

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

NEW LEADER

For President:
NORMAN THOMAS
For Vice-President
JAMES H. MAURER

VOL. VII—No. 40

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1928

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

Socialist Presidential Candidate Stirs The West in a Notable Series of Earnest Addresses

Vast Audiences Greet Socialist Candidate In West

Undercurrent of Socialist Sentiment Surprises Even Veteran Party Workers—Young Generation of Voters Breaking Old Party Affiliations

By Edward Levinson

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, Tuesday, Sept. 18.—What is generally believed to be the largest audience assembled at a political meeting here in years greeted Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, in the First Congregational Church tonight. At least a thousand people jammed the building and gave Thomas a hearty reception.

This was no ordinary political meeting as at least one-half of the audience consisted of copper miners from nearby cities and towns. Many of those who attended had traveled a hundred miles or more to hear the one candidate who speaks for the underlying population of workers.

There were two men in the audience who came 150 miles to the meeting. C. M. Daniels and Fred Kelley who made the journey from Gold City have this distinction.

Here as at other meetings in the West the young element was conspicuous at the meeting. The interest of the young people and the new generation of voters in the Socialist message is pronounced. It is one of the most hopeful signs of this period of American politics.

Thomas gave some attention to the claims of Smith as a "progressive" and he was repeatedly cheered as he unfolded the record of Tammany and the relation of Smith to it.

The audience was very generous in contributing to the campaign fund and every piece of Socialist literature was sold. There was not enough literature to supply the demand. Just as significant of the drift of sentiment is the fact that many new members were obtained for the local Socialist organization.

Comrade Sorenson presided and other active members who contributed to the success of the meeting were T. C. Stoney and E. G. Locke.

Spokane A Promising City
SPOKANE, Wash., Sept. 11.—Invading territory which for ten years has not known Socialist organization, Norman Thomas tonight again found a large and enthusiastic crowd awaiting him. As in Butte, Montana, yesterday, Spokane workers turned out to cheer the Socialist presidential candidate and donate liberally to the campaign fund.

Comrade Thomas arrived on primary election day here with the most bitter fight in years being waged at the polls. Without a Socialist local in or near this city, the audience that turned out at Thomas meeting was as large as any addressed by the old party candidates in more than a month of campaigning.

The Spokane meeting again proves what was first shown in Fargo, North Dakota, and Butte, where there is also no Socialist organizations. That is that the Socialist sentiment in the country is strong and awaiting only the impetus of organizing effort to whip it into an effective and functioning every day political party.

Thomas and his party were surprised and pleased to find a delegation of young lumber workers from Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, waiting for him. They had driven forty miles to tell Thomas that a few months ago a new Socialist local has been organized in that city where the black-list, the company union and company terrorism has ruled unchallenged for many years. It takes real courage for these young men to declare themselves Socialists in Coeur d'Alene and these comrades have plenty of it.

Portland A Big Surprise
PORTLAND, Oregon, Sept. 14.—The mass meeting addressed by Norman Thomas last night in this city exceeded all expectations of local Socialists and their friends. One thousand people heard Thomas in Seattle last night where the organized Socialist movement is slowly recovering from the war terror and a variety of unstable political ventures into which the former membership was drawn in the past five or six years.

Seattle did fine considering its history and the meeting was a big help to the movement. No more was expected in Portland as the recovery from a similar experience here began later than in Seattle. However, the Portland meeting was a complete surprise. No less than 2,500 people jammed the big Labor Temple to capacity. It was the first big meeting held in many years and proved to be a revelation to even the local Socialists and their friends.

Such meetings show the enormous Socialist sentiment that prevails and which only requires persistent work to harvest in a strong party organization. Here in Portland the movement is breaking through the old party barriers to apply it to state farms.

This whole north and northwest
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Thomas in the West

Senator Nye Concedes Big Thomas Vote

Senator Reports a Big Desertion of Voters in North Dakota to Socialist Candidates That "Will Surprise Country"

WASHINGTON—Farm revolt and religious differences have cut squarely across party lines in North Dakota, and may result in giving a Norman Thomas, Socialist Presidential nominee, a surprisingly heavy vote in that state. This is the judgment of Senator Gerald P. Nye, non-partisan leaguer and progressive Republican, just returned to the national capital from the Northwest.

The decision by Gov. Walter Madock, a lifelong Republican and one

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Waldman Turns X-Rays On The 'New Tammany' Of Smith Leadership

Socialist Candidate for Governor Shows Smith Eager to Give Manufacturing Corporations Cheaper Power As Aid to Business Rule

By Philip Hochstein

ONE of Al Smith's great annoyances in his madly ambitious race for the White House has been the constant reproach for his Tammany Hall origin. The Smith-Tammany connection is too plainly a matter of record. It cannot be denied. Consequently, as a matter of practical politics, it must be explained and white washed of some of its ugliest.

Al Smith's resourceful kitchen cabinet at Albany was equal to this delicate task. To counteract the common recollection of the piratical, unprincipled, bullying Tammany of fact, the "best minds" invented the myth of the "New Tammany".

And to Al Smith they give credit for the imagined achievement of having transformed the admittedly crooked and filthy Tammany of fact into the clean, uncorrupted "New Tammany" of their resourceful fancy!

As a reporter, I went in search of facts to learn what manner of creature is this "New Tammany". There is nothing at all, I learned, in the actual personnel of Tammany Hall to indicate very much change. The most outstanding change since the days that Al Smith confesses to be ashamed of is in the elevation of George Olvany to the leadership.

Olvany's rise does not represent a conscious change or any effort to improve Tammany. Olvany was selected to fill the place of the late Chas. Murphy. Shall we give Al Smith credit for integrity and nobility of character just because Charles Murphy died?

As for the rest of the personnel of Tammany Hall, it remains practically unchanged, except for an occasional succession to replace a leader who has died or become too aged or ill to continue at his duties. If we are to assume that the "New Tammany" really exists and is on a higher level than the disgraceful machine of old, we must, as a corollary, assume that Al Smith has been a sort of miracle-working evangelist in Tammany Hall, that he has, by the charm and magic of whispered exhortations transformed the thieves and cut-throats of the real Tammany into saintly workers for sweet charity!

Yet, it cannot be denied, a change

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LOUIS WALDMAN

Thomas Emphasizes Labor Issues In Western Address

Average American Wage, Injunctions, and Futile "Non-Partisan" Political Policy Discussed by Socialist Candidate

From an Address by Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate for President, on tour in the West

I AM very grateful to you for this greeting and for the chance you give me to speak on a subject more important than the events of any one political campaign. I refer to the position of organized labor in America and its program especially with reference to political parties. Everybody knows that wages in America are higher than in the European countries. From that fact even the workers themselves are often deluded into assuming a degree of well being for the men and women in mine, factory, mill and shop that does not exist. The average wage in America according to Mr. Hoover's expert is only \$1280 a year. In proportion to the productive power of American labor it gets miserably inadequate return. According to the very careful reckoning of our own Comrade I. M. Budiah, editor of the Headwear Worker, American workers receive a smaller share of the total product than in England where the total output is much less than ours. We are alone among civilized nations in our complete lack of social insurance for the unemployed and the aged.

Assails Use of Injunctions

When we turn from bread and security for the workers to freedom our showing is even more disquieting. In no other political democracy in the world today would the Sacco Vanzetti case or the Money and Billings case have been possible. We have a tragic preeminence in the oppressions of coal and iron poles, cossacks and constabulary, and above all in the coercive power of injunctions. The deepest impression on me as a result of thousands of miles of travel and years of study in my own country is the universality of fear and the lack of freedom among the workers.

These things suggest an inquiry into the numerical strength, the program and the policy of American unions. Our unions have a noble history of service to the workers; they are indispensable to their well being. Not one of here would divide or weaken our union or criticize them in any sense, as an outsider. But speaking with one another we must admit our profound concern that the percentage of organized workers in America falls below 15%. James O'Neal has compiled figures to show that it is lower even than in Spain or Poland. Our unions are not gaining in strength or political influence.

Neither are they gaining in moral or spiritual power and the confidence of the unorganized workers. It is this low level of idealism, solidarity, and energy for organizing the unorganized that is the saddest sight in America for those who know that to labor we must look for the vital power that shall bring to being a new and happier social order.

Clearly, then, the presumption of success is not on the side of all the official tactics of the labor movement. Tonight we are especially concerned with labor's political tactics. They cannot take the place of the basic work of organizing unions on the industrial field. Nevertheless we have come to a point where we can scarcely have successful organizing work without wresting the terrible weapon of the injunction from the bosses and substituting social insurance for the poor bribes of group insurance and pensions offered by open shop employers to keep their workers tied more closely to them. That means political action. Our question then becomes: how best can labor use its political power to get what it needs for the workers both as producers and consumers?

Hits Non-Partisan Policy

The official answer is the so-called non-partisan program of labor. What has not been done under this program shows its tragic inadequacy. Under a program of rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies in the old parties labor has sold its birthright without even getting a good mess of pottage. It has lost its power for straight thinking; it has not formulated a courageous program of demands and in the end it has not got the little price it asked. Witness the fate of labor's demands on the subject of injunctions and the five day week in this year's conventions.

The worst of it is that this bargaining program puts all the labor hucksters and fixers in clover. It gives jobs and favors to so-called leaders who will coddle up to politicians. In city after city labor leaders, so called, are tied up to the political machine. Important leaders in the unions were caught in bed with Mayor Thompson of Chicago and Governor Small of Illinois when the popular wrath overtook them. In New Haven recently a labor leader as alderman voted with the private water works gang. In Memphis, Tennessee labor officials and the political crooks work together. In New York some of our unions

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What You Can Do For The New Leader In An Earnest Drive For Dollar Subs

ONE phase of the educational work of Socialists and their friends during this electoral struggle should not be overlooked. It has a twofold advantage. It will help them in the work of their localities and help The New Leader as well.

First, let us remind you of the importance of a periodical that goes into the home every week. Speakers are heard only occasionally. Campaign literature disappears after the election. The New Leader appears week after week and year after year. It is the educational cannon that never ceases to fire. It does your work while you sleep, when you are sick, when other matters occupy your attention.

Every country in the world that has a powerful Socialist and Labor movement has a powerful press. The press helps the movement, the movement helps the press. If one is weak, the other is weak. But education must precede organization and activity, and the New Leader is a weekly courier of education and organization. Help The New Leader and you help every other activity of the Socialist Party. Neglect it and you fail to use the weekly firing that goes on after the battle and after the votes are counted.

We need say little about the character and contents of your paper. Time after time we have been assured that in variety of appeal and interest it is equal to any weekly Socialist publication in the world. The New Leader brings to you each week the story of the Labor and Socialist struggle all over the world. There is something in each issue to appeal to all varieties of readers; to the scientific Socialist; to the trade unionist on the firing line; to the lover of poetry and good literature; to those who appreciate good humor; to the party worker; to those who must be awakened, to those who follow the sorry scene of a civilization mismanaged and drifting in the hands of its ruling classes.

We receive thousands of letters each year commending The New Leader. There are men and women who never fail to get new subscriptions. But where there are ten thus working there should be hundreds. Nay, there should be thousands gathering subscriptions during this campaign. They will never have a better opportunity to interest prospective readers than they have now. Our circulation can be trebled before election day if we get this cooperation from our readers and with the interest in the Socialist campaign now evident that cooperation should be easy to obtain.

Do YOU want to help? Very well. Here is a program:

1. If you are in charge of a Socialist meeting display The New Leader and arrange to take subscriptions. This is one way of making that meeting extend its influence over twelve months. If you cannot get a sub for a year get one for six months. If the subscriber thinks at all he will renew when his subscription expires.

2. If you have a regular meeting place for your branch post a copy of The New Leader in a conspicuous place with a prominent placard with the announcement, "Subscriptions Taken Here." If you are a member of a trade union, post a copy in the hall at each meeting.

3. Make an investment on your own account and get your money back. If your prospect does not have the money pay the dollar for his sub for six months and tell him you will collect later. If you have confidence in your paper you know that the reader will respond. He will get the paper for several months after the election and if he is not interested then he is a hopeless case. If several thousand readers follow this suggestion—well, we will have to get a host of Yipsels to help us make a record of the new subs!

We like this idea of the dollar sub. Quite a number of hustlers are successful in gathering subscriptions this way. You try it. There is something that is tempting to one who is asked to pay a dollar. You lose nothing by making an approach and you gain much when it is successful. You help The New Leader and The New Leader brings our message week after week to those whom you desire to reach.

Use the blank below for the dollar approach. Clip it and pin a dollar to it and mail to us with the name and address of your subscriber. If two or more subs can be gathered by the dollar approach, attach another sheet of paper with the other names and addresses. We depend on you to shower us with subscriptions and we know you can do it if you try.

Here is the blank. Fill it and mail it in.

The New Leader,
7 East 15th Street,
New York City.

Enclosed find one dollar for subscription for six months.

Name _____
Address _____
City or Town _____ State _____
Sent by _____

Dreadful Whispers Really Loud Roars—A Job For 'Liberals'

By Backstairs Spokesman

NOW that Al Smith has gone West to shoot off his face to the embattled farmers, we may have something more edifying from the Democratic spokesman than denials that he was terribly tight at such-and-such a military review or had to be carried off the grand-stand at a country fair.

This business of lie-nailing has gotten to be an awful bore. To us at any rate.

In the first place no one ever whispered anything to us about Smith being slightly cock-eyed at one time or another. They came and said it very clear, they came and shouted in our ear.

And our answer was and is, "what the hell of it?"

It seems to us that if we had to review a whole lot of militia, we would require some sort of interior fortification to get us through that horrible job. And certainly would not want to hear many speeches at a country fair on a completely empty stomach.

It never did occur to us that Al was the sort to take so much red-eye aboard not to know just what he was doing. We don't blame him for drinking when he takes a good look at the bunch he is lined up with, but we don't need any lush. He is a good fellow and has a lot of "Joe de vie", to put it in good Tammany French.

No sir, you don't catch us lighting into Al because of any of his personal affairs.

But when his new-found supporters rise and protest that a part of the so-called "whispering campaign" against Smith is his connection with Tammany we stand and holler long and loud.

Somebody did that in "The Nation" last week and outside of its editorial on Smith's acceptance speech, we have never read so much bunk in that usually bunkless magazine. It shows what happens to good folk when they mess up with the Democratic party. They go plumb loco.

For the love of the late Charles Francis Murphy, why should not those who don't think that Smith is a second Abraham Lincoln bring up his Tammany connections? What other connections has he had for the past thirty years? It's one of the many reasons why a real liberal will have nothing to do with the man or the collection of mental garbage that is called the Democratic Party.

I wish some of Smith's new allies would go down South and look over the outfit that is going to bring us "The New Freedom, 1928 Model." I would like to have Herbert Croly of "The New Republic" spend a couple of days running around Arkansas, for example.

That's where they had seven candidates running for Governor in the primaries and all seven said that the other six ought to be in the State penitentiary and all seven were dead right. And the man who won printed as endorsement for his candidacy a letter from an inmate of the State penitentiary and another candidate for office who lost his right arm (presumably, he wore it off hitting liquor) printed a picture of himself and asked everyone to vote for him because he was a cripple.

And then Herbert and some of the staff of "The Nation" might go over and take a look at the cotton mills down there and tell us about the liberalism of their owners.

Or, if they don't want to make the trip, let them read a pamphlet by Paul Blanchard called, "Labor in Southern Cotton Mills," and find on page 16, the following:

"As to annual earnings (of workers in Southern cotton mills) the figures of the Census of Manufacturers of 1923 are quite conclusive on that point. They show that the average annual earnings in 1923 of the cotton mill workers of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina were \$641.97—a weekly average of \$12.35. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' figures of 1926 are the latest complete ones. For convenience I will personalize the average wage earner of these figures. John South Carolina gets \$10.33 a week, while William North Carolina, who represents the best paid of the Southern groups, receives \$18.63."

It would be interesting to see Herbert Croly and the other New Republic "liberals" sitting down with John and William, having a good chat about how the Democratic Party has now become the torch-bearer of enlightened progress to the rest of the country.

As a result of such a conversation, Croly might find a lot of material for what he advertises as an attempt to give a "full and faithful presentation of what appear to be the rightful claims of Al Smith for progressive allegiance."

Yes sir, any man who depends for a large part of his campaign fund on the contributions of Southern textile manufacturers and a large part of oiling of his political machine on the workings of Tammany heelsers is certainly a swell claimant for "progressive allegiance."

Nobody is whispering about such things as these. Nobody has even mentioned them. Except Norman Thomas and Jim Maurer and a few others who can't be confounded by this "progressive" hokum.

But they do seem to me pertinent. Especially to liberals. For remember this, boys, if you vote for Smith you are voting for an alliance between Tammany on the North and labor-baiting, labor-sweating slave owners on the South and there's no two ways about it.

Bernard Shaw Says
that the most valuable part of his education was the result of attending lectures. For many years G. B. S. was an inveterate lecturer. There are many thousands of people in New York who regularly attend lectures and debates. Publicity for events of this kind is best accomplished by using The New Leader for an advertising medium.

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

Socialist Ticket Is Filed in Iowa

DES MOINES, Iowa.—I. S. McGrillis, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, reports that papers have been filed with the Secretary of State for the following state ticket:

Governor, Howard Rose, Des Moines; Lieutenant-Governor, Andrew Engle, Newton; Secretary of State, Mrs. Annie S. Lynch, Lincoln; Auditor, Madison Warder, Agency; Treasurer, Ben Moine, Battle Creek; Secretary of Agriculture, Fred Reeder, Newton; Attorney General, I. S. McGrillis, Des Moines. Presidential electors at large: Perry Engle, Newton, and Miss Theo Hamilton, Indianapolis. First District, Congress, William James, Washington; Elector, Samuel Richardson, Sixth District, Congress, Jesse James, Newton; Elector, Veran Arnold, Seventh District, Congress, J. J. Donal, Des Moines; Elector, Carl Moll, Des Moines, Eighth District, Congress and Elector Fred, Tenth District, Congress, Arthur Munson, Madrid; Elector, Paul Pellai, Ft. Dodge, Eleventh District, Elector, Christ Kemming, Ida Grove.

Publicity Work of an Active Idaho Socialist

One of the very best and most practical party workers in the United States is C. H. Cammann, state secretary of the party in Idaho. Although a resident of Boise, Cammann has been camping in Pocatello for a week or two to see that the big meeting for Norman Thomas there on Sept. 18 is a success.

Cammann, although not a publicity man, is also very successful in getting news and articles regarding the party in the Idaho papers. Recent issues of the Idaho papers contain news items, communications and articles by Cammann. An effort of a certain renegade La Follette voter to give the impression that the La Follette voters of four years ago would vote for Smith, appears in one issue. Cammann returns with a blistering article answering this contention. Incidentally other La Follette leaders also repudiate the assertion of the renegade.

Recent issues of Pocatello dailies carry two communications over a column each by Cammann. At the end of these important letters, by the side of his name as state secretary of the party, Cammann has the official Socialist Party emblem, a cross with the words "Socialist Party; Workers of the World Unite."

The work of Comrade Cammann in the field of newspaper publicity shows what one man can do in this work even if he has had no training for it.

Crosswaith Spanks A Youthful Lenin

Frank Crosswaith of New York returned to Boston last Sunday and immediately proceeded to the Common where he met Alfred Baker Lewis, a good meeting was held. At previous meetings in Boston Communists have dogged the heels of the speaker, but this time they were kept at bay by the speaker's quick wit.

The Communist chief in this work is a young man named "A. J. Bloomfield, who seems to have been commissioned for this task. The kid pulls off all the old stuff about "traitors" and "scoundrels" but he is not a very good reciter as though they had taken it from a manual prepared for feeble minds.

Crosswaith had little trouble in routing the youthful Lenin whose efforts only helped to attract one of the largest crowds of the year on Boston Common.

Reading Socialists Go To The Rural Voters

The Socialist Party, of Reading, Pa., is carrying on a campaign in the smaller towns of Berks County with marked success. Meetings were held in five towns one night and were well attended. In every town visited the speakers were greeted by attentive and thoughtful audiences who accepted the invitation to ask questions and read the free literature which was distributed and gathered in small groups to converse with the Socialist visitors at the close of each meeting.

Not only has it been demonstrated that the success of the party in Reading at the last election has done much to break down the prejudice against it, but it has made the party more compact to push over the campaign. When the campaign ends, see to it that a big party meeting be built up for future work. Get up the party cards from National Headquarters and go after members.

Banquet In Pittsburgh

Local Allegheny will hold a campaign banquet Sunday, September 30, at the Laffey Lyceum, 1000 Reed street, 8 p.m. No charge will be made. Addresses will be made by B. C. Vladek, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward and if possible by Joseph P. Kamp, member of the British Labor Party. Both are capable and interesting speakers. Readers of The New Leader are cordially invited.

Massachusetts Campaign

The speaking dates for Mary Donovan Haggood, Socialist candidate for Governor, for the coming week are as follows: Chicago Falls, Sept. 22; Leonminster, Sept. 24; Fitchburg, Sept. 25; Gardner, Sept. 26; Holyoke, Sept. 27; North Adams, Sept. 28; Greenfield, Sept. 29.

Frank Crosswaith speaks Saturday, Sept. 22, in Worcester at Main and Federal street; Sunday, Sept. 23, on Boston Common at 4 p.m.

Esther Friedman speaks in Dorchester at Blue Hill avenue and Woodrow Saturday evening, Sept. 22; Boston Common Sunday afternoon.

Porto Rico's Misery May Now Be Seen

WASHINGTON—Since a hurricane has killed 1,000 people in Porto Rico and has ruined crops, bridges, buildings and even roads over a wide area in the island, American emergency aid is to be rushed to Porto Rico's relief. Officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, led by Santiago Iglesias, head of the labor movement in Porto Rico, are hopeful that this disaster will lead the Washington government at last to take a look at the misery of the masses of wage workers down there. Permanent under-nourishment, due to low wages, irregular employment, lack of sanitation and decent housing, is the lot of a majority of Porto Ricans.

Numerous appeals for a federal survey of this industrial poverty have been made by the Federation, but without success.

Taylor Challenges Old Party Politicians

Little Rock, Ark.—Clarence H. Taylor of Baltimore, national organizer of the Socialist Party, now in Arkansas, delivered an address on "The Real Issue of the Present Campaign" at the Pulaski County Court House on Friday, September 7. The meeting attracted much attention.

A great deal of publicity was given to his challenge addressed to A. J. Russell, State Republican chairman, and J. S. Utley, state Democratic chairman, offering to arrange a three-cornered political symposium in which the speakers' time and the expenses would be shared equally. The refusal of the two old parties to accept the challenge has created sentiment favorable to the Socialist Party.

Taylor has also held meetings at Brinkley and Beebe which have added members to the party. He asks that The New Leader be rushed to him, since his own rapid movements delay his receipt of the paper.

Polish Socialists For Norman Thomas

The Polish Socialist Organization of Chicago is busy helping to make this campaign year a success. Comrade Kozminski is the main speaker, providing branches with campaign literature and buttons. The sale of the Socialist campaign handbook is going well. The work is carried on in a spirit of cooperation with the Socialist Party of Cook County, Ill.

The Polish Socialist Organization is also arranging a big mass meeting for Norman Thomas, which will take place Sunday morning, September 23, in the large Schoenhofen's Hall, on the north-west side of the city of Chicago. The agitation is going strong, through mail, circulars, etc., pointing out a large attendance at class conscious Polish workers.

National Headquarters News

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

National N. E. C. to Meet in Cleveland

The National Executive Committee will meet in Cleveland, Ohio, Saturday and Sunday, September 22 and 23. The meeting is being held in the evening of the 22nd, there will be a big banquet at the Windsor Hotel, beginning at 8 p.m. All comrades and friends in and around Cleveland are urged to be on hand. Reservations can and should be made by addressing Edna Hastings, 1372 West 16th street, or from the Jewish Daily Forward, Cleveland, Ohio. If you live in Cleveland you can get tickets from any active member of the party. Meet the N. E. C. at the banquet.

National Referendum 1932 is Now Before the Membership

Motion of Local Livingston, Montana, submitted May 31st for seconds and help operators for ninety days to be held on the National Constitution was seconded by the required number of members. Ballots have been sent to State and District Secretaries for distribution to the members in their jurisdiction. Vote closes in Locals and Branches not later than November 15th. Branch secretaries must file their reports with Local Secretaries not later than November 8th. Locals must file their reports with their State or District Secretaries on or before November 21st. State and District Secretaries must file their reports with the National Executive Committee not later than November 27, 1928. Members of locals and members at large in unorganized states will get their ballots from the National Office and report their vote back to the National Office not later than November 27, 1928. Members voting on this referendum will not be eligible to vote at least six months. The members will vote "yes" or "no" on each section, but before they do so, a careful reading should be made of the National Constitution adopted at the National Convention in April, 1928.

Don't Forget to Organize

While the voters are coming to the Socialist standard urge them to become members of the Party. This work will be under the leadership of the National Office. The National Office will make the forces more compact to push over the campaign. When the campaign ends, see to it that a big party meeting be built up for future work. Get up the party cards from National Headquarters and go after members.

Thomas in Elmhurst

Elmhurst, Ill.—The Rev. Karl M. Chworowski of St. Peter's Evangelical Church of this western suburb of Chicago, not only joins the Ministers' Committee for Thomas and Maurer but undertakes to do active campaign work in English and German through the Middle West. As pastor of Elmhurst College he is in a position to use his influence to good advantage. Elmhurst is preparing for a Thomas meeting for Sunday evening, September 23.

Thomas in St. Louis

St. Louis Labor, the leading Labor and socialist weekly in the Midwest West, issues a special supplement with the edition of September 15 announcing the mass demonstration arranged for Saturday night, September 22, at which Norman Thomas will speak.

Thomas will speak in Jaffa Hall on "The Real Issues of the Campaign." The supplement contains a portrait of Thomas while the meeting is announced in large bold face type.

Mississippi

Electors for the presidential ticket have been selected and will be filed on October 20. The names are: At Large: Z. A. Rogers, Marietta; H. A. Harbaugh, Philadelphia; 1st District: C. W. Bayless, Mosselle; 2nd, R. T. Sawyer, Ethel; 3rd, C. W. Smith, Meridian; 4th, J. J. Downing, Biloxi; 5th, J. W. Smith, Vicksburg; 6th, L. N. Trapp, Laurel; 7th, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, Magnolia; 8th, G. G. Gould, Lake.

Michigan

Comrade Bernstein, State Secretary, writes that we have forgotten Michigan in our press notes, but gives us to understand that they are probably doing more than a good number of the states. That's good news, but the only reason why we have not been adding Michigan Socialist news to our weekly letter is because Bernstein forgot to send it. We have urged all our State and Local secretaries to send news of Socialist activity to us weekly, but some forgot to send it. Our secretaries are urged to send a number of publications all over the nation.

Connecticut

New Haven The Socialist Party of New Haven held a large and enthusiastic mass meeting at the band stand on the Central Green, Saturday evening, September 15th. National Executive Committee member Jasper Maynard was the main speaker. State Secretary Plunkett also gave a short talk.

Hamden

The Hamden town election will be held Monday, Oct. 1, instead of Oct. 14, as stated in last week's issue of The New Leader. The Local has nominated a full ticket headed by Cornelius Mahoney for Assessor.

West Haven

State Campaign Manager M. F. Plunkett has planned a canvassing campaign during the coming week. Former party members and also members of the La Follette-Wheeler Club of four years ago will be canvassed with the idea of getting them to join the new Local.

Virginia

THOMAS IN RICHMOND The State Central Committee will meet Sept. 23 at 3:30 P. M. to map out the campaign for the next two weeks. Norman Thomas will speak in Richmond, probably on the evening of Oct. 6. Local Richmond will meet on Sept. 23 at 2 p.m. to arrange for a big meeting, and to select a committee on arrangements. Party work has progressed rapidly, and we expect a great increase in the normal Socialist vote in the State.

Alabama

John W. Brown, working under the direction of the National Campaign Committee, writes from Birmingham that the national ticket has been filed with the Secretary of State. He sums up the situation by saying, "This state is submerged in hate. You can have no idea of how deep or how long these hates are until you have spent some time in the state. The white man hates the Negro; the klanism hates the Negro; the klanism hates the Jew. The klanism has carried his hatreds in the labor movement and completely wrecked it. There was not a semblance of a Labor Day celebration anywhere in the state this year. The south is still the south where the Democratic Party rules."

Kansas

Comrade Magill, State Secretary, sends for five hundred application for membership cards to be used in his work and to have on hand at the meetings. Kansas will have with George R. Kirkpatrick. The report of the several meetings that are being arranged for Kirkpatrick came late to be listed in the news letter.

What You Can Do For The Socialist Campaign

Some liberal contributions to the Socialist National Campaign Fund are beginning to come in and within a week or two the contribution lists that are going to all the states will begin to arrive. The National Campaign Committee expects every party member, friend and sympathizer to help in collecting the big campaign fund so much needed.

Those who have not received collection lists should write the National Campaign Manager immediately. Address G. August Gerber, 15 East 40th street, New York City.

Walsh And Howe "Imaginative", Says Hillquit

Effort to Deliver La Follette Vote to Smith Is a Pleasant Pipe Dream

FRANK P. WALSH, Frederic C. Howe and Lynn Haines have set themselves an impossible task by their promise to John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to swing the five million La Follette vote of 1924 to Gov. Al Smith, declares Morris Hillquit, chairman of the Socialist Action Committee in a statement issued this week.

The Socialist Party, he said, is the principal heir of the Progressive movement and will get most of its votes.

Hillquit was one of the original organizers of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which nominated the late Senator La Follette and conducted his campaign. He was also a member of the National Campaign Committee of the Progressive Party and was in close and active touch with the body of Progressive supporters.

"Whoever thought up the idea that the 1924 Progressive vote can be 'delivered' to any party or any candidate in 1928 is revealed as the greatest imaginative thinker since Maeterlinck," said Hillquit. "This latest bit of Democratic strategy is born of desperation in the General Motors Building upon learning that the Democratic candidates in Maine had been buried under the deepest Republican snowdrift in twelve years."

"Gov. Smith, already carrying Big Business on one shoulder, condescending 'friendliness' to labor on the other, vague promises of 'farm aid' in one hand, definite pledges of a continuing high tariff in the other; while balancing two apples of Volstead modification and 'Strict law enforcement' on his head, is now promised the Progressive vote, neatly tucked, to carry in his teeth."

"No one, not even my good friends, Frank P. Walsh and Frederic C. Howe, can deliver the Progressive vote nor any appreciable part of it. The five million men and women who voted for the late Senator La Follette in 1924 saw the truth of the statement that the Democratic and Republican parties are two wings of the same bird of prey. Now, in 1928, with both parties matching millionaires, they are not likely to forget it."

"The La Follette vote came in large part from citizens thoroughly disgusted with the two old parties and hoping to found a new political party entirely divorced from the dominating bi-partisan capitalist interests and devoted wholly and single-mindedly to the cause of economic justice and social progress, to government for the many instead of the few. This was the life-long ideal of Senator La Follette, one of the two humanitarian men the Republican party has produced."

"In saying that the La Follette voters represented pre-eminently the type of independent voters who will resent the suggestion of being delivered on bloc to any political party or candidates, is to show the impossibility of this latest pipe dream. There were never any Vares, Brennans or Murphys in the Progressive movement."

Among the most active and effective factors in the Progressive movement were the organized Socialists. They furnished the greatest number of organizers and local campaign managers all over the country and most of the enthusiasm and go of the campaign.

"The whole Progressive ticket of California appeared on the official ballot under the Socialist Party name and emblem. In California, where capitalist terrorism is most firmly entrenched, 424,649 Progressives voted as Socialists. Even in New York, almost half of the La Follette vote of 467,293 was cast in the Socialist columns."

"It is safe to predict that a large portion of the La Follette vote will go to Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, not because of any influence of former leaders of the Progressive movement, but because the Socialist Party comes nearer than any other party to the principles, ideals, aspirations and concrete proposals which animated the La Follette campaign and because the Socialist Party is the most logical heir to the Progressive vote and support."

"I wish Mr. Walsh and Mr. Howe luck with their mailing lists. That is all they have and all they will ever get in their attempt to sell Al Smith of Tammany Hall to the Progressives as the successor of Robert Marion La Follette of Wisconsin."

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New Bedford Bosses Insist On Wage Cut

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Due to the stubbornness of the textile manufacturers the big strike of men and women may continue throughout the coming winter. A few weeks ago it appeared that the Republican politicians would exert sufficient pressure to get the strike out of the way before Election Day. It is known that they fear the result of the vote if the strike continues. They are not interested in the strikers and their families but only in the fortunes of Hoover.

Apparently the leading die-hards of the textile masters are determined to go ahead with their original program of a 10 per cent cut in wages. To this they add a demand that the workers shall also submit to the Dreider Plan, which is the name given to a process of speeding up the workers so that more values can be squeezed out of their labor each day. Insistence on this in addition to the wage reduction shows the measureless greed of the die-hard groups of the textile proprietors.

The manufacturers themselves are divided but the die-hards have the upper hand and they are determining policy, a policy intended to break the spirit of the strikers and eventually to destroy the union. Unless a break occurs in the ranks of the mill owners the strike will continue for weeks to come. They are willing to fight to the last ditch and they will hold out if sufficient help is extended to enable families of the strikers to live.

The attitude of the dominant group in the manufacturers became apparent when they submitted the terms mentioned above to the Mediation Committee. To accept these terms would be to render all the sacrifices made by the strikers futile and yet it appears that the program is to starve the strikers into submission.

The funds received from sympathetic people and organizations are not yet sufficient to meet the barest needs of the strikers and their families and they are making another appeal to friends to expand this work of relief. All contributions should be sent to the Relief Committee, Post Office Box 521, New Bedford, Mass.

Senator Nye Concedes Big Thomas Vote

(Continued from Page 1)
of the most ardent of the Non-Partisan Leaguers, to accept the Democratic nomination for the governorship to which he recently was elevated through the death of Gov. Sorlie—is only the last of a series of complications that have attended the 1928 campaign.

"Our farmers are angry and resentful over what they have failed to receive from the Republican party in the past seven years," said Nye. "They have a right to be resentful. But I do not think Smith will be able to cash in on their discontent. Of the majority in the state conference of the Non-Partisan League Republican committee which voted down an endorsement of Hoover, only half a dozen are definitely for Smith."

A great many farmers won't vote for Hoover at all on the presidency, while many others say they will support Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate. Thomas spoke in our state last week, and it is evident that he will get a vote up there that will surprise the country. He threw confusion into the Smith ranks, incidentally, when he said that Smith would do even less than Hoover for farm relief."

Senator Lynn Frazier, veteran League leader, now running for reelection, has endorsed Hoover. Nye followed suit. Then their state conference turned Hoover down. Lucien Shaffer, attorney general of the state and leader of the foes of the Non-Partisan League, won the Republican nomination for Governor. He expects to run against Nye for the Senate in 1932 if elected this year. Governor Maddock, who has been elected lieutenant-governor by the League farmers four or five times, now chooses to run against Shaffer, and on the Democratic ticket. Maddock, it happens, is a Catholic. Nobody expects Frazier or Nye to show any enthusiasm for their old enemy Shaffer, in his race against their old friend Maddock. Yet the candidacy of Frazier on the Republican ticket will hurt Maddock, and vice versa.

This muddled political lineup was canvassed at a conference in Nye's office at the capital, Sept. 14, between the junior Senator and the North Dakota Republican national committee man and committee woman—Judge Fred Graham and Mrs. Minnie D. Craig, member of the Legislature. Both are Non-Partisan Leaguers. They had brought word to Hoover that the farmers are still in revolt.

A Correction

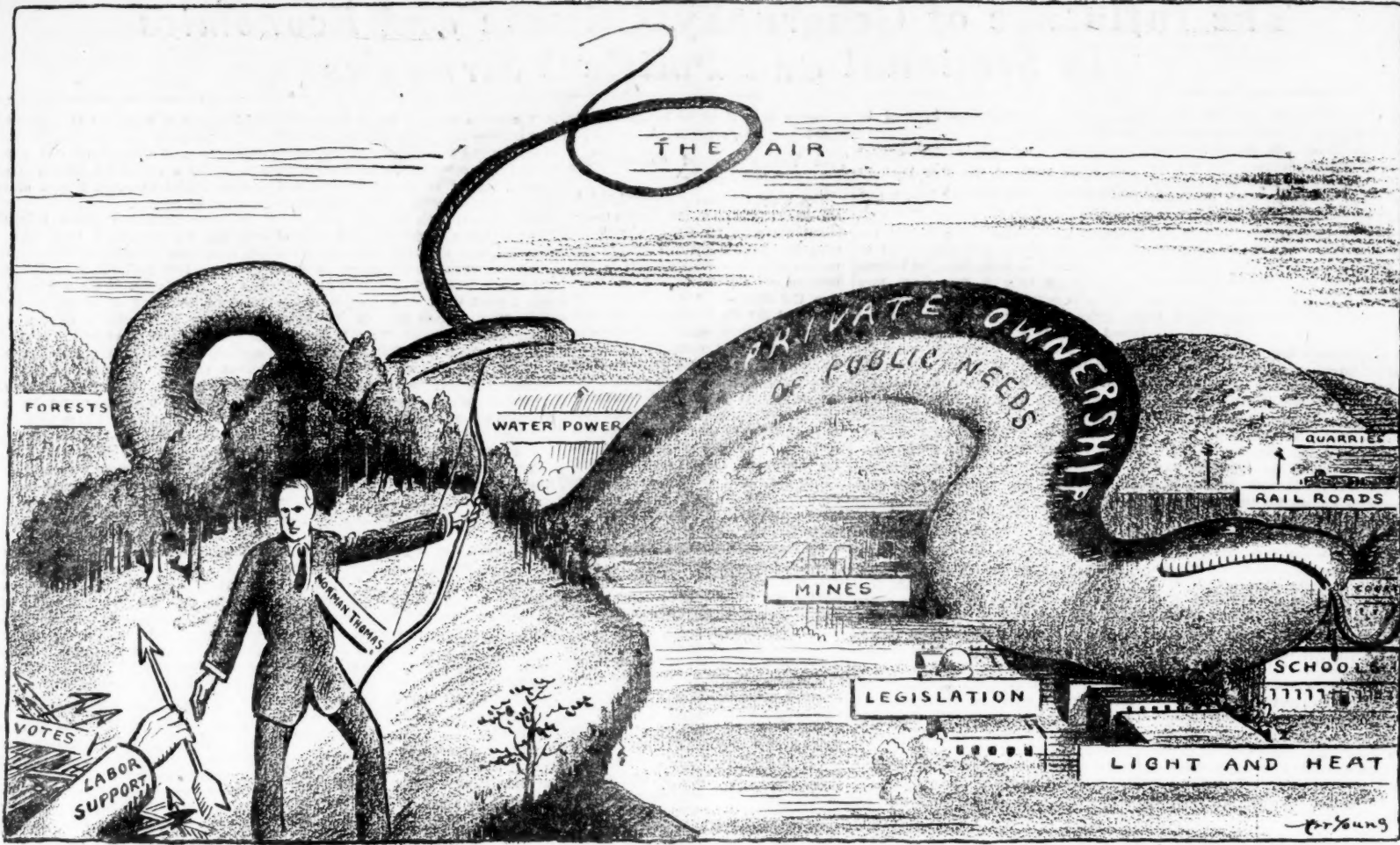
Editor, The New Leader:

I am writing to ask you to correct a mistake in last week's Leader, in the news relating to contributions. In the \$50 to \$100 lists is one reading Pierre DeNio, of Manchester, N. H., and it should read from Local Manchester. Please correct this, as the comrades there would feel that I might be trying to use them and I don't want that to happen.

PIERRE DENIO

Even our university engineers, receiving less than the wages of a fitter, dread the Socialism that would raise their incomes to the level of a common fitter. —Bernard Shaw.

THE MONSTER ISSUE



The issue that is over and above all other issues, but Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith do not choose to see it.

Waldman Turns X-Rays On The "New Tammany"

(Continued from Page 1)

has come over Tammany Hall since Al Smith set his eyes in the direction of the White House and gathered about him some of the best minds of the electric power trust and the transit trust and the union-smashing employing interests as advisors.

Tammany leaders I interviewed would give me no light on the nature of this change. Several Tammany office-holders were utterly silent, except for impressions of indignation, at my question, "Is it true that Tammany Hall today is less crooked than it used to be?"

It is to Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor,—he has long been a close observer of the inner workings of Tammany Hall, as a Socialist leader in the heart of the Tammany Hall stronghold on the lower East Side,—that I am indebted for a very clear exposition of the real change that has justified the label, the "New Tammany."

Waldman has been one of our most successful Socialist campaigners. He was elected to the State Legislature three times, twice over a fusion of both Republicans and Democrats. I believe that he owes much of his success to his penetrating studies of the inner workings of Tammany's blunder schemes and his ability to expose them in clear, arresting manner to the people.

Business of Smith's Tammany
"This is an era of business and industrial consolidation and concentration," explains Mr. Waldman. "The small business men must either become a big business man or go out of business."

"Tammany Hall has not gone out of business. That is the meaning of the 'New Tammany'. Al Smith has become a 'big-timer'. His new-found friends of industry and finance have taught him things that the old-line Tammany leaders could not have hoped to know."

"Henceforth, Tammany leaders will not be tolerated if they allow themselves to be caught at petty pilfering. There are really big things in store for Tammany if Smith ever gets to the White House, and Tammany ruffians must learn table manners or they'll not be in on the big feast."

"Just by way of illustrating the 'New Tammany', let me point out Al Smith's stand on the water power question. Water Power, you must realize, is the greatest undeveloped natural resource in the world. Ultimately, it will substitute coal power, gas power and much of man power as the great servant of industry and household convenience. In dollars and cents, the future scope of the water power industry is almost beyond calculation."

How the Gouging is Done
"Al Smith and the 'New Tammany' would like to control the destiny of this gigantic water power development. And what do they propose to do with it?"

"Why, the very same thing that the old, admittedly crooked Tammany did with the transit situation in New York. The City invested all the money for transit development, built the subways and turned them over to the private transit interests, guaranteeing them profits and conceding that the city should have no interest in its own property except to pay artificial deficits."

"Now, with private transit interests earning enormous sums out of the city's property and with the city standing millions of dollars in 'losses' placed upon the books by the crooked manipulation of stocks, the people are asked to pay a seven cent fare!"

"That is the very same thing that Al Smith would do with water power. Let

me quote Smith's own words, as published in the New York Times, March 5, 1926: "When we speak about furnishing cheaper light, heat and power we mean that we will furnish it cheaper to the distributing company than such company is now able to buy it from the privately owned and operating generating plant. As Owen D. Young (head of the General Electric Company) said:

"The cost of energy developed from falling water is determined very largely by the cost of capital employed in the development. A public corporation whose securities would be exempt from taxation under the Federal Law and the State Law should produce, if properly set up, the required money substantially cheaper than a private corporation could obtain it."

Al Smith is on record then, as confessing that he favors the General Electric Company's scheme to provide public funds for private operation of the water power development,—the very same scheme which, when applied to New York City's transit years ago earned for the Old Tammany the reputation of crookedness throughout the nation.

Contrast this with the clear cut statement on the subject in the State Socialist platform:

"Under the leadership of the late Charles P. Steinmetz, one of the world's leading engineers, the Socialists for years have fought for the conservation and development by the State of the water power resources. We favor the public development and ownership of all water power resources, in the state and the public distribution of hydro-electric energy to the people at cost."

The platform continues:
"We also favor more strict regulation of all public utilities. We favor a law making it impossible for public service commissioners and employees of the state regulatory commissions to practice before such bodies for two years after they have severed their connections with them. We favor making it a felony for a public service commissioner to solicit political contributions or any kind. We favor the recapture of all public utilities."

"No Danger Of Splitting Into Groups Over Partisan Political Issues"

IN a recent issue of The New Leader we called attention to the organization of a Labor Bureau by John J. Raskob, Democratic National Chairman, to boost Governor Smith as a "friend of labor." The members of the committee consist of men more or less active in the trade unions. The New Leader declared that the Republican National Committee would soon organize a similar committee as its funds were amply sufficient to afford it there would be no difficulty in getting labor men to serve it.

The Republican National Committee now announces the organization of the "Hoover for President Labor Council" and the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Hoover and Labor" which advertises Hoover as a "friend of labor." It carries the sob stuff one expects and does not differ from the output of the Smith Labor Bureau. The publicity of the latter is heavy on the poor boy who came "up from the city streets." The G. O. P. Labor Council declares that Hoover was "tossed into the world to earn his living" at the age of 12 and his "labor record is an open book."

In language almost identical with that used by the Smith Labor Bureau the Hoover Labor Council declares: "In supporting Mr. Hoover American workers will be voting for one of their own kind." Then collective bargaining is no more a mere theory with Herb than it is with Al. Moreover, Herb is for a protective tariff and we recall that Al landed with both feet on this "eternal principle."

Hoover's labor committee does not let Smith's labor committee have any advantage on the question of injunctions. Smith's platform modestly observed that the writ of injunction in labor troubles has been

Socialists Of Norway Defy Vicious Law

GENEVA.—The Norwegian Compulsory Labor Arbitration act of July 4, 1927, was the cause of a struggle this summer which tested it severely. It ended in a compromise, under which the decision of the Arbitration Court providing for a general wage cut of 12 per cent will not become fully effective until next May.

When the collective wage agreement of a number of Norwegian unions expired last spring their renewal was referred to the Arbitration Court, which ruled a reduction of 12 per cent all around, although the labor representatives insisted that the decline in the cost of living justified a cut of only 4 per cent. This award aroused great indignation among the masses of the workers, and in several cities the men in the building trades refused to recognize it and struck late in May.

As the Arbitration law makes it illegal to strike against a decision by the Arbitration Court, the union officials were compelled ostensibly to warn their members not to participate in such action. But the strike went on just the same and, in open defiance of the law against helping an illegal strike, 2,000 prominent members of the Norwegian Labor Party contributed one crown each to the strike fund and had their names printed in the official organ of the Young Socialists' organization.

In an attempt to enforce the law, fines of 500 crowns each were inflicted upon M. Osvik, Secretary of the Norwegian Labor Party; M. Mounsen, who was Minister of Defense in the short-lived Labor Government last winter; Helga Karlson, the only woman member of Parliament, and M. Olsen-Hagen.

They refused to pay and for a time there was talk of their going to jail, but it appears that the Government concluded that the sight of four Labor members of the Chamber of Deputies in prison for contributing to a strike fund, even though it was an illegal one, would be too good propaganda for the Labor Party, so there has been no report of their going behind the bars.

Thomas Emphasizes Labor Issues In Western Tour

(Continued from page 1)

leaders are Tammany first and labor a long ways afterwards. They talk of a non-partisan policy but by an eleventh hour trick in 1924 the executive committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council withdrew its endorsement of La Follette. In 1927 they almost tricked Judge Panken out of an endorsement. I have not the heart to multiply illustrations.

Labor's "Neutrality"
Let us turn instead to the present national situation. More by good luck than by any fear of labor's wrath the old parties nominated men who are too clever to be labor haters and who have what by labor's modest standards are counted good records. The result is that the A. F. of L. and the railroad unions are officially neutral. Smith labor votes will cancel Hoover labor votes and big business which owns both old parties will win!

So sure are Smith and Hoover that labor will not function effectively that they do not even take the trouble to make a real clear cut appeal on injunctions, the five day week, social insurance or any fundamental issue. They content themselves with pleasant generalities. Governor Smith, the darling of New York labor leaders in eight years has made no fight against injunctions and none for unemployment or old age insurance. His first act was to make Raskob, the open shopper, his national chairman and to seek the support of all Wall Street. Only the other day his principal newspaper supporter, the occasionally liberal New York World, published on its front page the news that one of the Jersey McCarters was out for Smith and might bring the notorious Public Service Corporation of New Jersey with him. In an inside page it said the liberal "New Republic" was for Smith. And that shows the relative importance of big business and of the labor-liberal crowd in his campaign! To the lover of labor's dignity it is a sickening spectacle to see Raskob appointing on Smith committees labor men whom he would throw out of his office if they

came to talk to him about organizing the DuPont industries or General Motors. How can the exploited so meekly accept the favors of the exploiter?

Would "Scare" Politicians
But, some honest labor men say, we are not strong enough yet to organize a winning party and by choosing the less of two evils we get something. Perhaps we do. But we get less than we would get by scaring the old party politicians by independent political action. More than any Len Small gave the workers of Illinois out of favor he or any other politician would have given them out of fear. What Al Smith gave the workers of New York was directly proportional not the praise of the Federation leaders but to the strength of the Socialist movement. When some workers sent Meyer London to Congress and later sent Socialists to Albany and City Hall, both the old parties began to talk welfare legislation. As I once heard Jimmy Walker say, "Tammany knows just how much to give the people and the size of the Socialist vote is the best barometer."

We are not concerned, however, so much for immediate crumbs as for the soul of labor. Bargaining for favors yet set men's souls on fire to win plenty peace and freedom for themselves and their children. Heroic organizers of labor were never political hucksters. Leaders who hang on to big business cocktails in politics cannot fight big business in unions. Only great ideals of justice, a great sense of wrong, a great hope of true right can stir American workers out of their apathy. "The trouble with us" a local West Virginia leader of the Mine Workers told me, "is that we lost our Socialist ideals. So we lost our strength." We do not want unions run by any party. But we cannot have strong unions without a philosophy and spirit which will find its own expression on the political field. Labor can no more trust an old party political Messiah than a benevolent boss in industry. The workers have their own passionate desires. They must have their own party to fulfill them. To awaken the desire for that party, to show labor what is and what might be, to sound forth again the trumpet call that shall never sound retreat, that is the purpose of the Socialist Party in America as in every country, in this as in every campaign.

Du Bois Fears for American Democracy

America, scene of the greatest experiment in democracy, may also be the greatest failure, writes W. E. B. Du Bois in the current Crisis. Disfranchisement of Negroes has created an oligarchy in the South, he points out, which has thrown the whole political order out of balance, and, he thinks, has made a third party impossible.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)
country has achieved some progressive legislation. It still has progressive feeling. The non-partisan league is virtually dead. Individual progressive leaders are looking after their own fences. Wheeler, who in 1924 told all over the United States his famous story to prove there isn't a quarter's worth of difference between the old parties is on the Democratic band wagon. Nye and Frazier of North Dakota, who couldn't find words hard enough for Hoover have endorsed him. Shipstead of Minnesota, nominally a Farmer-Laborite, is "lying low and ain't saying nothin'" about the presidential candidates. A lot of farmers, justly angry at Coolidge and Hoover, are threatening to vote for Smith, not that they think he offers much hope but as one of them put it, "to chastise the Republicans." The old story of voting against something, not for something, nevertheless unless the Republicans pull some awful homer or Smith works miracles they'll win through in these states as in the Middle West. And whether they do or don't won't make much more difference to the farmers than who wins the next World Series.

This situation is a challenge to us Socialists. Already there is much that is encouraging. We have fine locals at work in Duluth and Minneapolis; Comrade Mahlon Barnes is stirring up real interest in North and South Dakota (I was delighted with Fargo's meeting); Comrade Jimmy Graham, a manager of influence in his state and in the labor movement, is on the job in Montana and gives me encouraging reports. It's a joy to meet the comrades who often drive hundreds of miles to our meetings. A fine group came over to Spokane from our local in Coeur d'Alene where, let me tell you, it takes plain old-fashioned guts to be a Socialist.

From fragmentary reports in Western papers, I cannot accurately measure responsibility for what happened at the anti-Lewis miners' convention in Pittsburgh. Apparently a new dual union has come to violent birth. The Pittsburgh police played their usual repressive role. What part Lewis had in the riot I do not know. But I know that his tactics have provoked this general revolt and that on him even more than on the Communists, leaders must fall the blame for this tragic split in the forces of the miners when they most need unity. This is no justification of Communist politics. It is a recognition of facts. The only hope I see is if from the rank and file strength can arise to throw out all leaders of any and all factions who oppose unity and effective organization. Solidarity of organized workers, organization of the unorganized and nationalization of coal under Democratic management are the essentials of dealing with the tragedy of the coal fields.

Fascists Bar Radical Books From Libraries

The Fascist ban on "subversive" books has been widened considerably through circular sent to the managers of the Public Libraries of Italy by Signor Belluso, the new Minister of Education, says a report dated Milan, August 30th, appearing in the German press.
The librarians are said to have been ordered to make a thorough search of their stocks in order to see if it is true that they still have books written by Socialists, or treating of Socialist subjects, at the disposal of the public. The circular concludes with the admonition that, "Such a scandal must cease at once and all such books and pamphlets must be removed from the sight of the public and from use by visitors of the libraries."
The report in the German papers adds that for a long time no Italian booksellers have been allowed to handle the works of Jean Jaures, Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, H. G. Wells, Prince Kropotkin, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Upton Sinclair.

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A SOCIALIST VIEW OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The following is the report of an address delivered at the Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Forest Park, Pa., on June 28.

By James Oneal

BY economic determinism we mean the material factors at the basis of society. The answer to the question, "Is the Economic Interpretation of History Valid?" is yes. The materialistic conception of history is a more correct statement of the theory, although to many the definition appears to include some implications that are not intended. On the other hand the words "economic determinism" imply a casual basis of history that is too restricted to account for all the changes in society. It apparently ignores geography and climate and, strictly interpreted, it makes no allowance for the impact of religious, ethical and other ideas upon society or the survival of myths and taboos which shape the thinking and conduct of millions of peoples.

Man must eat before he can paint, write, dream or speculate. This appears to me to be fundamental. It is not the only factor in society but it is primary and it influences all other factors. How important the material factors are in explaining historical changes may be observed by comparing the work of modern historical scholars who accept this thesis with the work of those who wrote in terms of the great man, or of manifest destiny, or of the patriotic epic, or of politics, or military leaders or of religious influences. Compare the work of the patriotic Bancroft with that of Charles A. Beard on the making of the Constitution, or Bancroft with Schlesinger on the revolutionary period, and the importance of economics in unfolding the history of events immediately becomes evident.

Turner's Pioneer Work

It is not my purpose to expound theory. I shall leave that to others and will consider some of the important contributions that have been made to an understanding of American history by those scholars who have approached their problems in terms of geography, climate and economics. Perhaps the most illuminating work has been done by Frederick Jackson Turner in his numerous essays on sectional history and the influence of a moving frontier upon American life and American institutions. Much that had been a puzzle in our history has been made understandable by Turner and other students who eagerly followed the trails he opened up. Since his initial essay appeared in 1893, it may be truthfully said that the whole history of American politics has been rewritten and the whole economic and sectional life of the United States are understood, where before economic and political puzzles too often baffled the historians.

More Than a Sectional Struggle

One criticism may be made of much of this work. Turner and his disciples have shown that, as population moved westward since the first settlements on the Atlantic Seaboard, a struggle has been waged between the capitalistic East and the agrarian West. This antagonism of interest continued till the frontier line disappeared on the Pacific Coast, but some writers have interpreted each section as though its population was a solid whole without any economic conflicts within it. This was generally true of the newly formed communities in the moving West. They formed a sectional society of comparative equals and had no internal economic divisions till they became settled areas and the frontier line had passed much farther west. As a whole these frontier areas were more or less in conflict with the commercial, land speculating, and banking section of the East.

But the East was not a section in the sense that the frontier West was. Economic stratification was apparent in New England before the end of the seventeenth century. Town proprietors and land speculators of the East were already exploiting the frontiersmen of the Connecticut Valley and farther west. Fortunes were beginning to accumulate from investments in land, ship building, and commerce and with them control of the colonial assemblies by mercantile, shipping and commercial capitalists with a state clergy as allies. When one referred to the West it included the whole population, but reference to the East as a section is misleading. Its upper classes constituted the "section," for they alone had the power to speak and act for the East.

A similar misuse of terms is occasionally observed by writers who have considered the struggle between the North and the South. It is frequently referred to as a war between the two sections, as though each region was the home of a people who had no economic differences and conflicts. It is true that the North constituted a society based on industrial and banking capital and the South on large estates and slaves and that the Civil War was a struggle for mastery between the leaders of the two social orders, but even while the controversy was being settled to the roar of cannon, the economic antagonism between East and West raged, not only in the North but in the South as well. In the North, the economic antagonism may be observed in the opposition of the agrarian West to the tariff and financial policy of the government which favored New England and Pennsylvania capitalists, the bankers, and war contractors. In the South, the upland sections held few slaves and their population of small farmers, mechanics, and laborers feared the great planters of the East and the lower South. The ruling planters had never permitted the interior and upland sections to have the representation they were entitled to by reason of their numbers. It is evident that the South as a section was not a solid economic and social unit and that the North was disturbed by economic class antagonisms. In the South, the conflict between East and West resulted in the secession of western Virginia from Vir-

ginia and, in eastern Tennessee, it brought civil war between its population and the Confederate forces. In the North, the conflict of interest between the capitalistic East and the agrarian West resulted in an attempted insurrection to attach Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky to the Confederacy. In the fall elections of 1863 Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were carried by the Democrats who frankly appealed to the voters on a program which denounced the capitalist and banking classes of the East.

It is thus seen that geography may to some extent explain the origin of peculiar sectional areas, but economics is required to explain class antagonisms within each section and between the sections. Today the sectional antagonism is apparent between the agricultural West and the capitalist East and this conflict induced Senator Nye recently to suggest the possibility of a third party uniting the West and South against the East. The idea appears reasonable on the basis of sectional history and conflict, but it becomes absurd and harmful when subjected to the test of economic analysis. The East against which the Senator would organize contains millions of wage workers who are as much in need of representation at Washington as the farmers of the West and South are. These illustrations show how limited geographical and sectional interpretation of politics is and how important economics is in understanding changing America and how vital such understanding is for rational and progressive political action.

Economics and Slavery

Another example of the importance of the economic factor is the history of the slave economy in the South. The geographical or sectional influence of this region has been a constant factor since settlement times but its social order and the ideas of its ruling class in the last two decades before the Civil War were in marked contrast with the South of the days of Washington, Jefferson and Madison. In the days of the ascendancy of these statesmen there was a general sentiment in the South for the emancipation of the slaves. Slavery was regarded as a wasteful form of production and as a standing contradiction to the idealistic abstractions of the Declaration of Independence. Slave owners here and there manumitted their slaves and others were willing to release their bondmen if some intelligent system of colonization were worked out. With the exhaustion of the soils of the upper South and emigration to the West of its most vigorously human stock, the economic and political power of Virginia gradually passed to the great planters of the Lower South. Cotton replaced tobacco as king and Virginia masters turned to slave breeding to supply the rapidly expanding cotton kingdom.

The profitable returns from the cultivation of cotton wrought a revolution in the ideas of the southern ruling class. Perhaps in no other section of the world has there been such a complete transformation in such a short period. A philosophy of human bondage which included white and black laborers was the intellectual phase of the economic transformation. The philosophical creed of the revolutionary period was subjected to devastating criticism. The new philosophy conquered every phase of the intellectual life of the southern leaders. It was formulated in terms of history, science, religion, ethics, politics, journalism, literature and philosophy. Its substance was that the southern ruling class had discovered the solution of the social enigma which had puzzled the philosophers since the days of Plato and Aristotle. In brief, it declared that subjection of laborers, white and black, to the discipline, control and ownership of the master of lands and industries was the basis of a noble and enduring social order. Education and the franchise should be withheld from the working class. Northern capitalism was to find escape from strikes and the agitation of dangerous "isms" by disfranchising the workers and binding them in perpetual servitude to the owners of industry. The western lands were to be parcelled out in great estates with black and white laborers bound to serve the owners. Professor Dodd declares that "Every newspaper of every state, so far as I have been able to check them, accepted the ideal." The gospel of perpetual servitude was carried to the North in lectures by George Fitzhugh and others, while leading exponents of it corresponded with men abroad in the hope of winning the ruling classes over the world by this propaganda.

This philosophy had been rounded out into a formidable system of sociology by the year 1850, when the economic power of the Cotton Kingdom had been concentrated into the hands of four or five thousand families. Efforts failed and the southern philosophy was shot to pieces by northern armies.

One can understand why slavery found a setting in the rich soil and warm climate of the South, but the evolution of this philosophy of servitude can only be understood when interpreted in terms of the economics of cotton culture. The former dominion of tobacco could not produce it and did not produce it, as tobacco culture did not have the possibilities of large economic returns which cotton had.

The Rule of the Wise and Rich

Geography, soil and climate may also explain why manufacturers should appear in the North, but, as these are also constant factors, they cannot explain the changes in the social order of this region since the revolution nor the decline of the aristocratic ideas of Otis, Ames and Webster in the thirties, nor can they solve

the peculiar contradictions involved in the War of 1812.

Merchant and commercial capital formed the basis of the New England social order in the colonial period and into the period of the second war with England when considerable capital invested in commerce was transferred to manufactures. As manufacturing became an important interest, free trade New England transferred its allegiance to tariff duties. Webster changed his political creed which favored free trade, to views favoring protective tariffs and even accepted large sums of money contributed by mill owners to keep him in Washington as a spokesman for their economic interests. Geography, soil and climate do not explain these shifts in political views but the changing economic order does.

However, the aristocratic views of the old Federalist school survived this shift from a commercial to a manufacturing basis in New England. The philosophy of rule by the "wise and good and rich" may be found in the writings and speeches of the Federalist merchants, journalists and politicians after the New England mill owners became the ruling class of this section. Webster could frankly assert in his Plymouth Oration in 1820 that political power belongs to those who own the property of the nation and that all the revolutions in history are revolutions in property. He opposed the extension of the suffrage to those who were without property. This continued to be the attitude of the Federalists and their successors, the Whigs, till after the second election of Jackson in 1832. It finally dawned upon the custodians of the aristocratic tradition that they could not win elections by asserting it in the face of a rapidly extending manhood suffrage. As early as 1808, Rufus King had advised that the aristocratic politicians should go with the popular stream, not against it, with the view of regaining political control. The Jacksonian Democrats won with sincere appeals to the farmers and mechanics in 1828 and 1832 and sharp attacks on the banking and capitalist classes. However, with the success of Van Buren in 1836, Jacksonian Democracy was becoming an appetite for office and there was more

demagogy than sincerity in the appeals of the Democratic politicians.

The Technique of Controlling The Suffrage

The whig aristocrats finally learned the lesson. They stored their aristocratic views in the attic with their wigs and silk breeches and went to the masses with demagogic appeals to the farmers and laborers in 1840 and they won the election. Webster, Otis and others of the die-hard aristocrats had not changed their views, but, facing the reality of almost complete manhood suffrage, they changed their tactics. The pompous gentlemen looking down on workers as "bores" and "mudsills" was perfectly proper in the Federalist days of property qualifications for the suffrage, but it was ridiculous and futile before masses armed with the ballot. It is from this election in 1840 that we may date the general practice in American politics of concealing from the voters the real aims of the party managers and their financial backers. In the old days, when gentlemen with property, the lawyers and clergy, monopolized politics and office-holding, there was a general acceptance of the view that possession of property was essential to the exercise of political privileges. The ruling classes regarded general manhood suffrage with apprehension, believing that property would not be safe in the hands of a propertyless voting multitude.

A cautious extension of the suffrage revealed that they could control the actions and shape the views of the masses. The price of this control was to play the demagogue before the voters, exchange buncombe for their votes, transform the votes into governing power, and then use the power for mill owners, land speculators, or slave owners. The invention of the telegraph in 1835 and of the rotary press in 1847 revolutionized journalism and enormously enhanced the power of party publications over the minds of the voters.

The War of 1812

There have been puzzles in our history that baffled reasonable explanation until the economic historians appeared on the scene. The most remarkable of these puzzles was the War of

1812, a war ostensibly waged in defense of American commerce and yet opposed by commercial New England to the extent of opposing subscriptions to war loans, refusing the service of state militias, and plotting reunion with the British Empire through union with Canada. Here was a war evidently fought for the defense of New England shipping and commerce yet the merchant, shipping and commercial classes, whose incomes were at stake, were ranged in bitter opposition to the war. How explain this on the score of economic interests? Then it was the new generation of politicians like Calhoun and Clay from the South and West, regions that had no shipping or commercial capital, who insisted on war. Apparently the economic motive explained nothing. Historians down to a recent period explained these contradictions by simply ascribing to the ruling classes of New England narrow and parochial views and to the new school of politicians from the South and West a "nationalist" point of view.

The recent researches of Julius W. Pratt show that the economic motive was operative in both regions. It is true that New England shippers had long suffered because of British impressment of American seamen but the merchants, shippers and commercial men of New England also feared the rise of the agrarian West and South to control at Washington. As for British impressment of American seamen, it was an annoyance, to be sure, but there was compensation in the knowledge that enlistments of British deserters to American ships were as large or even larger than the number of American sailors seized by the British. If there was any economic loss because of the British policy it was small.

On the other hand, the "War Hawks" from the agrarian interior, which possessed no ships or sailors, no ports or seaborne commerce, certainly cared little for New England's investments in commerce. What they wanted was agrarian expansion through the annexation of Canada, to destroy the Indian barriers to fertile lands and the fur trade in the West, and to destroy British influence with the western Indians which checked western expansion. In the South, the planters had long regarded East and

West Florida as a barrier to the expansion of the planter system and the thick vegetation and swamps of this region also offered a refuge for fugitive slaves. The Southwest also had dreams of the conquest of Mexico.

Professor Pratt has shown that the war had its supporters "not only in the Northwest but along the whole frontier from New Hampshire to Georgia" and the composition of the war party in Congress consisted of members overwhelmingly representative of this long frontier line. It is evident that if the agrarian interests succeeded in their ambitious program, a swarm of new agrarian states would enter the Union and New England interests would be outvoted at Washington. There were other economic factors involved in this political struggle, but it is sufficient to show that only a more thorough study of the economics of the period has enabled the historians to solve the contradictions of the political struggle of that period.

I wish to observe here, in answer to Mr. Goldenweiser, that one might carry on extensive research into the geographic, climatic, patriotic, religious and ethical factors to unravel these puzzles in American history and this research would be fruitless. It was a more intensive study of the economics of these puzzles that enabled us to understand them.

Hidden Motives

Finally, it is important to point out that statesmen, politicians and leaders of ruling groups never bare their real motives, especially their economic motive.

Vast Audience Greet Thomas In The West

(Continued from page 1)

ment is rooted deeply in the labor movement which seems to be the best organized of any American city. The meeting in the Labor Temple and the unrestrained enthusiasm of the audience was an inspiration.

The appeal for campaign contributions brought a liberal response from the audience. The large quantity of literature brought to the meeting proved inadequate to satisfy the audience. Every piece was sold and more could have been disposed of.

Albert Streiff, leader of the Portland movement, presided. When it was all over a large part of the audience cheered Thomas on his way to the train that would take him to his next meeting.

Thomas Visits Mooney

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 15.—The two days spent by Norman Thomas in San Francisco were eventful ones. They started with a big meeting in Eagles Hall, San Francisco, Saturday night, and were followed the next day with a visit to Tom Mooney and Mathew Schmidt in San Quentin penitentiary, a radio address broadcast over the six largest stations in the West, a meeting in Oakland Saturday night and, on Sunday morning, a flight by air over 500 miles from San Francisco to Los Angeles.

Comrade Thomas and his party made a hurried trip from the famous San Francisco ferry house Friday evening to Eagles Hall where the meeting was already in progress, with Cameron H. King as chairman. Though Thomas had never before visited San Francisco he received an ovation from the audience which brought them to their feet with cheers. Here as everywhere, the Socialist literature and papers were in great demand, particularly The World, the western campaign organ, now enlarged and published under the able editorship of John Kenneth Turner. Claessens who preceded Thomas, drew round after round of laughter and applause when he described the famous Albany ouster of 1920 and the part played in it by Governor Smith and the Democratic members of the state legislature.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Thomas had to remain for almost an hour to shake the hands of his countless well-wishers and supporters. The visit to Mooney and Schmidt the next morning was a revelation of the character of the famous victim of the Preparedness Day frame up of 1916. Thomas was accompanied by King, Claessens, and your correspondent. The visitors were not prepared to find two men, "lifers," who had been behind prison bars 11 years and 13 years, convicted of crimes of which they are believed innocent, in such a balanced and even cheerful frame of mind. Schmidt has been jailed because of an alleged part in the famous McNamara case in Los Angeles.

Mooney is working incessantly for his freedom. He refuses adamantly to ask for a pardon, else he might get the impression that Mooney's interest in the labor movement is what is keeping him in prison. Perhaps if he had given signal of being a broken man the State of California might have persuaded itself to free this man who has been declared innocent by his trial judge, his jurors and others connected with the case.

For a time Mooney was not well, at one time in fact he was in a critical situation. Saturday when he spoke to Thomas the others in the reception room at San Quentin he looked well. A bit thin, but sun-burned, clear-eyed and vigorous. For all his outward appearance he was on the third day of a fast prescribed by the prison

Slave owners obtained psychic compensation and even religious justification from the slave trade on the ground that souls otherwise lost were brought to a knowledge of the Christian religion. Coolidge does not wage an undeclared war against Nicaragua for American bankers but to "preserve order" in Central America. We did not enter the World War for economic reasons but for the holy purpose of "making the world safe for Democracy." The economic motive is near, always concealed and it often required diligent research to reveal it.

Lincoln was aware of the defense mechanisms which are employed to disguise the real motives of men. "Public opinion is founded, to a great extent," he said, "on a property basis. What lessens the value of property is opposed; what enhances its value is favored. . . . The property basis will have its weight" which "often makes a man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle." In a paper read before the American Economic Association in December, 1918, Professor William F. Ogburn showed the variety of forms which psychic disguises of economic motives take and which, in Lincoln's phrase, often make a man's "conduct a riddle." Professor Ogburn concludes that it is "permissible to think of the economic motive as harnessing in its train, at various times, quiet a variety and number of the instincts."

Economic determinism is valid if it includes geography, climate, and the survival of taboos, prejudices, and superstitions which had their origin in previous economic eras. I know of no other formula which explains so much and that is so reliable in enabling us to interpret the complex forces of changing human society.

physician during which he took nothing but water.

Mooney spoke to Thomas whom he had never met before but whom he immediately addressed as "Norman," of his plans for carrying on his fight for freedom. Thomas in turn assured him of the full support of himself and the Socialist party.

Schmidt, almost entirely forgotten by all but a loyal few, proved himself as much a philosopher as Mooney. Matt Schmidt in his more than score of years behind the black walls of San Quentin had worked out quite a unique prison philosophy. Undoubtedly he needed, too, for the men of the two famous labor prisoners was a cheering contrast with that of the other convicts who appeared beaten, broken and listless creatures who had once been men.

Schmidt complimented Thomas on the fact that he would probably not be elected to the presidency. To be elected, he held, would be a disgrace. The outside world did not deserve a Socialist president, he said.

"That's why there is so little sentiment on the part of many prisoners to get out of here,—the world is too lousy," Schmidt declared with a smile. "There is more freedom in jail than outside," he said. "More free speech here than there is outside. What the hell would they do to me in here for talking my mind? Put me in jail?"

Mooney and Schmidt felt that they had found more solidarity in jail than outside. They are evidently cronies. Mooney works as a gardener, while Schmidt is a first class engineer. He has worked out plans for a new jute mill which the prison expects to install.

As Thomas and his party were leaving, Mooney threw out a suggestion. "Herbert Hoover is a Californian," he said. "I wonder what he thinks about my case?" Thomas replied that he would do his best to find out.

3,000 At Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 16.—Flying five hundred miles by airplane, Norman Thomas arrived today from San Francisco, and addressed a large gathering. The meeting took place in Trinity auditorium and was one of the greatest political meetings that Los Angeles has had in a long time. More than three thousand people turned out for the demonstration. The enthusiasm was extraordinary. The large crowd gave Thomas a thunderous ovation. Over \$1,700 were collected for the campaign.

The largest contribution was given by Mrs. Kate Crane Garz of Pasadena. She gave \$1,000. The chairman of the meeting was the well known American writer, Upton Sinclair. Besides Thomas, Lena Morrow Lewis, Socialist candidate for Senator, spoke. The Workman's Circle furnished musical program.

Following the meeting, Comrade Thomas left for Salt Lake City. The Socialists of Los Angeles are getting ready now to receive the Socialist vice-presidential candidate, James H. Maurer.

The meeting with Comrade Thomas has given a great impetus to the Socialist movement here. Comrade Parsons, who was formerly connected with the Farmer Labor Party, is the campaign manager.

Jobs Scarce for Women Over 35

While increasing hordes of men, tossed out of industry at the deadline of 45, boost unemployment figures into the millions, the woman over 35 is finding herself in the same predicament.

To study the problem, \$25,000 has been set aside by a New York philanthropist, who estimates that every year 30,000 young girls are graduated from business schools in New York City alone. Emphatic appearance he was on the third day of a fast prescribed by the prison

Another View Of Equal Income

A Letter to George Bernard Shaw In Criticism of His Theory of Distribution of Wealth

By Warren Atkinson

Mr. George Bernard Shaw, London, England.

Dear Comrade Shaw: Having read the reviews of your late book, I am wondering why you, who could not breathe the atmosphere of conformity without suffocation, should wish to reduce the rest of us to a dreary uniformity. Perhaps you feel intuitively that you would still yourself be a sport and the more brilliantly the exception while all the rest of us conform to a monotonous uniformity.

I am wondering why equality of incomes would be any more comfortable than equality of shoes. Simplicity seems to be the only advantage to recommend it; and certainly it would greatly simplify the making of shoes to make them all alike. The only objection to equality of shoes is that scarcely anybody would be comfortably fitted; and the same objection applies to equality of income. Those who needed better shoes would not be permitted to have them. Any incentive which there is in the fancy for finer shoes could not be used to stimulate individual effort to the greater social good.

If remuneration were to be based upon the need of the individual, it could not be equal. On the other hand, remuneration based upon the value of the work done by the individual could not be equal without ignoring facts. Facts are stubborn things, and there are differences in the work of different individuals which simply cannot be ignored for very long. Therefore, equality of pay has no reason in nature or economic laws to support it. It cannot be defended either from the standpoint of justice, because it is unjust, or from the standpoint of utility, because there is no use or advantage in it.

Indeed it is hard to understand how such a fanciful idea could be lodged in a mind like that of our beloved Shaw. Only the reiteration of the thought in the following quotations from the Intelligent Woman's Guide makes it necessary to consider it seriously:

"The first and last commandment of Socialism is Thou shalt not have greater or less income than thy neighbor."

"Anything less than absolute equality of income is a sham and worthless Socialism."

The Nation (New York) says: "The heart of the argument which beats on every page is that Socialism means equality of incomes. Any future state or political program or ism, however admirable, which is not based on equality of income is not Socialism."

Views of Other Writers

Where is the authority for such an interpretation of Socialism? Is this not a merely individual conception? It would be interesting to know if any definite statement can be found to support it in any official declaration of a duly delegated body with authority to speak for Socialists anywhere in the world. The Gotha Program is one; but it was in condemnation of this declaration and particularly of this part of it that Marx stated his own position. He said in his own laborious style that inasmuch as the work of individuals is not equal, the

incomes would have to be unequal. Socialist platforms do not refer to it, leaving the intelligent reader to draw his own conclusions. It is true that a number of writers who were widely read as Socialists set up this proposition for a utopia. But distinguished literary men have glorified others of the fallacies and myths with which suffering humanity has been bedeviled; and no one has been more able and courageous than yourself in dispelling such myths. So the fact that an author like Edward Bellamy in Looking Backward makes this the fundamental idea in an economic fairy tale does not make the Socialists of the world sponsors for it. At one time the Socialist editors in this country labored distractedly, because on occasions they felt called upon to defend it. Equality of pay for all kinds of work is not a defensible proposition, and our editors are now cautious about making any statement which would allow that inference. Likewise the authors referred to have revised their sentences, making them non-committal; or they omit reference to the subject. Others subscribe to a definite statement that equality of pay is not an essential part of the Socialist aim.

Believes View Futile

It is in the review by the New York Times that the following quotation occurs: "Socialism is concerned with the distribution of wealth and the nature of property." Then, if Socialism does not offer a workable principle for the distribution of wealth it is reduced to futility. An attempt to carry on production, distribution, and all the functions of our social organism, paying every worker the same, would be worse than futility; it would shortly end in disaster, and would totally destroy public confidence in the political party, communist or other, which should so ignore plain facts.

The economic law which now determines the relative pay for different kinds of work when it is not obstructed by human intervention is the law of supply and demand. This law is much respected and used by capitalist economists, and they talk as though they have the patent rights to it. Some Socialist writers accept that view and think they must accept and finally abolish it. The law of supply and demand will not be abolished, however, because it is a natural law of human relations wherever people are engaged in production and service.

Certainly the monstrous inequalities of income now due to capitalist ownership of the industrial equipment will be done away with by Socialism. In the higher categories of income it has been established under oath that more than 99% of the income is received for the ownership of socially used property and less than one half of one percent for some supposed service performed by the beneficiaries of the great incomes. Socialism would abolish such inequality. Socialism would reduce the inequalities to the natural and healthy differences in the social value of labor of different kinds. It would abolish all incomes derived from exploitation; but it could not make incomes equal; nor would it be desirable to do so even if it were possible. Equal pay for all kinds of work is neither just

nor would it serve any useful purpose. In the authoritative declarations of the duly delegated representatives the Socialists have not declared any such aim so far as I know. I have not read all the official papers of the Socialist movement in more than a score of different languages. Can Comrade Shaw put his finger upon one such official declaration of aim?

Unequal Wealth

Unequal pay would lead, it is true, to unequal accumulation of wealth. It would offer unequal incentives to different kinds of work, larger pay, that is the greater incentive for the kind of work which needs most urgently to be done. It is impossible to prevent this. Even Bernard Shaw will develop what he calls his lucrative talents. It is a desirable and even necessary means of automatically stimulating the production of things which society needs. Unequal wealth does not imply or make possible the private ownership of socially necessary resources and equipment for production; nor does it enable the wealthy to exploit labor, unless society organized as a government fails in its primary duty. Its first fundamental duty is to protect the individual in his right of access to the natural resources and industrial equipment without which no one is able to work. When society protects the individual in this right and provides him the opportunity to work for a just remuneration under good conditions no one will be compelled to submit to exploitation by the wealthy. The power of the capitalist lies in the fact that he is performing a function which society should take care of itself.

Under Socialism the pay of individuals may be determined just as it is determined now by the ordinary action of supply and demand. This is a plain and convincing answer to the problem; but, like any rough and ready answer, it may require some qualification and a statement of the conditions which are demanded when it is made. Supply and demand will adjust the pay for different occupations very exactly to the social value of each when the occupations are open to everybody upon equal conditions and these conditions are widely known, and when the private ownership of the industrial equipment no longer limits the demand for labor artificially to the opportunities for private profit. Supply and demand will not adjust the wages of different occupations fairly so long as it can be thwarted by monopoly power or private interests in control of socially necessary means of production.

It is with a real pang of regret that an admirer reads this serious error in your exposition of Socialism. In my opinion it impairs the value of a great service you have done to the English speaking peoples and to the whole world. Your sharp wit cleaves for you a way through prejudice and indolence. You let the light into many well meaning but dull minds. Your shining blade flashes in many dark places where others like the writer could never follow. What a disappointment that our bright armored knight, the one we have watched with delight, should be so easily unhorsed because he gives expression to such a faulty idea for all kinds of work is neither just

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

POOR, LONELY MR. MARKLE

WELL, boys and girls, a lot of you may be looking for new flats, or apartments if you'd rather, these days. So I think you'll be interested to meet Mr. John Markle.

This is about the only way you'll get to meet John, as I doubt if you will bump into him in any of the circles through which you swing.

As a matter of fact, I met Johnny only in print, in a magazine called "The New Yorker," which is supposed to be read by smart people exclusively. And to be "smart" in "The New Yorker" sense, you've got to be exclusive, socially, I mean.

Well, anyhow, it seems, according to this magazine piece that Johnny has a forty-one room apartment at 106 Fifth Avenue that set him back only three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. But in addition to this mite there are alterations, decorations and so forth that will tote up to a million dollars.

This new flat of John's is called a duplex. That means it has stairs in it that you go up to the flat above.

It may be a tough winter for John as he will have to stagger along with only eighteen servants. The story says that he "lives alone with his servants."

It must be that John is a bit retiring. At any rate, living with eighteen other people in the same apartment doesn't strike us as being exactly "alone."

But then I forget. You never talk to servants on Fifth Avenue, just motion at them for champagne or a yacht or whatever you may be out of at the moment.

Although the story doesn't say so, I take it that John is for Hoover. You see, John was able to save up for the pennies he scrapped together as a coal operator in Wilkes-Barre. It was just hard plugging along and steady devotion to duty that got John into that duplex and don't think for a moment that we Socialists think otherwise. We know that good, old American thrift and turning up at the office promptly at nine o'clock every morning will get the humblest coal operator anywhere he wants. That is the great beauty of our system of what Hoover calls "equal opportunity."

I figure that John must be for Hoover because Hoover has always been for John and the other coal operators. Didn't Herbert help bust the dirty miners' union wide open. You bet he did, good, old Herbert—always the friend of those who like him, work with their hands. At any rate, Herbert said in a speech that he worked with his hands, and certainly he hasn't done much work with his head in this campaign.

But that's no reason why the Al Smith "progressives" shouldn't go after John and try to get him to go Democratic. There's a lot of time between now and election and Al's John, John Raskob, ought to be pretty thick with Markle. He ought to know most everybody in the country who can blow in a million bucks on a forty-one room apartment.

Then what a satisfaction it would be to Johnny Markle to sit in his thirty-ninth room and say to himself, "Well, old man, whatever else you may be, you are a Progressive. Didn't the Democratic publicity crowd put your name along with Frank Walsh and Fred Howe as belonging to that Progressive group which is supporting Smith?"

Sometimes on the long trek to the bath-room past walls described as "panelled in imported antique oak, pine and other woods" or being carried by twelve of the servants up "the great, commanding stair-case of wrought iron and bronze," John could hum to himself "The Sidewalks of New York" and smile at his reflection in one of the 638 mirrors wearing a brown derby.

He might even find that his butler, Merlemont, was a Smith man too, and that might break the ice and the two, master and man, could sit before the 350th fireplace toasting their shins together in true democratic fashion.

But we started off to worry about Mr. Markle being lonely, all by himself in those forty-one rooms and we have a humble suggestion to make to John.

We happen to know that there are several thousand coal-miners who are sitting up nights right now and doing a bit of wondering.

They are wondering just how they are going to get through another winter out in board barracks in Northern West Virginia, for example, with relief funds from a crippled union getting lower and lower and the kids getting thinner and colder.

To be sure, they haven't done right by John Markle and John Raskob and Herbert Hoover. They went on strike for decent wages and living conditions not realizing the wonderful "equality of opportunity" that this country affords every honest worker or how glorious it is to live under a capitalist system such as America's instead of under some seditious Socialist commonwealth such as they have abroad.

They were pretty dumb people and they hadn't heard that "The American wage-earner gets higher wages than any other wage earner in the world." All they had understood was that the American wage earner pays more for his food and clothes than any other wage earner in the world. And so they struck. And that's where they made their big mistake as Markle and Mellon and Hoover and the rest pointed out to them with injunctions and evictions and State police.

Now, of course, we don't want to crowd Mr. Markle but we just have a hunch that one or two of these families who haven't seen a regular bed since God knows when, might somehow be parked for the winter in one of those forty-one rooms. As a matter of fact, just a fire-place would look like a mansion to some of them.

Or perhaps they could double up with some of the eighteen servants. Then John wouldn't have to see them any more than he does most of the servants.

I don't know exactly what they would do to pass the time away, as a lot of these ignorant coal-diggers like to read. And about the last thing they could find in 1060 Fifth Avenue would be a book.

But then there isn't much in the way of what we who read "The New Yorker" call "divertissement" in a board shack on the hills of northern West Virginia. The main use for newspapers and other reading matter down there is stuffing the cracks in the walls to keep out the freezing wind.

On the whole, I think the miners could somehow manage to pass the time profitably in Mr. Markle's duplex and I'm sure that when Merlemont shows him this column of The New Leader he'll snap at the chance to show how really progressive he is.

MAXIMILIAN COLEMAN

"This Is Norman Thomas"

6—Thomas And Laidler Team

By W. E. Woodward

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

IT WAS some time in 1918, when political and social systems seemed falling overnight, that the League which had grown mightily by the time, held a dinner to celebrate the sweep of revolutionary forces abroad. One of the speakers at that dinner was a newcomer—Norman Thomas and after the enthusiasts were done, he arose with a shrewd analysis of conditions in America.

"Only Norman Thomas," said a diner, "representing America was unable to present a revolution to us on a silver platter."

It was about this time that there was formed a team famous in radical circles in America—the team of Thomas and Laidler.

Laidler is preeminently a research man, with a flock of books and pamphlets on economic, political and social matters to his credit. After graduating from Wesleyan, he came down from New York, and wrote his Ph.D. thesis, which was later made into a book, on the theme of "Boycotts and the Labor Struggle," a work which set a standard in the field of labor economics. He passed his bar examination, but found nothing in the law to feed his interest in the rebellious labor movement. He went over heart and soul to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, edited their little magazine, "The Intercollegiate Socialist," which won a unique place in the radical literature of 1913-1919, and spoke wherever there was a breach in academic walls, or an audience of undergraduates, no matter how small, to give him ear. And now there came to join him, on this collective adventure, the towering Thomas, to whose elbow Harry's head scarcely reaches. When you see them together, Thomas striding across a college campus or into a labor meeting, with Harry trotting along beside him, the physical contrast is amusing. But mentally they are a hand-in-glove affair. Thomas providing the emotional fire to Laidler's intellectual fuel.

With the "American Plan" of the open-shoppers, Dawes' Minute Men, the professional patriotic organizations, chambers of commerce, the Klan and the American Legion, all combined to restore normalcy to America and busting the unions wide open, the harassed workers tightened their belts and started a series of strikes in retaliation. It was as usual the coal-miners and the textile workers, and those proletarians among the railroad "aristocrats," the shopmen, who bore the brunt of this unequal warfare.

Reading The Constitution By Candle-Light
Over in Passaic the strikers of the Amalgamated Textile Workers were barred from halls and forbidden to hold meetings. They called on the Civil Liberties Union for help, and by candle light a few intrepid souls read aloud the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, and that part of New Jersey's constitution which upholds the principle of free speech. Next door, in Paterson, the silk workers were striking, under the leadership of Evan Thomas, Norman's brother, who had come out of jail, and clemency and the progressive labor movement through all the tortures that a "liberal government" could devise for the break-

ing of the spirit of the conscientious objector.

In both of these precursors to the great Passaic strike in 1926, Norman was decidedly active. For one who had no official connection with the organized labor movement, he performed as organizer, collector of relief funds, tactician, publicist and all-around handy man, with an energy and proficiency which won him the respect of the veterans in the movement, many of whom were, and still are, violently antipathetic to Thomas' economics.

He was still editing "The World Tomorrow" then, and in 1921 he took on another journalistic job, that of Associate Editor of Oswald Garrison Villard's "The Nation," that weekly journal in which truth shines candle-like in the darkness of a world given over to the rapacity of innumerable greedy interests. For a year he worked at his desk in Vesey Street. And then in 1922, while still retaining on official connection with "The Nation" to which at present he is one of the contributing editors, he gave himself wholly to the League work, acting as Director with Harry Laidler.

A Director for the League of Industrial Democracy is a job that makes up in color, excitement, and variety of experience for what it lacks in the way of financial return. A description of a typical Thomas week would take you from the attendance at three or four meetings, conferences with labor leaders, addresses to strikers in sweating halls on the East Side, to the writing of economic pamphlets and quiet talks with classes in sociology on some remote campus. In between times you would throw in a stream of visitors, from some lone-wolf radical from the farm belt, anxious to tell Thomas all about his panacea for agriculture, to a copy-hunting reporter, sure to obtain a human-interest interview with a man who has the respect and in many cases the fervid admiration, of almost every New York newspaper man. Let it be said here and now, and very loudly and clearly that in spite of the fact that it's a rare week indeed when Thomas' name does not appear in the headlines, he has never been bitten by any insidious publicity bug. Nor on the other hand, is he one who professes to shun publicity, for to he subscribes to a half-dozen press clipping bureaus. Realizing all to well the weakness of the labor and radical press, Thomas knows that until there is something better coming along, there is nothing for it but the old-line papers. He knows further what is and what isn't news, and no windy and undocumented denunciation of the status quo emerges from his office. When he has something to say, he says it, and to the point. And in every newspaper office in town that fact is appreciated. Statements from Thomas get printed.

Editor of a New York Daily
Thomas was to have a brief, but highly instructive contact with the day-by-day business of running a labor paper in New York. "The New York Call," under the leadership of the militant Charles W. Ervin, had made a gallant fight for Socialism and the progressive labor movement through the black days of reaction. But it had paid the price in the loss of

advertisers, and the falling away of more faint-hearted of its subscribers. It was decided to enlarge the functions of "The Call," to make it a paper that would appeal to the interests of the New York workers outside of the field of Socialist activities, and Norman Thomas was selected by representatives of the more progressive unions for this man-sized job. He gathered together a staff which in the opinion of many old newspaper men had not been equalled since the days of the old "New York Sun." Heber Blankenhorn, himself trained in the "Sun" tradition of accuracy tinged with a mellow humor, Evans Clark, who later on was to write the leading editorials on labor matters for "The New York Times," Howard Brubaker, that most brilliant of columnists, Herbert Gaston, now on the staff of "The New York World," Paul Sifton, playwright and crack reporter, fresh from covering the Herrin riot for the United Press, Edward Levinson, now the capable assistant editor of "The New Leader," Joseph Fleissner, who since then has done so much to make motion pictures bearable, Edmund Duffy, whose cartoons for "The Baltimore Sun" are reproduced the country over, "Bill" Feigenbaum, encyclopedia of Socialism, that gentle soul and interpreter of labor's aspirations, Hyman Walker—these and others of high standing in the newspaper world came together at Thomas' call to do something which no one had been able to accomplish in New York—namely the publication of a paper which would serve the interests of the city's three hundred thousand organized workers. The daily "New York Leader" which the staff turned out set up standards of journalism for future generations of labor reporters to shoot at. To the bewilderment of many old-time labor editors, it did not confine itself to detailed accounts of local union meetings, adulations of officials, or lengthy treatises on trade-union policies. It went straight to the homes of the workers with sports stories on the front page. And it covered the largest murders, not as fully and gruesomely perhaps as the other papers, but at any rate it treated crime as something significant in the social scheme. News in general was handled from the standpoint of men and women who, while they are workers, also happen to be human beings.

These first few weeks at "Leaders" hectic existence were happy ones for Thomas. Like the rest of the staff, he got down to the office on Fourth Avenue right after breakfast, and worked until the following dawn. There is a great deal of unqualified bunk about the supposedly "happy families" in newspaper offices. Newspaper families get along about as well as families anywhere, which is to say, of course, that there is all sorts of back-biting, bitterness, and general hell to be observed in most city rooms. The Leader crowd, however, were one in their love for Thomas, and in the short while they were on the job, they turned out a sheet that threatened to raise hell with every newspaper tradition in New York.

(Next Week—Wrecked Hopes, New Determination.)

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Another comrade who is going after subs in an intensive way, is I. S. Walker of Anderson, Ind.

The prospect for a sub who wants to "think about it" will make up his mind quickly if the booster has sub cards right on the spot.

HERE'S HOW
COMRADE CASPAR HAS PLACED THE N. L. ON A HALF DOZEN STANDS IN ROCHESTER. A LETTER HAS GONE OUT TO THE ENROLLED WORKERS WHICH CONTAINS THE INFORMATION THAT IT IS EASY TO SECURE OUR PAPER IN THAT CITY. WARREN ATKINSON IS ON THE JOB AS USUAL. HE SENDS IN 3 SUBS.

Another bundle order goes on the Tennessee trail that is being blazed by Leonard Kaye.

Untried Men Kept Months in Prison

While Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp is finishing her 30-day sentence for robbing the state of nearly \$30,000 while Republican State Secretary, a score of men have been lying in Tombs Prison from four to ten months awaiting trial on charges of which they may be acquitted. Mrs. Knapp is surrounded by conveniences and lives in a special room in her jail, but prison authorities say the Tombs is one of the four worst jails in the country.

Many of those held are charged with larceny, the offense for which Mrs. Knapp was sent up. But their alleged thefts are in petty amounts. Without friends or money, many jobs, they are serving long terms, although presumed, according to legal rules, to be innocent.

These untried prisoners are usually homeless men, migratory workers picked up by the police on suspicion because they are not well dressed. Detectives work assiduously to hook them up with long lists of unexplained thefts.

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A Sub A Week From Boosters

Save yourself annoyance and disappointment by renewing the expiration of your sub.

The singles come trailing along from E. Tobey, Kamet, Cal.; William Matthews, Rockaway, N. J.; O. Carlson, Olean, N. Y.; Carl Schmidt, Syracuse; William H. Henry, National Secretary, and many others.

If a tiny fraction of those who are interested in an independent press, could be reached by New Leader sub boosters, our circulation would multiply many times. The present campaign is the best opportunity we have had in years to garner in the subs and to make The New Leader a tremendous force for the labor movement.

We nearly missed Alfred Baker Lewis this week; nearly, is right. He scores 3.

Paul Milan, Mo., R. Dellomson sends in 2.

Seven more weeks until election. One sub or more weekly until that time will show results in the Socialist Party column.

"The N. L. is refreshing and exceedingly interesting as compared to the papers of the kept press." Harry W. Clifford, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

M. S. Euclid, Ontario, Cal., sends in 2 subs.

WHO IS NEXT?
S. L. Mohler, of Lancaster, Pa., saw a few copies of the paper and as a result sends in \$4 to be used in sending free copies to prospects.

WISCONSIN KNOWS HOW
Al Benson, secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, sends in \$103 to pay for subs sent to that state.

W. F. Deltz of Lake Charles, La., is on the trail for subs. He is arming himself with 200 sub blanks.

"Long live The New Leader," is the message with a renewal from D. L. Wright, Canton, Ohio.

That some professed Socialists are slow in subscribing for their own papers, is the observation of F. F. Brough of Amesbury, Mass. However, he captured three last week who want the N. L.

One of the modest young Socialists in the 18th A. D., Brooklyn, rounds up 7 subs. He says that's just a beginning.

Leonard Kaye is down in the State that made evolution famous. He writes from Knoxville that he is continuing to pick them off and the way he sends in the subs, proves it. He writes that the N. L. has the goods on the would-be office boys of the capitalist class.

Five dollars for subs and best wishes for the N. L. and those who "are fighting to make it a success," from C. T. Stoney, Salt Lake City.

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THE CHATTER BOX

THE Saga of David Sinclair, son of Upton Sinclair is to be told here, with especial regard for the incident on how he took unto himself the fair Bettina Mikol for his wife:

Hear then ye thanes of Gotham,
And all ye thralls afar,
How David came to Pioneer Youth,
And unborn Lochinvar . . .

He toiled the length of summer,
Prosacically well;
And none could have suspected
The ending that befell.

For David born of Upton,
Had both feet on the ground,
Always circumspect,
And logically sound . . .

A cricket was a cricket,
A bird to him . . . a bird,
And the height of all indulgence,
A metaphoric word . . .

His job was engineering,
About the busy camp;
He planned a way for super power,
To feed each trembling lamp . . .

He fussed with one lung engines,
And planned a dynamo;
While all the time unconscious
Romance simmered on below . . .

The gods alone are foolish,
In matters of the heart;
They publish their intentions
Right from the very start.

But ah! among us mortals,
We do not see nor know,
What joy or sadness Romance
Cooks up for us below . . .

And so it was with David,
So scientific-bent . . .
For when Bettina first appeared,
She smiled with no intent . . .

And he smiled back quite gravely,
And turned the engine crank;
The stubborn thing was missing . . .
? ! ! , ? and some more Blankety . . . blank . . .

But ah! the rare Bettina
Was strong of heart and ear . . .
And wise beyond her learning;
She heard . . . yet did not hear . . .

She heard his strong voice booming,
But missed the pungent words . . .
And when our David looked again,
Birds were no longer birds . . .

Crickets were not crickets;
Chirps and whirring wings,
And the winds above, made a song of love
Bowed from a thousand strings . . .

And words poured out and rippled
In cataracting thrills . . .
And every heart beat . . . laughter
Echoing through the hills . . .

Forgotten was the engine,
The dynamo delayed . . .
The stars at night gave all the light
Desired by swain and maid.

And you, great thanes of Gotham,
And you poor thralls afar,
Know what potent magic
Is lodged within each star . . .

The moon, she too, shone giddy
And made bewitchment sure;
And now the twain are married . . .
And may their joy endure . . .

A saga is a poem
Of hero and his deed . . .
And here within my telling
I sow a dubious seed.

For while I sing of marriage,
And wish the lovers well,
Which one was the real hero
The years alone will tell . . .

Thus my friends, ends the saga of David the son of Upton and how he took unto himself Bettina, daughter of David Mikol for queen and wife. There were more complicating circumstances than merely these narrated within the poem, but these were trivial indeed against the fine spice of romance, that now immortalizes the Pioneer Youth Camp. It proves, too that our radical and flaming young ones are powerless before the same urge and emotions that scoped and ensnared us old lads within the fine net of natural purposes. True, they did not have any of the ancient trimmings: the engagement ring, the pre-nuptial announcement, the parents offering their offspring, the automobile parade to church or synagogue, the grand feast, and the silly innuendoes after the meats and wine . . . Alas! they are poor children of poor folk . . . But never you mind, my dears, even these days, it's best to be married poor, if you expect to stay married. Making both ends meet occupies enough of our day thinking and night worrying, to keep us mentally monogamous. And then most of our marital riches are mental anyway. Except of course among the rich. And they have money enough to afford anything.

So for your honeymoon, young comrades, let me suggest that you go out on the stump for Norman Thomas, Jim Maurer and the Socialist program. And for your wedding present, let us hope, you will have the joy of seeing an overwhelming vote for the Party from all parts of the nation. No better circumstance or auspices could befall any newly married Socialist couple. With these blessings, I leave you to your love . . .

R. A. DeWitt

Organization
Education
Solidarity

Young People's
Socialist League,
21 Essex Street,
Boston, Mass.

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

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

THE PESTS

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

THE socialist and labor movement is blighted by a large variety of pests. The chronic pessimist is one of them. The superficial and overenthusiastic optimist is another. The nuisance who comes around after the excitement and harangues everyone in the vicinity on the subject of why something or other did not come out as it should have and then puts his hands in his pockets and disappears until something else happens that does not meet with his approval, is all too familiar.

However, the biggest borer are the ones who are usually unaffiliated with any radical group, or, if connected with some thing, inactive and indifferent. This tribe is lukewarm to almost everything that takes place. As a rule they may be seen flaunting a copy of the Nation in one hand, prominently displaying the green cover of the American Mercury in the other, and reinforcing themselves with the New Republic.

Of course there is little to be said against these three magazines or many of the people who read them. But there is a tendency among wishy-washy radicals to use them as ornaments and as substitutes for original thinking. People who are really nuts will fast these periodicals upon you to create the impression that they are intellectuals. Menckes, and really quite superior to the rabble. In reality, they are likely to be ordinary boobs, just as shallow and apish as Babbit himself.

It is decidedly a good idea to have definite though not interchangeable ideas about things, and to be actively concerned in putting them across.

Editor's Note: This article is a timely reprint from the Bronx Bulletin of Oct. 31, 1927. May we suggest that a good way to avoid being catalogued as a pest under one of the above varieties is to get under one of the above varieties is to get busy and aid the party in the coming election. At this time, your aid is needed in getting out the mailing for the primary.

New York Yipset Activities

Brooklyn
Circle Thirteen, Seniors, has received a letter from both the Executive and Central Committees commending it for the services it rendered in making the Yipset dance a huge success. Tillie Bothman and Henry Sapkowitz, treasurer and chairman of the committee in charge of the affair, have been voted gifts for their services as a mark of appreciation from the City League.

The wandering members of Circle Two, Seniors, are returning to the fold, with one exception. Sidney Rothenberg is leaving to attend the drama course offered by the University of North Carolina. With its large membership, it expects to again have the most interesting meetings of any circle in the League. On Yom Kippur night, in conjunction with Circle Thirteen, the circle will hold its annual dance at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

Circle Six, recently reorganized, is getting along nicely. At its last meeting it listened to a talk on "Socialism and Trade Unionism," given by Henry Rosner of the Social Problems Club of C. C. N. Y.

Circles Nine and Ten are resuming work for the year. Circle Nine is attempting to procure new headquarters for itself. Members of Liberal clubs and "Thomas-for-President" clubs in the nearby high schools will be invited to join the circle.

Circle One, Coney Island, being only a temporary summer circle, has disbanded for the winter. Most of its members have secured transfers to either Circle Two or Eight, Manhattan.

Manhattan
Circle Eight has been holding outdoor meetings all summer. The principal speaker has been Ben Goodman. This Friday evening, instead of holding a meeting, the members of the circle journeyed into the Bronx to attend a party given them by Irving Newman at 1350 Fulton avenue. Although uninvited, the Editor got his share of the "tea."

Circle Five, with headquarters at 2056 Fifth Avenue, is in the process of reorganization under the guidance of Com-

Union Picket Murdered By Left Winger

Killing Follows Commu- nist Activities in Form- ing Rival to Hebrew Butchers' Union

Overshadowing previous experiences in the Jewish trade union movement of New York City has been the murder on September 10 of one picket of the Hebrew Butchers' Union and the serious wounding of another by assassins acting under orders of Communist leaders. The dead martyr is Harry Silver; the wounded man is Philip Boris.

The Communist attack was made to prevent the Butchers' Union from unionizing the butcher shop of Morris Ochsman in the East Bronx. Louis Loskowitz, a former strike-breaker, was employed at this place of business, although he had been forbidden to work there as a disciplinary measure, because he could not be relied upon to enforce union control. True to his scab record he had defied the union's orders. Business Agent Siskowitz accompanied by several union members, including Harry Silver and Philip Boris, who were employed in neighboring butcher shops, therefore, went forth to picket Ochsman's shop. Presumably Loskowitz, or his employer, had communicated with the Communist authorities, who were still smarting from the recent expulsion of six Communists from the union. A Communist committee was rushed to the scene. When the pickets arrived, they were met with drawn knives. Both Silver and Boris, unarmed and unwarned, were stabbed, the former falling mortally wounded. Luckily the escape of the gangsters was cut off by the other pickets. Both the innocent and the guilty were arrested by the police.

William Shiffrin, who was identified by Silver before his death, as his assailant has, according to detectives, confessed his guilt. He claims he is a furrier by trade, although he is well known as a strong arm man in Communist employ. He lives in the Communist Cooperative Apartments in the Bronx. His accomplices were Davis Neuburg, a grocery clerk and Mike Bloemer, the only butcher of the three, whose work was to identify the approaching pickets. Shiffrin has been held without bail, the others have been released under bail of \$1,500 on charges of felonious assault.

Harry Silver's funeral was made the occasion for a demonstration on the part of Jewish workers of their united determination to exterminate Communism from their ranks. The Communists responded by organizing a dual butchers' union, slinging mud at the members of the union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and using the defense of their honorable gangsters as a pretext for starting another collection of funds. It is the intention of the Jewish labor movement of New York to fix the ultimate responsibility for the murder where it belongs.

Neckwear Workers In Union Drive Organize 30 Shops

"By the end of this week, there will be eighty shops newly organized for the Neckwear Makers Union," said Louis Fuchs, manager of that union, in his office in the Rand School.

Mr. Fuchs has gone into the sweat shops on Allen, Orchard and Eldridge Streets, and organized about six hundred employees.

"The growth of the sweat shops in the last few years has been such as to threaten the better class of shops. There were two shops employing about twenty-five people each, they were paying five cents for an eleven-cent article, and about fourteen cents for a thirty-one cent article, which, as a result, lowered the employees' salaries to less than half of what the Union men were getting.

Besides the meager wage, working conditions were as bad as those which prevailed before the introduction of union conditions, and the willingness of the non-union worker to join the union, is due greatly to this," continued the manager.

Textile Workers Examine Tariff

One of the closing acts of the U. T. W. convention held in New York was to authorize an inquiry into the whole question of tariff schedules as they affect various branches of the textile industry. The woolen section has suffered for years under high duties which raise the price of raw wool to such levels that the use of shoddies and wool and cotton mixtures have kept thousands of woolen mill workers out of jobs. Cheaper wool would be a boon to the industry, it is argued.

The Philadelphia upholstery weavers plan to send a delegation to Washington to interview the federal tariff commission. The president has final say on readjusting duties within certain limits. The weavers want an American valuation placed on imports.

Textile delegates stood in silence in honor of James Duggan, first vice president of the A. F. of L. who died in Quincy, Mass. President McMahon was hard hit by Duggan's death. Both, at the turn of the century, collaborated in many hard fought strikes on New England territory.

William Smith, secretary of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, was named delegate to the A. F. of L. convention in New Orleans. The convention instructed officers to aid in obtaining a hearing for hosiery labor directors before the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Dean A. F. White of the labor college was a fraternal delegate.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

Women's Committee—Attention!
The women of the Socialist Party of Greater New York will meet again on Tuesday, Sept. 25, at 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street. Matters of extreme importance to Socialist women will be discussed and action taken thereon. Please put aside all other engagements for that night. Comrades, come early so that all who wish to take part in the discussion will be able to do so.

MANHATTAN
Downtown
The next meeting will be held on Friday evening, Sept. 28, at the headquarters, 204 East Broadway.

3-5-10 A. D.
This branch will meet Tuesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m., at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

4 A. D.
The branch meeting on Sept. 12 was one of the very best, as every active member was present. A five-dollar contribution was sent to the City Office. An able Campaign Committee, consisting of the following, was elected: Jacob Freundlich, J. A. Sussman, Young Frischwasser, Harry Ulanoff, Julius Green, Samuel P. Ulanoff, Louis D. Lieberman, candidate for Assembly, was elected campaign manager. The branch expects to run an intensive campaign in this district and roll up a huge Socialist vote. The next meeting will take place at the East Side Socialist Center Wednesday evening, Sept. 26, at 8:30 p. m.

6-8-12 A. D.
This branch will meet Monday, Sept. 24, at the headquarters, 96 Avenue C.

The membership will get to work in earnest towards the election of Margaret F. Karlin, Judge, 2nd Municipal Court District and its other candidates.

Upper West Side
The Upper West Side Branch is planning to join with the newly reorganized 23rd A. D. Branch in the very near future. The next meeting of the 22-23rd A. D. Branch will be held at 3735 Broadway on Tuesday evening, Sept. 25, at 8:30 p. m.

22-23 A. D.
The branch will meet Sept. 25 at the temporary club room, 3735 Broadway. They will be glad to welcome all members of the Upper West Side Branch and hope to join their forces and work together for this coming campaign.

BRONX
Great enthusiasm was displayed at the General Party Meeting of the Bronx held on Wednesday, Sept. 12, at 1167 Boston Road. It was one of the best gatherings of its kind. Many comrades who have not been seen for a long time were present. \$500 was pledged to help carry on an intensive campaign in this section. \$50 was pledged to the City Office. Headquarters are to be opened in the 3d, 4th and 5th Assembly Districts. The Bronx is beginning to buzz.

Party Platforms of 1928 to be subject of discussion in 7 A. D., Bronx. Branch 7 of the Bronx will meet Tuesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m., at its clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue. After a short business session, Morris Gisser, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 23rd District, will open a discussion with an analysis of the various party platforms of 1928, in which discussion of party members of other branches are welcome to participate, and discuss accordingly.

Branch 7 East
This branch will meet Thursday, Sept. 27, at the Workmen's Circle School, 2095 Daily Avenue.

BROOKLYN
The comrades in the 18th A. D. are now busily engaged in campaign activities. Guided meetings have been increased to twice weekly, and quarters shifted from Sutter and Ralph to Saratoga and Blake and St. John's Place and Albany.

A meeting of the Campaign Committee will be held Wednesday evening at J. N. John's office, 1765 Pitkin Avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

A promising section of the city which has experienced no Socialist activity since the war is the 18th, lying immediately adjacent to the old Rand and 2nd A. D., and constituting the territory known as Brownsville. The 18th Assembly District has undergone in the last 16 or 17 years an unusual development. This section has felt the recent building boom and has been built up considerably. Into this district have moved Socialists from all the boroughs of the city. At the last election there was a Socialist enrollment of 937 and a Socialist vote approximating 3,500. The population continues to grow, and many of the new elements of the population are excellent Socialist material. For the first time since the war there is heartening Socialist organization and the 18th will witness the sort of campaign that has characterized other assembly districts.

The 18th A. D. branch of the Socialist Party was created last November and now boasts 85 members. The comrades are all on their toes and are out to double the vote, which is no pipe dream. A most promising district is the 18th and one that will bear careful watching.

22 A. D.
The 22 A. D. Kings will open its indoor meetings with a monster demonstration at P. S. 149, Wyona Street, corner Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m., on Friday, Sept. 21, 1928.

James H. Maurer, the Vice Presidential candidate; Louis Waldman, candidate for Governor and A. S. L. Jacoboff, Congressional nominee in the 10th District, will be the principal speakers. Wilhelmus B. Robinson, candidate for Congress in the 9th District and Samuel Block, candidate for Congress in the 9th District, and other speakers.

The Campaign Committee under Comrade Block is doing its utmost to make this meeting a success. Comrades and sympathizers are urged to attend to swell the numbers present. Comrade Theodore Shapiro, candidate for Assembly in the 22nd A. D., will act as chairman. Come early.

8th Congressional District
A joint meeting of all party members in this district was held at the Borough Park Labor Lyceum, Wednesday, Sept. 12.

The attendance was splendid and full of enthusiasm. Comrades Karlin and Feigenbaum spoke. After a lively discussion every comrade pledged to work harder than ever before in this campaign. Many open air and indoor meetings will be held and a complete mailing to all registered voters will be made. A collection of \$300 was made to start the campaign fund of \$3,000. Every comrade in this district is urged to send in his donation at once to the Campaign Committee, 1377 42nd Street, Brooklyn.

A special meeting of the Campaign Committee will be held on Monday, Sept. 24, 8:00 p. m., at the headquarters, 1377 42nd Street. Every comrade is urged to be on time.

22nd Kings
On Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p. m., sharp there will be a ratification meeting at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street.

Speakers will be: James Maurer, Louis Waldman, A. S. L. Jacoboff, Samuel H. Friedman, Louis F. Goldberg and Charles Solomon.

Anna Kuller Feigenbaum, soprano, and Anna Solomon will render a musical program.

4,000,000 More Passengers
In Toronto Streets

TRONTO—The city-owned streetcars of Toronto carried 4,382,947 more passengers in 1927 than 1926. Gross revenue was \$385,000 greater.

Street Meetings

Manhattan
Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p. m.—Rivington and Pitt Streets. Speakers: Molly Weintraub, S. P. Ulanoff, J. Reicher, Louis Lieberman.
Saturday, Sept. 22, 8:30 p. m.—137th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, and others.
Tuesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m.—Lexington Avenue and 106th Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Louis Well.

Downtown
Tuesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m.—5th Street and Avenue B. Speakers: A. N. Weinberg, Molly Weintraub.
Thursday, Sept. 27, 8:30 p. m.—13th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers: Mac-Alister Coleman, Andrew McGuire.

3-5-10 A. D.
Thursday, Sept. 27, 8:30 p. m.—158th Street and Broadway. Speakers: Jessie Wallace Hughson, Max Delson.
Thursday, Sept. 27, 8:30 p. m.—109th Street and Madison Avenue. Speakers: Julius Ulanoff, Eli Cohen, Louis Well, Barnett Shub.

BRONX
Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p. m.—Aldus and Southern Blvd. Speakers: Henry Fruchter, Samuel A. De Witt, Henry Gross.
Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p. m.—180th Street and Southern Blvd. Speakers: I. Phillips, E. Bezouska.

22-23 A. D.
Friday, Sept. 21, 8:30 p. m.—McKinley Square and 169th Street. Speakers: I. George Dobesavage, Samuel Orr, Philip Pasik.
Tuesday, Sept. 25, 8:30 p. m.—156th Street and Walden Avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Murray Gross.

Weekend Meetings
Wednesday, Sept. 26, 8:30 p. m.—Burnside Avenue and Creston Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and others.

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Good Campaign In New Jersey; Thomas Meetings

In every section of the State the demand is increasing for meetings of our standard bearers. On September 30th Norman Thomas is expected to stop for a brief talk at Elizabeth at 10, and at New Brunswick at 11. Then to attend a luncheon meeting in Princeton, with an afternoon meeting in Camden, and end the day with either a banquet or mass meeting in Camden.

On Oct. 9th he will be at the East Side High School, Paterson Arrangements proceed for the auto cavalcade during the last week of the campaign.

The Newark YPSLs are getting together, and a branch is to be started in New Brunswick, where Jessie Stephen speaks at the Workmen's Circle Institute on Thursday of this week, to complete the organization necessary for a further meeting of Comrade Maurer, or Comrade Vladek. She speaks in Camden on Friday.

Most of the dates for George R. Kirkpatrick for the eight days will be in New Jersey (Oct. 1 to 8 inclusive) have been booked by locals in the northern part of the state. Secretaries and committees elsewhere should get in touch with the State Organizer if they also want to hear their old New Jersey comrade on his trip East.

Individuals write in and visit headquarters, asking for literature and information as to how to join the party. We have all kinds of opportunity for willing workers to visit prospective members, send out literature and help at meetings. The more that volunteer the bigger our vote.

The State Committee is securing pledges to meet their \$5,000 a year budget to keep a paid organizer in the field after election, to take advantage of the opportunity now presented by the chronic unemployment and other situations favorable to our propaganda.

**To Socialist Women:
Where Do You Stand?**

By Hilda G. Claessens
Sometime ago Comrade Pauline Newman wrote in The New Leader concerning activities, or lack of activities, of women in the Party. She justly complained that we do not have an elevated standing in the Party. While that is true, let us women take stock of ourselves and find out why that is so.

Is it not our own fault? Have any of us ever been deprived of an opportunity to be of service? Or do we not offer any service? Women comrades, the age of whining and self-pity on the part of women is past! That part of feminism is no longer admired even by the most conservative. We have been recognized as human beings, politically. Conservative women are taking advantage of it to the extent that they are succeeding in getting former liberal and radical women to vote for SMITH! The irony of it!

Socialist women, are we going to take a back seat and "stay home"—just what we were told we ought to do before we got the vote! Or should we make our presence and influence felt as a force for good? Where do we stand in the Party? Where do you, who read these lines stand? Do you think that we could accomplish more by forming a permanent Women's Section of the Socialist Party, such as they have in European countries? Or do you think that we should form temporary women's committees in each borough and carry on propaganda among women that way?

All these questions will be thrashed out at a woman's meeting which is announced on another page of this issue. One thing is clear and that is that we cannot have any sort of a woman's movement without the women and this meeting will be a deciding factor—one way or the other. Which shall it be? It's up to you!

Laidler to Speak at Three-Party Symposium Tuesday
A political symposium has been arranged by the Brotherhood of the Commonwealth at its forum in the Parish House of the Church of the Atonement, 17th Street, near Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, Tuesday, Sept. 25, at 8 p. m. Representatives of the three leading parties will be heard.

Ex-Senator Calder will speak for the Republicans, Harry W. Laidler, for the Socialist Party, and Dr. W. A. Gardner, for the Democratic Party. The public is invited.

LABOR LYCEUM
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGO 3842.

LABOR TEMPLE
243-247 EAST 84TH ST. NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone REGENT 10038

Embroidery Workers'
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 212 E. 161st St. Melrose 7698.
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

WORKERS!
Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers
Always Look WAITERS & For This LABEL
LOCAL 1
162 E. 23rd Street
Tel. Gramercy 6843
LOUIS RIFKIN, President.
LOUIS RUBINFIELD, Sec'y-Treasurer.
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 8th St.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT
OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Unions and their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 222 Broadway, Rooms 2700-18, New York.
Board of Directors meet at the Labor Temple, 213 East 15th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

The Milk Drivers' Union
Local 584, I. U. of U. City.
Office: 308 W. 14th St., City.
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 8th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at BRICHON HALL, 210 East Fifth Street CHAS. ROFFER, Pres. & Business Agent. MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
139 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, Sec'y-Treas.

German Painters' Union
Local 129, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eveg. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
J. LEIKOWITZ, President.
ALVIN ROSENBERG, Secretary.
1564 Ave. A, N. Y. C.
FRANK WOLLENBERG, Fin. Sec'y.
243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

United Hebrew Trades
115 E. 7th BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M.
M. TIGEL, Chairman
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

FUR DRESSER'S UNION
Local 2, Int'l Nat'l Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn, Tel. BR 0798
Reg. Meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. REISS, President.
JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President.
SAMUEL MENDEL, Sec. Sec'y.
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Sec'y.
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL
CAP MAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
OFFICE: 133 SEQOND AVE.
Phone ORCHARD 860-1-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
S. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday
Executive Board meets every Monday
All Meetings are held at 133 SECOND AVENUE.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps
Always Look for This Label

WHEN YOU BUY Felt or Wool Hats
ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL

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UNION DIRECTORY

Joint Executive Committee
OF THE
VEST MAKERS' UNION
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
GREENBERG, Sec. -Treas.
PETER MOVAT, Manager.
Office 175 East Broadway
Phone: ORCHARD 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Boards Meet Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Sec'y.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
115 E. 7th Ave.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
ISSIE LEFF, President.
J. BELSKY, Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
Office and Headquarters:
Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION
Local 187, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10173.
Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
SAMUEL KAPLAN FETE KOPP, President.
GARRETT BRISCOE, J. CRYEN, Sec'y.

NEW LEADER

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

Editor.....James O'Neal
Assistant Editor.....Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algren Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph P. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



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One Year.....\$2.00

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

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1928

Meeting of Great Minds

IN the year when the ruling capitalists and bankers establish their complete ownership of the Democratic and Republican parties and the presidential candidates lunacy seems to run amuck. Never in political history have there been such queer shifts, alliances, labels and reasons. All of them are "thinkers" in their special lines, some of them "leaders of opinion."

Clarence Darrow, prominent Agnostic and pessimist, comes out for Smith because the latter is wet but tells farmers that they should expect nothing from either party. He declares that the farmer is fooling himself if he falls for either party bunk, yet Darrow does not understand that this logic regarding agriculture must apply to John Barleycorn. Why Darrow thinks the politicians are fooling the farmer and not fooling him is a problem we refer to the experts in psychic disorders.

Hearst and Brinsane appear on the scene. Once Tammanyites and cartooning the late Charles F. Murphy of the Hall in prison stripes, they pay homage to Coolidge and his Hair Apparent, Hoover. The Republicans in 1901 charged Hearst with inspiring Cologosz to assassinate President McKinley but the Republican National Committee this year is sending Brinsane Hoover Dope to the press for republication.

"Mencken and Nathan, the bad boy Agnostics of the American Mercury, register for Smith. While Mencken announces his choice he at the same time declares that men like Smith who cling to religion must "have a screw loose somewhere," but in the last analysis he prefers Smith to the Methodist "bouders."

By this time we are getting along swimmingly with our leading thinkers and we are prepared for the stunt of Frank Walsh of Kansas City. It is hardly necessary to say that Frank is a "progressive." He settles all doubt about the vote cast for LaFollette in 1924. He heaves it all into the Smith camp and says that it amounts to 5,000,000 votes. Of course, there were not that many votes cast for LaFollette but Frank is a "liberal" and he wants to be liberal in estimating this vote. Then the Socialist vote was included in this LaFollette vote and if Frank is right, Thomas and Maurer will get no votes at all. In fact, the votes of the Socialist candidates will go to Smith if Frank is correct!

We pass on to Dudley Field Malone, Farmer-Labor party man of a few years ago, who was certain that the two capitalist parties were hopeless. Since the rise of the Raskobs and their ilk in the Democratic camp Malone thinks that it is sufficiently purified to warrant his support.

Then there are the union leaders who conclude that since the Democratic party is being financed by anti-union millionaires their allegiance to it is the proper way to help trade unionism. This is offset by men of the type of Hutchison of the Carpenters, Lewis of the Miners and chiefs of the Railroad Brotherhoods who think that the party of Mellon and Butler and its boy Hoover are the real goods.

We cannot pursue the subject farther. Scientists asserts that the human brain is now subjected to a severe strain by the complexities of civilization and we do not wish to increase the strain. Certainly the Palmist did not have these gentlemen in mind when he declared that "righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

The Miracle of Vienna

THE British Labor Party has done a big service by publishing a small book on what has been accomplished in Vienna by workers who control that city. It is the one spot in the world where the workers have had a clear majority since the end of the World War, a majority based upon democratic suffrage and where all parties present their claims for support.

The book is a translation from the German of Robert Dannenberg and it is simply amazing, this story of what workmen have been able to accomplish in a great city stricken with famine and disease at the close of the war and constantly menaced by Fascist and militarist cliques since that period. The work of the administration covers most every phase of working class life but here we shall mention only one, housing.

Modern and civilized shelter for working class

families is still a problem in the United States, the richest country in the world. This is true not only of New York City and the other large cities but it is true of the lesser cities in all of the industrial cities of the North. Housing facilities are literally an abomination. Southern cities are also frightful on this score.

In the city proper and in the suburbs of Vienna within ten years houses and apartments have been built by the city which are superior in design and comfort to the homes occupied by men with professional incomes in this country! City apartments with all modern conveniences, with gardens and fountains, and with light and air from two sides, are available for workmen and their families. In New York City workmen pay from \$10 to \$15 per room per month for shoddy housing which varies from the death-trap and disease-breeding shacks to the jerry-built cheap structures that are useless within ten years. In Vienna the workman pays an average of \$2 per room per month for the most sanitary and comfortable accommodations that experts in housing and hygiene can devise!

Compare this with New York City. The workers pay from \$8 to \$13 more per room for the abominations which they call "homes." This is the penalty which they pay for Tammany rule with its contracting, realtor and corporation allies. The difference between Vienna and New York City is the difference between Socialist voters and Tammany voters. It is the difference between intelligent trade unionism in politics and the trade unionism annexed by the Raskobs and Olvanys. The families of workers are sacrificed here while in Vienna they live as civilized human beings.

We can accomplish as much in every city of this country but it cannot be done through parties managed by the Mellons, Butlers, Raskobs and Lehmans.

Backfire Against Unionism

JOHN P. FREY is one of the very few men in the American Federation of Labor with a long range view. In the July American Federationist he drew attention to one phase of American loans abroad. He declared that overseas industries financed by American capital will so compete with American plants that the number of the unemployed in this country will increase. We may add another danger. The building of American plants in the more backward areas of the world where a much lower standard of labor prevails must inevitably undermine trade union organization in this country.

The capitalist seeks and always will seek the cheapest labor he can find. He will seek it in his native land and across its frontiers. He cares nothing for the flag under which his profits are produced. For many years textile capital has been shifting from New England to the Southern states. Labor power is much cheaper there and the laborers have little or no experience in labor organization. American capital is also building a variety of industrial plants in the Latin-American countries and China is a rich field of American investment.

Among those who have tried to reassure Mr. Frey is Robert R. Kuzynski of the Institute of Economics. He declares that only a small part of the capital invested will affect American labor and adds that in any event American workers should buy shares in financial and industrial corporations in order to check any baleful results to American workers. We shall not dignify this advice by any answer. It is the veriest piffle.

American capital is being exported in increasing volume each year for building industries abroad where labor and materials are cheaper. No trade unions here, no strikes and no pickets can meet this backfire across our frontiers against labor organization. Cheap production abroad is the heavy artillery of the American corporation which may level the walls of American trade unionism. The capitalist ignores frontiers. So should the worker. His hope lies in close affiliation with international trade unionism of industry as industry, not by grades of skill in each plant. A recasting of policies alone will meet the danger.

The Flowing Bar'l

A DISPATCH last week to the New Work provides a theme for a sermon. It announces that John J. Egan, a registered Republican and Secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, has declared for Governor Smith. He accepted the Chairmanship of the Labor Bureau of Connecticut to work among labor men in support of Smith. His appointment was made after meeting George L. Berry, National Chairman of the Labor Bureau, who recommended Egan to John J. Raskob, Democratic National Chairman. Mr. Berry is President of the Printing Pressmen. We may add to this dispatch that thousands of members of Berry's union charge that it has become such an oligarchy that it is impossible for a majority to have their will imposed.

The above digest of the dispatch is colorless but it could also be explained as follows and be in accord with the facts: "Mr. Raskob is pleased that Mr. Egan is willing to accept Raskob's approval despite the fact that General Motors has not been a corporation favorable to trade unionism. Mr. Berry as go-between is also congratulated by the General Motors chief for having no silly prejudices against open shop policies. Mr. Raskob will take care of the financial expenses, including salaries, of the Connecticut Labor Bureau."

Readers can draw their own conclusions. We merely add that in 1908, when William Randolph Hearst ran his personal candidate, Thomas Higen, for President, he organized similar bureaus in each state with a labor leader at its head. All of them were paid for their work and after the election nothing more was coming from the Hearst bar'l. The bureaus were scrapped and that was the last heard of them. Just what the trade unions got out of this no man knoweth, but another bar'l is flowing and the beverage is fine.

Reading the speeches of Hoover and Curtis, and studying the campaign of Al Smith, and then comparing them with the speeches of Norman Thomas, you begin to realize that if elections went by merit alone our Norman would now be picking out his cabinet.

HUMORS OF THE CAMPAIGN



Mr. Raskob trying to prove Republican prosperity is a myth.

The big sales game this year is to market Smith and Hoover. If the salesmen of any commercial firm were to make the blunders in advertising its wares that the brokers do in advertising Smith and Hoover they would be discharged. What brains the market men may have appear to have turned to mush. The Chicago Tribune is a Republican organ. It cartoons Smith's boodle angel, John J. Raskob, speaking to voters from an automobile. This is considered a brilliant stroke. The assumption is that if the Raskobs have multiplied their millions we are all "prosperous." That might be apparent to children and the feeble minded, but miners, textile workers, farmers and other humble subjects of King Capital will find it difficult to understand.

Silk Worms, Sodbusters, Worry and Politicians

By Adam Coaldigger

SILK from cornstalks is the latest miracle promised by the chemists. This, if true, is interesting. And it must be true, for chemists are no longer regarded as "nothing but idle dreamers," as was Edward Bellamy when he predicted the coming of these scientific wonders a generation ago.

But that is not the only or most interesting fact in this promise of the chemists. There are others.

What, for instance, is going to become of "King Cotton," his plantations and peons, not to mention the silk Mandarins and their worms, when common, ordinary cornstalks can be churned into silk?

Talk about "the coming revolution," why, say, it's already ahead of schedule and, if these chemists aren't hanged or something soon, this country is going to the dogs.

Everybody in it will be wearing silk and that, as all fundamentalists know, means ruin, especially to woman. She'll be lovelier and more charming than ever, and she's enough of that as she is, God bless her.

Ah, well, I tried to keep Eves from eating that apple, but she wouldn't listen to me. And now just look at what we got for her curiosity.

Crashing the gates of knowledge is all right, but committing hari-kari on King Cotton and a lot of poor, innocent, hard-working peons and silk worms, is something else again. That's not fair. It ought not to be allowed.

The Democratic party ought to do something about it.

Befriending Sodbusters

The National Grain Journal, official organ of the "Pit" farmers and grain speculators, speaking on "the effect of the presidential election upon the grain trade," to wit, verbatim, except (?) mark: "But aside from the regrettable class (?) prejudice introduced by the religious question it is our opinion that Hoover is the safer candidate of the two as we know he helped President Coolidge veto the McNary-Haugen bill both times."

There now, that's honest, if they didn't expect any one outside of "the trade" to pick it up and pass it on. As Senators Brookhart and Nye say, Hoover always was, is, and ever will be a friend of the sodbusters. What he won't do for them won't be worth mentioning.

Solving a Problem

"What is my plan for curing rural ills?" queries Prof. B. H. Crocherson, University of California. "Briefly this: Decrease production by reducing acreage; reduce foreign competition by tariff; cut production costs to meet the lower price levels; expand markets by seeking new customers or increase use of old customers."

There now, you hayseeds, that ought to solve the problem for you. It's clear as mud and easy as falling off the water wagon.

All you gotta do to become plutes is to keep on cutting down acreage until there will be so little production the human race will have to pay you your price or starve to death. That, plus lower price (wage) levels, plus a tariff (on world commodities), plus "dumping" on other farmers (if they'll let you), plus making everybody eat twice as much as their tummies can hold—that ought to get you the goods.

Of course, you will run a fine chance of starving along with everybody else, but what is that to you, Stickleites? You are used to it, aren't you? Sure you are.

Where?

"Where," asks The New York World, "does Mr. Hoover stand on the whole water-power question—with the Coolidge administration, or where we should expect?"

Where Is Hell?

By FATHER DICKERT

THERE are many phases of life these days that are so degenerating, so miserably annoying, even heart-rending, that no conscientious person can blame people for crying out in distress. Their

LIFE IS HELL

It is really a hellish state of affairs when a person willing to work cannot get work, while some are even thrown in jail merely for being hungry and out of work.

Still, by putting the right men in office everybody could have work, none could need to overwork. Married women could then properly look after their homes and children, and life would be made worthwhile.

This Earth, this Life is here and now could be a paradise—a Heaven on Earth through proper adjustment of Labor, Commerce and Government. There must be a change in the manner of the Ruling Powers, by changing the texture of the Officials of Our Government.

You cannot expect much from the exploiting interests in behalf of the producers and consumers only insofar as it affects the better interests of the Profiters; for the more they have the more they want—and they mean to have it too, so long as they can hold THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT.

Therefore, the only possible relief for the exploited workers, and the starving thousands who can't get work is a

BIG SOCIALIST VOTE

And it is up to us—ALL OF US—you too, to get out this vote, and to let the people know, and fully understand, what is really before them, that they may vote right, with knowledge and intelligence.

What are you doing, or going to do about it? Will you do your part—do something, or will you allow your neighbor to drift down stream with the usual flow of mud and slime?

Or will you throw-out the LIFE LINE, and tow him into the harbor, with a

SOCIALIST BALLOT IN HIS HAND

When we see the shameful fortunes amassed in all quarters of the globe, are we not impelled to exclaim that Judas's thirty pieces of silver have been fructified across the centuries?—Madame Smet-chine.

Our whole lives might be a holiday if we were resolute to make all labor reasonable and pleasant.—Wm. Morris.

Socialism No Bug-Bear Abroad

By Chester C. Platt

Prague is world-renowned for its pre-eminence in music. The best seats at the opera cost the equivalent of 75 cents. From this, the prices run down to 6 cents. A good seat is 12 cents. Movies cost 10 cents. One may get a single room at an excellent hotel for 85 cents a day. (That is what I paid three years ago when here.) Ladies may get a marcel and shampoo at a fashionable place for 45 cents. I met a lady from the states who is living here, doing post-graduate work at the University (Dr. Nancy E. Scott, professor of modern European history at the Western State Teachers' College at Kalamazoo, Mich.) She told me she pays \$9 a month for her room, and from 30 to 45 cents for a restaurant dinner.

Dr. Durkee, the American Secretary of the Prague Y. M. C. A., told us this story:

One of his friends, a wage-worker, told him his wife was soon to have a baby.

"Fine!" said the secretary, "but I suppose you will have some big expenses."

"Oh," said his friend, "my wife will go to the hospital."

"But, are not hospitals expensive?" asked the secretary.

"Oh, no, for workmen in my classification they are free."

"But you will have a doctor's bill to pay, of course."

"No, no, medical attendance, and a doctor of our own choice, is FREE."

"Splendid! So all you will be out will be the loss of your wife's help at home."

"No, that's taken care of, too, by a pension, for six weeks before the baby is born, and six weeks afterwards. And if we nurse the baby the pension is doubled, and WE MEAN TO NURSE IT."

"And so," said the secretary to us, "how can you wonder that socialism is not the BUG-BEAR to these people that it is to people in the United States!"

A Farmer's Viewpoint

The following letter which appeared in the New York Times presents the economic tragedy of agriculture and the unwillingness of the parties of capitalism to deal with the situation.

Being a farmer and thus interested in the farm question, I wish to invite your attention to the following: Wheat growers are now getting 90 cents to \$1 a bushel for wheat, while the average cost for growing is about \$1.65 per bushel, based on the average yield of thirteen bushels an acre. New corn for later delivery is now selling at \$7 to 60 cents a bushel, while the average cost of growing is about 90 cents, since the average yield for the whole country is about 25 bushels an acre.

On a basis of a \$2,500,000,000 bushel corn crop for this year, the farmers if they sold now, would have a loss of 30 cents a bushel or \$750,000,000, and if the wheat crop of about 800,000,000 bushels was all sold now it would result in a loss of \$520,000,000. A great deal of both wheat and corn is being contracted for now.

This big farm loss is absorbed, much of it in various ways by the "big interests" that control both political parties, by the spread of about 300 per cent between what the producer gets and what the consumer pays. Eleven-cent hogs make 50-cent bacon, 9-cent cattle make 40-cent beef, 90-cent wheat brings about \$6 a bushel in bread and so on through the list.

If there was a free open market for grain, based on the demand and supply of real grain, the farmers would have little to complain of. But Chicago makes the price on grain for the whole world, and through a gambling system of "futures" big buyers manipulate the market and depress prices by a flood of paper grain. The Chicago Board of Trade alone sells 20,000,000 bushels of wheat a year or twenty-five times the entire crop of the United States, and by wash sales of paper grain it fixes the price for all the real grain.

Farmers must have an organization created by law that will bring all the farmers into the same line of action, same as the tariff law does for the manufacturers, the Federal Reserve Bank act does for the bankers and the Interstate Commerce law does for the railroads, so the farmers can have something to say about their own business. Both Hoover and Smith are opposed to the McNary-Haugen bill, so how can either of them expect any support from farmers?

J. D. COLEMAN.

Harding, Ill., Sept. 8, 1928.

Socialism is a philosophy of the whole of life, with its economic thought as a base, which, once understood, throws a flood of light on all the problems of education, sanitation, music, art, literature, ethics, law theory, or science.—Rev. Charles H. Vail.

OILWARD, CALVIN'S SOLDIERS

By Covington Hall

(With apologies to Oscar Ameringer)
It has been announced that the campaign song of the G. O. P. (Grand Oil Party) will be set to the tune of "Onward, Christian Soldiers!" The following verses, while there may be more truth than poetry in them, are offered just to help our Republican friends get it straight.
—C. H.

Oilward Calvin's Dough Boys, mooching as in war,
With the cross of Croesus going on before!

Kale, the Royal Master, leads against the foe;
At the Sign of triumph, lo, the Red Hordes flee—
On with Sinclair's eagles, on to victory!

Make our grand Almighty Lord and God!
Brothers, we are treading where the Saints have ne'er trod!
With the cross of Croesus going on before!

Over freedom's altars, over sacred sod,
Loose the Little Satchel! Let the skudos out,
Let the scads and shekels to the Faithful shout!

Soak 'em with injunctions! Up and at the foe!
From the Little Green House let the virtue flow!

Make the Bonedrys happy! Let the Bankers know
We are not divided; all for Big Biz we—
Raw! Raw! Raw! for Herbert H. Efficiency!

Magnates, lift your voices, make the morons sing:

"Glory to Mazuma, Lord and Boss and King!"
Let the Bird Dogs yowl it, thru the welkin ring!

"Oilward, Calvin's soldiers, mooching as in war,
With the cross of Croesus going on before!"