Lorillard and the British-American Tobacco Co., who secretly agree as to what they shall pay the growers at the farcical warehouse auctions.

This conspiracy in restraint of the farmer's trade has again and again been exposed, but the Department of Justice takes no action. The tobacco trust was supposedly dissolved in 1911 under a plan proposed to the Supreme Court by James Buchanan Duke, head of the trust and chief culprit under the law. But this dissolution does not prevent the component tobacco companies from uniting against the leaf growers as the beef companies unite against the cattle raisers.

Faint hopes of a move against the combine arose last month when Commissioner Talmadge of the Federal Trade Commission accused the buyers of collusive price fixing. Talmadge suggested an investigation. At once Georgia chambers of commerce passed resolutions that the proposal be shelved, as bad for business. Farmers are pessimistic of any action.

North Carolina farmers held several tumultuous protest meetings last fall. The price fixers were fervently denounced at a mass meeting of 4,000 growers in Danbury and soon after a meeting nearly as large was held in Winston-Salem to which the big companies were invited to defend their action. The big companies ignored the challenge and nothing came of it.

Obviously this collusive price fixing is not the only trouble of the farmer. He is a prey to other evils inherent in business economics. But it is an evil he is most conscious of, and which may lead again to organization.

The tobacco growers have been unorganized since the break up of the Tri-State Tobacco Co-operative several years ago. In debt for food and fertilizer, the individual grower dumps his crop on the market for what he can get, knowing he is being robbed but helpless to do anything about it under the circumstances.

Meanwhile as the season gets colder and the farmer is facing a winter of destitution the politicians who are stumping the rural areas are evading the tobacco issue and making prohibition the chief controversy in the campaign, with religion playing it a close second.

Norman Thomas Second In Wisconsin Conference

LAKE GENEVA, Wis.—A straw vote taken here at the recent annual Young Women's Christian Association conference gave a somewhat unexpected result. After the session a vote was taken on the presidential candidates and the poll showed the following:

Republican	41
Socialist	30
Democrat	4
Undecided	20

This vote was taken on August 6 and the question is raised as to whether this result shows a revival of youth in some educational centers. It is recalled that it was in the Northwest that clubs of "Young Wide-Awakes" formed a powerful driving force in the election of Lincoln in 1860.

Canadian Labor Meets In Annual Conference

TORONTO, Ont.—Canada's annual labor parliament, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, assembled for its forty-fourth meeting. Delegates have been arriving steadily over the week-end and approximately 400 are expected to be seated when the convention is called to order by W. Varley of Toronto.

The discussions of delegates indicated that immigration and its co-related subject, unemployment insurance, is virtually certain to occupy a prominent place in the business of the convention. The question of the five-day week of forty hours and old age pensions are other matters which have been informally discussed in the pre-convention parleys.

Friends With Autos In Five States Urged To Join Calvacade

The Socialist Action Committee wants all party members and sympathizers with automobiles in New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and lower Massachusetts, who can place their cars at the committee's disposal in the latter part of October, to write the Action Committee immediately. All communications concerning this matter should be addressed to The Automobile Calvacade, Socialist Action Committee, 15 East 40th street, New York City.

Massachusetts Socialists In Big Campaign

Mary Donovan Hapgood, Candidate for Governor, Begins Tour — Crosswaith and Friedman Also Speak

BOSTON.—The Massachusetts Socialist campaign is getting into full swing with meetings arranged throughout the state for three speakers. Mary Donovan Hapgood, the party's candidate for Governor, begins a tour of the state on September 10; Frank Crosswaith of New York on Sunday, September 16, on Boston Common at 4 p. m., and Esther Friedman of New York at Springfield on September 12.

This is the first Socialist campaign in years where so many speaking engagements have been made for speakers. The indications are for a lively campaign, an increase in the Socialist vote, and a better party organization.

In New Bedford Frank Manning, who has given yeoman service to the textile strikers, has filed nomination papers as a candidate for Congress on the Socialist Party ticket. Lester Shulman, the live New York Yipser, who has also been helping the strikers, has organized a Yipser Circle in that city. Rumor also has it that the mill masters may settle with the strikers on the basis of no wage cut.

In Boston Leon Arkin and Samuel P. Levenberg are the Socialist Party candidates for the State Legislature in Ward 14. They are expected to open their campaign Saturday, September 16, at Blue Hill and Woodrow avenues. Frank Crosswaith will also speak at this meeting.

Some of the branches are placing good orders for the national platform of the party to be mailed to voters with Congressman Berger's frank but other branches will have to be stimulated if they are to take advantage of this opportunity to get out our literature.

The extensive speaking campaign mapped out for Massachusetts Socialists includes the following list of dates. The list is incomplete, of course, but will be extended during the coming weeks.

Mary Donovan Hapgood's Tour

The tentative schedule for our candidate for Governor is as follows: Sept. 10, Milford; Sept. 11, Taunton; Sept. 12, Quincy at Washington and Chubbuck Streets; Sept. 13, Medford; Sept. 14, Watertown; Sept. 15, Everett; Sept. 16, Boston Common; Sept. 17, Palmer; Sept. 18, Northbrook; Sept. 19, Southbridge; Sept. 20, Chicopee; Sept. 21, Chicopee Falls; Sept. 22, Greenfield; Sept. 23, Worcester behind City Hall.

Crosswaith's Tour

Monday, Sept. 16, Boston Common, 4 p. m.; Monday, Sept. 17, date open; Tuesday, Sept. 18, Fall River; Wednesday, Sept. 19, Tremont and Hammond Streets, Boston; Thursday, Sept. 20, Tremont and Hammond Streets, Boston; Friday, Sept. 21, Fall River; Saturday, Sept. 22, Dorchester at Blue Hill and Woodrow; Sunday, Sept. 23, Boston Common; Monday, Sept. 24, New Bedford.

Esther Friedman's Tour

Sept. 11, Hartford, Conn.; Sept. 12, Springfield; Sept. 13, Holyoke; Sept. 14, Northampton; Sept. 15, Greenfield; Sept. 16, Worcester behind City Hall at 5 p. m.

Socialists Of Reading Fight Politicians

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for Reading voters also showed a total of 11,000 with a little less than 500 recorded as Socialists.

Stanley O. Seiders, Socialist county chairman, was unconcerned when confronted with the Socialist vote. "Never mind who they are; we know where they are and they'll show themselves at the polls next November just as they did last year," was Seiders' comment.

"The Socialists of Reading are the good citizens who refuse to be governed by professional politicians," Seiders continued. "They are the men and women who own their own vote and are determined to have officials who will really represent the working class city and the Socialist party is the workers' party. That explains the thousands of Socialist votes delivered by Readingites who permit themselves to be registered under the customary old party labels."

Around Campaign Headquarters

News and Notes Picked up at Socialist National Campaign Headquarters
15 East 40th Street, New York City.

Literature in Big Demand by the States

Such a tremendous stream of literature has been leaving the offices of the National Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party that no complaints have been threatened to break down. That is not an indication of inefficiency. On the contrary, so competent has been the Campaign Office that no complaints have come in from any part of the country of failure to fill orders despite the great pressure upon the shipping department. A special system is being devised to keep a constant tab on the exact amount of literature that is sent out. As the campaign progresses the stream of pamphlets and books will swell, until it floods the country with the message of Socialism.

At a recent count the National Campaign Committee found that there had been sold 300,000 Party Platforms, 175,000 leaflets on wages, 100,000 on the Farmer, and 100,000 on the Progressives. The buyers of the Campaign Handbook are running a race with the printer.

All supplies and literature should be ordered from the Socialist National Campaign Committee, 15 East 40th street, New York City. They are shipped F.O.B. New York, at the following prices:

Platform—\$4.50 per 1,000.
Addition (U. S. Congress Reprint)—\$5.00 per 1,000.
Campaign Hand Book, 1928, bundle orders—25 cents each; single copies, including postage, 45 cents each.

Add to the above by Norman Thomas—\$4.25 per 1,000.
2. Is Any Friend of Yours out of Work?—\$5.00 per 1,000.
3. Is It Fun When Men Have to Strike?—\$5.50 per 1,000.

Women's Leaflets
5. Drudgery or Electricity—\$1.25 per 1,000.
6. Women in Industry—\$1.25 per 1,000.
7. Women and Politics—\$1.25 per 1,000.
8. Peace—Or War—\$1.25 per 1,000.
9. Woman and the Home—\$1.25 per 1,000.
10. An Open Letter to Progressives by Norman Thomas—\$4.25 per 1,000.
Buttons—\$10.00 per 1,000.

Special Campaign Fund Drive is Announced

The establishment of a Special \$50,000 Fund consisting of contributions from individuals of \$50 or more is announced by G. August Gerber, chairman of the National Socialist Campaign Committee.

The fund is already under way. Among those who have already contributed fifty dollars or more are the following fifty odd individuals.

One Thousand Dollars
M. Berman, Pleasantville, N. Y.
\$500 to \$1,000
Albert Halpern and M. Keelson, of New York City.

\$250 to \$500
L. Arkin, of Boston; A. Berkman, of Philadelphia; Isaac Gilman, of New York City; Morris Hillquit, of New York City; John T. McGary, of Washington, D. C.; A. C. Reiseroff, of Worcester, Mass.; and B. C. Vladek, of New York City.

\$100 to \$250
S. Inselbach, Helen Phelps Stokes, Jesse Wallace Hulan, Louis Smith, William Floyd, Goldberg, Solomon, Isaac Natkins, A. Lippman, Samuel De Witt, Alex Kahn, S. F. Linn, Jacob Blaugar, Jacob Potofsky, all of New York City; A. Levin, of Los Angeles; Ed. Dutton, of California; Max Senior, of Cincinnati; Eliza Middleton Cope, of Germantown, Pa.; Julius Lewis, of Los Angeles; Alfred Baker Lewis, of Boston.

\$50 to \$100
Wm. J. Van Essen, of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Joseph Balestini, of Buffalo, N. Y.; Samuel B. Dubrow, of Passaic, N. J.; Eliza Gilman, of New York City; J. V. Verhins, of San Dimas, Cal.; Pierre De Nio, of Manchester, N. H.; Morris Vassilen, Henry Halper, Abraham Cahan, Meyer Gills, Adolph Warner, S. M. Vassilen, Nathan Pilot, A. Margolin, Benjamin Schlesinger, William Karlin, Ida Karlin all of New York City.

The names of the electors on the Socialist ticket in Alabama have been filed with the Secretary of State, John Brandon.

The electoral delegates are as follows: Arlie Barber, of Birmingham; and Lewis Montgomery of Ironville, delegates at large; Ed. J. Green, of Bay Minette; Elmer May, of Altoona; and E. L. Fetterman, of Birmingham; from the Congressional districts.

Theodore J. Lamar, of Birmingham, has been elected chairman of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and W. H. Chichester, secretary.

The prospects of a large Socialist vote are very encouraging.

Bakers Pledge \$1,000 To the Campaign Fund

The campaign of the New York Socialist Trade Union Committee of One Thousand to enlist the active support of the local trade unionists has gotten under way with an initial pledge of one thousand dollars by Bakers' Union, Local 500.

The Executive Board of the Bakers' Union even regretted that it was not in a position at the present time to contribute an even larger sum to advance the great cause represented in this campaign by Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer. Nevertheless, after listening to the appeal of Comrade Vladek explaining the supreme importance of a successful campaign this year, the members of the Board were hopeful that they could even surpass their official pledge.

In order that the money could be put to immediate use two hundred dollars in cash was contributed immediately. Eight hundred dollars will be raised thru the sale of the fifty cent voluntary assessment stamps.

The example of Bakers' Union Local 500 has thrilled the trade unionists of New York. The healthy rivalry that will characterize the drive of the Trade Union Committee of One Thousand in obtaining support for the Socialist Party should be taken as a model by the trade unions in other cities.

St. Louis Socialists Organize For Action

At one meeting of the St. Louis Socialists \$74 was contributed to the campaign and they have ordered thousands of circulars to advertise the meeting to be addressed by Norman Thomas. The officers were instructed to immediately have printed and circulated lists for the collection of campaign funds.

A large campaign committee was organized and the following officers were elected: Chairman, G. A. Hoehn; secretary, Otto Kaemmerer; treasurer, Frank J. Offenburger.

Comrades M. Weintraub, G. A. Hoehn, J. Voda, A. Filler and George Gurdas were elected as Publicity Committee. Large canvas signs are to be displayed at Jeffia Hall, Lafayette and Jefferson Avenue, Labor Hall, 940 Chicago Avenue, and at the Daily Forward office at Fraternal Hall, Franklin Avenue and 11th Street.

New York State Campaign Opens Office in N. Y. City

Campaign headquarters have been opened at room 408 of the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. The State campaign will be carried on from this place, with Julius Gerber as Campaign Manager.

Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary, will for the period of the campaign be located in the New York City office. The Albany office will be taken care of by Theresa M. Wiley.

Locals and comrades in New York State will take notice and direct communications referring to campaign, such as speakers, meetings and literature, to the State Campaign Office, 7 East 15th Street.

Plans are being prepared for an effective campaign in New York State. All the candidates on the State ticket will be available for meetings, conferences, and symposiums. In addition the party will have the services of our national candidates, Norman Thomas and James Maurer, and a number of other Socialist Speakers such as Morris Hillquit, B. C. Vladek, John J. Algonson, E. J. A. Shipchase, Chas. Solomon, and others.

Local Buffalo is planning a banquet and social contact meeting. Albany and Schenectady have similar plans.

Comrades and Locals "Up-State" who want meetings, speakers or literature should get in touch with the State Campaign Committee at 7 East 15th Street, at once.

Banquet To Polish Socialist Senator Soon

Michael Sokolowski, former editor of the "Polish Worker" in Chicago, is now a Socialist member of the Polish Senate, is coming to this country next week at the invitation of the Polish Socialist Party in New York. Over 100 delegates representing 172 branches from 20 states have taken part.

A resolution endorsing comrades Thomas for President and Maurer for Vice-President was adopted by the convention after a short talk by August Gerber.

The Polish Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund has a big influence among Polish workers in all the industrial centers of the country. It was organized by the Polish Socialist Alliance in 1902 and its headquarters in New York.

The "Polish Worker," a Socialist weekly newspaper, is the official organ of the P. W. S. & D. B. Fund.

In New Hampshire

State Secretary Merrill, who has returned to the office in Albany after a two weeks' leave of absence in New Hampshire, called upon the State Secretary of that state in Laconia, and also in Lacombe. Over 150 delegates assigned to that state by the National Campaign Committee. Both DeNio and the State Secretary were confident that a state ticket for New Hampshire would be filed this year, and were optimistic in regard to the awakening of Socialist sentiment dormant since the World War. A meeting for Norman Thomas is to be held at Manchester.

National Headquarters News

From National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

National Louisiana

Norman Thomas visited the National Office on Sept. 6 on his way to the West. Tall and gaunt, he looks like a fighter, well trained. Talked, smiled, looked over the office, called up a friend. He runs down the steps and back the street, jumps into Bill Snow's car, while his co-workers, Claessens and Levinson, hurry to keep in sight. Over to the Forward office and back downtown to the station and on to the coast and back again. Maurer is what we call an all-around man; experienced, capable, honest, good speaker, lots of humor, understands the needs of labor and knows how to make the workers understand. Two born fighters—Thomas and Maurer. Give them the crowds and they will do their full share, and do it well.

Alabama

Theodore J. Lamar of Birmingham informs the National Office that they will file their electoral ticket right away and that there is a state organization formed and prospects look good to organize some locals. No report on membership has been received but will doubtless be on hand in a short time.

Washington

A mass convention of Socialists met in Labor Temple, Seattle, Tuesday, Sept. 11, to nominate state candidates and organize the Socialist forces for the campaign. No little credit is due to Ruby Herman, wife of Emil Herman, who was stricken with illness in Minnesota two months ago, while working for the party. Mrs. Herman held the fort while Emil was prostrate in a Minneapolis hospital. This is her habit. She carried on in the dark days when Emil was serving term in prison under the notorious Espionage Act.

Connecticut

Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary, addressed a large open air meeting at Congress and Commerce Streets Saturday evening, Sept. 8. He spoke on the state Democratic ticket and said there was nothing in their platform in any way favorable to the workers. He told the audience the only constructive platform to vote for was the one that Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer are running on, the Socialist Party platform.

Hamden

At a largely attended meeting of the Socialist Party Friday, Sept. 7, the following ticket was nominated to take part in the town election which will be held Monday, Oct. 14:

Assessor, Cornelius Mahony; Board of Relief, Joseph Behrhalter; Selectmen, Gustave Berquist, Ernest Castiglioni; Auditor, Lillian Ottosen; Collector of Taxes, Sven Ottosen; Registrar of Voters, Walter E. Davis; Town School Com., Elsie Berquist, Florence Davis; Town Plan Commission, John Lindquist, Niles Hansen.

Chairman of meeting, C. Mahoney; Secretary, W. E. Davis.

Maryland

To the readers of The New Leader: Send campaign contributions now as they are badly needed to purchase literature. A dollar now will do more good than ten after the campaign.

Write to the Campaign Office, 1607 E. Baltimore Street, Baltimore, for literature and begin its distribution from now on. The time is now.

Dr. S. M. Neisadt, Campaign Mgr.

Virginia

State Secretary George sends a list of 13 more new members with money to pay for dues stamps. We are interested in new members.

Kansas

Ross Magill reports ten more new members in his state—all secured during the last nine days. "If I had done a night's work I would have had at least thirty at the same time," Magill. Other states please take notice.

The Virginia Appeal, Party Paper, Appears

From Petersburg in Virginia comes the first issue of The Virginia Appeal, a weekly organ of the Socialist Party. This is the first Socialist paper to be published in the South for many years. It is edited by David Lidman and David G. George is business manager.

The first issue carries news of the Socialist campaign and material on the rise of capitalism in the Southern states. John G. Bowman, candidate for U. S. Senator, gives special attention to this phase of Southern history and an editorial also makes this its theme. It is evident that the editors are adapting the publication to the special economic and political problems which confront the workers in the South.

The Virginia Appeal is a four page paper published at 518 Lyric Building, Richmond. The subscription rate is \$1.00 per year or 60 cents for six months. Propaganda in the South will do well to build up this weekly and make it a power in Socialist education.

Polish Workers Endorse Thomas and Maurer

The Polish Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, a nation-wide organization of Polish workers, held its convention last week at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, New York. Over 150 delegates representing 172 branches from 20 states have taken part.

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Kentucky

Comrade Ireland, Secretary of Local Louisville, writes for a dozen copies of "Walls and Bars" and some leaflets to be given out. She also informs us that they are talking of organizing a state movement. There are a number of well trained and capable comrades in the Louisville movement and the organization is doing some good work.

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

circumstances to collect private debts alleged to be due American citizens in "backward" (that is, weak) nations by force of arms? And where do you stand on the big navy?

3. On unemployment. Where do you stand, Gov. Smith, on unemployment insurance and the five-day week?

4. On taxation. Where do you stand on land, inheritance and income taxation? Would you still have the Federal government give up the inheritance tax?

5. On injunctions and civil liberty. Would you completely abolish injunctions in labor disputes? What about the treatment of Negroes, especially by your own party, which in Texas will not admit them to its primary?

6. On vital economic issues. What would you do with the tragedy of coal? What about the transmission of power produced at water sites, such as Muscle Shoals? Do you want to acquire merely a few public power plants or to socialize the whole power monopoly for the service of the people?

If and when the Governor answers these questions, I'll have some more. Meanwhile, he observed, none of these is a trick question and all are of vital importance to the intelligent progressive or labor man.

Leonard Kaye Carries Message To Tennessee

Socialist organization and propaganda is well under way in Tennessee. Leonard C. Kaye of New York City, National Organizer, is holding meetings each night in Knoxville at the corner of South Gay street, Beall avenue.

The reorganization meeting of local Knoxville was called for this week at the Central Labor Union Hall, 319½ North Gay Street. From Knoxville Kaye will go to Clinton, Chattanooga, Rockwood, Dayton and Memphis. Friends in these cities should be on the lookout for Kaye.

By speaking at street meetings Kaye comes into

New Bedford Feudalists Arbitrary

Textile Manufacturers Break Negotiations To End Strike—More Help Urgently Needed

By Frank J. Manning

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Negotiations between the strikers and the manufacturers have completely failed to end the strike of 30,000 textile workers. The manufacturers are still arbitrary and brutal. The solid resistance of New Bedford's heroic strikers has not yet caused the greedy mill owners to give up their feudalistic tendencies. The fight must go on!

Yes, the fight must go on—the bread lines must go on—and grow and grow. Mothers and fathers must stay on strike and smile—while anxiety grips their faces and grips their noble hearts. Little children must rush from school to the soup lines so that the family might have supper. Their little bodies must be covered with warm clothing and their tender feet must be ill-shod if they are to face the wintry blasts—but their parents must stay on strike and fight for the right to live as human beings.

Will these strikers win their historic fight? Yes, if labor and its friends rally to their cause without stint or limit. No power on earth can break their strike if the gaunt spectre of hunger is kept out of the strikers' ranks. This is a job for those who want to see justice and decency triumph in this uneven industrial conflict—a small but powerful clique of the Capitalists on one side—30,000 workers and their 60,000 dependents on the other with nothing but their courage and solidarity.

Every section of the American Labor Movement must recognize in this struggle a great common cause and give and give. These workers must not be defeated. Their strike shines like a ray of hope to more than 1,000,000 exploited textile workers—the most underpaid toilers of our "prosperous" country. Victory will give this army of textile workers heart to rise from their degradation. This is, indeed, the fight of all who want the future to be brighter for the toiling masses.

I appeal to all Socialists, labor and liberal groups to renew their support and to stand with these strikers until their battle is won. Contributions should be sent to Post Office Box 521, New Bedford, Mass.

Six Miners Injured In Union Battle

(Continued From Page 1)

button bearing the word "picket." They also distributed cards bearing inscriptions among which were the following: "Souvenir of First and Only Convention of the National Association of the Professional Strikebreakers Better Known as the Save the Union." "Long Live the United Mine Workers of America." "Don't Be a Scab."

As these miners approached the hall they were singing and asked the committee at the door that they be given a chance to voice their protest against the organization of the new "union." A fight immediately began at the entrance of the hall, the guards using their clubs and throwing bricks and the miners defied themselves.

The fight continued for five minutes when the police arrived and dispersed both groups, including those in the hall, about thirty of both sides being arrested. It was a pathetic sight to observe this struggle. None of the officers of the United Mine workers was in the march. On the other hand none of the leaders of the Communists was present. They remained at their hotel.

Had the "Save the Union Committee" held the convention it would not have represented the miners, said Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers. He declared that the union delegates had been properly elected and had their credentials, but were refused admission to the hall. He asserted that the "Save-the-union" faction started the trouble in an effort to drive the union men away from the hall.

It also was announced that the American Civil Liberties Union will make a thorough investigation of the trouble and, if possible, bring to justice those responsible for the disorders.

THOSE in charge of the publicity for forums, lecture courses, schools, dramatic groups and concerts, will find THE NEW LEADER the best possible advertising medium. NEW LEADER readers are keenly alive. You can reach them through our columns.

SOCIALIST, DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN
Will Debate At
The Banquet of "The Merons"
September 20th
Reno's Restaurant, W. 43rd St.
Mc Allister Coleman will represent the Socialists.
WINTERED HARKER COOLEY
35 Madison St. Tel. Waltham 6813



In the pastoral Beauty of this scene one detects a little rivalry for the good will of the shepherdess. The Republican Party, for many years the favorite shepherd-dog, now knows that the Democratic Party aspires to that honor.

Party Brokers Holy War In Philadelphia

WASHINGTON — (F. P.)—Information reaching Republican National Headquarters from Philadelphia throws a strange and—to the G. O. P.—alarming light upon the "cleanup" which District Attorney Monaghan has ordered. For it indicates that this sudden enthusiasm for curbing and punishing the police officials and other Vice lieutenants who have extorted millions from bootleggers and vice resort owners is merely a phase of a desperate struggle between two factions for leadership of the Vire organization. Boss Vire himself, secluded in a hotel in Atlantic City, is believed dying from the effects of his recent physical collapse.

Harry Mackey, mayor of Philadelphia and strong-arm man of the Vire general staff, assumed that he would have no serious trouble in taking the leadership, with its attendant sources of riches when Vire should fall. But Monaghan challenged his claim. By the aid of a grand jury which has reported enough facts to warrant imprisonment of a long list of the Mackey element, Monaghan drew the attention of the whole country to the wholesale corruption and social degradation fostered under Mackey's control of the Philadelphia police. Every ward and precinct is in confusion as to which element is to prevail, and hence the smaller leaders are wavering as between Mackey and Monaghan. The latter has rallied to his side the partnership with organized gangland—the nucleus of Vire's power.

Now, as when Boss Penrose died and Gifford Pinchot gained the Republican nomination for governor in 1922, the feud between the aspirants for leadership has broken down discipline in the G. O. P. in Pennsylvania. District leaders and captains are bringing to both Monaghan reports that they cannot hold their voters in line this year for Hoover; the voters are wet, and are going to vote for Al Smith. And, according to the reports brought back to Washington, Mackey is taking the lead in granting permission to his precinct captains to "let them vote as they please," so long as the Mackey leadership is upheld.

What the Hoover managers fear, and what the Smith managers predict, is that this relaxation of discipline will throw Philadelphia to Smith in November. In Pittsburgh the Mellon organization is said to be threatened with wholesale desertions on the same pretext—the determination of the usually docile voters to give the wet candidate a helping hand on election day.

Underlying the Smith movement in other sections of Pennsylvania is resentment on the part of the coal miners against the brutal treatment accorded to them during the strike of the past two years by the state administration, which has backed the anti-union operators by issuing thousands of badges to coal and iron police. Gov. Fisher, who has served Mellon and Vire by turns, is denounced by the whole body of organized labor. He was one of the men who gave the Pennsylvania delegation at Kansas City to Hoover.

Question of Ownership

Conundrum: As long as we insist on allowing a handful of men to own our country, how are we going to keep them from bowing, bumping off, or buying up our representatives?

Answer: It can't be did.

The Abyss That Yawns For Trade Unionism By Action Of Leaders

PUBLICITY regarding contributions to the Democratic campaign fund last week will not tend to soothe those members of the trade unions who are expressing their anger at labor men who are allied with big bankers and capitalists in this campaign. There are two types of these allies. One is publicly serving Smith and Raskob. The other type is secretly giving aid, chiefly through cautious exertion of "influence."

The contributions and the contributors are significant. Four contributions of \$50,000 each are reported from banker Lehman, contractor Kenny, Pierre S. du Pont, and Michael J. Meehan. Like Raskob, du Pont represents General Motors, the anti-union corporation. Edward S. Harkness, of anti-union Standard Oil and a Republican, gives \$10,000. Other large contributors are William H. Todd a Republican; James J. Phelan, Boston broker and Republican; Owen D. Young of the General Electric, an anti-union corporation; and Gerard Swope, Republican. The total contributions of over a half-million dollars run very close to the total received by the Republicans. No trade union contributions are reported.

The promise of Smith and his platform that "big business" has nothing to fear from the Democratic party is bringing results. Formerly expressing the claims of the lesser business interests, the Democratic party shares honors with the Republican party as a safety bank for the big financial and capitalist classes of the nation. What is just as certain is that the party has the active support of some of the leading enemies of trade union organization.

This presents an issue to those labor officials who are supporting this party. If that party and its candidate and its backers are satisfactory to you and the members of your organizations, why do you not frankly ask the members to vote funds to that party's campaign chest? Such funds were rightly voted to the LaFollette campaign four years ago. Why do you hesitate? Is it because that, deep in your souls, you know that this is a dirty enterprise? If a party financed by leading open shoppers is worthy of support you should say so to your members and ask them to add their funds to the contributions of powerful enemies of these members.

The honor and integrity of organized workmen are at stake. Nay, trade unionism itself cannot live if such practices continue. For that reason we speak. We have fought in many battles for the trade unions. There are those still active in them who have become sick with disgust. They made measureless sacrifices, but not for this which they witness in this sad year of greasy opportunism. They are just as practical as you, but when they put their soul into building their organizations they did not and could not anticipate the "practical" that would attempt to make them the political associates of the John J. Raskobs, the Pierre S. du Ponts and their ilk.

Shall We Suffer Moral Wounds?

We urge those members who are shocked to retain their composure. Even this greasy opportunism will fail. Governor Smith will not be elected President. Not unless some unexpected crisis herds panic-stricken voters blindly into the camp of this wing of capitalist politics. In that event Labor will suffer moral wounds. Time and patience may heal these gaping wounds. Pay day will come. Will it mean sackcloth and ashes, gray remorse, grief

that only ashes remain of what once inspired men and women to do and dare?

It would have been better had you followed the course adopted by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Its members could not approve either candidate or either party. That is in the record. It can never be wiped out. Its action is supposed to be your guide and the guide of the members. The rise of the Raskobs, du Ponts and their kind in the Smith party amply justified the Executive Council.

As for the Republican Party, it has always been what the Democratic Party is now. It is the party of the upper aristocracy of industry and finance. This aristocracy is now bestowing its favors on both parties. You cannot avoid knowing it if your information is confined only to the newspapers.

We did not expect many of you to support the Labor candidates, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, so we have no complaint on this score. However, they are the candidates of the working people. The next generation of organized labor will look forward to this one and will recognize this claim. It will have its party, a political organization of labor to fight its battles in every legislative body in this country. Thomas and Maurer are the bearers of this noble aspiration. What there is of honor, unselfishness, nobility of purpose, and sacrificial zeal in this political era is carried into this political struggle by these two men and by the devoted bands who are encouraging them in their fight for Labor.

No Fellowship With Company Unionism

But, we repeat, we did not expect the trade unions of the nation to declare this year for these Labor candidates. We did hope that few men in responsible positions would chum with either party of the upper aristocracy which is slowly routing out unionism in the basic industries of the nation. The Executive Council's avoidance of a choice was lacking in positive action, but it at least had the virtue of preserving honor in this period of political degradation.

What was preserved by official action is now being sacrificed by personal conduct. When honor is bartered nothing is left. That is why we hear murmuring here and there by members who fear the abyss into which trade unionism is plunging. They know that no victory can come to trade unions through parties kept by the enemies of trade unionism, by the parties of A. Mitchell Palmer and Harry Daugherty, of Hoover and Smith, of Raskob and Mellon. That is why these members grieve. That is why they murmur.

What of the pessimism to follow November? Can American trade unionism itself stay the forces of disintegration already rife in the mining and textile industries, or summon the fighting spirit so necessary to conquer the basic industries now so perilously controlled by "company unionism?" Not with a fat and easy opportunism that keeps company with the proprietors of that unionism in politics.

We cry this warning. We want to be on record, for disaster threatens. Our warning is a duty we owe to the whole working class, especially to the organized section of it whose future is at stake. It is for you and the members to say whether you will halt at the abyss or plunge in. If ruin comes others will have to build, but it will be another generation who will undertake the task.

Low Down On Fuller and Raskob

(Continued From Page 1)

would fire their orators they would be a lot better off in the public's estimation.

Open Shop Raskob is for Smith. Governor Fuller is for Hoover.

Thank God no labor-baiting executive nor electrocuting official has come out for Norman Thomas. Every day hard-working Gus Gerber up at the National Socialist headquarters should issue a statement saying that Norman Thomas has not been endorsed by any of these gentlemen, but is just going to get the votes of hard-working men and women who don't know what bigotry means.

And if you want to get the low down on Fuller and the sinister forces who were back of his decision to burn two innocent workers, take my advice and read Upton Sinclair's book called, "Boston." It's been running in THE BOOK-MAN magazine and will soon be out in book form.

Upton has done it again. He has turned that filthy community over which Governor Fuller so amply presides upside down. He has shown the damnable hypocrisy which is the breath of life to the so-called "better-classes" of Back Bay.

We have been in plenty of American cities where we have been upset by bigotry and intolerance and the lust for persecution which prevails. But never has a town affected us like Boston.

Its very pavements reek with bigotry. You can smell intolerance on the passing breeze.

You can get a good line on Boston from the fact that its citizens once tried to hang one of the few spirits who had the courage to make the town his residence. I mean Garrison.

And there is no better tribute to the memory of Wendell Phillips than the fact that his name is still hated by Back Bay.

I was in that city a year ago when the lust-ridden crowds came out to jeer Alfred Baker Lewis and the few other brave souls who dared to picket Governor Fuller's office. I brought back a great nausea. And also a wonder that men like Lewis could stand the place. Anyhow I take my hat off to him in view of the enemies he has made and turn to more happy subjects.

Of course you know that Thomas has gone out again.

And, of course, you are following the news of this second trip. You know what a mighty pioneering job Norman is doing. You realize, I suppose, that he is building a party and bringing hope to thousands who were despondent.

On this trip he went into territory where even the word "Socialism" was almost unknown.

Now he goes into communities where at any rate they have heard our message before.

Here's hoping that the charm of his personality and the compulsion of his message will make many new converts to "the most poignant dream ever dreamt by man."

If we were writing open letters these days, we would say something like this to Norman:

"All the luck to you. You are opposed by millions of dollars and mighty forces. You are supported by those who have nothing but courage and intelligence, two characteristics which count for little in America 1928. But you are going ahead in a campaign of down right education and whether your vote is small or large you have won the victory. You have proved to the world that Socialism is still to be reckoned with, wherever men plan for a happier, more decent world. You are engaged in what Wells, (I mean that Wells, who wrote 'New Worlds for Old') might call an 'Open Conspiracy' for making all our lives richer and more abundant. And for this we honor you and wish you well."

Va. Socialists Organize Three Party Locals

Four More Cities Will Be Organized—Funds Needed To Carry on Important Campaign Work

RICHMOND, Va.—In the past two weeks David George has visited Socialists and interested persons in all parts of the State. Locals have been organized in Norfolk, Richmond and Petersburg, and will soon be organized in Newport News, Alexandria, Lynchburg and Roanoke, as well as in several other places.

Norman Thomas-for-President clubs have been organized in Richmond, Petersburg, and Monroe, and several others are being formed.

The State Central Committee has mapped out an active campaign for sixty days, but to make it successful, we must have funds. We need \$1,000 within two weeks. Many comrades have donated \$5.00 and \$10 and it is now up to those who have not made donations to come to our assistance. Send donations of any size to State Headquarters, 518 Lyric Building, Richmond, David S. George, Campaign Manager. If you will do your part, we will get our thousand dollars and put up a great fight. Let's not be a liability, but an asset to the National Campaign Committee.

There is also a large supply of literature, buttons and "Intelligent Voters Guides" at the State Office. Friends should ask for price quotations, and send order. Also send all the subscriptions to the Virginia Appeal you can. It is a weekly, and only \$1.00 per year.

Fuller's Conscience Uneasy After Year

BOSTON—(F. P.)—Is Governor Fuller's conscience resting uneasily under the burden of consciousness of guilt? Nearly thirteen months after he sent Sacco and Vanzetti to the death chair, the Governor has admitted publicly that the pardon and review functions of his office are "disagreeable" and weigh heavily on him. Fuller is advocating a court of judicial review for such cases. Had such a court existed last year, Sacco and Vanzetti might have been saved from electrocution. As it was, higher courts said they were unable to remedy Judge Thayer's biased conduct and Fuller tried to shift responsibility for correcting the miscarriage of justice by naming a special board of three men who proved themselves as prejudiced as Thayer.

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Anti-Religious Center of
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Dr. Wolf Adler
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DEBATE—"IS ATHEISM TRUE?"
Yes: Woolsey Teller of the 4A
No: Thos. W. Kallman, lawyer of
Winston-Salem, N. C.
September 30th—
"AN INFIDEL ABROAD"
Clement Wood

SPECIAL SAILING OCT. 20TH
Attend the
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ESSENCE OF MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE

Misconception of a Fundamental View Considered by an Able Exponent of Marx

The following is an address delivered by the Educational Director of the Rand School of Social Science at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. As another young generation has appeared since the outbreak of the World War we believe a fundamental address of this character will repay reading. Those who wish to have a more inclusive popular statement on the whole of Marx's philosophy should also read Mr. Lee's admirable little book, "The Essentials of Marx," which may be obtained at the Rand School Book Store for 50 cents. It is one of the very best summaries of Marx's voluminous writings that have appeared in English.

By Algernon Lee

THE program committee asks: Should Socialists revise their theory of value? For my part, I reply: The better they understand it, the less will they wish to revise it. I shall be set down as hopelessly old-fashioned by those who spend their time in nothing but either to tell or to hear some new thing. That does not move me. Scientific propositions differ from dance steps in this, among other things, that with regard to them, novelty for the sake of novelty is not a desideratum.

Outside of Marxian circles, there has been since Marx' time only one serious attempt in the way of theoretical treatment of price, value, and related subjects. This is significant. Until some fifty or sixty years ago, David Ricardo was the major prophet of bourgeois economics. His genius well deserved all the honor that was paid him. But then came Marx, not to destroy but to fulfill. He did to the Ricardian theory of value what he did also to Hegelian dialectic and to the materialism of Holbach and d'Alembert—he perfected it, put fresh life into it, developed it to its logical conclusions. The result was alarming to those who wished to believe that all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. What they had relied on as an authentic testimonial to the moral character and business solvency of the capitalist mode of production proved, when thus read out in full, to be both an indictment and a decree in bankruptcy.

What could any Doctor Pangloss of a bourgeois economist do in such a case? Accept Marxism, since it was the legitimate sequel to Ricardian doctrine? Not to be thought of. Openly repudiate Ricardo, since his arguments led to such unwelcome conclusions? A humiliating alternative. They found an easier way—they changed the subject. Some of them, feeling that they must have some bits of theory or other, borrowed old bits from the biologists, the psychologists, and other kindly neighbors, and with such materials patched up sundry bizarre structures to hide the gap in their theoretical system. (Even the astronomers helped out Stanley Jevons, you remember, letting him put their sun-spots on an undreamed-of use.)

Others turned their backs on theory and devoted themselves to minute statistical investigation of particular phenomena—in which field, it must be admitted, a great deal of good work of an empirical kind has been done.

Austrian Criticisms
The only noteworthy effort to construct a new theory of value is that of the Austrians. Siding upon the concept of marginal utility, Boehm-Bawerk and Menger worked at it with true German patience. It was a substantial enough thing, to start with; but they stretched it out through all the phases of marginal utility, marginal demand, marginal cost, marginal supply, marginal price, till it came to what Hyndman called the marginal utility of marginal value—and by that time the thread had become too tenuous to support its own weight. I do not say that the Austrian theory has no value. I say only that it is not a theory of value. It is an ingenious explanation of certain phenomena of price movement. As such, it does in some measure supplement the work of Smith, of Ricardo, and of Marx, but does not supplant it, either wholly or in part.

Perhaps, lacking an antagonist, I should stop here and devote the rest of my time to more actively controverted subjects. But because I feel sure that among those who say our theory should be revised and yet neither make a definite attack nor offer a substitute, there must be some who are not mere novelty seekers, but have been led to this negative attitude through failure in an earnest attempt to grasp the Marxian theory, I should like to discuss some of the doubts and difficulties.

Price and Value
First, as to relation between price and value. The manner in which Marx, in the first chapter of Capital, has "coquetted" with Hegelian methods of expression ought not to blind the student—especially one who has read also "The Poverty of Philosophy" or even "Wage-Labor and Capital and Value, Price and Profit"—to the fact that, in his thought, as in that of his predecessors, prices are the specific and concrete phenomena of which value is the generalized abstraction. It could not be otherwise in the thought of so consistent a materialist as Marx. Yet many of those who profess to interpret his theory overlook this fact. Either they talk as if price and value had nothing to do with each other, in which case they cut the theory off from all relation to the facts of everyday economic life; or else, taking value as a sort of mystical sacredness, they maintain that, although things ought to exchange at their true values, yet in this dishonest world they always do sell at prices above or below their values—that is, they attribute the exploitation of labor to the divergence between price and value, which is just the error of which Marx convicted Proudhon, and which, if the misunderstood theory is taken as a guide for action, has grave practical consequences.

Marx nowhere gives a complete formal definition of the word "value." In his time, when the theoretical study of economics was more general than it now is, such a definition might have seemed superfluous. At this point, I fancy, some of my hearers will feel like interrupting me to say that Marx defines value as socially necessary labor. They must pardon me if I bluntly reply that he does nothing of the sort. That the value of a commodity is measured or determined by, or is the expression or embodiment of, the amount of labor socially necessary for its production—this is the statement of a conclusion about value. It is not a definition of value, any more than a formula C-2-R is a definition of the word "circumference." The use of a definition is to indicate at the outset what it is we are thinking about. Having made this clear to ourselves, we think straight, come to know something more about the subject that we did when we started. But if we begin by saying that "value" is synonymous with "socially necessary labor," and then, inquire how value is determined, and reply that it is determined by the socially necessary labor—why, we are simply saying that value is determined by value or that labor is determined by labor. It is not worth while to go all around Robin Hood's barn to arrive at such empty nonsense.

The Meaning of Value
I take it that Marx used the word "value" in the same sense in which all other economists of his time used it: whenever they took the trouble to distinguish between value and price. By the price of a commodity he meant that which is actually sold for at any given time; and by its value he meant the norm above and below which its price incessantly oscillates under the opposite influence of changing supply and changing demand.

The law of supply and demand, when fully stated, explains the fluctuations of price. When the demand for a commodity increases relatively to its supply, its price rises; the rise of price stimulates production, supply increases relatively to demand, and consequently the price goes down—and so forth. But this does not at all explain why the price of one commodity, for a long time together, oscillates about a point just so much above or below the point about which the price of some other commodity is oscillating. The explanation of that fact is what we call the law of value; and I have yet to find any theory which so clearly explains it as does that of Marx.

Value and Labor
A familiar short statement of this theory is that value is produced by labor. That statement must not be understood with naive literalness. It is a convenient expression, but not an accurate one. Laboring upon an article does not make it valuable in the same direct way as rubbing our hands makes them warm and blowing on our coffee makes it cool, nor even as directing a beam of light upon a young couple encoined in a dark nook makes them visible and perhaps angry. Strictly speaking, it is not the labor, but the necessity for it, that gives the article its value. For value is not a quality of objects, nor even a relation between objects. It is a social relation—as Marx puts it, "a relation between persons expressed as a relation between things."

This point understood—and Marx takes pains to emphasize it—much that has been written in criticism of his theory of value is seen to be entirely irrelevant. But those who think they are his followers should understand it, too. We would then be spared a great deal of empty discussion as to who exploits whom, as to whether exploitation "takes place only at the point of production," as to whether the labor of a skilled mechanic produces more value than the labor of a navvy, and so on to the end of the chapter.

"The Full Product of One's Toil"

Value is a social relation, and one that is specific to a commodity-producing society. In that social order which we Socialists predict and strive towards—in a society where production for profitable sale will have given place to collectively organized production for use—no such thing as value, in the economists' sense of the word, will any longer exist. To say that in such a social order each worker will receive the full value that his labor produces is to make two blunders in one. In the first place, it is to talk of the relations among competitive commodity-producers. In the second place, it is to suppose that, even in our present society, the value of the whole mass of commodities produced is the sum of the values produced by all the numerous individuals who take part in the production. To ask what fraction of the value of a pair of machine-made shoes was produced by the operative who sewed in the welt and what fraction by the one who cemented together the different layers of the heel is just as futile as to ask what portion of the box-office receipts at a symphony concert is attributable to the efforts of the men who play the second trombone or the third bass viol.

When the people collectively own the socially necessary means of production, the apportionment of the product will be determined by considerations of social welfare, by any pretense of calculating what each member of society has contributed toward its production. On the other hand, so long as the workers are wage-workers, their compensation will be governed by conditions in the labor market among which conditions are of course to be reckoned the degree of effective combination that may exist on the workers' side and on that of the employers.

For it must be remembered that the law of value, and even the very concept of value, exists only by virtue of competition and the resultant fluctuation of prices. In so far as competition on one side of the market or the other has been eliminated, in so far as it is possible for the price of a commodity to remain permanently above or below that would be its value in a competitive market; and this is true for the quasi-commodity known as labor-power, as well as for steel rails and gasoline. There are indeed limits to the range of monopoly price. It will not for any length of time sink below cost of production, because then production would cease; and there is a point above which it will not rise, either because any further enhancement would result in calling competitors into the field, or because it would so greatly diminish the volume of sales as to lessen total profit. For some commodities, however, and notably for labor-power, the range is a pretty wide one.

The Iron Law of Wages Not Marxian

The theory of wages is a favorite point of attack for those who get their ideas of Marxism by intuition or from unreliable secondary sources. According to Marx "iron law of wages," they say, the price which the workers receive for their labor-power is barely sufficient to enable them to live and rear children to replace them when they are used up; and above this level it is impossible for wages to be raised, because every increase in money-wages results in a proportionate increase in the price of the things which the workers have to buy.

No such doctrine as this can be fairly imputed to Marx. That striking but very inaccurate phrase, the "iron law of wages," was not coined or used by Marx. It was Lassalle's phrase; and it occurs in that very portion of his Herr Bastiat Schulze von Delitzsch against whose theoretical inaccuracies Marx warns us in the first preface to Capital.

For Marx subsistence level is not a physiological but a social phenomenon, which may vary considerably in different countries or at different times. What he does say is that the cost of physical subsistence fixes maximum limit to wages short of that point at which profit would be altogether extinguished; and that between these extremes the actual level of wages depends upon the relative strength of the capitalists' efforts to depress it and the workers' efforts to push it up. As for the proposition that real wages cannot be increased in a capitalist society—a thesis dear alike to the reactionary enemies and to the pseudo-revolutionary censors of the trade-union movement—it was just this thesis which Marx so masterfully refuted in "Value, Price and Profit."

Marx does indeed hold that in a fully competitive labor market the value of labor-power, the norm above and below which actual wages oscillate, is equal to the cost of the workers' subsistence, according to the standard prevailing at the time; that the difference between such wages and the value of the product (to which difference he gives the name of surplus-value) falls to the capitalists by reason of their control of the means of production; that surplus-value is increased whenever the value-product is increased without an equal increase of wages, or when wages are reduced without an equal diminution of product; and that the general tendency of capitalist development, with its increased use of machinery, its concentration of capitalist ownership and control, and its diminished opportunities for self-employment, is to increase surplus-value both by increasing the productivity of labor and by depressing wages toward the minimum of physical subsistence cost.

Capitalist Tendencies Thwarted By Organization of Labor

Those who make this argument generally present a somewhat delusive picture of working-class prosperity, unduly heightening the colors and leaving out some very ugly features. But let that pass. Let us concede that in most parts of Europe and North America the wage-workers now get a better living and enjoy more leisure than did the wage-workers of half a century ago. Is recognition of this fact inconsistent with acceptance of



ALGERNON LEE,

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The Inside of Capitalist Politics

Clap-trap and Humbug, 'Fat Cats' and 'Hot Pokers', As Seen By An Experienced Journalist

By James Oneal

THERE is more general cynicism and contempt for American politics today than at any time in the history of the republic. To the surface observer this is discouraging but cynicism and contempt may likely be the beginning of a political revolution. Bryce, Merriam, Macy, Ostrogorsky and others have given us notable studies of American politics but it remained for Frank Kent, a newspaper man, to give us an inside view based upon intimate contact with politics and politicians.

In a notable book (Political Behavior, New York: William Morrow and Co., \$2.50) Kent surveys the trade of the professionals. It is a discouraging survey for he leaves the impression that we are a nation of hopeless fools, the victims of charlatans and adventurers who never in their lives cherished a noble sentiment. We are "muddy-minded" and swayed by "feeling rather than reason" over parties and platforms that do not differ; influenced by "clap-trap and humbug" by men who are regarded as having "adroit minds" but are "only relatively intelligent, far removed from the astute and shrewd politicians of fiction."

This judgment applies to the professional from the illiterate ward heeler up to members of Congress and often the President, the latter generally giving about three-fourths of his time to his machine rather than to affairs of the nation. Capitalist politics has sunk so low that newspapers give four times the space to sports that they do to political problems while the technique of the political game is to provide a "good show" for the voters. "Give them hokum" is the motto of a U. S. Senator, who speaks from long experience.

The man in the street may wonder why it is that the statements of politicians and politicians are vague and indefinite. Kent answers in the following paragraph: "Probably the most important single accomplishment for the politically ambitious, the most effective asset they can possibly acquire, is the fine art of seeming to say something without doing so. Quite obviously this presents vast difficulties to an informed and intelligent person with a clear head and clean-cut convictions on public questions than to the muddy-minded man, devoid of knowledge and destitute of opinions, whose sole idea is to win and who would be consciously comfortable on either side of any issue." Occasionally an upheaval in politics appears to break through the shams and the appearance is deceptive, says Kent.

He shows that this occurs when the machine is divided, one section of the machine working temporarily with the reformers and the old regime eventually returning through compromise and bargaining. When such upheavals threaten the plunders it is often met by a device that is familiar. A "goat" is picked out by the leaders and the rascal is thrown to "the wolves" to the slogan of "Stand by the rest of them." We have observed that Tammany is an adept at this game.

Other slogans have been coined by the brokers but they are not for the fools outside the charmed circle. One is, "When in Doubt, Do Right." That is, the professional can afford to stand for anything, right or wrong, except when sentiment is about evenly divided. This brings doubt and in this case "do right" as more may be lost by being wrong than by being right.

Another slogan is, "Never Handle a Hot Poker on the Front Porch" to which is added the advice, "Let it lay until it cools off or take it down in the cellar where it can be handled without being seen." These slogans have reference to a situation where a rival politician "has the goods" on you. The other side of this phase of the game is to so contrive the situation that your opponent will charge you with something that you can easily answer. You then get your foot on the neck of your rival by answering the "unjust attack."

It is safe to say that in no other sort of associated life would men be tolerated who acted upon the clear meaning of these slogans. They are compounded of deceit, swindle and hypocrisy.

Kent recognizes that this type of politics is rooted in rule by a business plutocracy but he does not give this the importance which it deserves. Occasionally one of the plutocrats goes into politics himself instead of letting the professional broker take care of his interests. These men who have made their large wads are known in the parties as "Fat Cats." They are cherished because of their barrels of money. Marcus A. Hanna was of this type while Andrew W. Mellon is the biggest "Fat Cat" in the Republican Party. The reader will note that the Democrats have captured a "Fat Cat" in John J. Raskob whose barrel is now available for Governor Smith.

The capture of a "Fat Cat" by one of the parties is a matter of rejoicing as it materially solves the problem of getting money to put its brokers into office. The "Fat Cat" is generally associated with powerful corporations and the latter have in the past twenty years

Marx' theoretical analysis? We must consider the whole of what he says on the subject—namely, that the tendency of capitalist development, by itself, is to depress wages; but that this tendency may be resisted and even overcome by other historical forces; and that among these countervailing forces is the organized action of the working class. Can anyone doubt that such increase of wages as has taken place, together with the reduction of working hours, is mainly due to the efforts of the working-class movement, in its various phases as trade union, as co-operative society, and as political party?

Philosophy of High Wages

I know that it is said that the so-called "new capitalism" makes the payment of high wages a policy. That statement must be taken with more than a grain of salt. Our coal-mine owners did not break the Jacksonville agreement because the union opposed their policy of paying high wages. When one textile company after another moves its plant to the South, it is not because wages are higher there than in New England. Those 26,000 operatives in New Bedford who are at this moment on strike against an insidious attempt of their employers to raise their wages. If Ford and General Motors and General Electric are setting up plants in Europe and in South America, to compete with the plants they already have in this country, it is not because they will there be free to pay higher wages than they can in the United States.

The fact is, not that the new capitalists, any more than the old ones, ever mean to pay more than they have to for getting a given quantity of work done, but that they know that the lowest wage per hour does not always mean the lowest wage-cost per unit of work. This is more generally true than it used to be, because most modern employers—or at any rate their managers and advisers—are better informed than were those of an earlier generation.

Every capitalist, unless he be a pig-headed fool, will pay as much as he must to get his work done, up to a point (seldom actually reached) where it would be more profitable for him to liquidate and go out of business. In those industries which have the largest proportion of fixed capital, and perhaps also of constant circulating capital, the loss of profits resulting from slack or intermittent operation is relatively greater than in those less highly developed industries whose capital is largely of the variable sort. In industries which are still rapidly expanding and in which, accordingly, an abnormally high rate of profit prevails, rapid and continuous operation is a more weighty consideration

than in those whose market is nearly or completely saturated. In either of these cases, other things being equal, the capitalists' reluctance to pay high wages is counteracted by their desire to make the maximum use of their plant. For one or both of these reasons, the automobile, electrical, and building industries are among those in which the high-wage policy has been most in evidence. The coal, textile, and tobacco industries have quite another story to tell. The steel industry fulfills the first condition, but not the second; it has a high ratio of constant capital, but it has passed the stage of most rapid expansion. In this industry, moreover, concentration of ownership and control has gone farther than in almost any other. No wonder that the United States Steel Corporation is not fanatically devoted to the cult of high wages. Let the two great automobile companies once merge, and we shall see what will happen to automobile workers' wages.

There is, however, another aspect to this question which may be of more lasting importance. Every capitalist has, so to speak, a double nature. On the one hand, he is a purchaser of labor-power, and as such he feels a certain community of interest with all other employers; but on the other hand, he is a seller of some particular kind of commodities, and in this capacity he plays his own hand. As an employer, every capitalist wishes to keep wage-costs down, and will pay his own workers no more than he must. But those very numerous industrial and commercial capitalists who are engaged in providing consumption goods which are neither prime necessities of life nor very expensive luxuries, wishing and hoping to increase the volume of their sales, naturally welcome every increase in the purchasing power of the great mass of the people. Since the working class is the largest and the most rapidly growing element of our society, every such capitalist stands to gain by an increase in wages anywhere but in his own establishment.

By itself, I do not think this general capitalist interest in working-class prosper-

Thomas Brings Socialist Message To The Northwest

(Continued from Page 1)
surances of support came to Thomas from all sides when he finished.

Watching The Deserters
With some "progressives" like Brookhart, Nye, Frazier and Magnus Johnson climbing aboard the band wagons furnished by the Raskobs and Butlers to support parties which up to a few months ago they had denounced as corrupt and only serviceable to big business, the refusal of other outstanding men to desert the good cause is a very hopeful sign.

It is still six weeks before the election and some defections into the camp of either Hoover or Smith may yet occur in this section. Should these flops have any general influence the future of the Farmer-Labor Party would be endangered. The leaders know this and the Socialists are on the alert, cooperating with the best elements to keep the movement faithful to the farmers and the working class.

At the same time the Socialists will continue the job of rebuilding the Socialist Party and make it an increasing factor in the state.

Lynn Thompson, Socialist member of the Minneapolis School Board, presided at the Garrison Theatre meeting where August Claessens also spoke. An active group of Socialist hustlers headed by D. Shier, John E. Sala, Thompson, O. A. Devold, A. R. Gisslen, Albert Bastis, Louis Benecke and John Hirt made the success of the Thomas meeting here possible. Members of branches of the Workers' Circle were also on the job.

North Dakota's Experience

FARGO, N. D.—Into a welter of political back sliding by erstwhile Progressives, non-partisan league disillusionment and inspired advance ballhoos for a forthcoming hour of brown derby waving by Al Smith, Norman Thomas today gave the state of North Dakota a much needed touch of political realism. The response to the Socialist candidate's message was almost a miracle. Without any party organization within two hundred or more miles, with an indifferent local press and with a disagreeable rain pouring intermittently all day, nevertheless more than three hundred men and women turned out at the Fargo Theatre to hear Thomas.

For all the sorry economic and political state of North Dakota today, the state remains a hopeful one for the Socialist Party to figure on. There remains the tradition of radicalism created by the non-partisan league, as well as some excellent concrete accomplishments, the State Bank is flourishing to date. Rail insurance still keeps the profiteering insurance companies in their place and the state mill, by competition with the private millers, serves the all important function of "keeping private millers' charges down."

Barren Non-Partisan Policy

The policy of the non-partisan league of capturing the old parties, as distinguished from the Socialist policy of putting the old parties out of existence, has often sacrificed essential principle for temporary political advantage, the failures on the one hand to lift the North Dakota farmers out of the morass of poverty and on the other hand the occasional surrender to Republican regularity of the "Progressive" leaders has thus dissipated the movement's morale.

The flopping of the North Dakota Pro-

perty would go very far to offset each particular capitalist's interest in low-wage-costs. It does, however, once there is a labor movement in the field, count for a good deal in forming a public opinion more or less favorable to the workers' industrial demands, and favorable also to social legislation which directly or indirectly aids the workers in their struggle for a better livelihood.

To conclude—the more I study the Marxian theory of price, value, wages, and surplus-value in the light of contemporary economic facts—the more am I convinced of its correctness and adequacy.

Rigid Dogmas vs. Tendencies

Some will perhaps say that, in defending the Marxian theory I have myself revised it—that instead of a series of rigid formulas, I present it as a statement of tendencies. I reply that it never was anything more or less than a statement of tendencies. That is why it has a just claim to be called a scientific theory.

For what is any scientific law but a statement of tendency? The astronomers have worked out a formula to express the relative motions of two bodies revolving about one another in space. Applying that formula to certain observed facts of mass and distance, they calculate the orbit of the earth around the sun. Does the earth actually follow that orbit? No, it only tends to do so. In fact, it deviates in every conceivable direction. It never gets anywhere exactly on schedule time, and it is always more or less off the track. Does this mean that the law of revolving bodies is false, or that it is only approximately true? No, it means that, in order to get closer and ever closer to a prediction of the earth's actual course, we must apply that same law more thoroughly, taking into account the moon and each of the planets and perhaps even smaller or more distant bodies. What seems to the superficial observer an evidence that the theory is defective, is in fact the most conclusive proof of its correctness.

I repeat, every genuinely scientific law, as distinguished from the so-called practical man's rule-of-thumb maxims and recipes, is the statement of a tendency. Therein lies its double value, as a guide to action and as a means to the discovery of new truths. By both tests, the theoretical system of Karl Marx is daily being vindicated afresh.

The Result of "Capturing"

By all this we do not mean that the radical sentiment in North Dakota is due to wane and disappear. What is being weakened by Nye's and Frazier's backing of Hoover is in the tactic of capturing the Republican Party. The party is captured again and again and each time the captors end up more or less regular Republicans, there is more than considerable Socialist sentiment through the state which at one time had 52 Socialist Party branches. Fargo is the most reactionary sector in the state, yet the turnout to hear Norman Thomas was little short of a miracle.

A Promising State

The response to Thomas' talk was warm, as indicated by liberal contributions when the hat was passed for the campaign fund, when literature was sold, and when a request for signatures for the nominating petitions was made. Even more hopeful than the situation in and around Fargo, which is a trading center for the farmers, is the possibility of Socialist Party work in the western part of the state and near Minot, where one of the first Socialist city administrations of the country was elected years ago.

Farmers who came 50, 100 and 200 miles to Fargo to hear Thomas, told of the spirit for Socialism that abounds. They pleaded for speakers, organizers and literature. If we can get to them in the next two months there is no doubt but that our vote will be swelled to a record point. We have not had an opportunity to look into the situation in South Dakota. However in Fargo, we met and talked with J. Mahlon Barnes, who put the ticket on the ballot in North and South Dakota. Barnes expects to return to South Dakota, if the financial situation around campaign headquarters permits, to organize three locals that are awaiting organization in the meantime. According to Comrade Barnes, the South Dakota Farmer-Labor Party will do much to help our national ticket. There is also a possibility after this election that the Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota may become the Socialist party of that state.

As in Minnesota we found a field more fertile for Socialist propaganda and organization than we had dared hope for in our most enthusiastic moments. The size of the party's campaign fund will decide whether this opportunity is to be lost or not. I end this letter with an urgent appeal that comrades who can spare it rush their contributions, large or small, to the Socialist National Campaign Committee, 15 East 44th Street, New York City.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

DEVILUTION

As soon as man on earth appeared,
He hunted him a cave,
And growled and muttered through his beard
And said that he was brave.

He didn't make the cave, but, oh,
He spied it from a limb,
And he would have the world to know
That it belonged to him.

All other men who hadn't caves
Must stay out in the cold,
And they must be his humble slaves
And do as they were told.

He found a place where berries grew,
And trees with nuts galore;
He claimed the nuts and berries too,
And still he wanted more.

To own creation was his aim,
And though it wasn't right,
He went ahead and filed a claim
On everything in sight.

He made himself a mighty king,
And ruled with iron hand,
And took his toll of everything
That grew upon the land.

The slaves went out at dawn of day
And gathered goodly store,
And brought the treasures back to lay
Before the master's door.

The master, he was full of biz,
And made his servants pay:
"He claims it, and I guess it's his,"
Was all that they could say.

They bowed and kissed his garment's hem
And thought the homage due;
It never once occurred to them
To do some "claiming" too.

When men began to ask for laws
Endangering his reign,
He staged a war for "freedom's cause"
And had the people slain.

And thus the captains and the kings
Have made themselves secure,
And brought about a state of things
That men cannot endure.

They've fastened on the heavy yokes,
And piled the burdens high,
And made the lives of common folks
One bitter wailing cry.

They've made the earth a howling hell,
A reeking den of strife,
A place unfit for men to dwell,
And men are tired of life.

The men to-day upon the earth
Admit the show is bum;
They haven't got their money's worth,
And wish they hadn't come.

But they go out a-hunting wives
On whom to lay the blame,
And start a lot of other lives
To go and do the same.

And every link along the chain
Increases as it goes,
And doubles up the sin and pain,
And multiplies the woes.

To-day the human current runs
As blindly as before,
Still getting more unhappy sons
To suffer and get more.

They could have stopped it long ago
If they had only tried,
And got no other sons of woe
Till all of these had died.

If men would quit begetting men
Till human birth could cease,
The race would soon die out, and then
The world would be at peace.

—JAMES LARKIN PEARSON.

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

With aching and toll-worn hands,
With work-bowed back and heavy tread,
Deformed and dulled he midway stands
Between the living and the dead.

Through long, dark years of drudgery
And hopelessness and ridicule,
So comes my brother unto me
From out the ages of misrule.

And I, who heedles saw them steal
The light from out his eye, and take
His boyhood dreams, his faith his zeal,
What recompense is mine to make?

Am I my brother's keeper?
Who spurned this clod and mocked this pain?
And from my heart comes the reply:
The keeper of your kin—or Cain.

And so to-morrow, when the fight
Is joined, I ask the careless throng
To give their aid to help me right
My brother's and their brothers' wrong.

—Oscar Walters.

"This Is Norman Thomas"

5—At Albany: Tested in the Fires of Hysteria

By W. E. Woodward

Author of "George Washington, The Man and The Image,"
"Bunk," "Lottery," and "Bread and Circuses."

STEVENSON had already appeared before a Congressional committee with the first of the "blacklists," a strangely assorted collection of names of eminent Americans, beginning with Jane Addams, and ending with Lillian Wald. All of these, he said, were conspiring to overthrow the government. Now that he had some official backing, Stevenson gave full play to all his sadistic urgings. He engineered a particularly vicious raid upon the Rand School of Social Science, in the course of which State troopers smashed furniture, tore down pictures, and hustled frightened boys and girls out of the building. He gave support to the mobs of ex-service men who stormed the building of "The New York Call," swinging chairs and clubs. He set up a Star Chamber in the Prince George Hotel, whence he issued orders to large-footed detectives, and supplied to the authorities highly fictitious accounts of the doings of the radicals.

One day, while lunching in the Union League Club, with young Theodore Roosevelt, just "back from the wars," and one of the founders of the American Legion, he devised the brilliant idea of ousting the elected Socialist assemblymen on the ground that they were disloyal.

As a result of Stevenson's efforts, a trial had in it all the elements of high comedy, resulted. Counsel for the prosecution were constantly popping up to read Marx's "Communist Manifesto," which the stenographer as constantly set down as ending, "You have nothing to lose but your change." Time and again an alarmed Democratic prosecutor attributed all the sins of the Socialist colleagues to the workings of those two arch-conspirators, "Trotine and Lensky." Brilliantly defended though they were by Seymour Stedman and Morris Hillquit, it was plain from the start that the old-line politicians were bound to be rid of these pestiferous Socialists. Thomas took the stand to testify as to the good character of his comrades, for of course they had been tagged with the old "free love" label. But no one at Albany who counted politically wanted to hear the Socialist side, and the Socialist assemblymen were thrown out of the chamber to which they had been sent by their constituents. Some time after, when it became evident just what precedents this sort of skull-duggery was setting up, a number of old-party leaders became highly indignant over the affair, and rendered lip-service to free speech. But the men were out, and in the library of the Union League, Stevenson licked his thin lips with satisfaction.

Thomas went through all this reign of terror, trailed very often by secret agents, snubbed by his former respectable acquaintances, but finding every day new friends among those who were keeping the Socialist faith. He saw clearly now the ugly side of the class struggle, and saw, too, how ineffectual were any "liberal" efforts to come to grips with reality. He did not believe, however, that the Russian formula could be imposed upon an essentially uninformed and fiercely individualistic country. And he spoke right out in meeting to this effect, thereby arousing the wrath of the hell-bent boys on the extreme left.

The New York Thomas Hates and Admires. For Thomas there were new worlds for old with the rising of almost every sun these days. There is the New York of business and finance, the New York of export and import, not only of goods and money, but of ideas as well—the New York that is the liaison port between the United States and the rest of the world. And there is the New York of clubs and hotels, smart restaurants, and theatres, and that sparkling sham, the Great White Way. And the New York of serried apartment houses, and the New York of the underworld. Of all these varied cities there is yet another city with which these beyond the Bronx county line are little concerned, and about which they have the most meagre information. This is the New York of the workers. Some day, there will come along a writer who will put down this unknown city in black on white. He will give us a picture of a labor movement far-ranging enough to contain at once a man as keen-visioned, competent and courageous as Sidney Hillman, and a "labor leader" as defiantly corrupt as Robert Brinell. He will tell us of the rise of the needleworkers with such Socialists as Abraham Cahan, Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken, Meyer London, Louis Waldman, Morris Sigman, Max Danish, Fania Cohen, Rose Schneiderman, and others marching in the van. He will show these "terrible meek," the most exploited of all the workers, coming to a position of dominance in the labor life of the city. He will tell something of the almost incredible upshot of "The Forward," the largest foreign-language paper in the United States, consistently preaching Socialism to its readers. He will see the ape that is in the tailor retailed to meet the needs and exigencies of the American challenge.

Now along with this labor movement, with its philosophy of stark opportunism on the right, and its Socialist idealism on the left, there rose up certain organizations consisting of heterodox men and women, from the middle classes for the most part, but long since purged of any middle-class philosophy. "Proletarian aristocrats" Randolph Bourne (who was one of them himself), called these people, who had definitely thrown in their lot with the workers. The Daughters of the American Revolution, Mr. Frederick Marvin of the Key Men of America, and others whose profitable business it is to prey upon the notorious timidity of capital profess a violent apprehension lest these organizations now nationwide in their scope, overthrow our government. The truth of the matter is that a very few people indeed—no doubt the entire number could be gathered within one election district in a city—these bodies, attend meetings, and listen to treasurers' reports.

There are, however, two organizations in close and intimate contact with the labor movement of the city and the country as a whole, which are doing a piece of work for freedom which deserves the loud and uproarious cheers of honest men everywhere and which undoubtedly never will obtain said cheers. These are the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy. In both of these Thomas has had a leading part. I have spoken of his work for the Civil Liberties Bureau, which is now the Union. And that work goes on with all its old-time energy. It is, however, in the League for Industrial Democracy, of which he is co-director with Harry Laidler, that Thomas functions most conspicuously and effectively.

An Advocate in Social Pioneering. The League is a successor to the old Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which came into the American picture, right after the Presidential Campaign of 1904, when the Socialist Party had polled 400,000 votes, four times its vote in 1900. The far-darting Upton Sinclair had become convinced that college students generally should be made conscious of the mighty new Socialist currents in mod-

ern life, and he and George Strobell, in 1905, had broadcast the "call for an Intercollegiate Socialist Society." Jack London was the first President, and among those who attended the organization meeting was Harry W. Laidler, an undergraduate at Wesleyan, who twenty years later writes as follows of the two years of London's colorful leadership: "The most spectacular event during these two years was the speaking trip of President Jack London to some of the larger universities extending from the University of California to Harvard and Yale. At the last named University, early in 1906, faculty and student body crowded Woolsey Hall to hear the noted war correspondent speak on the 'Present Crisis.' They saw a ruddy, stocky figure, dressed in white flannel shirt, rolling flannel collar, white flowing silk tie, black pumps. They heard a militant talk on the industrial revolution. Turning to the students, London said: 'I went to the University. I found the university, in the main, practically wholly so, clean and noble, but I did not find the university alive. I found that the American university has this ideal, as phrased by a professor in Chicago University, namely: 'The passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence'—clean and noble, I grant you, but not alive enough. . . . And the reflection of this university ideal I find—the conservatism and unconcern of the American people toward those who are suffering, who are in want. And so I became interested in an attempt to arouse in the minds of the young men of our universities an interest in the study of Socialism. . . . We do not desire merely to make converts. . . . If colleagues cannot fight for us, we want them to fight against us—of course, sincerely fight against us. But what we do not want is that which obtains today and has obtained in the past of the university, a mere deadness and unconcern and ignorance as far as Socialism is concerned. Fight for us or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working.'"

"The New Haven papers did not like the idea of a representative of a new social ideal presenting the challenge of that ideal before Yale students. 'The spectacle of an avowed Socialist, one of the most conspicuous in the country standing on the platform of Woolsey Hall,' declared the New Haven 'Register' the next day, 'was a sight for God and man.'"

"The society would scarcely have survived its first two years of life had it not been for the devoted services of both George Strobell and Upton Sinclair. During a considerable part of this period, these two comrades gave unsparingly of their time—writing letters, addressing bundles of literature, planning for future work—Strobell from his farm home outside of Princeton, where he was writing 'The Jungle'. Expenditures during the first two years amounted to the colossal sum of \$722."

(Next week: Thomas and Laidler Team Up.)

SHOE WORKERS ON SLACK TIME. PHILADELPHIA (F. P.)—Black conditions in the shoe trade have forced many workers to two days' work a week, asserts Thomas P. Kelly, Philadelphia organizer of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union. Four locals of the union have called a meeting for September, when 3,000 workers in 45 shops will be asked to join the union.

Organization Education Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN

EDITOR

Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

Yipsel Dance Huge Success

About one thousand people jammed the main ballroom of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum last Saturday evening to attend the Tenth Annual Dance given by the Yipsels of Greater New York. The committee in charge had prepared for a crowd; but its preparations were slightly inadequate for the large mob that came, and for a time it looked as if the aid of police reserves might be needed.

A journal and a souvenir dance journal for the ladies were issued at the dance. Both bore informative matter about the Y. P. S. L. In order to obtain outside support for the event, the committee decided to award a silver loving cup to the club which had the largest number of representatives present. After a spirited contest, the Ano Club of Brownsville, having 112 votes, won over the Oakdale, their nearest rival, by seven votes.

The smoothness with which the affair was handled showed the experience and long familiarity of the committee with such matters. Eddie Geller's Royal Vagabonds provided the music for the occasion. Over in one corner of the balcony the Camp Edenites held an impromptu reunion. It was also the reunion of Yipsels after the long separation of the summer.

As not all of those who took tickets have made returns, the exact amount netted from this affair is not known. However, with the proceeds of the journal added in, several hundred dollars profit have already been made. The money will be equally divided between

the City League, which will use its share in the establishment of a radical youth magazine, and the relief fund of the New Bedford strikers.

An exact financial accounting will be published next week after a meeting of the Ways and Means Committee, Harry Japikowitz, its chairman, announced. The committee wishes to thank the members of Circle Thirteen, Seniors, for their splendid work in making the dance the success it was. Special thanks are due "Honey" Sapkowitz, whose hard and incessant labor as chairman of the committee in charge made the dance a success.

Yipsel Field Day. Final arrangements have been completed by the City Office for the Annual Field Day of the Y. P. S. L. in New York. It will take place on Sept. 23 at the Rice Memorial Stadium in Pelham Bay Park. The Athletic Committee has arranged track events for the day, as well as the boys.

All circles that have not as yet received their entry blanks should obtain them, and fill them out at once. The usual one dollar fee will be charged to each circle. Members will pay ten cents for each event they enter. Gold and silver medals will be awarded to successful competitors.

Scholarship Applications. The closing date for the application for scholarships is almost here. The Director of the Rand School, Algernon Lee, announces that a few more scholarships for Yipsels are still to be awarded. All Yipsels who are interested in courses in Literature, Sociology, Public Speaking, Trade Unionism and Social-

ism, given by the Rand School, are urged to make immediate personal applications to Comrade Lee.

Brownsville Yipsel Dance. Now that the dance of the City League has been successfully held, the members of Circle Two and Circle Thirteen, Seniors, intend to give one for the benefit of their own treasuries. This dance will take place on Monday evening, Sept. 24, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The dance music will be furnished by Eddie Geller's Royal Vagabonds.

The Editor's Voice. For the past three issues, this section has been edited by Comrade Umansky, relieving the Editor who was on his vacation. Next week, Free Youth will be edited by Sidney Hertzberg, associate editor of the Wisconsin "Daily Cardinal."

The attention of all Yipsels is called to the fact that they can obtain subscriptions to The New Leader at half-price through the aid of the Yipsel Publishing Association. Applications should be made to Emanuel Evitts, Financial Secretary of the Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

The Y. P. S. L. is a national organization, with circles all over the country, and yet few Yipsels know what is being done by circles other than their own. Corresponding secretaries, for the good of the League and their own circle, should keep in constant touch with the Editor of Free Youth, informing him of attempts and achievements of their circle.

Victor C. D'Unger of Little Rock, Arkansas, writes: "I am proud of the work of Eastern comrades."

Brisk Market In Leader Stock

ACTIVITY is routing passivity in the New Leader market. While The New Leader market has been wild the past few weeks, the last few days show a decided upward trend. The end of the vacation season has increased the ranks of the prospective buyers. Far-sighted buyers are watching the market with intelligent interest and a boom in circulation is confidently expected.

One of the first orders is from Olin Swenson, Holcomb, Wis. "You are getting out a great paper," he says.

"Hoover and Smith are not doing well down here," writes J. O. Jones, of Oklahoma. A sub accompanies the news.

Chas. Cruikshank, Wyoming, Pa., says that he expects to be on the N. L. mailing list for a long time to come.

Your Security

A gilt-edged security is Socialism. The N. L. gives the tip on how to secure it. Even heretofore conservative investors are waking up to this fact.

"I have just read a copy of your paper, given to me by a friend. I think the N. L. will suit me. Sub enclosed." Andrew Steed, Gillespie, Ill.

Scores of letters in which the writers say that they will be in the market for New Leader preferred.

A bundle of papers to Victor Evans, Seattle. He will get busy with them at the Norman Thomas meeting.

"I watch anxiously for the coming of our splendid paper. Send 50 more of the Labor Day issue." Sarah J. Brown, Albany, Ore.

Hot and Cold

Cooler weather and hot-under-the-collar feeling that comes with scanning the political piffle in the daily press, is boosting N. L. stock.

Jacob Winnen of Chicago joined the Socialist Movement in Germany in the year 1889. He still keeps up his interest in the cause. "I do not want to miss the N. L.," he says. "It's very, very good."

The quickest sales are made with N. L. sub cards. Then, too, it's the safest investment. Five dollars pays for three sub cards, each one good for a year's subscription. The "profit" may be used for the purchase of more cards.

From a young teacher in South Dakota. "I don't want to miss any of the political developments this fall. Mahlon Barnes, National Organizer of the Socialist Party, and the New Leader opened my eyes. I am going to vote the Socialist ticket hereafter."

The Market

Banana, oil political brand, plentiful. Boloney, political brand, plentiful.

"I do not want to be without the N. L.," Harry Smith, New Jersey City.

Miss Anne Cummins, Wheeling, is another new subscriber who is pleased with the paper. "Hope Thomas will have a surprisingly big vote," she writes.

One of the oldtimers, Warren Atkinson, of Rochester, N. Y., is helping to give the N. L. a distribution in that city. Carl Casper is on the job with him.

Rah Yipsels

"I think that the N. L. is the best paper in the U. S., barring none." Wm. Bangert, Recording Secretary, Yipsels, St. Louis.

Harold Faulkner, Boston, does not want to miss the New Leader's stimulating comments on the present campaign.

Uncle Sam

From Campaign Manager, Emil Seidel, Milwaukee, comes \$4 for subs. Half of the space on the envelope is taken up with the following slogan:

ELECTRIFY THE WORLD!
ELECT THOMAS AND MAURER.

State Organizer Sutton, of New Jersey is still an active trader in sub cards and bundle orders.

A long string of singles and doubles this week.

Unlike other stocks, the increased activity in NEW LEADER preferred, will not send up the price. Closing hour shows a firm demand for new subs and renewals.

KNITTERS IN CONVENTION

PHILADELPHIA (F. P.)—Two shift system and the spread of speed-up machinery will concern delegates to the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Federation convention in Philadelphia. Production is leaping ahead of demand, warns President Gustav Geiges, bringing acute problems to the union.

The union has 10,000 members and is affiliated with the United Textile Workers. Half the members work in and around Philadelphia. The union is conducting aggressive strikes against Allen A. in Kenosha, Wis., Millay at Buffalo, and Neer-Bussel at Reading, Pa.

THE CHATTER BOX

Symphony

Spring to your violins, musicians.
Spring to your drums and your lutes.
Now while the air is drawn taut,
Spring to your instruments, musicians.
Let us erect a city of song.
Let us build up a city,
Stone by stone, note by note,
To dazzle the expectant air,
To shine upon an eminence of waiting-for-sound.
Spring to your instruments, musicians!
Now while the air is taut,
Let us sweep this people into revolt,
For we are powerful!
We are more powerful than the makers of gold,
Than the builders of empire.
Spring to your instruments, musicians!
Let us erect a city of song!

ROBERT BOOKER HUNT.

Scratch the municipal government of any big city in the land, and you will find an awful smelling mess. Tammany Hall in New York City is not an institution, friends. It's a national ideal. Republican or Democratic labels are as useless or bootleg imprints on bottles these days. What label will you have? That's the usual moonshine question to any wise and already hopeless customer. What party shall we name it, say the boddies and booze kings who rule Philadelphia, or the gunmen who lord it over Chicago. New York is somewhat more fortunate in having outlived the out and out slugging type of gang rule. The Philipines and Connollys who have mulcted the petit householders out of millions on municipal sewer contracts are pink tea gentlemen compared to the brutal racketeers of the windy city, and the gin gypers of the Sleepy Town. These latter cutthroats are doing for their political homesties what Tweed, Croker, Murphy, Kid Twist, et al., once built up for Manhattan. We only have to ask Philadelphia and Chicago to be patient. As the years go on, the old party leaders and ward heeling gentry will learn the gentler and surer art of grafting from their citizenry. All the indignation and muckracking indulged in now is just so much wasted effort. It serves to fill the headlines. It gives a few secretly scared but openly blustering District Attorneys an opportunity to get publicity and higher office. But this much we all know. The racketeering will go on; the speakasies will flourish, the graft, like truth, crushed to earth, must, under capitalism, ever rise again.

As long as men and women will pay out hundreds of thousands of dollars to get the mere nomination to offices that pay salaries, and as long as men will be hired to shoot and maim and steal during elections, this reign of the grafting parties with their cohorts and thugs and murderers must go on. I sometimes see a strange and horrible vision for the future, unless Socialism comes in time to forestall it.

I see a nation ruled by gangs. This gang business is a monster created by Business for the purpose of beating down strikes, and stealing elections. But as the years go on, strikes and elections do not come often enough to make the profession of gunman pay. So booze and blackmail and other forms of extortion are used to fill in. Very soon indeed, these outlaw professions show enormous profits. It grows into a Big Business of its own. An empire if you wish, with its own laws, its legislative halls, its army and private police. Surely a few emperors, and hosts of lesser nobility. A government within a government. It also develops, through bribery, and intimidation, a powerful immunity from political interference. Police departments and judiciaries become secret aids of this inner empire. Protests from little business men, howls from bigger business, and even sincere efforts from a few honest officials are like so much chaff thrown to break down a wall of adamant. Threaten this wall with assault, send your armies, your police, your detectives, your judges and laws against it. . . . And you have a thin veiled snicker of laughter from those entrenched behind. Ask some of the labor organizations how this gang business has all but destroyed their once vaunted organizations. This proverb of the sword-wielders perishing by the sword is not such a historical hog as many wise birds imagine. And there is a great danger that this gang used by the Big Boys destroy the power of the workers on strike who may day rise up to destroy them.

Corruption in government is not a new wrinkle in the little life of this civilized earth. It is certainly nothing to surprise us here in America. The story of Sinclair, Daugherty, Fall, Connolly, the Milk Boodle, and the whiskey running of these days has stirred very little protest and surely only a cool interest among the people. The first lady to be elected to a State office in New York gets a thirty day sentence in a prison hospital for stealing huge sums from the State Treasury and most of us are a trifle sad for the unfortunate dame. Political and governmental piracy is so common and expected these days that only ordinary honesty is the surprising exception. So what, dear friends, are we to expect from the lower castes, who rear no law and will have their support at the expense of the rest of us law abiding and exploited fools?

I daresay that we have in this country, besides the four thousand parasite families, at least half a million gunmen, gangsters, molls, big bootleggers, crooked politicians and officials who are feeding on us through graft, extortion and polite mayhem. This army is sinister and formidable. It operates with increasing boldness. It has placed itself into power above all visible government. It cannot be dislodged without great violence. Civil war is by no means unthinkable. These men can use force. They know how to strike in the dark. They know how to strike fear into the hearts of their enemies. They know all the finesse of shooting death before the scared vision of judges, and district attorneys. They know, too, that there are not enough jails, and entirely too many criminal lawyers and bondsmen to halt their ever increasing activities.

I wonder if the big belled babies who loiter around brokers' offices these days, buying stocks whole and selling them short realize how insecure this whole system of theirs is with this gangster gun powder keg beneath each swivel and cushioned chair. I wonder how the proud dames of the D. A. R. who tremble at the name of Norman Thomas, would jig before the black hordes of the underworld when their day comes. . . .

It is a grim and appalling vision . . . the day of judgment between the American people and this Frankenstein of capitalism. When the beast tastes blood, you have a mack-killer on the rampage. Now that half a million cutthroats have sensed easy money and actually enjoyed its pleasures, no law and no petty anti-vice crusade will disturb their tenure on easy living. Only a long and tortuous campaign by a vast army of public spirited men and women, backed by a real military force, will accomplish anything toward routing out this only revolutionary menace in America. But there will be no such effort, since there is not enough fearless honesty left in this corrupted land to make for any real effectiveness against the threat from below. Socialism alone is the real hope. But then that is another story. . . .

S. A. DOWITT.

Hosiery Labor Asks Hearing For Brookwood

PHILADELPHIA.—(P. P.)—Executive council members of the A. F. of L. are requested by the 17th annual convention of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers to give a hearing to board members of Brookwood Labor College to refute charges that communism and doctrines hostile to the A. F. of L. have been taught there. The hosiery workers also deprecate the "hasty action" taken by the Executive Council in publishing charges without giving Brookwood a chance to be heard in its own defense.

President Gustave Geiges is a member of the Brookwood board. One of the most promising organizers on the staff of the knitters union, Alfred Hoffman, is a Brookwood graduate, and the union has paid scholarship fees for two other members of the organization to enable them to attend the labor college.

In adopting an ambitious plan for educational activities during the coming year the Federation ordered its incoming executive board to investigate the use of motion pictures as an aid in organization work. Experience of Federation organizers with a small motion picture camera, with which they have filmed knitters' strikes and doings, has convinced them that the screen may be made an effective ally of union work. Delegates urged Hoffman, southern representative of the union, to prepare an illustrated lecture on conditions in the south, to be delivered in important northern centers.

The convention ordered its research department to present a summary of the Mond agreement, just adopted by the British Trades Union Congress for circulation among all branches of the knitters union. Officers stated that the Mond plan, aimed to eliminate strikes by giving labor wider recognition and a real share in dealing with industrial problems, is in line with hosiery workers' policy long practiced. The union, it is said, will launch a campaign in the states for the adoption of a somewhat similar general agreement in industries enlightened enough to adopt it.

After an intensive study of its organization problem, the Federation voted to appoint a special organizer to coordinate organization activities and to intensify the drive now under way in all non-union centers of the full fashioned industry, from Reading, Pa., to the south and middle west. Action was taken to increase the strike pay for locked out workers in Kenosha and Reading.

Textile Workers Open Convention

One hundred and twenty-five delegates representing 30,000 members of the United Textile Workers are meeting at the Great Northern Hotel for their annual convention. A memorial service conducted by Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers Education Bureau and an official welcome by President Sullivan of the State Federation of Labor opened the sessions.

Locals in a dozen textile centers of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and North Carolina were represented by men of English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh descent. All locals were represented on committees appointed on the first day by President Thomas F. McMahon, gave the Paeiss local, represented by Eli Keller and Ellen Dawson.

A dozen women delegates and two women organizers are there to remind the convention that more than half the 1,200,000 textile workers are women and girls. Mrs. Loretta Oakley, Connecticut organizer, reported that the Williamson strike is still being waged against the American Thread Co., which has imported 700 strikebreakers. Only 200 have remained on the job, the rest swinging over to the strikers' side. Hopes for a strike settlement are renewed now that the hard boiled president of the company has died.

The convention will consider an inclusive program for organizing the entire industry, concentrating on the south.

Importance of Women In Socialist Work

By JESSIE STEPHEN

ON Monday last steps were taken to form a Women's Committee of the Socialist Party. Officers were appointed and it looks as if good business might result. As in every gathering of women, for some reason or another, the question of finance dominated nearly everything else. It is inevitable with a party such as ours, dependent largely on the small contributions of the workers, that we should have to worry so much more about money than about what we can do to put over the message of Socialism, for, without the finance we are severely handicapped for the task.

What surprises me as an outsider, since women in America have had the vote longer than we women in England, is that steps were not taken earlier to organize the women in a separate section of their own, as all other political parties have done, and more especially so, in England. I know the answer which is so glibly given to this. In the Socialist movement we do not believe in segregating the women. We want them to take part with men in all the activities of the party. In every way we want them to feel the equals of the men.

All this sounds very noble and generous, but it is not practical! First, because however much some of us might want to refute it, women do not know so much about politics as men. They have not had the same time or opportunity as men to absorb these things. Their entry into politics is of comparatively recent date. In general meetings you cannot expect them to appreciate so well what is being done, not is it fair to expect the advanced pupils in the class to be kept back for the sake of the backward ones. This is most important.

Second, most of our women are married, and mothers. How can you expect both father and mother to attend a meeting together, unless they have hired help to look after the children while they are out? One or other must stay at home, and so the necessity arises for arranging meetings where the women can receive their education in Socialism and the business of the party. This will not prevent them attending the general meetings of the party when convenient. It was these

things which decided the British Movement to organize the women separately, and there can be no question about its being a huge success. Today we have nearly 400,000 women organized within the party through their women's sections. They are as keen as can be about building up the party, and in raising its finance. They are constantly receiving stimulus and inspiration from their gatherings, and are in a much better position to act as missionaries to other women still outside the party.

Nowadays our women's demonstrations are wonderful. You will see in many districts as many as 10,000 to 12,000 women marching in procession through the streets to the point of meeting for their demonstration. What could be more inspiring than this? Each year a whole month is devoted entirely to propaganda amongst women. This is called Women's Month, and each section is expected to conduct with national and local women speakers, at least one week's intensive campaign.

Husbands do not in the main discuss politics with their wives, hence the importance of letting them learn their politics in the easiest way. We are not letting ourselves down by this separation. It is a phase through which we must pass, and let me repeat, while I do not consider we should regard women's sections primarily from this view point, they are excellent money raisers. In my own division they have helped largely to raise \$8,000, thus paying off all my expenses in the last two Parliamentary contests and providing enough money for the one next year.

The National Labor Party has sent out a call for \$500,000 for the Campaign Fund, and the women have been asked to raise \$50,000 as their quota. Already they have raised more than half and the fund was only launched four months ago or slightly over. There are other points I would like to raise, but these can be left to another time. I do hope though that every woman will get in touch immediately with Mrs. Hilda Clensmen, who has been appointed organizer, and assist her in every way possible to make this the beginning of a woman's movement within the party which shall yet develop into something really big.

British Unionists Reject 'World Unity' Offered by Moscow

LONDON.—The Trades Union Congress meeting in Swansea decisively rejected a resolution calling for one united world international. This does not mean that the Congress is opposed to the principle of world unity, but to what this resolution really envisaged, the resurrection of the Anglo-Russian Trades Union Committee.

As such it had no chance of adoption, knowledge of the events which led up to the breach with the Russian unions serving to keep the Congress from inviting a renewal of the "villifications" to which M. Tomsy and his colleagues subjected the General Council. Moreover, the motion came from the minority which has been a thorn in the side of the Congress and represents the Communist movement in British labor.

J. T. Brownie, Secretary of the Engineering Union, in moving the resolution, asked the Congress to forget the past so that the General Council, in accordance with the new spirit manifested by European governments in signing the pact to outlaw war, could make one further endeavor to obtain international trade union unity.

J. H. Thomas, M. P., opposing the motion, recalled that a year ago the Congress had declared by an overwhelming majority that it believed that the best interests of the British movement would be served by discontinuing relations with Russia. The reason for the decision had been, he said, that despite the continued British efforts to bring about unity, the Russians not only misrepresented but lied about the action of the General Council. The same disruptive tactics had been continued, he declared.

Judge Enjoins Pickets

Clinching his temporary anti-picketing injunction in force since last March, Judge Geiger of the Federal Court at Milwaukee on September 6 permanently enjoined hosiery strikers from picketing the plant of the Allen-A Company at Kenosha, Wis.

The injunction is regarded as oppressive by the strikers, who have systematically disregarded it. Large numbers of them have been tried for violation of the writ, and another group is now awaiting trial.

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Mitten-Mahon Plan Seen As Danger To Trade Unions

Is the Mitten-Mahon agreement the "precursor from which the organized labor movement will develop a new era of economic welfare and democratic achievement," or is it the "road that leads to the disruption and death of the labor movement?"

W. Jett Lauck, who has served as counsel to railway and mine unions and to Mitten Management in Philadelphia, and J. M. Budish, editor of the Headgear Worker and co-author of the New Unionism, debate that question in the current Labor Age. To Lauck, the agreement signed by the head of the Philadelphia-Buffalo street car systems and the president of the street railwaymen's union is a chart for all organized labor. By it wages can be determined scientifically, labor can gain the rewards of industrial efficiency and employ stock ownership paves the way for actual operation and control of industry by the workers.

Budish fears that the agreement will make the union the mere personnel agent of the company on lines to be acquired in the future. It is agreed that the present lines are not to be unionized. Wages and conditions on future union lines will be judged by those established by the company union, the milliners' editor complains.

"Any dissatisfaction there may be among the non-union workers against the Mitten Plan is now blamed by them on the employer," Budish sums up, "whereas on the newly organized properties the workers will inevitably put the blame on the union." The union will appear to them at best as "a mere additional agency of the management."

Philadelphia Labor College Plans Its Ninth Year

PHILADELPHIA.—(P. P.)—Ready for another year of educational activity among Philadelphia workers, the local college enters its ninth season with a wide curriculum, distinguished teachers and prospects for touching the lives of thousands. Jesse H. Holmes, of Swarthmore, opens the current events class on September 22 and will continue the course on Saturday afternoons. Labor officials and workers, off work for the day, attend the course eagerly. After class refreshments are served.

Margaret Scattergood and Jurgen Kuczynski of the A. F. of L. research department will conduct a course in research methods. Jasper Dexter, little theatre producer, will conduct courses in the labor struggle in the drama and in production of labor plays. English, economics, social psychology, public speaking and the rise of American industry are other courses offered.

With the end of the \$1,800 subsidy granted by the American Fund for Public Service, the Labor College must meet a \$2,500 deficit this year. It is appealing to 250 friends for \$10 contributions. With a budget in the past year of nearly \$1,000 the Philadelphia Labor College is the most ambitious local labor educational activity in the country. Israel Mifson, a Brookwood graduate and later assistant editor of the Railway Clerk, is director.

On WEVD

245.8M—WEVD New York City—1220 KC
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16
12:30 Weismantel's Entertainers
1:00 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
2:00 Mr. Geist Period
2:30 Studio Program
3:00 Sunday Program: Roger Baldwin, "Civil Liberties and the New Bedford Strike"

Maude A. Tollefson, contralto
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17
1:00 New Leader Clippings
1:20 Maude A. Tollefson, contralto
1:40 Myra Norton, piano
2:00 James Drennan, tenor
2:20 The Intelligent Voters Guide
2:40 Adelaide Olson, mezzo
3:00 Vincent Beltrone, Original Poems
3:20 Ben Coan, violin
3:40 Lydia Mason, piano
4:00 Benedicte Maitra, Cosmic Consciousness

4:20 Betty Farr, contralto
4:40 Elizabeth Bacon Walling, The Violin and Piano Sonatas
5:00 Jean Atwater, piano
5:20 Jean Atwater, piano
5:40 Popular Research Narratives

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18
1:00 Ethel Cohn, soprano
1:20 Jean Atwater, piano
1:40 Esther Jaffe, cello
2:00 Marcy Warren, Stories from Dickens
2:20 Adelaide Olson, mezzo
2:40 "Tell Me Another", James Oncal
3:00 Youth and Peace Period
3:40 Adelaide Olson, mezzo
4:00 Myra Norton, piano
4:20 Timely Topics, Norman Thomas
4:40 Lydia Mason, piano
5:00 Minnie Harper Cooley, Theatrical Notes

5:20 Mary Linden, violin
5:40 Anton Romatka, Labor Temple, Foray Forum
9:00 McAllister Coleman, Campaign News
9:20 Nat Kerson, violin
9:30 Joseph A. Well, The American and His Folly House

9:50 Nat Kerson, violin
10:05 Wm. M. Feigenbaum
10:25 W. E. V. D. Entertainers
10:45 "For my Pocket all the Time" Edward Levinson
11:00 American Trio

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19
1:00 Rights of Women, Mary Woolstonecraft
1:20 Adelaide Valle, violin
1:40 Marie J. Bates, Soprano
2:00 John Rose Gildea, Modern Poems
2:20 Jessie Baker, contralto, Frances Giele, soprano, solos and duets
3:00 Louis Shomer, "Tragedy of Waste"
3:20 Lillian Dwight, mezzo
3:40 Boris Peal, baritone
4:00 Robert Everett, pianist
4:30 Studio Program
5:00 Hints from Suzanne
11:00 Eddie Farrell and Radio Rambles

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20
1:00 "For my Pocket all the Time" Edward Levinson
1:20 Mary Linden, violin
1:40 Lydia Mason, piano
2:00 Helen Valle, violin
4:00 Ridgewood Hour
4:20 Ethel Pfister, whistler
4:40 Evelyn James, piano
5:00 Hints from Suzanne
11:00 Un-named Club

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21
1:00 Mary Linden, violin
1:20 Madge Ohl, "Philip Freneau"
1:40 Florence M. Yordy, soprano
2:00 Maude A. Tollefson, contralto
2:20 Lydia Mason, piano
2:40 Charles Smith, Birth Control
3:00 Negro Art Group Hour
J. E. Allen, Speaker
Charlotte Murray, contralto
Caswell Rhett, baritone
4:00 Scholl Hour
5:00 Joe Zimmerman, popular piano
5:30 Tea Time Tunes
11:00 Suzanna House Party

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22
1:00 Current Editorials
1:30 Speech Period
2:00 Popular Surprises
At 2:00
Evelyn Pierson, soprano
James Page, piano
Gus Phillips, tenor
3:00 A. J. B. Conflicts, the Meaning of Current Events
3:20 Estelle Scheer, reader
3:40 Louis Well, Platform Vagaries of
4:00 Myra Norton, piano
4:20 Adelaide Olson, mezzo
4:40 Mae Rich, 13-year-old trumpeter
5:20 Mary Linden, violin
5:40 John P. Murphy, Dramatic Recitations
11:00 Eddie Farrell and Radio Rambles

An Appreciation of WEVD Programs

Zeh Burke, in a recent number of the New York Sun had the following interesting comment on the programs of the Debs Memorial Station, WEVD:

"This is written on a Tuesday night, and if I were in New York, where my Atwater Kent is having a vacation, I would be dialing for WEVD about the time McAllister Coleman is due to broadcast his weekly review of political and economic affairs. Coleman is a tonic, it mixes the sugar of humor with the acid of satire, achieving a dish of comment on current matters which enlivens your outlook on the world today with the realization that all is not peaches and cream. Against the medicine men of politics he tilts a lance whose point is as sharp as a wise serpent's tooth. You don't have to be a Socialist to get more than a legal "kick" out of any talk he brews. If you agree with him, you chuckle and perhaps toss your novel in the air by way of a cheer. If you disagree, you probably get mad; and that won't be bad for you, either, because as you calm down you begin to think for yourself."

"That WEVD has been saved for the air audience is a matter for satisfaction among those listeners who feel that free speech is sometimes not so free when it comes to broadcasting. WEVD's talks appeal to the intelligence usually, and to the prejudices probably no more often than those of other stations. Its music is well selected and soundly performed, and its announcing offers somewhat of a relief by proving that a woman can be as successful as a man in handling a program. WEVD has a definite place to fill, and it is filling that place effectively. The Federal Radio Commission made no mistake in granting it permission to continue its work."

Community Church

Sunday, Sept. 16, at 11 A. M., John W. Herring, Educational Director of the National Community Foundation, will preach at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street. His subject will be "Social Significance of Adult Education."

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

GOOD EVENING

GET to the Shubert Theatre early, for "White Lilacs" is a long show, and the first glimpse of it is worth the catching. This romantic musical comedy, built (somewhat) around the life of Chopin and George Sand, is just the sort of spectacle the Shuberts know how to present, with a genuine sense of enjoyment and good taste in their display. Only two details—the closeness of the trees overhanging on the Island of Majorca, and the way Chopin cradles his flowers as though they were an infant, as the play closes—fail to reach the otherwise uniformly high level of stage decoration. The swing and color of costumes, the dash of famous personalities, the mere general savor of the scenes, make the evening pleasant.

Beyond this, there are other elements of entertainment. The legend of a Helme barbed with wit, stinging all around, who love him though they smart for it, is well maintained by the dialogue, and the caustic manner of Ernest Lawford in the role. Allan Rogers, as the best tenor of the time, has both a good voice and a delicate air that suits what he is supposed to suggest. DeWolf Hopper, as the money-centered publisher, ages more youthfully with the seasons, and added to the delight of the evening with a certain speech that included (among several merry tales) the story of the modern monkey who looked at the rejuvenated man and muttered, "This is my own, my native gland." And Odette Myrtil is George Sand. A musical comedy, George, to be sure, but fervid enough to be convincing, especially when her teeth gleam, in the vivaciousness that most will make her remembered.

The music, much of it adaptation of Chopin's own compositions, is well played by a group of Peckh has formed from the Philharmonic Orchestra; but it is as a spectacle that "White Lilacs" distinctly scores.

HAUNTING

In "Oktoberstag"—produced by Gustav Blum, at the 49th Street, as "The Phantom Lover"—George Kaiser has sought to capture a most delicate idea, the love-life in the mind of an innocent girl, which leads her through an ideal marriage to an actual consummation (with a convenient male) in sweetest loveliness and innocence, and true devotion to the dream-lower she has chosen. With a delicacy of insight that makes Catherine true, and her act both inevitable and innocent, the dramatist works through the tangles of the unusual story to an unexpectedly tragic end. His characters, with the exception of the suddenly too chivalrous uncle at the beginning of the third act, move appropriately, to give the delicate theme adequate growth and substance.

Out of this, unfortunately, a translation that replaces the pencil with a sledge hammer pounds home the points, blazes a cardinal color where there should be a soft nuance, falls flat where a slight relief would make the difference between beauty and blatancy, and in general transmutes the play into . . . well, the one live character left is the gross butcher boy, vividly created by Romney Brent; translation and direction give him the only true opportunity, of which he makes full avail; the studied gentility of the other men, the dullness of the efforts at subtlety and grace, make it seem as though the present piece is well Kaiser is sustaining his powers, now done from the point of view of the butcher.

Edith Barrett's acting must be excepted from this alignment; she looks and acts as though directed by a warm admirer of elen Chandler. A new translation of "Oktoberstag" may yet give New York an opportunity to judge how well Kaiser is sustaining his powers, now seen too darkly through a mist.

MORE GOOD FILMS

Dropping into the 55th Street Playhouse this week—it's pleasant to feel that the little cinemas are not likely to disappoint those who just "drop in"—I found excellent photography, moving through a good story, in "The Loves of Jeanne Ney." The title seems not particularly appropriate to the tale, which carries from Russia to high crime in Paris, but the plot moves with enough smoothness to permit enjoyment of the camera work (it's an Ufa film); while it is good to discover that somewhere in the world pictures are being made in which it is not the radical who is necessarily the villain. Even better photography than the main film was permitted by the choice of subject in "Trees," arranged by Beth Brown, whose good taste in drawing out the beauty of natural scenes we notice too seldom and always enjoy. The usual entertaining comedy and news reels were on the screen, to fill out a pleasant evening.

LIGHT COMEDY

The delectable of the season's early comedies is doubtless "Heavy Traffic," by Arthur Richman, now at the Empire Theatre, and settling there for a long run. We are a long way from the Richman who wrote "Ambush," both in theme and in treatment; but to the presentation of a woman who knows what she wants and proceeds to secure it, the playwright brings a delicate touch and a speed of dialogue that consummate acting carry to a triumph.

What Rosalie wants is the combination (so often desired) of adventure and security. Her taste in men changes frequently, but her choice of husband remains fixed upon Malcolm, who has both the good nature and the wealth to bear her—until Mal himself falls in love. What happens then permits the play to be one

of the few which it can be said that the final "coming through" is not really a happy ending. . . . Richman, puts across in his close the sting O'Neill tried and failed to get for "Anna Christie."

This is the sort of play in which the plot is of little account, as that it permits the interplay of character and consequent dialogue; it is the sort of play that calls for swift and sure acting, which several players amply provide. Mary Boland combines a casual air with a certainty of point placing that makes her (as not many are) able to pass across risque remarks without offense, and to stir an air of reality into a (deliberately) artificial woman, such as Oscar Wilde would, were he character hunting today, have rejoiced to find. Not the least of the excellent portraits is that of Leo G. Carroll as the visiting artist, while Reginald Mason as the obliging cuckold and A. E. Matthews in his too small part as the detective (and sequent lover) have no little share in the success of this light but decidedly entertaining comedy of modern manners.

NEW LITTLE CINEMA HOUSE

The construction of a theatre which will be the "key" house for the entire little cinema movement in America, was announced by Michael Mindlin. This theatre, as yet unnamed, will rise on 57th street, just a few doors east of Carnegie Hall. Construction is already under way. This theatre will be the most sumptuous and important of the entire group now controlled by Michael Mindlin. Somewhat larger than the ordinary little film theatre (it will seat a little over 400, whereas the others have capacities of 299 seats or less), it will embody an entirely new theory in film construction and cinema visualization. While no definite policy for the operation of the theatre has been announced, it was learned that the newest playhouse will be geared for special, long run attractions. Both foreign and American films of outstanding merit will be shown. Arrangements have already been entered into with a number of European and American film producing companies from whom Mindlin will obtain first choice of films for the new theatre. The opening is expected to take place about the middle of October.

IN BRIEF

"THE DOCKS OF NEW YORK"

This slashing, gusty, dramatic story is by John Monk Saunders, the man who wrote "The Legion of the Condemned" and "The Legion of the Condemned," and opens at the Paramount Theatre, September 15. The story is a powerful drama filled with sailors, stokers, stevedores, longshoremen and their wives, sweethearts, fights and love making. A cast headed by George Bancroft, with Betty Compson and Bacalanova.

The cast includes Clyde Cook, the comic, and he was borrowed from Warner Bros. for this picture. He is cast as the cockney stoker, Bancroft's pal. You will remember him from "Barbed Wire." Others are Mitchell Lewis, Gustav von Seyffertitz, Guy Oliver, May Foster, and Lillian Worth. The picture was directed by Josef von Sternberg.

Probably no actor in years has captured the public imagination so completely as George Bancroft. He did it in "Underworld" and "The Drag Net." As the rough, tough stoker of an ocean liner in "The Docks of New York," he will do it again. Strong, virile, rugged and essentially dramatic, this magnificent actor wins sympathy and admiration even as the most humble of characters.

"GERMANY'S SIDE OF THE WAR" For the first time since the World War, the activities of the German armies between 1914 and 1918 are to be seen in America, when, beginning Saturday, Sept. 15, the Fifth Avenue Playhouse presents the American premiere of the sensational Teutonic war film, "Germany's Side of the War." "Germany's Side of the War" was produced from authentic war films actually photographed on the field of combat. It begins with the preparations which were made by Kaiser Wilhelm II just prior to the war; shows the huge caravan of spike-helmeted soldiers departing for the front; the war-fare in the trenches, in the air and on the seas; the suffering and hardships both on the war front and back in the "fatherland"; the orphans, the maimed—and then peace!

Among the personalities introduced in the film are Kaiser Wilhelm, Field Marshal Von Hindenburg, now president of the German republic, the Crown Prince, and other of the great German personages who took part in the conflict. What is expected to be one of the outstanding cinematic events of the season in Brooklyn is the engagement of "Udile Moun's Cabin" at the St. George Playhouse. This picturization of Harriet Beecher Stowe's epic novel will have its local premiere on Saturday, September 15th. Produced by Universal, whose other recent notable productions include "The Man Who Laughs," "Les Miserables," "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" and "The Phantom of the Opera." The film version of Mrs. Stowe's famous book is said to be more compelling than any of its predecessors. The cast that has been recruited to portray the familiar characters on the screen includes: Arthur Edmund Carew, Marguerite Fischer, Jas. B. Lowe, Mona Ray, Virginia Gray, George Siegmann, Gertrude Astor and Lucien Littlefield.

"Trapped," the melodrama which opened at the National Theatre Monday, September 10th, boasted of an assistant property man who is a professor of physics in a western university. Although he did not despise the higher remuneration accorded to a member of the property department, salary was not the incentive which made him join the stage hand's union. For years, the professor has been interested in making stage and off stage effects more realistic and he has invented several devices which more closely approximate natural phenomena. In order that he might be able to work on his inventions in the theatre he was compelled to join the union and he was made an assistant property man to overcome all the legal

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obstacles. As soon as "Trapped" arrived in New York he returned to his chair at which he is due the latter part of September. Among his inventions is a device for producing fog which has already received much attention from the scientific journals.

To avoid conflicting with the large number of openings scheduled for Monday, September 17, "Luckee Gil" will open Saturday evening, September 15, at the Casino Theatre. "Luckee Gil" is an adaptation by Gertrude Purcell of the French musical farce, "Un Bon Garcon." The music is by Maurice Yvain, lyrics by Max and Nathaniel Lier. The cast includes Billy House, Irene Dunne, Irving Fisher, Harry Buck, Josephine Drake, Doris Vinton, Frank Lator, the McCussons Sisters and the Four Diplomats.

In order to get a clear night and not conflict with any other openings, "The New Moon" will postpone its premiere to Wednesday, September 19th.

The Messrs. Shubert have completed the cast for their latest musical play, "To the Queen's Taste," which is based on the comedy, "A Royal Family," written by Capt. R. Marshall of the English army, and presented in New York for the first time twenty-eight years ago. The play opens Monday evening, September 24th, at the Apollo Theatre, Atlantic City.

The cast includes Jeanette MacDonald, Carl Randall, Alison Skipworth, Eric Blore and William Danforth.

The Royale Theatre, where Mae West is starring in "Diamond Lil," has begun its sale of seats for New Year's eve. "The tickets are being made available early because of the receipt of mail orders for approximately 30 seats during the last few days. "Diamond Lil," which opened April 9, enters its sixth month with the original role intact, not a single change having been made in any important role.

Since the inauguration of the cycle of William Fox special productions, more than 1,400,000 patrons have passed through the doors of the Roxy—the public's tribute to the artistic merit and high standard of entertainment of the Fox screen product—ROXY.

As a result of the continued capacity business for the Earl Carroll Theatre, Earl Carroll is seeking a site for a theatre with a seating capacity of over two thousand persons. He plans to erect a complete revue theatre, with a projecting unit adjoining the building, the production plant to contain wardrobe, scenic and property construction departments. The establishment would be the most complete in the world. If Mr. Carroll is successful in finding a large enough plot of property within the near theatrical district, immediately above or below the Fifth.

Paul Fejos has completed the direction of Universal's special production "The Great." This is an adaptation of a story by James A. Creelman in which Conrad Veidt, in the title role, co-stars with Mary Philbin. "Spring Showers" is the title of the next production he will direct with Mary Philbin in the star role.

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Socialists In 23d A. D. Plan For Victory

**Hope to Send Goldberg to
Assembly — James H.
Maurer and Waldman
Among Speakers**

The campaign machinery in the 23rd Assembly District, Brownsville, where Louis P. Goldberg is the candidate, is rapidly being organized with every indication that the drive to send Goldberg to the State Legislature will eventuate in a decisive victory. The recently organized campaign committee is headed by Charles Solomon, chairman. Solomon several times represented the Brownsville district in the Assembly and in making the run last year was nipped out by the Democrats who had a meagre lead of 312 votes.

Next Sunday night the local Socialists and their friends will gather at a vespertine in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, where it is confidently hoped that the campaign will be given a substantial impetus. An admission charge of 50 cents will be charged in return for which the local Socialists offer a first-class repast, entertainment and addresses. It is expected that Louis Waldman, gubernatorial candidate, will be present.

The open campaign rally and ratification meeting will be held on the night of Friday, Sept. 21, in the Lyceum, and it will be addressed by James H. Maurer, vice-presidential candidate; Louis Waldman, A. I. Shipiloff, former Assemblyman and present Congressional nominee in the 10th Brooklyn district; S. H. Friedman, Senatorial candidate; Charles Solomon, former Assemblyman from the district, and Goldberg.

Mrs. Anna Feigen, brilliant soprano, recently on the professional stage, will sing and she will be accompanied at the piano by Miss Anna Solomon.

Meyer Rubinson, campaign manager, says that special emphasis is being laid on the personal house-to-house canvass feature of the campaign and that assurances of co-operation have been definitely given by the entire membership of the local Poale Zion organization. A unique poster campaign is being prepared as well as a literature peculiarly adapted to appeal to the electorate.

According to Rubinson, Solomon's so-called defeat was accomplished principally by the fact that several hundred votes were unlawfully cast by false registrants and by the circumstance that the voters, unfamiliar with the voting machines, did not know how to split for the Socialist local candidates. Furthermore, many of these voters were deliberately misinformed by local politicians with the result that after voting straight old party tickets, many of the voters naturally vainly sought to pull down the levers of the local Socialist candidates.

Special attention will be paid to these phases of the contemporary campaign. Schools for meetings have been engaged in all parts of the district and the best known speakers will be brought into the campaign.

N. J. Socialists Hold Annual Sunday Outing

James H. Maurer Principal Speaker at Successful Picnic of Party Members

The comrades of New Jersey are congratulating themselves upon the general success of their annual state picnic held on Sunday last at Progress Park, Linden.

The weather was ideal, and the attendance most satisfactory. The spirit of the speakers, and the audience, was of the sort we were used to seeing in the days before the war, when our party was at its peak. The New Jersey comrades believe that this successful annual get-together meeting is another indication that they are justified in thinking that by the time the votes are counted in November they will have sufficiently rebuilt their organization that all will then stay on the job before to get into the next presidential election, as they are rallying to the call of "If in Reading, why not here, with the same kind of organization." Many new members were secured at the picnic, and arrangements made by the State Organizer for starting new branches of the party, and also of the Yipsels.

James H. Maurer gave one of his fine educational talks, showing just how the workers are exploited and what they must do to get relief from the increasingly intolerable condition of want in the midst of plenty that the master class forces upon them. Charnay B. Viadek followed with a characteristically entertaining and appropriate speech, and made a collection, with pledges added, on a note of one hundred dollars. The candidate for Governor of New Jersey, William Kane Tallman, and candidate for United States Senator, Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, also gave brief, appropriate talks. There was a big business done at the refreshment and other stands, and long before time to go home everything was sold out, which caused those who managed them, as well as the many who benefited by the efforts of the dispensers of the good things to all feel that the day was a complete success.

The State Campaign Committee is arranging for indoor and outdoor meetings for George R. Kirkpatrick, and for Jesse Stephens, and of course, for some Thomas and Maurer meetings. Passaic reports a very successful Stephens meeting. The Committee requests that those who read this, and who have not as yet got back in their old form in distribution to come right along without waiting for a special personal invitation to get into the exhilarating atmosphere of the campaign that is destined to put our party back on the map in real earnest.

New Jersey will be heard from as the polls this year, and can be counted on, so they tell us, for a solid and steady growth from this time on, until the State is back completely in the hands of the workers to whom of right it belongs.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

Help is needed for addressing, inserting and stamping envelopes for 10,000 letters to the enrolled Socialist voters concerning the primary election of Sept. 18. All party and YPSL members who can possibly spare the time are urged to come to the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, any time, day or evening, Sept. 14 and 15 to help in this job.

General Membership Meeting of New York City

On Monday evening, Sept. 17, a general party meeting will be held in the Debs Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 15th Street. Our delegates to the International Congress recently held in Brussels, Belgium, Morris Hillquit, James O'Neal, Julius Gerber, Jacob Panken and Albert Halpern will be present to report on the deliberations of the Congress. This meeting is open to Socialist Party members only and every active and interested member should attend as matters of utmost importance concerning our National Campaign and International Movement will be discussed.

MANHATTAN

Downtown Branch
Branch meetings are held every 2nd and 4th Friday of the month at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. The meetings are usually very well attended. Open air meetings are held every week. An open forum will be held at the Forward Hall during the winter months.

3-5-10th A. D.

A branch meeting was held Tuesday evening at the Rand School, room 401. Though the meeting was small many important matters were discussed. It was decided to have a number of social evenings early in October with various speakers who will give us a literary evening, discussing either the drama or poetry. The branch also appointed a committee to help in the campaign work in the 14th Congressional District. We are getting after delinquent members, urging them to pay dues and attend meetings.

17-18-20th A. D.

This branch will meet Monday, Sept. 17th, at the headquarters, 62 East 106th Street.

BRONX

Central Branch

This branch will meet Tuesday, Sept. 18, 8:30 p.m. at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

5th A. D.

This branch will meet Thursday, Sept. 20, 8:30 p.m. at 1167 Boston Road, Henry Fructer, candidate for Assembly, will discuss ways and means for an intensive campaign.

22nd-23rd A. D.

At the meeting held Tuesday, Sept. 11, the branch decided to open permanent headquarters. Pledges were made amongst the membership for a fund to defray expenses.

3rd A. D.

This branch will meet Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p.m. at the home of Ida and Jacob Orr, 501 Beek Street, Bronx.

BROOKLYN

18th A. D.

The Campaign Committee rendered its report at Friday's meeting, Sept. 7. The report was received enthusiastically and it is the consensus of opinion that the 1928 campaign in the 18th A. D. will be unprecedented. The members are now back from their vacations and are rolling up their sleeves for intensive campaigning.

23rd A. D.

The Campaign Committee of the 23rd A. D. will open its campaign with a Vespertine, entertainment and dance, on Sunday evening, Sept. 16, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. (See story on this page).

16th A. D.

The branch will meet Friday evening, Sept. 14, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 7316-20th Avenue. The branch expects to hold a luncheon in the near future and ways and means to insure the success of this affair will be discussed.

8th Congressional District

The campaign is well under way and many open air meetings are held every week. The attendance is very good; much literature is being distributed and good collections taken. The drive for a \$3,000 campaign fund is coming along nicely and many of the comrades have already sent in money donations.

Two large indoor meetings have been

arranged for Wednesday, Sept. 19, one at the Savoy Restaurant, 20th Avenue and 64th Street and another at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd Street and 14th Avenue. Louis Waldman, candidate for Governor, William Karlin, candidate for Attorney General, Charles Solomon, Wm. Morris Feigenbaum, candidate for Congress in the 8th Congressional District, will be present at these meetings. Other indoor meetings are planned.

Notice

Volunteers are wanted to address envelopes containing Congressman Berger's speeches and the Congressional reports of our National Platform. Comrades desiring to help will kindly report evenings at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd Street and 14th Avenue and 420 Hindsdale Street, headquarters of the 2nd A. D. branch.

22nd A. D. Kings

Pursuing its policy of combining progressive propaganda along with its political campaign, the 22nd A. D. is holding open air meetings weekly. At the last meeting on 42nd Street and 14th Avenue, Sept. 8, the flying communists joined us. They are a group who fly from one Socialist meeting to another in the earnest endeavor to capture or break them. When that is not feasible they fly off the handle and fall asleep. At our meeting they were verbally, mentally and morally licked.

A ratification meeting for our local candidates will be held Friday evening, Sept. 21, in P. S. 149 Wyona, corner Sutter Aves. Brooklyn. The principal speakers will be James H. Maurer, Louis Waldman, A. I. Shipiloff and others. The candidates who will speak are: For Congress, Wilhelmus B. Robinson, M. D. State Senate, Samuel Block; Assembly, Theodore Shapiro.

Women's Committee

The first meeting of the women members of the Party was held Monday, Sept. 10, at the Rand School. This meeting was called for the purpose of forming Women's Auxiliaries to the Socialist Party National Campaign.

Jessie Stephen, of the British Labor Party, delivered a very interesting talk on "Women's Methods and Activities in the British Movement." After a general discussion a committee was elected consisting of Pauline Newman, Ida Karlin, Dr. Matilda Lee, Mrs. Zamenkin, Bertha Orr, Mrs. Hansome, Celia Rotter and Mrs. Jaraslow. Hilda Claessens was elected permanent chairman.

The Committee in their anxiety to begin work met the following day and among other matters decided to call another general meeting for Thursday, Sept. 27. Hilda Claessens, Chairman, urges all women comrades to attend their general party meeting, Monday, Sept. 17, as matters pertaining to the interest of the new committee will be discussed.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Friday, September 14, 8:30 p.m.—95th Street and Broadway. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Andrew Regaldi.

Saturday, September 15, 8:30 p.m.—137th Street and 5th Avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Ethelred Brown.

Tuesday, September 18, 8:30 p.m.—12th Street and 5th Avenue. Speakers: Louis Well, Julius Weingarten and others.

Tuesday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—5th Street and Avenue B. Speakers: A. N. Weinberg, Molly Weingarten.

Thursday, September 22, 8:30 p.m.—13th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers: Jessie Wallace Hughan, Andrew McGuire.

Thursday, September 20th, 8:30 p.m.—158th Street and Broadway. Speakers: William Karlin, Max Delson.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—Grand and PHU. Speakers: Molly Weingarten, S. P. Ulanoff, J. Reichert, L. Lieberman.

Saturday, September 22, 8:30 p.m.—137th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and others.

BRONX

Friday, September 14, 8:30 p.m.—138th Street and Wilton Avenue. Speakers: Samuel A. De Witt and others.

Tuesday, September 18, 8:30 p.m.—Avenue St. John and Fox street. Speakers: Murray Gross, I. Phillips, Ethelred Brown.

Wednesday, September 19, 8:30 p.m.—Wilkins and Intervale Avenues. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Henry Fructer and others.

Wednesday, September 19, 8:30 p.m.—

Kingsbridge Road and Morris Avenue

Speakers: Louis Panken, I. Polstein. Thursday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—Tremont and Belmont Avenues. Speakers: I. Phillips, J. Bernstein.

Thursday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and others.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—Aldus Street and Southern Blvd. Speakers: Henry Fructer, Samuel A. De Witt, Henry Gross.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—180th Street and Southern Blvd. Speakers: I. Phillips, E. Escoussa.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—McKinley Square and 169th Street. Speakers: I. George Dobseavage, Samuel Orr, Philip Paske.

BROOKLYN

Friday, September 14, 8:30 p.m.—Ashland Place and Hansen Place. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Ethelred Brown.

Tuesday, September 18, 8:30 p.m.—13th Avenue and 42nd Street and 64th Street and 18th Avenue. Speakers: Wm. Feigenbaum, Jacob Escelard, Carl Cummings, Joseph Panken.

Thursday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—Lee Avenue and Rodney Street. Speakers: Joseph Well, Harry Schachner, A. Baron.

Wednesday, September 19, 8:30 p.m.—Sumner and Floyd Streets. Speakers: Harry Greenblatt, Joseph Well, Wm. M. Feigenbaum.

Wednesday, September 19, 8:30 p.m.—Dumont and Stone Avenues. Speakers: Joseph Tuvin, Ethelred Brown.

Thursday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—Saratoga and Blake Avenues. Speakers: J. Afros and others.

Thursday, September 20, 8:30 p.m.—45th Street and P. Hamilton Parkway. Speakers: Jos. Well, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, S. Stodel.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—Kingshighway and 15th Street. Speakers: Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Joseph Tuvin.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—24th Street and 15th Avenue. Speakers: Louis P. Goldberg and others.

Friday, September 21, 8:30 p.m.—South 4th Street and Havermyer. Speakers: Emil Bromberg, Mrs. Adler, Hyman Nemer, Wm. Karlin.

Saturday, September 22, 8:30 p.m.—Sutter and Hendrick Streets. Speakers: S. Kantor, S. Block and others.

STATEN ISLAND

Saturday, September 15, 8:30 p.m.—Beach and Water Street, Stapleton, S.I. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Walter Dearing.

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UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
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M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

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A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions and Their Members.

S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel,
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The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 594, I. U. of T.
Office: 266 W. 14th St., City.
Local 594 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Executive Board meets on 2nd and 4th Thursdays at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th Street.

CHAS. HOFFER, Pres. & Business Agent,
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

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UNION DIRECTORY

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.
Office 175 East Broadway
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. U.
Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arlan Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman,
JACOB ENGELMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
175 E. B'way.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
ISSIE LEFF, President,
L. KORN, Sec'y-Treas.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
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Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.
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Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall,
62 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 1012.
Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
SAMUEL KAPLAN, Pres.,
GABRIEL BRISCOE, J. GREEN,
Vice-Pres.,
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United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th St. Phone: STUYVESANT 3627
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President,
ED. GOTTFESMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. D. BERGER, Manager,
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

Bonnaz Embroiderers'

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Z. L. FREEDMAN, President,
LEON HATTAB, NATHAN REISEL,
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

NEW LEADER

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

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Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1928

The Politics of Property and the Road to Power

EVERY great political struggle in American history has been a struggle for some property interest or a number of such interests. This is the supreme fact of our history since the struggle over the adoption of the Constitution. Merchants, commercial men and planters appear first to buttress their property by law. With the rise of manufactures industrial capitalists struggled for power in legislatures and in Congress. Farmers representing an agricultural interest fought for their claims as they acquired the ballot. All property claims were resolved into two fundamental interests in 1860, northern capital invested in banking and industrial enterprises and southern capital invested in land and slaves. The northern interests won.

In the modern period land-grabbing and railroad interests were the first to legislate in the states and in Washington. Then the industrial corporations joined them. These were followed by the giant mergers allied with the great banks. As labor heaped great accumulations of capital into the laps of the capitalist and financial Napoleons an imperialist capitalist interest was added to the others. The latest to arrive at the great thieves' supper are the power and electricity magnates. *Beneath these allied property interests are the great masses, the raw material of the industries, producing the fortunes of the capitalist classes and without power to shape the law for themselves.*

Consider the working farmer. He wants credit on reasonable terms and it is controlled by his enemies. He needs cheap and fair transportation and it is likewise controlled. He requires modern farm machinery and it, too, is controlled by his enemies. He wants an uncontrolled market and it is rigged against him by his enemies. He wants as direct access to the consumer as he can get and a swarm of parasites levy tribute on his produce. He must buy supplies and these are controlled by capitalist corporations. *Every great property interest is organized against him. He requires political power but that power also belongs to his enemies.*

Consider the city worker. He controls no effective property interest. He may own a modest home, a radio, a flivver and a small banking account. Millions do not have even these but what some of the workers possess does not constitute a powerful property interest. The farmer sells produce and the city worker sells labor power. The city worker must sell to the allied masters of industry. If the latter can exploit him they will buy. If not he must shift for himself. At least four millions are now unemployed. The industries are owned by the great corporations. The machines are so owned. So are the raw materials and the product of labor itself. Raw materials, plants, machinery and the product of labor are controlled by a powerful possessing class. *Labor requires political power but that power also belongs to its enemies.*

Beneath all the bunk and drivel and hokum of the political show, the above are the grim facts. Rural and urban workers are dependents of the masters of industry. These dependents have no public power. That, too, belongs to those who control plants, machinery, raw materials, credit, transportation, markets and labor power. The political struggle is for power and parties are means of obtaining power. Those who own industry control it. Those who own parties control them. *Look over the contributions to the Republican and Democratic parties and decide who owns these parties.* Associated capital and finance rule this republic and have ruled it for decades regardless of which party has made and administered the laws. Elect Democrats and there will be no change. Elect Republicans and there will be no change. "Outs" have been put in and "ins" have been put out but there has never been any change. *Workers decide but they do not rule. The capitalist class rules but it does not decide.*

We are facing another decision. Lincoln recognized the fundamental property interests beneath politics. "The property basis will have its weight," he said. "The love of property . . . often makes a man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle." Does this not apply to the politicians of the two-party show, the politicians who ask you to give them your POLITICAL POWER? *Why not use*

this power for yourselves? It is yours now. Will it be yours after the election?

You have separate claims and interests. Whether the "outs" go in or the "ins" go out you and your class will remain out. They beg for your votes now and you will beg them for some crumbs next year and the years to follow. They beg you to support their class, the owning class. We ask you to support your own. Recover industry for yourselves. March into the seats of public power. The Socialist Party is the Labor party. Use it, for no other party will voice your claims against the property interests that rule you through legislatures, Congress and the courts.

Two Tammany Blunders

IN WOOLING the affection of the great capitalist interests of the nation the Democratic managers perpetrated two stupidities during the past week. These blunders are due to the necessity of preventing desertion of southern voters from the party. Both blunders bear the official stamp of the Democratic National Committee.

In answer to a Ku Klux attack on Smith the committee answers that the Governor "does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the State of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc." The other statement announces a campaign textbook in which Tammany Hall's "friendship to the South covering a long period of the country's history" will be emphasized.

For many years Tammany has been working to win Negro voters in New York City and it still hopes to string most of them. Now the national brokers broadcast that Smith gave Negroes only "such jobs as they are given in the South" and then proceeds to enumerate "porters, janitors and charwomen." This is to say that the dregs are given to Negroes and the rich pickings are distributed to the white henchmen. That statement is likely to lose the few Negro voters that have been strung by Tammany in New York.

The second blunder lies in stressing Tammany's long "friendship" to the South over a "long period of the country's history." That is true, but it includes the long period of bondage for the Negro in the South. Tammany was the most powerful pro-slavery political machine in the North. It rolled up a big majority against Lincoln in New York City in 1860. Its faithful squads led in the draft riots which raged for nearly a week in the city in 1863, in which many Negroes were lynched and a Negro orphan asylum was burnt by the braves. Its merchant backers had rich trade connections with southern planters which made them Tammanyites and pro-slavery men. New York City was a port of call for ships engaged in the slave trade long after that trade had become illegal.

This is part of the record of Tammany's "long friendship for the South." Informed Negroes know it and they are likely to pass it on.

"All God's Children"

IN THE FORUM for December, 1890, the late Andrew D. White declared. "As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime."

We wonder what the author would say now. Three men have died mysterious deaths who appeared to have known too much about the New York City sewer graft. In Chicago machine gun terror has been rife for years and high officials have been known to pay their respects at funerals to dead criminals. The lid blows off in Philadelphia and an unholy alliance is revealed between public officials and machine gunners.

Whether the city is in politics partisan or bipartisan the result is the same and Andrew D. White's statement remains true after nearly forty years. In New York City the ruling party is Democratic, in Philadelphia Republican, and in Chicago the administration has alternated between the two parties.

"We are all God's children," said Mayor Walker of New York City in an address to Philadelphia politicians. You are, Jimmie, but we doubt whether God is proud of his progeny.

British Labor Policy

EVERY annual gathering of the British Trade Congress is the occasion of predictions by the American press and of solemnizing after the event. A year ago, according to this press, the Congress was to be delivered to Moscow. The New Leader discounted this prediction and our forecast proved correct. Now we are told just the reverse. It has cast its Socialist objective overboard and has become sober.

The New York Times represents this view. Because the Congress approved "the policy of industrial cooperation" with the view of stabilizing certain sick industries, it is assumed that the British trade unions have become reconciled to capitalist mastery of industry as a whole. Having expressed this view, the Times unwittingly abandons it in the further statement that "Even today the broader and remoter labor program comes close to the Socialist program." It does. There is no essential conflict between a policy of stabilizing sick industries which inflict misery upon workers while holding to the ideal of eventual nationalization of industry itself. The policy of cooperation may have its perils and problems for the trade unions, but the same may be said of any policy. Sick industries are not a healthy inheritance of nationalization.

Nor has the Congress "abandoned the thesis that labor's just wages are withheld from it by the profit-makers." If that were true there would not be another strike in England. There will be more strikes in the more healthy industries on the ground that what is due to the workers has not been realized. Polyanna unionism has not invaded Great Britain and it is not likely to.

Three Dead Men. Why?

By Autolycus

Three men who knew too much about Democratic sewer politics in Queens are dead. A few weeks ago George A. Reading was found dead in Harlem—appropriately in a gutter—and the police said he had died of alcoholism.

A few weeks before that John L. Phillips, the "sewer king," had likewise died under mysterious circumstances, and the police said it was acute alcoholism. Recently William L. D'Oiler, contractor who had dealings with the Queens sewer ring, is found dead in a remote part of Queens, with a bullet wound in his head. The Queens District Attorney—political creature of the unspeakable Connolly—is frantically trying to make it appear that it was suicide.

All three men would have been summoned as witnesses before the jury that is to try Connolly. All three men knew too much for Connolly's happiness and comfort. All three men, if they cared to talk, could have blown the gang of thieves that has ruled Queens to hell. Connolly has been holding "conferences" with the witnesses who are slated to appear against him. D'Oiler was one of the "conferees." It may be that he was unwilling to give Connolly's gang of pirates assurances that he would be "discreet" in his testimony.

Anyway, he was "taken for a ride." He is found dead in Queens, on a lonely road with a gaping wound in his head, and with no blood on the ground. There are jagged rocks on the ground, but there were no bruises on the body. The dead man had owned a revolver, but the gun in his hand was not his. Nevertheless District Attorney Newcombe nervously insists that it is a suicide.

Queens is the fastest growing of all the New York Boroughs. It is the largest in area, and to serve the increasing population streets, sewers, schools and other public works are being carried on to the extent of tens of millions a year. And where the public has millions to spend there the flies gather, there the maggots are, there the thieves congregate. That's what Queens has meant to the Democratic party that has misruled and plundered that community so long. That's what every community has meant to this noble aggregation of philanthropists whenever they get into a position from which they can loot the public treasury.

Queens has always had a regime of the Democratic Party. It serves as a blue-print, it gives a rough idea what would happen to our country if they sweep into power with their pal, Al.

Al Smith is undoubtedly personally honest. It is unlikely that he ever took a nickel that wasn't legally his. But the gang he travels with and that travel with him—and that would get into power with him—is so foul, so unspeakable that one must go to the sainted Harding's Ohio Gang to seek a comparison.

Even if we stood alone, even if our votes were the only ones, we would be proud to cast them for Thomas and Maurer if only as a protest against the unspeakable sewer politics that both old parties stand for.

"CAMPAIGN ISSUES"

As Seen By the Average American
The Bowser.—G'wan! Yuh all wet on the dry question.

The Koo Koo.—D'ye want the Pope to move into the White House?

Babbitt, Schmaltz & Co.—Hoover looks so respectable.

Flaming Youth.—If Smith wins there'll be hootch emporiums on every corner an' wide open too.

The Broadminded Berties.—Smith is so human and broad. Just look how democratically he wears a derby.

Between-Election-Liberals.—Both parties are rotten but the Socialist, Norman Thomas, can't be elected this year.

The Capitalist-Philanthropist.—Hoover and eight per cent. He can put philanthropy on a paying business basis.

The Oil Land Grabbers.—Hoover stands for a square deal and American ideals. Sewer, Garbage, Paving and Milk Gratters.—Smith is one of the boys. He's a regular feller.

The Bus Franchise Grabbers.—Smith understands municipal problems.

The Election Thieves.—Al's a square shooter allright.

The consensus of opinion regarding the issues between the "G. M. F. and the "G. O. P., as viewed by the wage workers with good memories, is as follows:

HOOVER HOKUM BUNK
The General Motors Party.
The Greasy Oil Party.

FROM A VETERAN

Editor, The New Leader:
I received your letter on account of renewing my subscription. I must state first, that I take the same interest in the American Socialist press and the movement that I did during the 36 years when I lived in the United States. At present I am unable to renew.

In 1925 I was pensioned with less than \$30 a month by a Chicago firm for which I worked. I am nearly 70 years old but was unable to exist in the glorious country of which I am proud. So I live with the help of relatives at this place and make a bare living.

To make myself acquainted, I will state that I have belonged to the Socialist movement since 1891. I agitated for our principles, mostly in the German language. With the help of old Comrade Barney Berlyn of Chicago, we organized the first English branch early in 1900. I always paid liberally to the Socialist press by buying shares so you see I never was a lost comrade. Please excuse my inability to pay up at present.

I remain yours for Socialism,
ANTON STURM.
Mallenberg, Kreis Brilon, Westphalen, Germany.

A Letter To Will Rogers Bugs, Wars and Other Woes

HONORABLE WILL ROGERS,

Beverly Hills, Calif.

DEAR WILL:

I see by the papers that you are running for president on the Anti-Bunk ticket.

Now, Will, we don't know each other personally which is a pity because we both were "brung up" in Oklahoma and are the only two prominent Oklahomans who never had to explain to an Oil Investigating Committee where we got all our money from.

Now, Will, what I'm writing you for is to let you know that I'm for you as strong as horseshoe and also to give you a few pointers on how to succeed in politics.

Of course, I know you were mayor of Berkeley for a whole term, being that they haven't got the recall out there, so you may know a little about the ropes. But I ran for every office within the gift of the people of Oklahoma and never ran worse than second, unless there was more than two candidates in the field. So you see my advice ain't anything to be sneezed at.

Now, Will, what I don't like about your party is the name, Anti-Bunk. It's unhistoric because there never was a party by that name so you ain't got no founding fathers to fall back on when you're found out.

Now when a regular politician ain't got anything to say and is afraid to say it for fear that he might get in bad for saying it, all he has got to say is, "I stand for the immortal principles enunciated in Washington's Farewell Address, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, which, as you all know, are the greatest documents conceived by the minds of mortal men." And there won't be no comeback because the people who read these documents wouldn't listen to a politician on a bet.

In the second place the name, Anti-Bunk, is poor psychology as we used to say in the old days when a newcomer said Claremore was the finest little city in the country but it never would beat Tulsa.

Anti-Bunk suggests the idea that politics is bunk and every good American will resent a hint that he and his daddy were "brung up" on that stuff.

When it comes to farm relief your two opponents are equally outspoken. Both have expressed their sympathy for the woes of the farmers and promised to appoint somebody to find out if anything can be done about it. So next time you address the farmers don't forget to say a good word for farm relief. It will relieve their minds.

And now, Will, I come to the worst part of your way of campaigning. I mean your humor. Humor is all right in its place but it's got no business in politics. All the great politicians I ever met could have made fortunes if they had gone into the undertaking business, being that they were so sad, solemn and weepy that folks couldn't help taking them seriously.

As a humorist by trade you know all about Josh Billings, Artemus Ward, Bill Nye and Mark Twain. Well, Will, did any of them ever get elected to even such a lousy office as dog catcher or justice of peace? You know they didn't and for a good reason, too. Humor isn't worth shucks unless it's based on truth and if truth ever got into Congress or the White House and spoke its heart there is no telling what would happen to a cherished institution.

Too, Will, if you want to be elected get yourself up in a black Alpaca coat, black shiny tie, black hat, black ribbon for your nose pinchers; look black, see black and pussyfoot around like you were afraid of disturbing the corpse in the parlor.

Now, Will, do as I told you and you may sneak in the White House yet. Once there you can appoint me official spokesman and what a team like ours would do to bunk would be a plenty!

Well, good bye and good luck, Will, if you should get in a tight place don't forget Harry Sinclair is also an Oklahoman.

Ever your friend and stand-by,
ADAM COALDIGGER.

P. S. Don't forget to tell them that you were born in a log cabin, educated in the little red school house and all the good in you, you got from that little gray-haired woman who was your mother. I know there ain't a log house around Claremore and if they ever painted a school house up there red or any other color when you were a boy I haven't seen it and I've seen them all. But I'm sure you had a mother.

Can't Waste Death on Bugs

General Amos "Flame Throwing" Fries, chief of the Chemical Warfare Division, U. S. Army, speaking:

"The Chemical Warfare Service has discovered a liquid poison so strong that three drops will kill anyone whose skin it touches. . . . Falling like rain from nozzles attached to airplanes, the liquid would kill everything in the aircraft's path."

"The use of poisonous gas at the end of the World War was a child's game compared to what it will be in the future."

And this reminds me that some months ago I had a friend write to the Chemical War Department asking for the loan of a flame thrower. The big idea behind the request was the extermination of a bug and weevil infested weed jungle on my Sauer Kraut plantation. I'm sorry I haven't got the answer to my request on hand but the gist of it was that the cost of the chemicals used in flame throwers was too great to make these implements of Christian warfare adaptable for my purposes.

But I haven't given up hope yet. Perhaps that new liquid poison, three drops of which are enough to kill one of God's children is not too expensive to use on those confounded bugs, weevils and weeds on my Louisiana Kraut Plantation.

Funerals
Some folks ain't got no sense of humor. Here, just to show how the New York undertakers do a fellow when he's a dead day of American capitalist industry,

one and can't kick back, in this column we gave a list of an up-to-date metropolitan send off, even down to the face veil, as they do things down in Gotham.

Now, a good Milwaukee funeral director breaks his heart over these little jokes, and says, "Oh, Oscar, how could you?"

Well, we weren't talking about you, sonny. It's a long way from New York to Milwaukee, and we all know that the tricks they play down around the sidewalks of New York don't go in the Cream City. Graft isn't just the style here.

So cheer up, brother and don't let your profession get such a grip on you that you can't see a joke without glasses.

The Milwaukee funeral directors are a good bunch—but all the same, I don't want them to get me just yet!

Efficiency
I am sure all my admirers have read that beautiful old poem, every verse of which ends with, "And the barber kept on shaving."

If not, you ought to. You will never understand how efficiency experts got so all-fired wise until you do. The story the poem tells runs something like this: One day an efficiency expert on nature walked into the barber shop. Immediately an owl perched on a perch caught his eye.

"Why?" he gasped, "what fool stuffed that owl? No one that knows anything about nature ever saw an owl like that. No owl ever held his head like that. Besides, his wings are all awry and his claws should stick out instead of in. What taxidermist stung you for that bird?" Why, man, you sure must be an easy mark to pay good money for a bum job like that. Say, but that's one on you!" And the barber kept on shaving.

"Don't you hear me?" asked the expert. "I say the guy who sold you that bird didn't know the first thing about owls, how they look, act, or anything. He stuffed you worse than he stuffed the bird. If the idiot had known the simplest facts of nature, he would have made that owl look this way, sit that way, hold his head right, and stick his claws out instead of in. It's a bum job. It isn't even a good nature-fake."

And just then the owl hopped down off the perch and let out a hoot. And the barber kept on shaving.

Somehow, when I hear of all the miracles worked by Herbert and the other efficiency experts, I can't help thinking of that poem.

It isn't its humor but its insight that gets me grinning. As it says, when the E. E. got through graphing the bird, everybody was laughing except the two wise old owls. And the barber kept on shaving. Same here.

Better Wars
Every day in every way wars are getting better and better.

The royal air force of England has just finished an experiment in the destruction of London with encouraging results. Enemy bombers made fifty-seven daylight raids on the city and dropped three hundred tons of theoretical gas bombs and high explosives without getting a theoretical scratch.

"It was brought out," says the report, "that a fleet of enemy bombers could be over London fifteen or twenty minutes after crossing the coast line. They could reach their objective so quickly they could drop their entire cargo of explosives on the city before defending airplane squadrons could leave their airbases and gain attacking altitudes."

"Further, it was pointed out that if attacking planes were destroyed while over London, their cargoes would fall on the city and terrible damage would result."

The answer to all this is, of course, a forty billion pound appropriation for a royal air force which can fall on Paris, Berlin or Moscow before the defending airplane squadrons of those cities can leave their airbases.

R. C. Denmore, Chicago, rounds up 4 subs.

Socialism Humanity's Hope For A Better World

The following article was written by a young man in St. Louis who is nearly blind. In simplicity of statement, logical development of theme, and knowledge of the evolution of capitalism, it is a remarkable contribution for a youth so handicapped. We only wish that the average young man and woman were able to see our economic and political problems as clearly as this blind boy of St. Louis.

By Frank Steinert

THERE is a vast, fundamental difference between the individualistic capitalism of the days of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, and the present-day corporate capitalism as typified by the Fords and Hoovers.

In those early days of the Republic, the capitalist system was in its infancy. Industry was individualistic. Our country was still undeveloped, semi-savage, and virgin. Land was plentiful and for the taking. The tools of production were crude and simple. An ambitious young man with a trade and a few dollars in his jeans could start in business for himself. Shops and factories sprung up. Every stream turned a mill wheel. Rivers that in earlier days had been wont to carry the light canoes of the red-men, carried the teeming products and commerce of an energetic young nation. This was especially true in the growing pioneer communities of the Middle West.

There society was democratic. No class lines. Men were free and equal. Everybody worked. Labor was considered honorable. The young man, after he had learned his trade or profession, could and did become his own master. Tools and materials were cheap. It didn't cost much for a young man to start in business for himself. Those were the golden days of American capitalist industry.

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

In Re John Spargo

Editor, The New Leader:
I have just read John Spargo's reply to your open letter in the current issue of the Leader. Words of mine are inadequate to express my utter contempt for Spargo and his ilk. I am surprised that you would dignify a perfectly good Socialist paper and the valuable space with his name. When he left the party to become a war jingo and mongrel he wrote his name with that of his infamous comrade, Benedict Arnold. John Spargo's name will live after he has passed on, even as has Benedict Arnold's.

He says that the Socialist Party stands convicted before the world for its war stand. The party today stands vindicated and every thinking person throughout the world knows that. The guilty are those, like Spargo, lacked the stamina and moral courage to remain dauntless and face the crisis and the crucial test. Those men and women are honored and respected today. Their names will be recorded along with those of the past who had the courage to sustain their ideals and convictions in the face of the mob.

Even at this early date they are being recognized. Our own James H. Maurer, who faced the mob when respect for individual opinions and inalienable rights were being trampled in the dust, who stood at the helm and defied the money changers to stampede him into the herd of Spargo jingoes, who had the courage to be a man when the time demanded men, today he is an international figure and the candidate of his party for the high office of Vice-President. Last November his fellow citizens went to the polls and elected him, along with a Socialist Mayor, another man who has the courage of his convictions, to a high city office.

This November the people of the country will go forth and vote for a Presidential candidate who left his flock in time of war to join those who stood for peace and against the slaughter of our young men by the international bankers, Norman Thomas. And with his running mate, James H. Maurer, the Socialist Party has two men of whom they can well be proud of. Norman Thomas is a splendid character. Jim Maurer is a great man. When Jim Maurer, in time of war and confusion and hysteria, remained true to his ideals and the tenets of Socialism and when Norman Thomas left his flock and came into the party the Socialist Party could well afford to lose 25 Spargos. They will never be missed. The Socialist Presidential ticket this year is so outstanding that men of the type of Spargo should make good Socialists blush to think that we once thought they represented Socialism.

Now I have said enough and as I write I am forced to think that the editor of the Leader was indeed magnanimous in addressing that letter to Mr. Spargo, for the moment he has brought him out of obscurity. I am sure that many Socialists had forgotten about him. He has had his day again, now permit him to crawl back and bask in the reflections of his past. I am sure that there is none among the comrades who will envy him his retirement.

Yours for Thomas and Maurer,
PAUL J. HIMMELREICH,
Reading, Pa.

"I had the pleasure of hearing Comrade Thomas when he was here a few days ago. I will have reached my majority by the time of the Presidential election and I shall cast my first vote (assuredly not my last), for the Socialist candidate. Young? Yes, but as loyal as the oldest! I am glad to subscribe to an organ so representative of the people of the nation, as The New Leader." Victor C. D'Unger, Little Rock, Ark.

From such an industrial environment in which all men were free and equal, sprung that great political leader of the young West—Abraham Lincoln.

It was the rise to power in the National Government of the small factory owners, shopkeepers, railroad builders, and free holding farmers of the North which challenged and eventually overthrew the tyrannical power of the slave holding class of the South. Then capitalist industry became national. Mills, factories, mines, railroads were developed and extended over a vast continent. In the seventies and eighties inventions multiplied. New methods of production gradually reduced the small capitalists into the ranks of the wage workers. Machinery took the place of the simple tools. Today we have a great ever-increasing working class and a small group of gigantic industrial masters.

Corporate capitalism is industrially and politically triumphant in the United States. It may change the Republic into a Dictatorship. Either these United States will become all despotic or all socialist. We cannot go back to individualistic capitalism. Modern machinery has made that impossible. The great basic industries of the United States must be owned and operated by all the people. The workers in factory and office, mill and mine, the farmers who produce the food for the masses in the cities and towns—these constitute the Nation. The Nation must socialize its industry, transportation and natural resources. The masses should accept the principles of the Socialist Party. Either that or the Nation will become an industrial dictatorship.

Fellow countrymen and women! A vote for Thomas and Maurer is a vote for American freedom. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for the Republic of Jefferson and Lincoln. Socialism is the hope of America!