

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OR PUBLIC PLUNDER?

Smith Formulates A Plan to Aid the Public Utilities Combine
And Calls It "Public Ownership"—A Socialist Criticism

By NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Candidate For President

THERE is no more important immediate question before us than our relation to the growing electric power monopoly. Five companies control 50 per cent., fifteen control 80 per cent. of the power we use in America. They charge domestic consumers on the average of 7 cents per kilowatt hour against less than 2 cents in Ontario, where the government generates and distributes electricity. They have a power and profit Empires might envy. To keep it they stop at no corruption of democracy as the people have occasion to know.

If I ask the voters what Hoover and Smith would do about this they would probably tell me, correctly, that Hoover is the apologist for the Power Trust, lobby and all. Then they would say that Smith stands for public ownership for super power. But does he? Let us see.

What Governor Smith did in Denver was to repeat criticisms of the power trust, its lobby and its Republican supporters, which we Socialists have been making for months. So far so good. Then he comes out with his familiar program: public development, state or national, of water power sites and regulation of transmission companies by contract and by the power of regulatory commissions. Again, good, so far as development is concerned.

But this partial program is a million miles from what we need. It will never curb the Power Trust or substantially reduce rates to consumers. All the water sites still in public possession are, as every engineer knows, capable of producing only a small part of the total electric power which America needs. The monopoly might surround and defeat Smith's government enterprises as they have surrounded and defeated some small municipal enterprises or as a chain store

crushes the little fellow. The heart of the problem is transmission. Governor Smith does not even recommend preferential treatment in contracts for municipal light corporations. He says that contractual relations and regulatory commissions will take care of transmission. That is vain hope.

In the first place Governor Smith will not have the support of his own party in establishing effective control. The Democratic record is as bad as the Republican. Smith's running mate, Senator Robinson, had a batting average of .667 in favor of the power trust in three critical votes in the last session of Congress. Raskob, Pierre Du Pont, Owen Young, the local southern power magnates are all vitally interested in power and are all Democrats. What kind of contracts will they wheedle or bribe out of a typical Democratic administration?

In the second place public service commissions, including Governor Smith's own commission in New York State, have notoriously broken down in regulating all public utilities including power companies. Governor Smith's New York Commission has recently sanctioned a New York City merger that puts any state power development on the St. Lawrence River at the merger's mercy, so far as transmission of power to the consumers of New York City is concerned.

Nor can any contract save us so long as parties are unreliable as the two old parties, which belong to big business, make the contracts with unscrupulous monopoly.

San Francisco develops power at Hetch Hetchy, sells it for a song to a private company which charges the consumer the old rates. New York City built its own subways and then turned them over under contracts to operating companies which at every turn have sought to cheat their partner, the city.

Governor Smith, advocate of the contract plan, is notori-

ously friendly with the transit magnates and politicians, like Comptroller Berry, of New York who have advocated the seven or ten cent fare. He has done nothing to dig us out of the transit mess into which Tammany has landed us New Yorkers. Yet in the face of this experience he still talks the contract system for regulating transmitting companies.

Governor Smith does not conceal his program of turning over the distribution of power generated by the government to private companies. Elaborating his plan for developing power at the remaining water sites, he frankly declares: "This does not mean that the government, national or state, is required to engage in the business of distributing electrical energy."

The origin of Governor Smith's power proposal is no secret, either. He has worked it out with Owen D. Young, head of the General Electric Company. And he has accorded Mr. Young due credit. He is in perfect agreement with Mr. Young, Gerard Scope, and others among his political backers, that cheaper light is to be furnished, not to the consumers, but to the distributing companies.

These are Governor Smith's own words on the matter as reported in The New York Times of March 5th, 1926:

"When we speak about furnishing cheaper light, heat and power," said Smith, "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."

Governor Smith then proceeded to acknowledge credit for his plan to Owen D. Young. According to The Times, Smith went on:

"As Owen D. Young said: 'The cost of energy developed from falling water is determined very largely

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Socialist Party Forces Advance In All the States

National Executive Committee Receives Reports Showing Recovery of Old Vigor and Increasing Membership

(Special to The New Leader)

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Records of concrete achievements were presented to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its sessions here by G. August Gerber, National Campaign Manager, and William H. Henry, Executive Secretary.

Comrade "Gus" Gerber's report breathed the spirit of enthusiasm and was filled with the sense of accomplishment that has characterized the national campaign of the Socialist Party. The records of the National Campaign Office indicated that "the party strength has at least doubled during the last two months." As Comrade Gerber described the rising tide of Socialism:

"Now in every part of the country where three months ago there was no organization or active the comrades are about and doing."

"Many old-timers are back in harness. Many new comrades have joined the party and are carrying on the party work."

"From all parts of the country we get letters of interest from persons who are willing to help spread the message of the party."

"Every mail brings us requests for literature from persons who have read about us or who have through one chance or another come in contact with some of our leaflets. Many requests come from people who have heard about us through the radio broadcasts that have dealt with our campaign."

"We get hundreds of requests from men and women with whom we have made contact recommending the names of other men and women to whom we should send our literature."

The filing situation, Comrade Gerber stated, was better than it appeared. It would be at the July meeting of the National Executive Committee. At that time it seemed that there would be six states in which a Socialist ticket might not be placed before the voters. The number of such states has been reduced to two. Only in

Louisiana and Nevada will the electorate not find the names of the Socialist nominees on the ballot. For that reason the feasibility of a "sticker" vote in these states is being seriously considered.

Organizers and speakers have been sent throughout the country. Norman Thomas, the Socialist Presidential candidate, has completed one tour from West Virginia to Michigan, is now finishing one to the Pacific and is already dated up for his third tour along the Atlantic Coast. (See schedule of meetings on page 2 of this issue of The New Leader). During the three weeks before Election Day, Comrade Thomas will concentrate on New England and the Middle Atlantic states. By the end of the campaign he will have covered forty of the forty-eight states in the Union.

James H. Maurer, the Vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, will leave his councilmanic duties during the month of October for a tour which will take him to San Francisco and Los Angeles and back. (See schedule of meetings on page 2 of this issue of The New Leader).

National organizers have been maintained in 33 states. In every case but four the field men are native to the territory in which they operate.

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LaFollette Wing Loses In Wisconsin

Reactionary Faction Gets Platform and Endorses Hoover—LaFollette Organ Considers Socialist Candidates as Alternative

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The LaFollette section of the Republican organization of Wisconsin was defeated at the state convention in Madison last week and with the rise of the reactionary wing to power the LaFollette men are puzzled as to what they should do. In a turbulent struggle over the platform which lasted from noon to 8:30 o'clock the next morning, the LaFollette faction was defeated. The platform approves Hoover and Curtis and is of the stereotyped "regular" variety.

Although the LaFollette wing of the party by a narrow vote in a secret ballot managed to elect their man, Herman L. Ekern, as chairman of the Republican state committee, this is a poor victory. It imposes upon Ekern the necessity of either serving the reactionary wing of the party and accepting the approval of Hoover and Curtis or resigning. The end of events in the LaFollette movement in this state brings a problem to the LaFollette voters which the "Capital Times" of Madison outlines in a recent editorial.

The Democratic party in this state, which has been an invalid for many years, hopes to win the affection of the LaFollette wing for Tammany "progressivism," but Smith as a successor of the ideals of the late Senator LaFollette is a gag for most LaFollette workers.

The "Capital Times" puts the problem up to its readers and it is offering ten dollars to the reader who sends the best letter in answer to

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TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate for President

En route to St. Louis.

WHATEVER else I forget of this crowded campaign tour I shall not forget my visit to Tom Mooney in San Quentin prison. Billings, alas, is in another prison, and I could not see him, but I also saw Mat Schmidt, convicted in the famous McNamara affair.

Of the gray walls of San Quentin washed by the waves of beautiful San Francisco Bay I shall not speak, nor shall I try to put on paper my reflections on prisons and prisoners and the men who keep them there. I shall not even repeat Mat Schmidt's salty philosophy of life and freedom in and out of jail, and his comments on the labor movement. Lincoln Steffens is working for his pardon, which ought not to be delayed.

This is about Tom Mooney. He has been very sick. When we saw him he was on the third day of one of those occasional self-imposed fasts by which he seeks to conquer his disease. His color was good; his step was brisk; his talk full of life. What has sustained him these eleven long and bitter years is his indomitable fight for justice. He was full of it when we saw him and had some hope because Gov. Young had seen a committee and listened to a masterly argument by Frank P. Walsh in his behalf. But Mooney permits himself no excess of hope. He has seen too many disappointments. Of some of these he spoke and of his feelings that the labor movement officially has been lacking in power and perhaps in desire to open his prison doors—a feeling, alas, all too well supported by the evidence he offers. Nevertheless, officially labor is on record for his pardon.

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Power Trust Boys Whine Over Probe

Power Feudalists Assume Virtuous Attitude Over Disclosures Regarding Their Poison Squads

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON. — At last the power trust, under probe at the hands of the Federal Trade Commission at the order of the Senate, has winced. It put forward new counsel at the hearing on Sept. 21, in the person of Bernard F. Weadock, who promptly became engaged in conflict with Commissioner McCulloch, presiding, and was worsted in the encounter. Weadock pleaded that eminent persons and institutions, including educators, had been put in the wrong by the press reports of the investigation thus far. He demanded that the power companies be given a chance to present their own story of their doings, in their own way. Also, he insisted that the propaganda pamphlets that have been forced into the public schools be printed in the written record, so that everyone may read their text along with the spoken testimony.

That the trust had begun to feel public hostility, as a result of the disclosure of its nationwide conspiracy to make up the minds of adults and children alike as to the wisdom of private ownership and the danger in public ownership of utilities, was already known. But confession that the trust felt it necessary to give a lot of character testimony in its own defense was news. Judge McCulloch agreed that the power magnates and their friends should have a date set for beginning their own testimony. But he made it very clear that that date would not be fixed right away, since he was not convinced that the Government's inquiry into the propaganda activities of the power com-

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Eager Voters Cheer Socialist Message Brought by Thomas

Young People Who Crowd Meetings A New Element For Greater Socialist Movement—Hoover and Smith Programs Attacked

By Edward Levinson

CHICAGO, Monday.—A week ago Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, left Los Angeles, California, cheered with the reception almost 3,000 workers had given his presentation of the Socialist message.

A few minutes ago he completed an address before a Chicago audience of 1,200 that almost filled the large Amalgamated Auditorium.

While crossing more than half the vast expanse of the continent Thomas had stopped enroute for a number of addresses. In each city the response was similar,—eager voters drinking in the Socialist message, fed up on Republico-Democratic humbug.

Here is the story town by town:

Salt Lake City

Springs a Surprise

Salt Lake City, Utah.—A short letter to The New Leader last week outlined the essentials of Thomas' meeting in the Mormon capital. By eight o'clock every seat in the First Congregational Church was taken. The audience proved to be one of the most responsive Comrade Thomas has met. More frequently than not, the Socialist candidate and his party have had to rush to their meetings within a few minutes after arrival in town. The necessity of a speaker's getting the "feel" of the town, sounding its prime interests and acquainting himself with the local cross-currents of political, social and economic life, had thus to be foregone. This was the case in Salt Lake City.

But Thomas' misgivings, if he had any, were baseless. Though it has been years since Salt Lake has heard a Socialist speaker, the crowd took to Thomas' views and the mode of expressing them with alacrity. Applause, cheers and laughter came quickly as he made telling counts

against Hoover and Smith and their pretensions to the support of informed voters.

As at all other meetings, Thomas' informal receptions at the meetings took place at the Lake too. Of course, there is a steady stream of Socialists or one-time Socialists, eager to press their candidate's hand and wish him well. But these have been outnumbered by far by the hundreds upon hundreds of young men and women to whom Socialism is a new story, and to whom the heartbreaks and failures of past years are unknown. To these Thomas always extends an invitation to join the Socialist movement. If half of these young people mean business, the party is in for a glorious bunch of recruits.

Entire Pocatello

Meeting Broadcast

Pocatello, Idaho.—An attack on the company unionism of the Union Pacific Railroad in vogue in the Pocatello yards of the company, drew vigorous applause from an audience

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Socialist Party Ratification Meeting, Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Ave., Friday Evening, Sept. 28th. Speakers Norman Thomas, Candidate for President; James H. Maurer, Candidate for Vice President; Louis Waldman, for Governor; H. J. Hahn, Coleman, Karlin and Hillquit

Smith's Power Program; But Who Will Regulate The Power Regulators?

The Liberal Liberalism of Tammany's Prophet Which Insures Profit in Distribution to the Power Gang

By Backstairs Spokesman

LAST we have it—that complete exposition of Al Smith's power program for which so-called "liberals" and "Progressives" have supposedly been waiting so anxiously.

At Denver last Saturday the Governor gave us all he's got on water-power and the hesitant liberal who has constantly held up Smith's water-power plans as his chief claims for liberal support may now decide whether they are quite enough.

Right off the reel, lest I appear over-critical and open to that old charge always leveled against critics of being "destructive," let me get it down that the Denver speech came as a welcome relief from the blather about "bigotry" in which Smith indulged in Oklahoma City.

I think the best friends of the Governor will agree that the Oklahoma City performance was a pretty cheap show. This snarling at a charlatan like Straton, this business of answering charges as patently preposterous as the one that Smith drove an automobile while intoxicated—somehow they indicate a lack of sense of proportion and a petty politician's idea of what is "manly" and "outspoken."

And it is nothing but the rankest sort of political chicanery to attempt to alibi Tammany by proclaiming that all who attack Tammany corruption are secretly inspired by "religious bigotry." By election day even the dullest voter will get on to that.

So when Smith finally tackled one of the real issues of the campaign at Denver, I, for one, rejoiced and read with close attention all he had to say on the subject.

Well, it won't lose him any votes among the Big Business boys, especially among the Southern industrialists who are contributing so heavily to his campaign.

For what Smith has done, as he has so often done in the past, is to assume the liberal position, march along with the Socialists and then—stop dead.

Stop dead just short of the place where the real fighting commences. There is no reason to be surprised about this. It is of the very nature of Smith's persistent opportunism to talk at the jumps.

The Smith tactics in water-power, as in everything else, are to go just far enough to satisfy the all too easily satisfied mish-mash liberals, but never far enough to do any real damage to the big interests. Hasn't he said that "I am for Main street and for Wall street, too?"

So here in the Denver speech we find the same cautious edging around the subject as in his so-called "stand" on injunctions and a host of other "liberal" concerns.

Briefly his water-power proposal comes to this: that the separate states own and develop their water-power resources instead of handing them over on long term leases to private companies.

Good enough—so far. But then what is to happen? Oh, the private companies will go right on transmitting the power just as they are now.

But Governor, what about the rates?

Why, they'll be controlled by the State.

And who will control the rates? Why, the public service commissions, of course.

And who will control the public service commissions? Why the same bunch who control them now, as was just proved in the Governor's home state in the case of the Brooklyn Edison merger—the private interests.

And there, after all your liberal gestures, you are.

Back to the old "regulation" game, despite all these "Progressive" journeyings.

For sharp contrast to Smith's program I give you the Socialist program

Around Campaign Headquarters

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

West Virginia Promises A Large Socialist Vote

J. H. Snider, Socialist candidate for Governor of West Virginia, continues the most effective campaign drive that has been made in the state for at least ten years. The past week he addressed two mass meetings arranged by the United Mine Workers. These meetings received nearly a column report in a Fairmount daily.

Snider writes that "if ever people were interested these people were. Every man in the meeting listened with intense earnestness and after it was over showed his appreciation by coming to me and promising to do all he could for the Socialist Party. I am convinced that we will get a large vote in this section in November."

"It is wonderful the interest that is taken by non-Socialists. I received the package of New Leaders and will use them in trying to get subscriptions." John Brown, who for many years was an organizer of the mine workers when miners had to fight behind rocks in the hills, will soon arrive in the state and organize Socialist locals. Brown is known by every union miner in the state and loved for his work. Snider looks forward to the organization of many locals in the state.

Newcastle, Pa., Socialists In Drive for Candidates

New Castle, Pa. was at one time a stronghold of the Socialist Party and it has good possibilities for a come back. The party branch there asks that "The New Leader" broadcast to Socialist and sympathizers in Butler, Beaver and Lawrence counties the party nominees for Congress and the Legislature. They are as follows:

For Congress, 26th District (Butler, Beaver and Lawrence Counties) George Turner, a machinist, of New Castle; for State Senator, 4th District, (same counties) William Llewellyn, a barber, of New Castle; for the Legislature, 1st District (Lawrence County) Harry Amberson, artist, of Culbertson Place; for the Legislature, 2nd District, (Lawrence County) A. R. Cierch, contractor, of Hellaville. Socialists and friends who desire to help support the party candidates should write to William Llewellyn, 3 N. Beaver street, New Castle.

Thomas Protests Against Reaction in Rumania

While in San Francisco Saturday, Sept. 15, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, addressed a letter to Premier Bratianu, Prince Nicholas and other officials of the Rumanian government, protesting vigorously against the imprudent and political reasons, of hundreds of workers and peasants, members of the

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bine was anywhere near completed.

When Weadock asked that further hearings be given and the school pamphlets on electricity, gas and street railways be printed in the hearings record, he began with a long argument as to the "tremendous burden" the inquiry has brought upon the power companies. He said that tons of material had been shipped to Washington, from which only 3,000 papers had been selected as exhibits.

Company executives, universities, great educators, legislators, Congressmen and Senators had had their names brought into publicity in connection with this probe. The press had not given a full account of the testimony because that was impossible. The public and the colleges were vitally interested in seeing that the true picture was presented.

As for the pamphlets, he claimed that people were attacking them who had not read them. Indeed, the American schools were now under attack because of these pamphlets.

McCulloch stopped him, saying firmly that there was no good reason for printing them in the record. If the press had not published all of their text, that was a matter for the judgment of the press. If the power companies were dissatisfied with the attitude of the press toward the pamphlets, that was a matter between the power interests and the newspapers.

When Weadock had finally been silenced by McCulloch's repeated refusals to make the Government a distributor for his propaganda material, the hearings were resumed.

Marcy B. Darnall, editor of the Florence, Ala., Herald and publisher of Darnall's Newspaper Service—a weekly sheet of "canned" editorials and bright quips—was the witness. He admitted that his editorial policy is one of hostility to Government ownership of any description in the business field. He has for more than a year been sending his material attacking the Government ownership of power dams at Muscle Shoals, Boulder Canyon and elsewhere to 200 weekly papers in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida, at the expense of the Alabama Power Co. By changing the mailing list, he has covered every weekly paper in these four states.

When Darnall was resisting the demand of Chief Counsel Healy, for the Commission, that he produce this list, Darnall argued that the papers were innocent and that any publicity given them would "be used against them."

Healy retorted that it was more likely they would be set down as "having had something put over on them," since they did not know that the Alabama Power Co. was paying for the ready-made editorials they were using as their own.

Darnall testified that he tried to unite all factions in the Muscle Shoals region, where he lives, to defeat the Norris bill.

There are three and a half millions who live in stens in a country that could spend ten thousand million pounds in a war—Lloyd George.

Thomas in Idaho

The excellent publicity obtained in Idaho by C. H. Cunningham for the Norman Thomas meeting in Portville resulted in a splendid demonstration. The speech also reached southern and eastern Idaho over the radio and the two daily papers gave columns to the address.

Cunningham has been invited to contribute more articles to a number of Idaho papers on Socialist issues and the Socialist campaign, an invitation which he will take advantage of.

In a letter to The New Leader he writes that the speech of Thomas created a profound impression and that the people of Idaho love him. Incidentally, Thomas gave some attention to Senator Borah, who for years has played the game of denouncing his own party and then getting aboard the band wagon in elections as a Barker for Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Thomas at Rochester, Buffalo and Syracuse

Arrangements have been made for mass meetings for Norman Thomas at Rochester, Buffalo and Syracuse. At Rochester, Thomas and Waldman will speak at Convention Hall, Rochester, on Oct. 23, and on the following night they will address a mass meeting at the Y. M. C. A. at Buffalo. At Buffalo, Thomas and Waldman will speak on Oct. 25 in the Elmwood Music Hall, Buffalo.

Louis Waldman, candidate for Governor, Herman Hahn, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, will also speak at these meetings.

National Headquarters News

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

National Campaign—Educate—Organize

Campaign—Educate—Organize is an old slogan, but it fits the situation today just as it did in former days. There is no better time to do all these things than now. We are in a position to do them better than ever before.

We hear Socialists say that they intend to organize after election, or that they will go in for education work after election. We say to those who would wait until after election, "Wait until after election, and very seldom do they do it after election."

Literature Available. The National Office has books on all phases of the Socialist and labor question. We have tons of them, and they should be off our shelves and in the hands of the people who will read them. For a price list and see what you will need in your community. Address the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Indiana

The State Secretary reports that two more Socialists have been elected as one at Bicknell and one at Columbus. The state now has eight working locals, besides a large number of members-at-large in every section of the state. The local at Indianapolis is quite alive and growing. Indiana is organizing more locals than any state and the members are doing it all by themselves.

Wyoming

State Secretary Nicodemus informs the National Office that the Wyoming Socialists are planning to start a Socialist paper. "It will be a monthly to start with," says the secretary. Wyoming is not a very large state in population, but it has a good number of well placed Socialists in many sections of the state.

Missouri

State Secretary Garver informs the National Office that he and others met in Jefferson City, the state capital, and performed all the necessary work in connection with the national ticket and a full state ticket. Garver is a busy man in his own affairs, making a living, but he attends to his duties as State Secretary.

Order Debs' Last Book. And order your local or branch order some of the Debs book "Walls and Bars?" There is a new wonderful book in this at headquarters in large quantities and it should be found in the home of every Socialist. Better get one now and not lost out.

Nebraska

There is something more than Al Smith going on in Nebraska. The National Office shipped another big box of literature to that city, where the comrades have their headquarters open all the time and a big demand for Socialist literature.

Illinois

State Secretary Snow declares he intends setting down state soon where some new party locals will be organized. Since the miners have gone back to work there will be a better chance to organize in the mining sections.

Montana

"Sentiment for Socialism is spreading throughout Montana," says D. D. Graham. The big Socialist sentiment that existed in that state some years ago is coming back. We would not be surprised to see a number of Socialists elected to office throughout the state. Not only are the comrades doing good work in the campaign, but they are planning to build party organization after election.

Iowa

State Secretary McCrills reports meetings being held by himself and the candidate for Governor, Comrade Rose, and a number of dates for Kirkpatrick. Because these meetings they are putting out a considerable amount of literature.

West Virginia

State Secretary Higgins informs the National Office that he is receiving many letters of inquiry and calls for literature, generally from the small towns and the country. Industry is doing very well and low wages prevail for those who are fortunate enough to have a job. Higgins says he never hears the old-time gag, "There is no need for Socialism in this country." Comrade Snider, nominee for Governor, is hammering away at both old parties and is having record-breaking crowds, speaking nightly and twice on Sundays.

Virginia

State Secretary George writes that their membership has increased from a dozen to forty-four. They are beginning a drive for funds and expect to raise at least a thousand dollars and have their minds set on one thousand members for Virginia. Big plans are being made for the Norman Thomas meeting, which is to be held in the John Marshall High School Auditorium. A big order for books and leaflets accompanied his letter.

Governor, Elizabeth C. Roth, candidate for Comptroller, and others will speak at the testimonial banquet to be given Frank Chenier of Buffalo next Sunday.

Waldman and Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee will speak together at a meeting to be held at Rochester on Oct. 11, while Senator Coleman, candidate for United States Senator, will speak with Mayor Hoan at Buffalo on Oct. 7.

Henry Jager, former Assemblyman, who is on the road for the State Campaign Committee, will continue his tour by visits to Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Jamestown and Binghamton, holding street meetings and making arrangements for meetings for state candidates.

Jewish Socialist Verband Wages Extensive Campaign

The National Executive Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband has arranged campaign tours for the following speakers: P. Danabitzer, who will tour from New York to St. Louis and the entire South. His tour includes about 32 states and will cover the entire New England states. B. Maiman will cover Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the southeastern territory. Members of the National Executive Committee of the Verband will also make visits to nearby points in New York.

Hoover's leaflet entitled, "Hoover, Smith and Their Platform," was distributed throughout the country and a second edition is contemplated. B. B. Winick's leaflet, "The Biographies of Norman Thomas and James Maurer," is already out of print and will be sent to the branches next week. Ch. Kantrowitz's leaflet, "The Platform of the Socialist Party," will be printed soon.

Besides these three leaflets the Executive Committee published a special issue of a pamphlet devoted to the new policy of the Communist Party of splitting existing unions. This pamphlet will be issued in twenty-five thousand copies and spread throughout the country. A special number of "The Worker" will be published on the 27th of Oct. In this issue the best known Jewish-American Socialist writers will participate.

The Kind of Help That Insures a Big Campaign

The drive of the National Workmen's Circle Campaign Committee in aid of the Socialist Party national campaign is producing results. The following letter received from the secretary of the drive is typical of some of the responses being received:

"My dear Mr. Weinberg:

"I am happy to be of any assistance, as you say, in 'aiding a cause which functions exclusively in the interests of the workers of liberal thought and a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the country.' The campaign of economic education is a long and difficult one, but is already beginning to bear fruit, and will continue to do so, in an increasing measure so long as the workers are united and the leadership is 'unselfish and intelligent.' I am enclosing my check for one hundred dollars (\$100) to assist in this splendid work. Permit me to congratulate you personally, for your unselfishness in giving up so much of your time and energy in helping your fellow workers.

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) M. TASHMAN."

Socialists of Reading Drive For Victory

Aim to Elect Two Members to the Legislature—Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee to Speak

READING, Pa.—The Socialist organization of Reading is moving into the electoral battle on a large scale this week with nine open air meetings in the county of Berks and nine in the city. They hope to elect two Socialists to the Legislature and for the next six weeks will bend all their efforts to this end.

The Women's Socialist League of Berks County is cooperating and on Wednesday night of this week they arranged an open air meeting at the City Park with Jessie Stephens of the British Labor Party as the main speaker. In the legislative campaign, William C. Hoover is the Socialist candidate for State Senator and Andrew P. Bower the candidate for Assemblyman.

In the legislative fight the Socialists will make the noxious fee system their central point of attack. The inability of the local municipal government to stop the city treasurer's privilege of taking upward of \$20,000 per year out of the public funds for his own purposes has been a sore spot with the Socialists who were elected to manage the city's affairs last November. While the Socialists, in common with taxpayers of other political faiths, view this sum as exorbitant and as a "salary grab," they have been unable to do anything to stop the practice because it is authorized by state law. Hoover, Bower and George have pledged themselves to correct this expensive evil by attacking it at its source. A law to fix salaries for all tax-collecting officials will be one of the first things which the Socialists will seek in the next session of the state lawmaking body.

Hoover Raised Issue

The issue of exorbitant fees was raised by William C. Hoover last November when first election returns showed him to be the successful candidate on the city treasurer's contest. Hoover immediately declared that he would turn everything he received above \$6,000 per year back into the public treasury. Hoover was later counted out, but the issue stuck in the minds of the people of Reading and was strengthened by the later statement of City Treasurer Charles Kershner that he would continue to take all that the law permitted him to take.

At a meeting of the Socialist campaign committee on Thursday night Hoover reiterated his position of last November and stated that the abolition of the fee

Joint Debate in Milwaukee

A joint debate on the issues in the Presidential campaign will open the 1928-1929 season of the Milwaukee Inter-Group Forum, Oct. 30. S. J. Dunne, editor, editorial writer, Chicago Evening Post, will uphold the Republican side; Prof. Thomas V. Smith will uphold the Democratic side. The Socialist side will be presented by Prof. Paul Douglas, University of Chicago.

Milwaukee Prospects

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Marx Lewis speaks of a promising outlook. With sufficient money the local Socialists could elect a county ticket and two Congressmen. He wants all spare funds.

Dan Hoan to Speak

A monster mass meeting in the International League baseball park (Lauer's Park), with Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, and Councilman James H. Maurer as the speakers, will mark the beginning of Maurer's campaign trip to the Pacific coast as the Socialist vice-presidential nominee.

Maurer leaves Reading on the morning of Oct. 10. The mass meeting at which he and Mayor Hoan will speak will be held on the evening of October 9 and will be the last public appearance of the local Socialist councilman in his home city until Nov. 1.

New Jersey

Louis Magnot of Paterson will address an open air meeting in Passaic Saturday, Sept. 29, at Main and Passaic Avenues, at 8 p. m. Very successful meetings have been held in Passaic weekly for some time past. Last Saturday evening's meeting drew a large crowd. Comrade Seidman of Newark excelled himself on the platform and the local comrades are grateful to Seidman for his efforts in this campaign.

New York State

One of the best attended meetings this year was held Saturday night in the City of Cohoes. With ideal weather, Herman Kolbe of Nassau gave a fine address to the workers. Many were waiting when the meeting started. Allen Dehen, candidate for Congress, 28th District, also spoke. Bundles of new Leaders were given out and a collection taken to buy more. With the mills running slack, money is scarce but many are eager for the message. The Cohoes comrades are working with the Albany comrades to the best advantage for a lively campaign and the workers are ready to listen.

Pennsylvania

A conference and mass meeting of Jugoslav Socialists will be held at Sycamore Hill Sunday, Sept. 30. A Pittsburgh speaker will address the conference which is called by Branch 13 of the Jugoslav Federation. The members are interested in strengthening the Socialist Party and aiding the Presidential campaign.

Night Bladder Weakness or Kidney Pains of the Aged

Relieved promptly with genuine Santal Midy E. Kottve-Harmless

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Corner Houston St.

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Corner 101st St.

Brooklyn
1768 Pitkin Ave.
Corner Watkins St.

Party Advances In All States

(Continued from Page 1)
This has been done not merely in order to have men and women at work during the campaign who are intimately acquainted with the ground they are covering but also with an eye to building up permanent organizations in these regions after the campaign is over.

Among the speakers being sent out by the National Campaign Headquarters are: Dan Hoan, Joe Caldwell, Morris Hillquit, B. C. Viadeck, Frank Crosswaith, Judge Jacob Panken, William Karlin, Paul Blanshard, Harry W. Laidler, Dr. Jesse Holmes, A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Karl M. Chworsky. The Jewish Socialist Verband is also conducting lecture tours of its own.

The Party Press

The party press has been greatly benefited by the campaign. The New Leader is covering the Eastern part of the country, the "Labor World," of Oakland, Cal., under its new managing editor, John Kenneth Turner, is covering the West and the "Virginia Appeal," which has recently appeared under the editorship of David Lidman, is aiming to become the Socialist organ for the South.

Various groups have been cooperating with the National Campaign Office in furthering the candidacy of Thomas and Maurer. Socialist organizations of this kind have been the Workingmen's Circle National Campaign Committee, Paole Zion, the Jewish National Socialist Workers' Alliance, the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Forward Association. In addition the following committees have been or are about to be established: Ministers and Educators, a Writers' and Artists' a Farmers' a Trade Union, Socialist Workers' and an Independent Committee for Thomas and Maurer. Cooperation has been secured from the National Party, the South Dakota Non-Partisan League, the Polish Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Polish Alliance and the Independent Negro Voters' League.

Winning the Farmers

Particularly encouraging has been the work among the farmers. Comrade Gerber told of numerous men active in the farmers' cooperatives and granges, many in responsible positions who have joined the party as individuals and promised to promote the interests of the Socialist Party within their organizations. He added significantly:

"It (the farmers' movement) will have to be nurtured carefully in the organization period that should follow immediately after the closing of the campaign."

Great stress was laid by Comrade Gerber on the necessity of distributing literature and other supplies. The statistics showed that this work has been progressing very well. It was important, however, that it be not allowed to lapse.

Charters to States

Comrade Henry, Executive Secretary, reported the granting of state charters to Wyoming, Louisiana, Virginia and Mississippi. A state organization is in process of formation in Alabama. Florida may follow suit. The membership throughout the country has increased by more than one-third over the same period last year. The gain has resulted from the growth of the English speaking membership, which has practically doubled.

Comrade Henry, too, took a far-sighted view of the present activity. He made a plea for allowing no lapse in the party work after election day. He said:

"It has been a habit in the past to allow the enthusiasm to die down for a month or more after the close of election before any real constructive work was mapped out. . . . The contact gained during the campaign and the great necessity for attempting to crystallize it into party members should be taken advantage of without any delay so that we may give every possible effort to the strengthening of party organization."

Both Comrades Henry and Gerber appealed for finances. During the campaign all contributions should be directed to the National Socialist Campaign Committee, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, or to any local Socialist organization.

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
The Largest Radical Working-Men's Federal Order in Existence
85,000 MEMBERS
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750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$2 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Compensation benefit, \$200 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.
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CLEMENT WOOD:
"INTELLECTUAL ASSASSINATION—THE ARKANSAS OUTRAGE
Shall Bigots Bind the Minds of Children with the Bible?"
INGERSOLL FORUM
Guild Hall, 113 West 57th Street, New York
SUNDAY, OCT. 7th, 8 P. M.
Admission, \$1; Reserved Seats, \$1.50
The first state-wide referendum ever held to outlaw Evolution occurs in Arkansas November 6th. This meeting is held to protest against the Fundamentalists' infamy and to raise funds to defeat the fanatics. Charles Smith, president of the I.A., leaves the day following for Arkansas, his native state, to conduct the campaign against the referendum bill. Money is needed for the fight.
If you cannot attend this rally, you will not send a \$1.00 or more to help save Arkansas. Copies of "Godless Evolution" and "The Bible in the Balance" will be mailed you free.
WOOLSEY TELLER, Sec'y, 119 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

Eager Voters Cheer Socialist Message Brought by Thomas

(Continued from Page 1)

of some four hundred railroad shopmen and farmers addressed by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, on Tuesday evening in Pocatello.

Arriving early in Pocatello, which is an overnight trip from Salt Lake City, Thomas was met by a delegation of comrades headed by C. H. Cammans, fighting Socialist organizer of the State. Cammans' fine record of battling for Socialism is matched by his activity today. The newspapers of the state always open their columns to his compelling expressions on current politics, and he had seen to it that the visit of Thomas had been well announced in the public prints.

Comrade Cammans, with Comrade George F. Hibner, Feltner and others, had come from Boise to run the meeting, since there is no local in Pocatello. Cammans had arranged to have Station KSEI broadcast the entire meeting to the farmers within a radius of more than fifty miles.

In Salt Lake City, Thomas had spoken in a Congregational Church; tonight, the meeting was held in a Mormon church building. In the audience were farmers with their wives and families who had come long distances in flivvers to hear Thomas. They remained after the meeting to tell of their interest and support.

The meeting was opened by Alice Higby of Boise. Cammans followed with a short talk on Idaho issues. Before Thomas' address your correspondent gave an outline of the Socialist movement and made an appeal for campaign funds which brought a good response. Thomas took the opportunity of speaking in Idaho to pay his compliments to Senator William E. Borah, the somewhat unstable progressive.

"In Washington," said Thomas, "they have a riddle about Mr. Borah. The question is, 'What is the difference between our revolutionary forefathers and Senator Borah?' and the answer is given thus: 'Our revolutionary forefathers held their fire until they saw the whites of their enemies' eyes. Borah holds his after.'"

"I think that Borah, Brookhart, Wheeler, Nye and Frazier should have served on the American Olympic games team. For plain and fancy hop, skip and jump onto the old party band wagons they can't be beat."

Explains Farm Stand To Cheyenne Audience

Cheyenne, Wyoming.—Traveling a full 20 hours in a grimy, dirt-laden day coach, with no sleeping accommodations and only one stop for meal, Thomas arrived in Cheyenne Wednesday evening from Pocatello. The Socialist standard-bearer did not reach here until 10:20 p. m., but he found that August Claessens, his traveling partner, who had gone direct to Cheyenne from Salt Lake City, had held the audience in their seats.

There were about 300 in attendance, a good part of them farmers. The size of the audiences that have turned out to hear Thomas—about 900 in Duluth, 1,000 in Minneapolis, 300 in Fargo, 400 in Butte, 1,000 in Portland, San Francisco and Salt Lake, and more than 2,500 in Los Angeles—may sound small to The New Leader readers in New York and some other large cities. If they but knew the apathy of the voters, as brought about by disgust for the two old parties, these meetings would seem little short of miracles. The crowds attracted by the Socialist speakers have in most cases exceeded the audiences addressed this year by the most prominent of the old party politicians in their respective states. Political bunk has worked to make large political audiences at least temporarily, a thing of the past. Wherever Thomas has gone old party politicians have openly expressed envy of the size of his audiences.

In Cheyenne Thomas dwelt largely on the farm question. "Two things are certain about the farmer situation," he declared. "The first is the serious condition of the average farmer and the lack of balance between our industrial and our agricultural economy. Statistics on farm incomes and mortgages, the increase of tenant farming and of abandoned farms leaves no room for doubt of the plight of the men who live by supplying all the rest of us with food and raw material for our clothing. The second certainty of the situation is that until November 6, both old parties will do everything they can to show they love the farmers, or their votes, except to give the farmers what they wanted by their support of the McNary-Haugen bill. Here, as in most other matters, there is no real difference between the Re-

publican and Democratic parties or their candidates. "Smith under pressure in New York dropped his flirtation with the equalization fee and talks vaguely of some future conference. It is only by thinking how hard they hate Hoover that any farmer will find it possible to vote for Smith, or how they hate Tammany, that they can be for Hoover. Of course, the politicians are lining up by labels. Four years ago Wheeler of Montana was telling all over the country a funny story, the point of which was that there isn't a quarter's worth of difference between the two old parties. Nine months ago Nye of North Dakota and New York City was berating Hoover and the Republicans, but both have now caught up with the party band wagon and jumped on triumphant if breathless with an agility that would qualify them for an all around Olympic games championship.

States Socialist Position
"My own position, which is the position of the Socialist Party, is more clear cut. Thus we may summarize it:
"1. As an immediate measure, we should support the McNary-Haugen bill unless the farmers themselves agree that it can be improved. I believe the equalization fee is the heart of the measure and is necessary to keep the plan going and to check over-production. I believe that the McNary-Haugen bill might be improved by further conference so that it would more clearly rebound to the benefit of the working farmer rather than the landlord processor or middle man.
"2. While the farmers are entitled to a subsidy direct or indirect if manufacturers get it from the tariff which can not benefit our cotton and grain growers and ship owners get it from the shipping law, no subsidy is a permanent and fundamental cure.
"3. For a more permanent cure the farmer, like the city worker, must look to a saner system than our profit-seeking scramble offers. The farmer in his difficult task of adaptation to an increased use of machinery, will gain by a national super-power system managed for the use of the people and by an enlightened program to put the unemployed to work. The farmer, like the rest of us, will gain by the socialization of banking and credit, by improvement in transportation and the nationalization and democratic control of railroads. I favor the St. Lawrence Waterway Development.

"Specific remedies for agricultural depression will include:
(a) The encouragement of both consumers' and producers' cooperatives;
(b) The establishment of a federal marketing agency, which, in friendly relations with the co-operatives, would seek to cut the wastes of profit-making middle men in the marketing not of our surplus, but of our whole product;
(c) A careful revision downward of tariff rates in the interest of domestic economy and international prosperity;
(d) A scientific program of taxation to lighten burdens, to reduce profiteering and land values and hence decrease tenant farming;
(e) Social insurance against weather hazard.

"Finally, may I urge that none of these problems can be solved by dividing the farmers and all city workers; neither group can prosper long at the expense of the other. Both groups have common need for honest and efficient government, for the preservation of liberty, for the establishment of true peace, for the end of poverty. Both have need of their own party, a party of workers with hands and brain, to advance their interests as producers and consumers against the powerful groups who finance the two old parties to protect them and their special privileges. There is no better time to make a sound beginning than to roll up this year a big vote for the Socialist ticket."

Comrade Louis Sky
The Wyoming movement is duplicating the movement in other states visited by Comrade Thomas. Under the secretaryship of Roy Nicodemus, ably assisted by Louis Sky, W. W. Wolfe and others, much work for Socialism is under way and more is planned. A state convention has named Dick Rozema, Blanche Kaufman and Lee Kruger as Thomas and Maurer electors. It named Wolfe, who addressed the Thomas meeting, candidate for United States Senator.

In Comrade Sky, we met a Socialist who deserves a story by himself. About 20 years ago he was one of a group of 40 Jewish families who staked out farms on what was then practically deserted Wyoming. He is one of the four families of the original homesteaders who have stuck it out. Before migration to the United States, he had been a Bundist, a Jewish Socialist, in the Baltic province in Russia. Today Sky is the "works" behind the Socialist movement in this neck of the woods. He is a farmer of high standing in the community,

Ben Marsh Assails Al Smith's Record

WASHINGTON.—Benjamin C. Marsh, now director of the People's Lobby, but for 11 years a reform agitator in New York, has refused an invitation from Frank P. Walsh and Frederic C. Howe to join the Progressive League for Alfred E. Smith as a member of its executive committee. He calls Smith a trimmer and cites his own experiences with Smith when the latter was a member of the New York Assembly.

Marsh says Smith promised him help, but actually blocked him, in getting out of committee a bill to authorize a referendum on gradually transferring taxes from land improvements to land values in New York City; that when he asked Smith if he couldn't trust his constituents to vote on it, Smith replied that he would save them the trouble of thinking.

a leader in what intellectual life there is. He is in demand for Friday evening lectures and debates.

Often the Democrats have sought to entice him into their party with promises of sure election to public office. Some years ago, 12 organizers of the Non-Partisan League worked under his direction throughout the state. He was never too sanguine about the League's possibilities, but, like many other Socialists of the farm districts, saw in it a possible means of tearing the farmers away from the two old parties. The town of Chugwater, where his farm is located, boasts of a large and successful cooperative undertaking, which brings unearned profits to no man or woman. In this Sky has been a pioneer.

In Denver,—

A Challenge to Smith

Denver, Colorado.—Norman Thomas preceded Governor Smith to Denver by two days. When he left Thursday night, after a good meeting at the Denver Woman's Club, the Socialist candidate left behind him a series of questions addressed to the Democratic nominee and Tammany leader designed to elicit more specific information about his position on vital issues. These questions followed along the line of those framed by Thomas in "Timely Topics" in The New Leader of two weeks ago.

In the Denver audience were a large group of college students, who proved to be among the most interested. Also in attendance were Judge Ben B. Lindsey, and former Governor of Colorado, William E. Sweet. Between 30 and 40 names of prospective Socialist party members were obtained and it should not be many more weeks before Denver reports a large and active party local.

Omaha an Unexpected Visit

Omaha, Nebraska.—A visit to Omaha by August Claessens and myself was an unexpected treat Friday. A wreck on the train ahead of ours on the way from Denver to St. Louis had caused us to miss our connection by three hours at Lincoln, Nebraska. Comrade Claessens and I parted with Comrade Thomas at Lincoln, where he took a train on another line to St. Louis. We had already bought our tickets on the Burlington through St. Louis. The investment on extra fare to get Comrade Thomas into St. Louis in time to meet reporters of the evening papers was well worth while, as was proven subsequently. Meanwhile Gus Claessens and your correspondent went on to Omaha there to catch a train at midnight on the Burlington for St. Louis. A four hour visit in Omaha gave us a chance to meet and briefly address Branch 173 of the Workmen's Circle and give them welcome news of the progress of the campaign.

Big Turn-out

In St. Louis

St. Louis, Mo.—Saturday night is usually a night for less serious occupation than attending political meetings, yet the audience that turned out to hear Comrade Thomas in St. Louis was well over the 1,500 mark this Saturday. Comrades A. Filler and Weintraub, Forward representatives, had worked hard and well, with the assistance of the Jewish Socialist Branch, and the meeting was to Comrade Thomas one of the most satisfactory of the trip.

G. A. Hoehn, veteran editor of St. Louis, presided, and gave an unnecessary refutation of a falsehood that had been spread in some local daily papers that he had endorsed Smith. Hoehn was in fine form, as were Claessens and Thomas. Every available copy of "The Intelligent Voter's Guide" was sold, as were thousands of buttons.

St. Louis expects the Jim Maurer meeting to surpass the success of the Thomas demonstration. And there is no doubt but that it will.

Fine Addresses

Made In Chicago

Chicago.—Comrade Thomas spoke no less than five times during his two-day stay in Chicago. Sunday afternoon an audience that almost filled Amalgamated Auditorium greeted him. A record sale of books was made at this meeting, which was also addressed by William R. Snow, George R. Kirkpatrick, George Koop and August Claessens. After paying 25 cents each as an admission fee, the audience contributed \$275 to the campaign fund.

Sunday night Thomas spoke in Elmhurst, and on Monday before the Women's City Club, over Station WCFU, the labor station, and in the evening, in Pullman.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)
don and there are signs of renewed activity in his behalf.

For my part I have little hope save as the pressure of public opinion and especially labor opinion grows stronger. Mooney's and Billing's imprisonment is the foulest of many black spots on the thing we call American justice. For at least ten years no informed man has doubted their innocence of the bomb outrage on San Francisco's Preparedness Day. The judge who sentenced them is the staunchest advocate of their innocence. The jury and prosecuting attorney have joined in the request for pardon. In the Centralia case the victims did shoot, though in self-defense. In the Sacco and Vanzetti case there was at least a pretense of belief by the authorities that they had been fairly tried and were guilty. There is not and cannot be such pretense in California since the perjurer confessed his crime. But still innocent men stay in jail. And why? Because powerful California interests want these "agitators" behind the bars regardless of guilt or innocence of specific crime. Because so called progressives, including Senator Hiram Johnson, are cowards. Because organized labor on the most favorable interpretation is weak and absorbed in other things! Hence it is that men like Herbert Hoover, almost neighbor to San Quentin and informed on this case, can seek the highest office in our land and not declare himself for justice. Bald statements of fact in a case like this are more eloquent than any rhetoric of denunciation. It is our shame and hurt and our children's if we cannot compel Gov. Young to heed us rather than those who would sacrifice innocent men to their passion and prejudice and greed. And what we want from the governor is not a parole for the innocent, but a pardon. Perhaps he has it under preparation. Each day's delay adds to California's disgrace and ours.

Over and over in this campaign I am told that the Socialist name is a handicap. I always reply I am fighting for a cause, not a name, but in my heart I wonder how true the theory is. At any rate the more I see, the more food for thought I find in the fate of other progressive movements which did not have our name, or what is more important, our philosophy. Previously I have written of the decline of the LaFollette movement in its native state, of the complete disintegration of the once powerful Non-partisan League, and the clouds on the future of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota. Everybody knows that the Committee of 48 is dead. More recently other facts have come to hand. When we were in Idaho the so-called progressive leaders of that state who once had a Progressive party were wrangling over Smith and Hoover with issues flung to the winds. The party's last candidate for governor issues a pro-Hoover statement listing prohibition, protection and the present Mexican policy as great progressive policies! You never guessed, did you, that progressives when Calvin Coolidge was elected!

Funnier—or maybe sadder—of all the fate of the alleged Farmer-Labor party claiming descent from the party of that name which entered the campaign of 1920 with the banners flying. What it represents today or where its strength is found I can't discover. It is disowned by the state parties of that name in Minnesota and South Dakota. Its little Chicago convention would have endorsed our party (as the National Party with headquarters in Indianapolis has done) but for a trick of the leaders. After the convention we were virtually offered its endorsement if we would pay its bills—a doubtful bargain. Finally, after its secretary had gone over to Hoover, the executive committee of the party met, nominated an almost unknown California colonel for president, tried to nominate the unrepentable Hefflin for vice-president and did nominate Senator Reed, who indignantly repudiated the nomination. Today it is a name without life or principles.

None of this do I record with joy. Behind these failures lie too many noble hopes disappointed. And by no means have these movements died without some valuable results. The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has a state ticket which I am proud to endorse. None of us can be as strong as we ought till we who have backed these movements get together. But when I survey the facts I doubt if our handicap lies in our name, and I am sure that our Socialist faith has given us a vitality and power indispensable to any real political movement of farmers and workers under any name.

That Socialist faith which brings comrades hundreds of miles to our meetings in states of magnificent distances like those in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado, never fails to thrill me. Whatever our vote in this campaign of unreason and prejudice evoked by the three R's of rum, race and religion, I am hopeful of the future because of the gathering of our forces. In Duluth, Minneapolis, Portland, Oregon, Utah and Idaho, a little handful of comrades have by now done miracles in reviving the party. The magnificent audience in Los Angeles was an inspiration. In Fargo, Cheyenne, Seattle, Spokane, Denver, San Francisco, Oakland and melancholy Butte, we met the kind of people who are the hope of intelligent political action in America. To

Frederic C. Howe, who, with Frank Walsh and some others announced that the whole LaFollette vote of 1924 would be delivered in the Tammany bag, has sent out letters to those who were active in the LaFollette campaign. He is also getting some replies that are not likely to be published. One of these letters went to Frank C. Holder at Springfield, Conn. Holder was Chairman of the Richmond County LaFollette-Wheeler Committee four years ago. He is an old railroad telegrapher but has been unable to obtain employment at his trade because he is over 45, the age limit set by the railroads. He was dismissed by the B. & O. management "for cause," the reason never having been explained.

Holder has answered Mr. Howe's request that he join the "Progressive League for Alfred E. Smith." After acknowledging receipt of the invitation, Mr. Holder informs Mr. Howe that he can only continue the LaFollette revolt of four years ago by voting for Thomas and Maurer, the Socialist candidates. Holder makes the following clear declaration to Mr. Howe:

"Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Secretary, 1775 Broadway, New York City.

"Dear Sir:
"I have your favor of the 18th, in which you endeavor to show that Mr. Smith should be the choice of those of us who voted for Mr. LaFollette in 1924, and extending to me the inv-

liege and an inspiration for the future.
On three successive nights we held fine meetings in halls owned by churches and loaned or rented reasonably to us. This was the order: In Salt Lake City a meeting in the Congregational Church with a Mormon Socialist presiding; in Pocatello, Idaho, a meeting in the reception hall of the Mormon Church; in Cheyenne, Wyoming a meeting in the Cathedral Hall owned by the Catholic church and rented for public affairs. What the moral of this is, if any, I leave to you. For my part I play no favorites and will gladly round out the circle by speaking in a Jewish temple or a free thinkers' lodge. And to them all I'll tell the same story: the political issue in America is not to whom men p-r-a-y and how, but on whom they p-r-e-y and why.

This isn't a travel talk or a description of scenery, but I may be permitted to bear testimony to the beauty I have found in this land of ours—that is, ours and the landlords! Life in America has more color and more contrasts and is a little less standardized than it seemed after our first tour. At that, it's all too standardized and its beauty is scarred and marred in every state by the ugliness men make when profit is our God.

That Socialist faith which brings comrades hundreds of miles to our meetings in states of magnificent distances like those in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado, never fails to thrill me. Whatever our vote in this campaign of unreason and prejudice evoked by the three R's of rum, race and religion, I am hopeful of the future because of the gathering of our forces. In Duluth, Minneapolis, Portland, Oregon, Utah and Idaho, a little handful of comrades have by now done miracles in reviving the party. The magnificent audience in Los Angeles was an inspiration. In Fargo, Cheyenne, Seattle, Spokane, Denver, San Francisco, Oakland and melancholy Butte, we met the kind of people who are the hope of intelligent political action in America. To

Campaign Tours of Thomas and Maurer in Coming Weeks Of Nation Wide Campaign

The schedule of Socialist Party demonstrations being arranged for Norman Thomas, candidate for President, and James H. Maurer, candidate for Vice-President, during the coming weeks is being rapidly completed. There may be some alterations in the schedule, and, if made, will be announced later.

Socialists and their friends should do their utmost to make the demonstration a big success. No meeting should be without a large bundle of New Leaders and orders should be placed at least ten days in advance.

Tour of Norman Thomas

Tuesday, October 2, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Wednesday, October 3, Atlanta, Ga.

Thursday, October 4, Jacksonville, Fla.

Friday, October 5, Charleston, N. C.

Saturday, October 6, 8 p. m., John Marshall High School Auditorium, Richmond, Va.

Sunday, October 7, 3 p. m., Hippodrome Theatre, Baltimore, Md.

Sunday, October 7, 8:30 p. m., National Press Club Auditorium, Washington, D. C.

Monday, October 8, New York City.

Tuesday, October 9, Paterson, N. J.

Wednesday, October 10, Wilmington, Del.

Thursday, October 11, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Friday, October 12, Marion, Ohio.

Saturday, October 13, 12 noon, City Club, Cleveland, Ohio.

Sunday, October 14, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Sunday, October 14, 10 a. m., Jewish Folk Theatre, New York City.

Tour of James H. Maurer

Wednesday, October 10, Cumberland, Md.

Thursday, October 11, Youngstown, Ohio.

Friday, October 12, Detroit, Mich.

Saturday, October 13, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Sunday, October 14, Milwaukee, Wis.

Wednesday, October 17, Seattle, Wash.

Thursday, October 18, Portland, Ore.

Friday, October 19, San Francisco, Cal.

Saturday, October 20, San Francisco, Cal.

Sunday, October 21, Los Angeles, Cal.

Monday, October 22, Los Angeles, Cal.

Tuesday, October 23, Ogden, Utah.

Wednesday, October 24, Denver, Colo.

Thursday, October 25, Omaha, Neb.

Friday, October 26, Minneapolis, Minn.

Saturday, October 27, Kenosha, Wis.

Sunday, October 28, Chicago, Ill.

Monday, October 29, St. Louis, Mo.

Tuesday, October 30, Cincinnati, O.

Wednesday, October 31, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Thursday, November 1, Reading, Pa.

Friday, November 2, Philadelphia, Pa.

Saturday, November 3, New York City.

Sunday, November 4, New York City.

Monday, November 5, New York City.

Tuesday, November 6, New York City.

Wednesday, November 7, New York City.

Thursday, November 8, New York City.

Friday, November 9, New York City.

Saturday, November 10, New York City.

Sunday, November 11, New York City.

Monday, November 12, New York City.

Tuesday, November 13, New York City.

Wednesday, November 14, New York City.

Thursday, November 15, New York City.

Friday, November 16, New York City.

Saturday, November 17, New York City.

Sunday, November 18, New York City.

Monday, November 19, New York City.

Tuesday, November 20, New York City.

Wednesday, November 21, New York City.

Thursday, November 22, New York City.

Friday, November 23, New York City.

Saturday, November 24, New York City.

Sunday, November 25, New York City.

Monday, November 26, New York City.

Tuesday, November 27, New York City.

Wednesday, November 28, New York City.

Thursday, November 29, New York City.

Friday, November 30, New York City.

Saturday, December 1, New York City.

Sunday, December 2, New York City.

Monday, December 3, New York City.

Tuesday, December 4, New York City.

Wednesday, December 5, New York City.

Thursday, December 6, New York City.

Friday, December 7

SHALL FARMERS BE FREEMEN OR PEASANTS?

By James Oneal

How Rural Workers Lost Economic Independence and How to Recover It

The grievance of the farmer is easily understood. After centuries of progress in agriculture millions of farmers are facing acute distress. Many have lost the fruits of the labor of a lifetime, including their farms, equipment, homes and savings. And a conquering army raided the countryside the farmers would not have suffered more than they have for seven or eight years.

It is easy to state the grievance. It is not so easy to tell how and why this happened. The farmers themselves are not all agreed on the "how" and the "why." Some ascribe it to our money system; others give part of the blame to the railroads or the gamblers in farm products; still others to overproduction of farm products. All these are factors in the farm problem, but all of them taken together still leave much to be considered.

Two things are agreed to by practically all working farmers. They know that they have been plundered and they know that a big majority of the members of both parties in Congress have done nothing to avert the disaster that has overwhelmed the farmers. This knowledge is the beginning of wisdom.

Now how are we to understand the main elements of the agricultural problem? We may answer this question by asking another one. How have we come to know Abraham Lincoln? Not by studying the life of the man who engaged in the famous debates with Douglas or the man as President. Lincoln in debate and Lincoln as President are certainly of vital importance, but to know the man it is also necessary to know something of his childhood and youth.

How the Farm Developed

The same thing is true of agriculture. To understand its present problems it is necessary to know something of its past history. Not all its history in detail. That would take a book, or a number of books; but some of the outstanding features of other days. Such understanding will help immensely in grasping the whole problem, past and present, and aid in planning for the future.

In the first place, in the early days of the republic, farmers were the great majority. Agriculture united farmers and industrial producers in the same persons. We had no distinct farming class confined to raising farm products and workers in city industries providing finished articles for the farmers. While the farmer and his family raised foodstuffs they also manufactured articles in the home. This work in the home was called "household industry." Agriculture and industry were united in the same family.

Consider the occupations of the farmer in those days. He tilled the soil, raised grains, fruits and vegetables and live stocks. He was his own miller, butcher, packer, carpenter and blacksmith. He was a tanner of

hides. In the winter he transformed the hides into shoes. The wife and children manufactured the clothing. The spinning wheel and loom were essentials of the household. The women spun and wove the garments worn by all.

The women were dyers as well. The dye pot provided for the colors of the garments. They made the cakes, canners, tailors and hatters. They made the carpets, the starch, yeast, perfumes, medicines, crackers, cheese. Farmers manufactured and manufactured farmers.

All this was over a hundred years ago. James B. Weaver, Populist candidate for President in 1892, tells of this farmer-manufacturing system in his boyhood days (1843-1844) in Iowa. "Mother wove on the old loom the jeans and other cloth necessary for the family to wear and then cut and made our clothes. Each fall father bought sides of upper and sole leather and from these made our boots and shoes. . . . All stockings and mittens were manufactured at home, spun from yarn on the large and small spinning wheels. . . . After crops were laid by in summer, through the fall and winter, father worked at his trade, built houses, made furniture, cut hoop poles, made staves, and busied himself with an almost endless variety of handicraft for which he was noted. . . ."

Farm Independence Passes

Although this was a laborious life, the farmer-manufacturer was independent. He had few worries and life had its joys. Weaver depicts this life in the following passage: "Before the open fireplace there was merry chatter, song, and a thrilling touch of music, father leading with his dear, old flute. They were happy days with the children all at home. Everything was natural, and modern conventionalities were unknown. Deep snows were a challenge to fun, con hunting a luxury, shooting wild turkeys and prairie chickens and netting quail almost a daily occurrence. Every necessity of life seemed to be piled right up at our door."

That age with its independence, its romance, its joys, is gone forever. In its stead is the farmer hesped with worries, bankrupt or facing bankruptcy, at the mercy of great economic forces and political parties that have wrought his ruin. How account for this? It is as plain as it is tragic. Every farmer knows what a cocoon is, that silky casing which covers the larvae of many insects. The cocoon bursts and disappears. From it fly the many insects which had been nursed to maturity in the cocoon.

The farmer-manufacturer age was the cocoon of the present age. From

it issued the many industries of today. One by one each occupation has been drawn out of the old household industry. It has been made into a specialized industry in great plants owned by investing capitalists. Making clothing, the textile industry, was among the first to be taken out of the home. Making dyes soon followed. Tanning leather and making shoes also drifted to factories in the cities. Slaughtering animals and preparing meat also became a giant industry. Grinding grain passed to extensive mills owned by corporations. Making hats became a corporation enterprise. Baking and canning became city industries. The making of starch, perfumes, medicines and other articles followed the same course.

So the industries passed out of the old cocoon into the cities and became profitable to those who owned them. Only the non-paying dregs have been left to the farm. The farmers are left with the rags and bones of industry.

An Enlarged Market

But the old household manufacture was not only stripped of its leading industries. Soon after the cocoon burst, many women and children of the farm passed into the city factories. Many of the sons of farmers followed. Towns became cities and a great population of industrial workers appeared. So the old farmer household industry gave birth not only to the new industries but provided large numbers of the human stock for the factory owners.

The new labor class of the cities came under the rule of the masters of industry. These masters with their banking aids also became masters of the farmers. Henceforth agriculture faced new problems and the farmers have slowly drifted to the status of peasants.

But other things happened to the farmers. In the old cocoon stage the farmer produced for a local market which he reached with his team. The local market has become a world market and transport by team has been succeeded by great railroads and ocean freighters. Great masters of capital absolutely control the transport of his products. Gamblers in the grain and cotton markets, commission men, brokers and middlemen, line the route along which the products of the farmer flow. He is helpless.

In the cocoon stage when he needed credit he generally obtained it from a neighbor whom he knew. Today credit and finance is a vast web centering in the great financial institutions of the nation. Even if he knows the local banker, the latter is an insignificant phase of the nation-wide financial system.

As a blacksmith he once made his simple instruments or obtained the aid of the village blacksmith. Today the simple instruments have become complicated machinery concentrated in the hands of great industrial corporations. Here again he is at the mercy of the new masters.

At the Mercy of Exploiters

To sum up. Practically all the former industries of the farmer have been fished out of the farm and have become enormous fortunes for idle investing owners. The few occupations left him do not pay and cannot pay. Transportation, credit, markets, machinery and supplies are controlled by the great corporate masters of industry and finance.

But the farmer is not alone in facing these powerful masters. The descendants of his sons and daughters who labor in the great industries face the same masters. Some of the skilled workmen by organization and struggle have averted disaster. Others in the mining, textile and other industries reap a wretched existence.

Observe that the awl, hammer, last and needle of the shoemakers have been transformed into great machines. The tool passed out of the control of the household worker, became a great machine, and is the property of the capitalist, not the worker. This transformation has occurred in most other industries. The city worker is almost as dependent as the farmer. Capital and finance control what are essential to the freedom of the city worker.

Both have suffered and are suffering from the same causes. Both should act together to accomplish their release from economic bondage and political helplessness.

What makes the plight of the farmer all the more hideous a tragedy is the fact that his productive yield per acre has vastly increased in the past one hundred years. This is due to better soil analysis, improved fertilizers, extermination of insect parasites, deeper plowing, better adaptation of crops to the soil, and the use of a variety of farm machinery. He has not received the increase. It has gone to the vampires who exploit both rural and urban labor.

Fruit of the Revolution

The full effects of the industrial revolution which took the simple industries out of the household and transferred them to capitalist enterprise were not apparent till after the Civil War. Farmer and wage worker both suffered. Professor William E. Dodd of Chicago University in the New York Times Magazine, July 24, 1927, relates what happened to both sections of the labor army.

"There was a northern debt of

\$3,000,000,000, a debt evidenced by bonds, payable in gold and in paper money as well. When the war ended, these bonds, or more than 80 per cent. of them, hastened to Philadelphia and New York and Boston, where, under the new banking system, the control of the nation's currency had drifted." The industrial capitalist "asked protection against every sort of competition in order that they might pay high wages—and then sent to Europe for hundreds of thousands of workers to keep wages down. The government . . . granted the protection and sent agents to Europe to urge immigration, immigration that mounted to half a million a year in a little while. It was privilege, vast privilege."

Having seen what happened to the wage workers we turn to the farmers. Dodd writes that the farmer

"went home to his fields in 1865. The price of wheat fell from \$2.50 a barrel in 1865 to 60 cents in 1869. . . . The United States . . . kept the tariff bars so high that the goods of European mills could not get to the tolling farmers of the West and South, while vast fleets turned hordes of poor European workers into New England and the Middle States and literally changed the face of the country—a revolution, nobody observing it."

"Nor was this all. The farmers back on their farms must pay the cost of their own fighting in the Civil War, three billions of dollars a then unprecedented sum. They received greenbacks for their wheat, at low rates. They paid for their supplies in greenbacks at high prices, because the government compelled them to do so. They wished to pay the debts in greenbacks, debts owed to a small number of men who had done little fighting. The government compelled them to pay gold, gold then, and long after 1865, at a premium of 25 per cent."

"It looked unfair; the tariff protected industry in its demand for high prices; it now protected the holders of the debt in a similar demand for high prices, high prices for bonds that had been bought for 60 or 70 cents in the dollar. The farmer had gone home to pay himself for fighting."

Three Out of Ten Dollars

All of which was evidence that the masters of finance and capitalist enterprises were the rulers at Washington. Something similar to this has happened since the end of the World War. In 1927 H. R. Tolley, agricultural economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, reported that the volume of production per farm

worker had been rapidly increasing and that from 1870 to 1920 it had doubled. Yet the share of the farmer has declined! Henry C. Taylor and Jacob Perlman in the "Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics" for May, 1927, show that persons engaged in agriculture prior to the World War received 20.5 per cent of the national income but from the year 1922 they had received only 10.5 per cent of the national income.

Farm tenantry is on the increase. The percentage of farms operated by tenants for the United States as a whole increased from 25.6 per cent. in 1880 to 38.6 per cent in 1925. This is the general average and some regions show a higher percentage. In the South Atlantic States it is 44.5 per cent in the East South Central States 50.3 per cent and in the West South Central States 59.2 per cent.

The mortgage debt of the farmers is staggering. It is estimated that this debt in 1925 on farm lands and buildings is eight billion dollars or more, representing from 38.8 per cent to 42 per cent of their value. Personal indebtedness adds more than three billions more. The total indebtedness of farmers in 1924-1925 was estimated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture at \$12,500,000,000.

Dismal as this showing is, it does not tell the whole story. In the five years preceding 1925 the total value of farm property declined about 20 billion dollars and 30 per cent of the farmer's net cash income goes to satisfy interest. Naturally, the farm population is decreasing. It declined about 2,000,000 between 1920 and 1925, an average of 400,000 per year fleeing from the hopeless prospects of agriculture.

What is to be done? Farmers and city workers are voters. Most of them have voted for the candidates of the leading parties since the Civil War. The price paid for this is recorded in the tragedy of farm life and the life of millions of city workers.

Benjamin C. March, Managing Director of the Farmers' Council, said in 1927 that "the farmer cannot survive as an individual in a system where in order to survive, he must be a collectivist." This is true. He must recover control of production, credit, marketing, machinery, supplies and transportation. As a class, farmers do not have sufficient votes to realize this program. Neither do the city workers, yet it is the corporate masters of industry, of marketing, credit and transportation who are enriched by the labor of the farmer and city worker.

What Is Needed Immediately

A few of the important measures that should be immediately enacted are the following:

- (1) The principle of the McNary-Haugen bill may not be an ideal one, but that agriculture must have some such aid is certain. In the early days manufacturers received financial aid through taxation and subsidies. They are today tenderly nursed by tariffs. Direct Federal aid to agriculture is important and necessary if farmers are to avoid hopeless distress.
- (2) Idle lands held for speculation should be taxed by appropriating the values due to increased population and development of civilization, thus giving farmers access to such monopolized areas.
- (3) The Federal Government must cooperate with farmer organizations and marketing agencies to eliminate the uncertain income of the farmer and reducing the number of middlemen who levy tribute on the farmers' products.
- (4) The farmer should not be required to take all the risks of drought, hail, storm and flood. These risks should be shared by the whole population of the nation by Federal insurance at cost to the farmers.

Serfdom or Freedom?

Both farmers and city workers can carry a national election and both have carried national elections. They have carried elections for Democrats and Republicans since the end of the Civil War. The result is obvious.

They can also carry a national election for themselves by supporting their own party and program. The old parties are hopeless. They are financed by great capitalists and bankers who are opposed to a program for the recovery of industries for the welfare of farmers and workers.

National ownership of the basic industries, of transportation, of banking are the leading items of the collective program mentioned by Mr. Marsh. Farmer-manufacturers once were masters of production in the household. We must now become masters of production in the nation, again uniting farmer and worker in a higher unity for the relief and emancipation of both.

The Socialist Party alone represents this collective program. It is representative of the claims and the welfare of the useful workers in rural and urban industry. The old parties are fat, corrupt, and owned by the masters of capital and finance. Smith and Hoover represent no vital difference in views.

It is time for a new deal, a new political revolution. Either we must win power in the states and at Washington or sink to the level of serfs. It is for the thinking farmer and city worker answer with their ballots.

The Logical Fruit Of Capitalist Monopoly

By Murray E. King

A NEW and very startling condition confronts America. Side by side with unusual rising prosperity among the rich there exists widespread and increasing poverty and unemployment among the poor.

Since 1920 approximately 8,000,000 persons have been uprooted from the farms by intolerable conditions of livelihood and have migrated to the towns and cities to become wage earners. During the same period about 4,000,000 town and city folk have sought to es- industrial centers by migrating to the farms.

During these same eight years there has occurred the most constant and extensive increase in unemployment among the wage earners in the history of this country. According to a report compiled by Ethelbert Stewart, an authoritative economist and head of the division of labor statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, there was a constant displacement of workers in industry from 1920 to 1928 resulting in a total displacement of 8,331,000 wage earners.

During this same period the prosperity of the business class, particularly the big business class, was the greatest in American history. This prosperity of the rich and super rich mounted steadily with decreasing employment and agricultural ruin. The rich owners of finance, commerce and industry constantly obtained a larger produce with fewer workers. Profits and dividends to these owners rose steadily until they became greater annually than during the peak period of the World War, and the greatest in the history of this country. The centralization of wealth and power was the most rapid in American history.

This glaring contradiction between the condition of the rich and poor is immensely significant. Rising prosperity for the rich side by side with increasing poverty and unemployment for the poor were new in America, but the existence of poverty and wealth side by side were not. Until recent years, however, the condition of the rich and poor bore some relation to each other. Once upon a time, when American life was comparatively simple and basically agricultural there was such a thing as periods of somewhat general prosperity and periods of somewhat general hard times. There was

such a thing as class interdependence in national prosperity.

We have gradually grown away from this primitive condition. But until the World War general ruination among farmers and general unemployment among wage earners were connected with periods of stagnation and reduced profits among the business elements. And times were greatest among the farmers when industry and business were most inactive. Periods of unusual unemployment accompanied periods of low business profits and bankruptcy.

Panics and Prosperity

Something distinctly new has developed since the World War. Big business has at last erected a superstructure that cannot be shaken by ordinary condition of hard times or panics among the poor—a superstructure that can extract unusual profits while millions of producers abandon the soil and other millions of producers tramp the street vainly seeking work. This condition reveals the birth of practically a new system in America. It reveals a new break and chasm between the rich and poor that has practically destroyed whatever previous class interdependence that existed. A new chasm in which great wealth and power on the one side becomes fixed, institutionalized, permanent; and widespread poverty and unemployment on the other side also become fixed and permanent institutions. Former bridges between the rich and poor have broken down. Permanent prosperity has been segregated to the rich and chronic hard times to the poor.

We now have no new system in the sense that we have outgrown the capitalist system. We have the capitalist system in a new phase. We have no new system in the sense that we have outgrown the most recent phase of capitalism—private monopoly. We have the private monopoly system in a new phase—the phase where monopoly begins to function as an organized system and produces its first distinct effects. The first distinct effect of private monopoly as an organized system is this new immunity of the rich from the panics and hard times of the poor. Great wealth, now, is able not only to increasingly prosper in the midst of increasing poverty and unemployment, but it prospers increasingly out of increasing phenomenon, the high cost of living has

poverty and unemployment, as we shall see later in these articles.

Formerly we had financial panics that occurred at regular periods. It is highly improbable that as long as the present system possesses its present unity and power there will be any more general financial panics. The financial monopoly, the essence and binding of all monopolies, is responsible for this new condition.

Not only is this financial monopoly guaranteed against future money panics by its stupendous resources, unity and centralized control, but it is now built within the greater structure of law and government, thanks to the Federal Reserve banking system, and is a part of the law and government and exercises governmental powers and immunities. It is now wholly able to banish panics to those unfortunate who exist outside of its realm and its favors.

Corporate Price-Fixing

Despite the large and growing number of trusts, it would be too sweeping a statement to claim that all lines of commodities are controlled by these super-corporations. Yet, who can doubt but that a condition of effective monopoly now controls all commodities? The monopoly system is so firmly in the saddle that the psychology, spirit and method of monopoly runs through every group of owners and traders. Even petty retailers and professional practitioners are organized and are able in conformity with the great interests behind the system to establish and maintain standard prices at profitable levels. Where fixed prices are not imposed by super-corporations, they are attained by common agreements, understandings and even by common habits. A great price-fixing mechanism of owners and traders has arisen which tends more and more toward automatic operation. Such a mechanism became necessary as a matter of self-preservation among the smaller owners and traders as soon as the super-corporations or trusts began to wield a preponderant power in price-fixing. Back of this mechanism is a great interlocking trust control of finance, commerce and industry.

Many have wondered why the cost of living remains so high ten years after the World War. Commencing as a war

now become a monopoly phenomenon. As long as organized monopoly is in the saddle we will suffer from the high cost of living. The law of supply and demand has been set aside by the new organized of the owning class. Henceforth, consumers will pay whatever organized monopoly chooses to make them pay.

This new mechanism of monopoly primarily controls price-fixing. It is essentially a pricefixing mechanism. But it also controls the conditions that surround all productive work in industry and on the farm, all individual business and production, all small business. It goes beyond this and wields a most dreadful and sinister power—the power to suppress wealth production and create artificial poverty in the interest of private profits. Hence, monopoly is not only a price-fixing device, but it is also a wealth-suppressing device. It was created for the purpose of controlling unrestrained competition in wealth production.

Power to Confiscate

The most direct threat to private profits is more wealth than the market can absorb. Such a surplus of wealth clogs the market and brings down the price of goods, wiping out the profits of the owners of the goods. Before the trust can fix prices it has to keep down production to the market demand. Hence, wealth suppression is part of its process of price-fixing. If the monopoly wishes to go a step beyond this and extort exorbitant prices it has but to suppress wealth production to the extent of producing artificial scarcity. It literally possesses the power to starve the producers and consumers into whatever terms it chooses. Hence, with its pliers of wealth-suppression and price-fixing, private monopoly possesses practically absolute powers of confiscation.

Figures show the extent of wealth suppression by the new monopoly power. This is brought about by the deliberate curtailment of output by closing down and dismantling part of the plants and reducing the working forces on others. The owners might extend the market by paying bigger wages and thus increase the purchasing power of the people. But paying bigger wages would tend to wipe out profits by increasing expenses. They choose, rather, to pay low wages and keep down production to the purchasing

power of low wages. High wages, on the other hand, would necessitate a larger product to satisfy the enlarged market. The trusts prefer a smaller product on a low wage market, because this conforms more closely to the basic monopoly purpose of keeping goods comparatively scarce in order to keep prices up. The widely prevalent notion that the monopolists can be induced to pay higher wages because it will create a bigger market for their goods is a delusion. The trusts are primarily machines of extortion and get their profits normally from low wages and limited markets. In other words, they keep the people poor and partially unemployed in order to apply their pliers and extract maximum private profits. Poverty and unemployment among the producers is the logical fruit of the monopoly system and the basis of its prosperity.

Poverty and Prosperity

These conditions combined with the increasing productivity of the wage worker and farmer explain the anomalous condition described at the beginning of this article—increasing poverty and unemployment among the workers in the midst of unexampled and increasing prosperity among the rich owners. This astounding increase in the annual amount of wealth is produced by the average farmer and average wage worker as a result of inventions and the development of organized mass production. This increased productivity of the workers has been followed by a greatly increased exploitation of the workers. The owners by virtue of their increased monopoly powers have been able to take a relatively much larger share of this increased product. This has resulted in the most rapid accumulation and great concentration of wealth in the history of the country. It has also enabled the rising monopoly system to produce constantly more wealth with constantly fewer workers, giving rise to the most constant and extensive increase in unemployment that this country has seen.

This has brought us face to face with a really new and most threatening kind of unemployment problem. Capitalism has always based its power to extort private profit upon what has been described by economists as a reserve army of unemployed. Since capitalism began there has always been some unemployed

There has always been the man on the street to hold down the wage of the man in the factory. But this host of the unemployed fluctuated in conformity with the fluctuations of business. In prosperous times it was so small as not to present a pressing problem. In hard times, only, did it swell to large and alarming proportions.

Now we have unemployment presenting a new and disquieting aspect under the monopoly system and because monopoly has begun to be effective. We see unemployment growing steadily despite the prosperity of the owners of finance and industry. We see it assume most alarming proportions.

Public Ownership or Public Plunder is the Big Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Reduced to plain language, the Governor Smith-Owen D. Young plan is this: The government is to invest its funds, construct power plants and turn the power developed over to private companies (the General Electric certainly not the least among them) which are to sell the power to consumers at rates to be set by notoriously ineffective public service commissions. These commissions are to make contracts with an admittedly corrupt and unscrupulous public utilities combine, that, every day, thanks to the breakdown of Governor Smith's vaunted regulation grows more powerful.

Surely Governor Smith, through this ingenious plan, has proved himself as well or better fitted to serve the power trust, than Mr. Hoover.

We Socialists repeat: nothing less will do than a net work of integrated public authorities, federal, state and municipal, for developing and transmitting all power produced by coal or water. We want Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals only as steps to this end.

And the difference between us and Governor Smith—to say nothing of his party—is characteristic of the differences between Socialists and those politicians who want to stand in, at the same time, with the Raskobs and the consumers. It can't be done, and under the Smith plan it will be the Raskobs who win.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

TWO MEN WHOM AGE CANNOT WITHER

TWO of England's most outstanding minds, in the possession respectively of George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, have given us their matured thoughts on the world they live in.

Mr. Shaw says that his "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," is his "last will and testament to humanity."

Mr. Wells says of his latest book, "The Open Conspiracy," "This book states as plainly and clearly as possible the essential ideas of my life, the perspective of my world. . . . This is my religion. Here are my directive aims, and the whole criteria of all I do."

I have read Scott Nearing's criticism of Shaw's book, as being a "bourgeois" effort. I am aware that youngsters nowadays find it fashionable to sniff at Wells. I am aware also that old age is not creeping upon me exactly, but rushing upon me apace. Nevertheless I am old-fashioned enough still to retain a passionate interest in what these two men have to say about men, women, and things.

Shaw, in 470 closely printed pages, concerns his brilliant self with Socialism's basic problem, the distribution of wealth in a "respectable, civilized country." Wells, in his new book, which is a blue-print of a much larger structure to come, is concerned in formulating a religion (I almost said a religion of "service" but Bruce Barton and his fellows have done that word to death) which will take the place of the worship of old gods. This is to be the Open Conspiracy, an aristocracy of brains and ability which will carve out a new society. It is the old Wellsian World State under a new name. But for one reader, at any rate, it still retains its exciting possibilities. Wells tells us that ever since the war, he has been busy writing a modern Bible for mankind. The first book of his Bible was "The Outline of History." This was to furnish "a framework of fact within which the general political ideas of the reader can be put in order." Now with two more specially qualified writers, he is engaged on a companion book to "The Outline of History," which will be called, "The Science of Life."

"It will be," says he, "a summary of what is known of the nature and possibilities of life. It will give the data for personal conduct within a biologically conceived world society, just as 'The Outline of History' gives a frame for the individual political life in a unifying world state."

And finally the third book of his Bible, which he is considering naming "The Conquest of Power," will treat of economic and social organizations, considered as the problem of man's exploitation of extraneous energy for the service of the species."

Now there, boys and girls, is something to sit down and chew over. Here is H. G. Wells, who has written more than fifty books in his sixty-two years of life, hard at work on a Bible for all mankind, and George Bernard Shaw, who is ten years Mr. Wells' senior writing a plan for a new world.

I don't know exactly what moral lessons, if any, are to be drawn from this. Of course, both of these world planners see Socialism eventually triumphant. Nothing surprising in that. Wells' "Open Conspiracy" does not rely as primarily upon the efforts of the workers for its success as an orthodox Marxist might demand, and the Shawian argument for equalization of income, while it takes terrible swipes at the British trade unions, would do away with Capitalism, as we understand it, altogether.

What I am interested in right now is the fact that two rather great old men, their lives full of genuine performance, should start practically all over again, as it were, and get tremendously excited about their plans for making life more bearable for those who are to follow them. Both of these men have all the money that they need. Indeed, that insufferable prig, De Casseres, on his customary hunt for self-published, lays great stress on the fact that Shaw is a very rich man indeed. Recently De Casseres rushed into print, proclaiming that Shaw could not be a Socialist because he had a lot of money.

We are used to this sort of dumb-bunny performance in this country, but it must have astonished intelligent people abroad, this business of attacking a man because under the Capitalist system he had the ironical luck of making Capitalism pay for criticism of itself. Over here there is quite a group of hair-shirt devotees who go round saying, "How can you be a Socialist, when you make more than thirty-five dollars a week?" England is fortunate in one respect, that it has outgrown this particular form of adolescence.

But I was talking of old men, not rich men. Most old men that I know are about as interesting as ex-guinea pigs. They sit around on the front porches of country clubs, boasting about the successful amours of their youth, and denouncing the sex aberrations of the younger generation, when they are not prating about their golf scores or comparing merits of their attending physicians.

To keep alive this army of ancients, another army of alert, attractive youngsters must slave at unpalatable tasks, through long hours. It seems as though the life of each generation were darkened by the shadows of that which preceded it.

This thought depresses us tremendously every time we discover ourselves panting after climbing three flights of stairs. And we look forward to the time when some poor infant will have to listen to our mumblings about the Campaign of '28, when, by Gum, we ran for U. S. Senator from the State of New York. While the said infant might find this preferable to hearing from our withered lips purely fantastic stories about our conquests among the weaker sex, nevertheless, it will be tough on the kid.

So Heaven send that when the pangs of rheumatism prohibit our climbing any more step-ladders to take the platform at out-of-door meetings, we shall be so busy with some proposition for fixing up a better world that we shall not mind the fact that we cannot "soap-box" any longer. Not that we have in mind writing any Bible for humanity, if indeed we could. Old age pensions might then occupy our waking hours. Or we could be busy with finishing up that book on "Pioneers of Freedom," overdue now two years. Or we could be used for testing parachutes. Or anything in the world that was not solely concerned with ourselves and our digestive tract.

"This Is Norman Thomas" 7—Wrecked Hopes, New Determination

By W. E. Woodward
Author of "George Washington, The Man and The Image,"
"Bunk," "Lottery," and "Bread and Circuses."

THEN, after two months in which circulation had steadily climbed upwards, and in which the editorial end of the paper was taking on definite and lively form, came sudden disaster. On the very day when the sign-painter had finished lettering the words "The New Leader" on the side of the Fourth avenue building, the grim fact which has been the death-sentence of many an old-line newspaper reared up its ugly head in the business office: you can't run a newspaper on circulation alone. Starting on a sum which would be put in a shoestring class by an experienced newspaper promoter, the union backers of "The Leader" found that without department store and other advertising (naturally wary of any labor and liberal enterprise), it was costing them more to distribute each copy of "The New Leader" than they were receiving for the same. There was a hasty and rather tragic conference, at which it was decided that rather than to run into debt and to the begging way of so many other liberal publications, they would close down "The Leader" then and there.

This was a body blow to the hopes of Thomas and the others for a genuinely progressive organ for the New York workers. Some of those who perforce were dumped out unceremoniously into the street to embark on job-hunting jobs (all the harder because of their connection with "The Leader") have since taken up the most pathetic of roles, that went on. Out of the wreckage there emerged "The New Leader" of today, the national Socialist and labor weekly, with a circulation not to be sneezed at, and an influence in labor and liberal circles which grows with every issue. To this Thomas contributes a column of comment on the passing scene, set up after the physical form of Mr. Arthur Brisbane's column, but about as different from the blab of Brisbane as Bernard Shaw is different from Bernard MacFadden. So popular did this feature become, that soon other labor editors were lifting Thomas' stuff, and today he sends out his short pungently written, very much to the point editorials to some one hundred and thirty labor and liberal publications around the country.

Now the Presidential campaign of 1924 heaved in sight, and all that winter there was great paw-worring in liberal and labor circles over the formation of a third party. Throughout the country various groups, rebellious over the failure of the Republican administration to do anything for the workers and small busi-

ness men, had been meeting together to discuss the formation of an opposition movement. Fred Howe's Committee for Progressive Political Action, various labor-union organizations, the liberals in the Committee of Forty-Eight, and other rebels, saw in Senator Robert Marion LaFollette an ideal standard-bearer for the new party. For years LaFollette has been carrying on a lonely warfare in the Senate against what his followers called rather vaguely "special privilege." He had stood gallantly out against the war had been reviled by big business about as bitterly as any man of his time, and had consistently and persistently fought for the cause of labor. He had in Wisconsin a powerful political machine, which might well form the nucleus of a separatist movement. Although the Senator himself was old, and had on him scars of many battles, there was still plenty of fight in him, and he had two competent aides in the shape of his sons, Philip and Robert Jr., now the youngest member of the Senate.

The Socialists in the LaFollette Campaign: Because of all these groups, bound together by their common distrust of both old parties, the Socialist Party alone had the framework of a national organization and had in it men and women experienced in opposition politics, it was essential to the success of the adventure that the Socialists come along. Here was a problem in tactics which required unselfish cooperation and genuine sacrifice. Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Thomas and other outstanding Socialists saw the danger of merging the party of the revolutionary Debts, with loosely held together bodies of somewhat misty liberals and somewhat indifferent laborers. But they saw as well the opportunity for building in this country a labor party of which the Socialist Party should be an integral part, in much the same manner as the Socialists in Great Britain are part of the British Labor Party. Long before the convention which nominated LaFollette met in the big hall at Cleveland on July fourth there were all sorts of difficulties to be smoothed out before the Socialists could finally throw in their lot with LaFollette campaigners. Veteran members of the party, who had had bitter experiences in the past with well-meaning but heart-renderingly impractical liberals, kicked vigorously against the new harness. On the other hand, old-line labor leaders, still jealous of their own special privileges, looked suspiciously upon the alliance. They had no heart for going the whole Socialist round, and they made it very evident from the start that while

they might pay lip-service to LaFollette's platform (a surprisingly mild and rather antiquated restatement of the old trust-busting progressivism) they were not giving this campaign any over-enthusiastic support. However, there was very little hope of obtaining any political favors for labor from the light-mouthed little Coolidge, and Mr. Davis, formerly of J. P. Morgan's office, was even less promising on the Democratic side.

So while the organized labor movement officially endorsed the LaFollette candidates and platform, the brand of carry-much to the Jimmy Higginses in the Socialist Party, and those few practical liberals, who had had previous political experiences. Such a movement was, of course, bound to attract the most fantastic of followers. Men and women with ancient grudges, with pathetically pious panaceas, with immediate utopias and bizarre economic theories, all swarmed about LaFollette's headquarters, to the intense annoyance, and oftentimes embarrassment, of the hard-working leaders.

A somewhat bewildered public heard speeches on the Single Tax, theosophy, the crimes of England, the virtues of I. W. W., all delivered under the aegis of the pompous and self-important LaFollette. In the midst of the campaign, while LaFollette himself was making great inroads in the Western states where he might have gathered electoral votes, for a reason never satisfactorily explained, he turned in his tracks and came heading at the impregnable Republican East. To be sure, his meetings along the Atlantic seaboard were large and well attended. But those who shout loudest at mass-meetings often forget to turn up at the polls on Election Day. And what chances there were for making a decent showing in that absurd and antiquated institution, the Electoral College, went glimmering when LaFollette came out of the West.

Next Week: The Liberals Fall By the Wayside

Barnes Files in North Dakota—J. Mahlon Barnes has received official acknowledgment of receipt of certificates of nomination for the Presidential electors on these principles: Socialism, Cooperative Production and Distribution. The Socialist nominees are: Bert O. Morrison, Robinson, North Dakota; Alex De Groat, York, North Dakota; Mrs. T. C. Peterson, Fargo, North Dakota; Goodwin Olson, Rusk, North Dakota and A. Halvorson, Butte, North Dakota.

Leader Makes Socialist Voters

"I must have the paper."—W. B. Gibson, Altoona, Pa.

"I don't think much of the two old parties and I will vote for the Socialist standard-bearer, Norman Thomas. Good luck to you." So writes a new subscriber, D. E. Glunt, Pleasant Hill, O.

Edwin S. Coy, Boston, says that he is enjoying the N. L. during the present campaign.

"Well, boys, here it is! Two dollars for the N. L. the paper that the capitalists haven't money enough to buy," writes Leonard Kaye, who continues to fire in the subs from Tennessee.

Three dollars for subs from Henry Westerlund of Chicago.

"Wish I were able to send \$100 to be used to the best advantage for the cause I love," says J. C. Watson, Hamlin, Tex. However, he sends in 5 subs and a renewal.

"I corralled three dyed-in-the-wool Republicans, or rather ex-Republicans for they are going to vote the Socialist ticket. More power to the N. L. Art Young's cartoons and Adam Coddiger's articles deserve special mention."—Leroy C. Smith, San Francisco.

Wm. Adams, Secretary, Socialist Party, Pittsburgh, sends another. A small flock again from Alfred Baker Lewis, State Secretary, Massachusetts.

A couple from W. W. Gamble, Ferguson, Minn.

"The New Leader is a welcome visitor in my home. I have recently made four Socialists with the paper," writes one of the old war horses of the Party.

"I enjoy and admire the clear thinking and intelligent presentation of questions in each issue of the N. L.," writes Richard C. Marks of Washington, as he sends in a couple of subs.

A sub from The-Thomas-for-President Club, Harvard University, sent in by L. B. Cohen, Jr.

Wm. Plot, Charlevoix, Pa., autographs a check for \$10 for 5 subs.

"A Leader a day keeps Mammon away," says Leonard Kaye as he fires in a sub with his old time regularity.

Ross Magill and Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretaries of Kansas and Massachusetts, respectively, are also among the regulars who report with subs. "Although I dropped out of the Party eight or ten years ago, I never am as 'respectable' as our friend Spargo," writes Harry Gershen of Cleveland as he sends in a sub.

"I made a start in journalism this summer on one of those dual sheets: the morning edition was Republican, the afternoon edition was Democratic. It was a great experience. I was rather relieved when the doctor ordered me to enter a sanitarium in order to take the rest cure." Part of the rest cure of the writer, C. W. Mudd, Hopetown, W. Va. consists of a sub to the N. L.

Another one of the veterans is Nick Weltlich of Massillon, O. He is paying the way for subs by ordering a bundle of 50.

Subs from Idaho, Ohio and Missouri reach us via the National Office of the Socialist Party.

"The N. L. is indispensable at the present time," writes a booster who says that "some of us must pussyfoot, but I know a number of voters who are with the Socialist Party although Tammany counts upon their votes."

A triple sent in by A. T. Haines, Winston-Salem, N. C. And a sextette from Leo Meslevitz, Pennsylvania.

Among the many singles we find the names of J. H. Snider, Fairmont, W. Va.; Richard Penstra, Oneida, N. Y. and Frank Stuhlman, Oneida.

"I thank you for introducing me to the N. L.," reads a letter from Harry Slavin, Detroit.

ERON

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THE CHATTER BOX

The Hurricane

Hurricane, hurricane...brutal boor! Why are you razing the huts of the poor?

"I am sent by God on a scourging tour.... He hates the meek, and he hates the poor...."

Last night he called on me by name.... I feared his wrath. I quickly came.... His face was a mask of blistering flame.

His eyes were two black-anger pools. 'Go out,' he said, 'and crush these fools; Hie to the town, and over the town; Seek out the hovels and flatten them down; Scourge like a Cossack; pound like a boor.... I'm wearied with pity....I'm sick of the poor....'

He spoke and I answered....'Your will be done....' I shut up the heavens and doused the sun;

And now I am out on a scourging tour.... And now you know why I punish the poor...."

TRANSLATED from the German of Valeriu Marcu, and published here by Macmillan, is an excellent biography of Lenin. I have read it through with more than a reviewer's ordinary perusal. Mr. Marcu has a fine tendency to insert poetic analogy whenever a terse matter needs emphasis. His whole telling of Lenin's life is embellished at frequent spots with philosophical bits in hyperbole that make for splendid reading. But one goes through the book quite assured that the biographer is a Communist, and whether that decided coloring of the subject is for an honest portrait, I greatly question.

However, I for one, am quite rested on that score. Lenin does not come out with pennons flying, if this truly Communist biography is to be trusted. We learn in the beginning how the Ulianov family first became anathema to the Tsarist regime. Lenin's brother died for Russian freedom after an aborted plan of assassination. Nicolai became a hunted hare of the Okhrana. Years of study in foreign lands fitted him into the plan for a definite social revolution. His relations with Plekhanov and the German Social Democrats are clearly told. His disagreements with their parliamentary policies are a bit blurred in explanation; except that this emerges: Lenin burned an Idea unto himself. A fixed Juggernaut of implacable resolve to give power to the masses by any and all means. The story goes through Lenin's part in all the rebellions of the Russian people against Czarism. His passion for manifestoes and drafts of policy and his peculiar control over such matters kept him in the foreground of the revolutionary movements prior to the 1917 overturn. Perhaps it was not all so premeditated as the book tells, this complete preparation of his iron will and body for the ordained day of his dream. For in the end the Idea broke into many parts before the onslaught of Fact. It is here that the book falters.

Lenin did make several unexplained errors. The most irreparable of them was the giving of land to the moujiks. This most glaring of all compromises against the idea became in the end a more difficult problem for Communism than the overthrow of the old regime. It was on this self-created reef that the Master finally broke himself. For the concluding years of his life were virtually beaten to bits by plots and scheme and plans to take back from the land-owning peasants what he had given to them in a blind gamble for immediate power. The book ends with Lenin's death, just as the New Economic Policy of his was levering crowbars at the rough foundations of his own hurriedly built Communist State.

The book proves to anyone who reads carefully that the great Lenin was only pliable clay in the hands of fact and circumstance.

This is autumn time, and the weak leaves are already dropping from the trees. It won't be long before November is on us, and there won't be a leaf left. Did you also note how before they fell, the once proud leaves started to tremble, turn all colors and turn dry with fear? I hate to employ the miracles of nature for my uses against liberals and Progressives. But parable is effective for most of us, and deploringly I proceed.

First a few writers dropped down from the boughs of sane thought, and disavowed their independence, for Al Smith. Then the liberal weeklies fluttered away into the ruts. The social workers followed, whispering their great admiration for this newly found Lincoln. Now Frank Walsh and his committee of seven make great puff in the forest of the Progressive vote, promising a windfall of all of the 5,000,000 La Follette Socialist votes of 1924. All for the Tammany Hall darling, the Tiger that steamed out his stripes, and is wearing now a spotless hide. Let us laugh at the gesture.

Truth is a pine tree, and our faith is a forest of evergreen. The winds howl, and the weak leafy ones lose their foliage. The pines keep most of their needles. The seasons mean nothing. Storms are so much bluster. Pine forests are eternally green. The hope for Socialism is ever green and firm in us. We do not tremble at the blast of renegade Progressives and uneasy liberals. The Socialist vote will not be found in the dead leaf heaps in the gutters and rutted lanes after next election. It will be firm and fixed on the pine tops, waving a brave promise to the world, yes, through the entire winter, when all the rest of life is still and dead. Pine trees and Socialism. What a happy ending to my parable!

S. A. de Witt.

Little Son

So you want to be a soldier, little son; Want to march behind the pipes with sword and gun. Well, it grieves me, little man, But I'll teach you all I can; But before you go to battle— Know the cause

Yes, your daddy was a soldier, little son. Just a volunteer who fought with sword and gun; And they'll take you too, I know; But remember are you go That I'd like you, son, to study— Well the cause.

If you want to be a soldier, little son, Never mind about the khaki or the gun; Take the sword that stands for right, Use it so, with all your might; Fight the battle of the worker— That's the cause.

—P. James Irvine.

FREE YOUTH

Organization Education Solidarity

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

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

A Letter From an Elder

Dear Ypsels:

You do not know me, but I have been watching your growth and activities with joy and sympathy for some time, and I want to tell you what an important movement yours is. I suppose you are tired of hearing older folks preach to you and tell you what wonderful things they themselves did when they were young. Be patient with them; it is only their reverence for what their elders used to do to annoy them with.

I am not going to give you advice or preach to you because even tho I am over fifty, the angels of youth and indignation mislead me, so that I am still marching with you and looking forward, rather than seeing you go by. I am only going to think loud for a few minutes on matters of some interest to you.

Most of you are city boys and do not get that wonderful communion with nature and observation of animals and plants that we country folks enjoy. Yet, your League is just as much a biological phenomenon as mating of birds in the spring or falling of leaf in the autumn is. Individually, each of you may think that he is exercising his free choice when he joins the Ypsels, and this may be so. However, collectively, your organization has sprung into existence and is going strong because there is a real need for it. A chick within the eggshell does not know or understand anything that is happening to it, but Mother Nature, in her infinite love and wisdom, causes it to break the shell when the chick is ready for the external conditions among which it is to live.

A new period in history is dawning; a more just and convenient form of human relations is upon us. We do not know yet what it is going to be, beyond the fact that no one will be hustling for himself, like a hyena in the night, but persons and groups of persons will joyfully co-operate on an international scale towards common good. It is going to be a kind of Socialist of Collectivist society, probably much more spontaneous and useful than our most gifted prophets and Utopians have ever imagined. You are the unconscious forerunners of these new developments; the chicks ready to break the old useless shells, the rosebuds still held by the outer leaves, but bulging to burst open in the morning.

You know that in almost every boy's life, there is a period when he wants to join a gang. He thinks that this is because of his own choice and liking; his family thinks that it is nothing but his laziness and depravity; in reality it is neither. Growing boys of all nations and periods of history have always wanted to form gangs, just as girls have always played with dolls and gird. Even among some animals, like seals, young males form a bachelor colony and live by themselves until each is ready to lead the life of a full grown individual. Then they return to the herd, to hunt for food, to provide a family, and to fight other males.

Essay Contest

Epsilon Sigma Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma, fraternity offers the boys and girls of New York City high schools three prizes, consisting of a gold, silver and bronze medal, for the best essay on the subject of "Why Negroes Should Register and Vote in the Coming and All Future Elections."

The object for giving these prizes is to stimulate Negro men and women to action that will insure their proper status in the civic life of this community. Applications for entering should be directed to the Secretary at No. 45 West 158th Street, New York City. The essays should contain no less than 100

words and not more than 250 words. Every high school student is eligible to enter the contest regardless of race or creed. All Ypsels in the New York City League, especially the Juniors, are urged to enter this essay contest.

New York Ypsels on WEVD During the last period which the Ypsels had over WEVD an essay by Abe Kaufman, who was in Bridgeport, on the relation of Youth to the present American Republic, was read by Comrade Umansky. Dora Wolinsky gave a short piano recital.

WEVD requires funds immediately. In the great interest which centers on the campaign its needs are likely to be ignored. Ypsel circles in New York have pledged themselves to a monthly contribution of one dollar each. Ypsel circles, elsewhere, are requested to come to the aid of the station immediately, with a similar monthly contribution.

Ypsels Challenge Conservatives The Executive Secretary of the New York League has sent a request to both the Young Democratic Club and the Young Republican Club asking them to turn their proposed debate into a three cornered symposium. If this is impossible, the League challenges them to individual debates on the relative merits of their candidates and Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate.

Package Party at Rand School The Board of Directors of the Ypsel Publishing Association has arranged a package party to be held in the Rand School on October 20th. Refreshments will be served. The admission is fifteen cents. The proceeds of this affair will go to the fund of the Association.

Junior Circle Wins The annual field day of the New York League was held at the Rice Memorial Stadium in Pelham Bay Park on Sept. 23. Nearly all the circles had entered the various track and field events. With the exception of first place in the high jump, which was won by George Jaffee of Circle Two, Circle Thirteen Juniors won all the prizes offered.

New York Senior Circles In spite of overwhelming obstacles the date held by Circles Two and Thirteen Senior, was a success. Several hundred people were present at the affair and enjoyed themselves immensely.

Circle Six, Manhattan, is going on a foot ride tomorrow. The members of the circle and their friends will meet at the 19th Street pier at 8:45 A. M. The cost of the trip is \$1.25. The trip will be made on one of the steamers of the Central Hudson Steamboat Co.

Circle eight recently held elections for its officers. Central Committee Delegates: The officers are: Organizer, Sol Gordon; Financial Secretary, Jean Weidman; Recording Secretary, Herbert Schuler; Educational Director, Jean Weidman; Social Director, Harry Burt; Central Committee, Comrades Goodman and Eisenberg; Executive Committee, Eisenberg, Goodman, Mary Vayner and Julius Kunzinsky. After the voting was over Comrade Staiman, campaign manager of the 6-8-12 Assembly District, spoke on the vital importance of Ypsel aid in the coming campaign.

Throng Greets Thomas On His Return Home

Grand Central Station Rings With Cheers as Socialist Presidential Candidate and His Associates Return From Fruitful Western Tour

Norman Thomas, returning from his second tour as Socialist candidate for president, stepped into a cheering throng of Socialists at Grand Central Terminal in New York City Wednesday evening. Half a dozen or more reporters and photographers buttonholed him, and soon the cameramen's flashes were booming out above the cheering.

Thomas returned, with Comrades August Claessens and Edward Levinson, enthusiastic over prospects of the election and the possibilities of a more powerful Socialist party.

In a statement issued to the newspapers, Comrade Thomas said:

"In the last three weeks I have gone out to the Pacific coast beginning my speaking engagements in Duluth and ending in Cleveland. I have travelled by train, automobile and airplane. I have spoken in twenty cities or towns, in many of them two or more times, and have had unusual opportunities to observe conditions in widely different communities.

"There is almost no faith at all in the Republican and Democratic parties as parties. There is a growing interest in the campaign but unfortunately not in the real issues so far as the old parties are concerned. On both sides, openly and secretly, there is great and unhealthy bigotry. The three R's, religion, race and rum, in the order named, will sway thousands upon thousands of voters. Nevertheless organization is still very important and I look to see the Republicans win because of their superior organization, for no other reason. In this case some of my liberal friends who are voting for Smith rather than the Socialists will have some talk explaining to do.

"From a Socialist standpoint the trip was a decided success. Meetings were good and generally well-attended and the interest was great. We are injecting

real issues in the campaign and what is of supreme importance, we are building up our party as the only party of real opposition to the two old parties owned by big business.

"I have spoken in most of the cities where Governor Smith has spoken and have found most interesting reactions to his frantic efforts to appear as the heir of the five million votes cast for La Follette in 1924. Remembering that Mr. Smith fought La Follette and favored the conservative John W. Davis, the progressives I have met are in no stampede into the Smith fold.

"While we found no great rush of progressives to the Smith bandwagon, we did find Democratic politicians, their appetites sharpened by long years of Republican rule, in feverish pursuit of victory. We also found the two Butte newspapers owned by the Anaconda Copper Company—whose representatives told me in advance they would not print any word I might have to say in criticism of Anaconda—boosting with all their might and main the Smith cause. The Governor was originally scheduled to speak in Montana on labor problems. His switch to party responsibility as a theme is explained in Montana labor circles as evidence on Smith's part of a kind regard for the sensibilities of the bitterly anti-labor Anaconda Copper Company whose newspapers and chief owners are supporting him."

Thomas will leave for a tour of the South, beginning October 1st, which will take him into Florida, Georgia and Virginia. Friday night, in Carnegie Hall, he will speak on "What Price Progressives?"

The Community Church

Sunday, Sept. 30, at 11 a. m., John Haynes Holmes will preach at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street. His subject will be "My Religion."

The Independent Committee for Thomas for President Invites You to a

DINNER

NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Candidate for President

Monday Evening, October 15, at 6:30

at the

ALDINE CLUB

200 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Speakers:

NORMAN THOMAS ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
HARRIET STANTON BLACH MORRIS HILLQUIST
W. E. B. DUBOIS KIRBY PAGE
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Tickets at \$2.50 from Independent Committee for Norman Thomas, Room 931, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City (Algonquin 5865).

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DR. G. F. BECK
Every Sunday at 5 P. M., beginning Sept. 30
Admission 25c.
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DR. G. F. BECK
Every Monday at 8:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 8
Admission 15c.
- COURSE 3. SPEECH IMPROVEMENT
MISS BEATRICE BECKER
Every Monday at 8 P. M., beginning Oct. 8
Admission 25c.
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MR. V. F. CALVERTON
Eight lectures on Tuesdays at 8:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 2
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 5. HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY
DR. G. F. BECK
Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 3
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 6. CURRENT EVENTS
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFET
Every Thursday at 8:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 11
Admission free.
- COURSE 7. HEALTH IN MARRIAGE
DR. ABRAM STONE—Five Lectures
DR. HANNAH STONE
On Thursdays at 8:30, beginning Nov. 1
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 8. LABOR LAW
JOSEPH D. KARP
Four lectures on Fridays at 8:30, beginning Oct. 5
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 9. A STUDY OF INDIA
HARENDRA NATH MAITRA
Five lectures on Fridays at 8:30 P. M., beginning Nov. 2
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 10. PSYCHOANALYSIS OF HUMAN NATURE
DR. SAMUEL D. SCHIMMELHAUSEN
Every Saturday at 8:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 6
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 11. POETRY FORUM
ANTON ROMATKA, LEADER
Every Thursday at 8:15 P. M., beginning Oct. 4
Admission 25c.
- COURSE 12. THE DANCE (AS A MEDIUM OF CREATIVE EXPRESSION)
MISS DARY BLAU
Saturdays at 2:30 P. M., beginning Oct. 13
Admission 25c.

Registration for above courses may be made in person or by mail at the office of Labor Temple, 242 East 14th St., New York. Send for detailed prospectus.

THE WORKERS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

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Free introductory lecture, Sunday, September 30, 1928

Educational Course To Be Broadcast

Debs Radio Station Begins Program in Workers' Education—Rauschenbush on Power Sunday.

Announcing the most extensive campaign of workers' education yet to be undertaken over the radio, Paul Blanshard, educational director of Station WEVD, a memorial to the late Eugene Victor Debs, declared that he is appealing to the Federal Radio Commission to grant the station more time so as to make possible the broadcasting of educational programs by co-operating colleges five nights each week.

Arrangements have been completed for a series of Tuesday evening educational courses under the direction of A. J. Muste, head of the Brookwood Labor College. The first of this series will be broadcast Tuesday evening, Oct. 2, and will be devoted to a discussion of economic problems.

Another important feature, a series of Sunday afternoon forums, began Sunday, Sept. 16, with a talk by Kirby Page, editor of The Worker Tomorrow and author of several volumes on peace problems, on the subject, "The Kellogg Treaty and the Monroe Doctrine."

Among other well known public figures slated to speak at these radio forums are Walter Lipman, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Oswald Garrison Villard, Robert Morris Lovett and Roger Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin spoke Sept. 23 on "Free Speech and the New Bedford Strike," having recently returned from the scene of the strike. Next Sunday, Sept. 30, H. F. Rauschenbush, author of "Power Control," will speak on "The Power in This Campaign."

According to Mr. Blanshard, a number of colleges have evidenced a desire to broadcast educational programs over WEVD especially adapted for workers' education courses, but the program hinges on the granting of more time to the station by the Federal Radio Commission.

Rand School Lectures And Study Classes

The Rand School of Social Science is now awarding scholarships in the Workers' Training Course to members of Trade Unions, of the Workmen's Circle, and of the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. who wish to carry on serious study during the coming fall and winter. A large number of scholarships have already been assigned, but some are still available.

Graded classes in English, which meet on Monday and Wednesday evenings, are now being formed. Next week there will be lectures as follows:

"Psychology of Personality," by Joseph M. Osman, Tuesday, 7 p.m. and also 8:30 p.m.

"Modern World History," David P. Berenberg, Tuesday, 7 p.m.

"Appreciation of Literature," David P. Berenberg, Tuesday, 8:30 p.m.

"The Story of Religion," by Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Wednesday, 8:30 p.m.

"Twentieth Century Russian Literature," by Elias L. Tartak, Saturday, 2 p.m.

"Practical Personal Hygiene," Mrs. Grace Hansome, Saturday, 4 p.m.

On Monday evening, October 8, John Macy will begin a course entitled, "A Literary View of American History." On Tuesday, October 8, will be the first lecture in a course on "National Psychologies," by Prof. Goldenweiser.

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AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

GOLDEN HAVEST

At the Imperial Theatre, "The New Moon" rises high and clear. Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, Frank Mandel, Laurence

Swab, Sigmund Romberg, and several more have combined to prepare a feast for the eyes and ears that brings rich measure of delight in all the aspects of things musical in the theatre. From chorus to principals, the singing takes fullest advantage of the melodious compositions, which are carried along through the play, with "reprises" of such a number as the rallying "Stout-hearted Men," with balanced counterplay of Robert's hope in love and Philippe's disillusion, with delicacy and humor and gathering volume that stir all the basic rhythms of one's being.

On WEVD

245.8M—WEVD New York City—1220 KC

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30
12:30 Weismantel's Entertainers
1:30 Edna and Mrs. Chatterbox
2:00 Studio Program
3:00 H. S. Rauschenbush, "Power Issue in the Campaign"

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1
1:00 New Leader clippings
1:30 North Bay Fur Company
2:00 Maude A. Tollefson, contralto
2:20 Myra Norton, piano
2:40 Adelaide Olson, mezzo-soprano
3:00 Vincente Beltrone, Original Poems

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2
1:00 Mary Linden, violin
1:30 Betty Farr, contralto
2:00 Harendranath Maltra
2:20 Nat Kerson, violin
2:40 Elizabeth Bacon Walling, Cameos: Edward Markham, Uly Boy

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3
1:00 Gertrude Well Klein, piano
1:30 Lee Haughton, Musical monologues
2:00 Alice Carters, soprano
2:20 With the Poets
2:40 Ethel Cohn, soprano
3:00 Queens afternoon

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4
1:00 Queen's Review
1:30 Colony Belmont Coal Company
2:00 Queen's Way House Service
2:20 Community Theatre Notes
2:40 Peace Period
3:00 Abe Kaufman, Secretary Youth Peace

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5
1:00 Helen Valle, mezzo
1:30 Harry Warren, literary period
2:00 Mary Linden, violin
2:20 Florence Yardy, soprano
2:40 Winnifred Harper Cooley, Theatre Critiques

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6
1:00 Gwendolyn Lawton, Ballads
1:30 Anton Romatka, Labor Temple Poetry Forum
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28
1:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
1:30 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:20 Lillian Dwight, contralto
2:40 Lillian Dwight, contralto
3:00 Lillian Dwight, contralto

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2

Karlin Answers 'Liberals' Plea For Al Smith

Socialist Candidate for Attorney General Declines Offer of "Progressives" to Indulge in Tammany Drugs

SPURNING the plea of Frank Walsh, Frederick C. Howe and Lynn Haines to join the Progressive League for Alfred E. Smith, William Karlin, Socialist candidate for Attorney General, expressed amazement that progressives should be urged to support the very forces which fought the LaFollette candidacy in 1924. Karlin's letter follows in full:

"My Dear Mr. Walsh:

"I have your letter of the 18th inst. inviting me to join the Progressive League for Alfred E. Smith.

"I cannot agree with the statement of you and your friends, Frederick C. Howe and David K. Niles, that Alfred E. Smith, the Tammany candidate for President, is entitled to my support and that of others who supported the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket in 1924.

"In that year Alfred E. Smith worked actively in support of the candidacy of John W. Davis, the reactionary Wall Street candidate, and worked actively against the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette, the Progressive, which was so staunchly supported by Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party. If the late Robert M. LaFollette were now alive he would be shocked by your statement that Smith is the rightful heir to the Progressive vote.

"As a matter of fact, were not Smith discredited in that respect by his record and associations, he would be by his expressed admiration for the policies of Grover Cleveland, the destroyer of the most progressive and successful labor union in American history, the American Railway Union, the product of the organizing genius of Eugene V. Debs.

"The quotation you cite from Smith's speech of acceptance to the effect that he fought the spirit of reaction in his own state is not based upon his actual political career. Mr. Smith was Governor during the ouster of the five Socialists from the State Assembly, but he never raised a voice of protest against that outrage. All but two of Smith's Democratic colleagues in the Legislature voted to ouster the Socialists before the trial, and the Democratic members of the Assembly were among the most vociferous supporters of the ouster. One word from Smith would have been sufficient to align his party against the ouster, but the Governor's silence can only be interpreted as a tacit approval of this climax of wartime reaction.

"Neither can I approve of the Governor's record or views on water power development, foreign relations, the injunction in labor disputes and the conservation of natural resources.

"Smith's proposal of public ownership and development of hydro-electric is contrary to the interests of the people inasmuch as he believes in public ownership and development of hydro-electric only to permit private companies to distribute it for profit. Even as he and the other Tammany statesmen have given away 400 million dollars worth of subways in the City of New York for private exploitation, so Governor Smith proposes that the people spend hundreds of millions of dollars in developing public power only to be leased away for private exploitation to his friends in the power trust.

"With respect to intervention in Latin-American affairs, Smith would be justly helpless in preventing such intervention if elected President as Wilson was in preventing the declaration of war after he was elected upon a platform which gave lip service in favor of neutrality. The loudest advocates of intervention in favor of the reactionary politicians are the immediate personal friends of Al Smith and Tammany Hall.

Women's Trade Union League Study Courses

Evening classes are being offered, beginning Oct. 8 by the New York Women's Trade Union League as part of an educational program to help women workers solve industrial problems. The courses include classes in English, Current History, Literature, Economic History, Economics of Industry and a study of Industrial Problems.

Classes in Current History are planned to encourage women's interest in international, national, state and municipal matters, special attention being given to the labor viewpoint. Improvement of working conditions and knowledge of state labor laws, the history of the varying conditions under which economic development has been reached and an analysis of the three basic industries—agriculture, coal and clothing—and their financial, market, production and wage policies will be considered in the social economy classes.

Registration for the courses is being made at the Women's Trade Union League, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York.

Neckwear Workers Pay Tribute to Louis Berger

The resignation of Louis D. Berger as manager of the United Neckwear Makers Union because of ill health has been accepted with extreme regret by the members. The Joint Executive Board has adopted suitable resolutions expressing its regret and forwarded them to the labor press for publication.

The resolutions recall the 15 years of devoted service which Berger gave the union as an officer which contributed to "constructive achievements and to splendid standards of employment" in the trade. The board also mentions with gratitude Berger's pledge to cooperate with the union in future work.

The tribute to Berger concludes by saying:

"That we express our extreme regrets at the resignation of our manager and express to him our heartfelt thanks and appreciation on our behalf and on behalf of the entire membership for the loyal and faithful service he rendered and the intelligent leadership given to our Union by him, and that we accept Brother Berger's offer to call upon him from time to time to cooperate with us in the future work of the organization."

Labor and the Ballot Topic at Women's Trade Union League

What Labor can expect and get through the ballot on Election Day will be the chief topic for discussion at the Sixth Annual Autumn Conference of the New York Women's Trade Union League to be held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. on Sept. 29 and 30.

The session on Sunday morning, Sept. 30, will be given over to "Labor's Stake in the Elections" with Abraham Lefkowitz of Teachers' Union, as discussion leader. The floor will be open for discussion to accredited delegates from the various trade union leagues invited to the Conference including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Worcester Leagues and affiliated organizations.

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SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

MANHATTAN
3-5-10 A. D.
Owing to the fact that the Women's Committee meeting was held on Tuesday, Sept. 25, our branch meeting was postponed until a week later, Oct. 2. The meeting will be held on this date in the Rand School.

6-8-12 A. D.
A ratification meeting will be held in the 6th A. D. on Tuesday, Oct. 2, at the Hennington Hall, 214 E. 2nd Street. The speakers will be: Comrades Waldman, Panken, Claessens, Lee, Margaret F. Karlin, and Feinberg. Another ratification meeting will be held in the 8th A. D. at the Casino Stuyvesant, 142 2nd Avenue, on Thursday, Oct. 4. The speakers will be: Comrades Waldman, Solomon, Panken, Claessens, Lee, Mrs. Panken, Margaret F. Karlin and A. Weinberg. We expect a large turnout at these meetings. All comrades are urged to bring their friends.

Upper West Side
A joint meeting of the U. W. S. branch and the Washington Heights Branch will be held on Tuesday Oct. 2. At this meeting the matter of merging the two branches will be discussed. The meeting place has not been secured as yet, and letters will be mailed to the membership of both branches giving full particulars.

22-23 A. D.
This branch met on Sept. 25 with the members of the U. W. S. present as its guests. It was decided that a joint meeting of these branches be called for Tuesday, Oct. 2. It is hoped that at that time some final action will be taken on the question of permanent headquarters for the West Side and that work for the campaign will be planned. Negotiations are being made to secure Comrade Thomas for a large meeting to start the campaign going officially. As yet no meeting place has been secured for the joint meeting. As arrangements are made all members will receive a letter regarding the joint meeting.

BRONX
5th A. D.
At the meeting on Thursday, Sept. 13, it was decided to increase the number of street meetings and to start work for an intensive campaign to elect Henry Frucher to the Assembly in that district.

1-3-8 A. D.
A meeting of this branch will be held on Tuesday, Oct. 2, at the headquarters, 122 Pierpont Street, at 8:30 p. m.

18 A. D.
At the last meeting of the 18th A. D. on Friday evening, Sept. 21, in the Rockaway Mansion, 685 Rockaway Avenue, it was decided to change the meeting night to Thursday and commencing Sept. 27, an evening Thursday thereafter the branch will hold its business and educational sessions. Various committees are now visiting enrolled Socialist voters, campaigning for members of the branch, collecting funds and selling tickets to a lecture benefit, in order that money may be procured to carry on the campaign activities. The branch now conducts two weekly meetings successfully.

23 A. D.
The ratification meeting held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum on Sept. 21 was very successful. The hall was crowded to capacity. The speakers: Comrades Waldman, Maurer, Shipiloff and Goldman, received a very warm reception. Charles Solomon acted as the chairman. The musical program given by Misses Toman and Solomon was enjoyed by all. This was the first ratification meeting held in Brownsville and it showed the spirit of the campaign. The comrades are confident that Louis P. Goldberg will carry the district.

Women's Committee
The Women's Committee which was elected at the women's meeting is asked to meet at the home of Mrs. Panken, 170 2nd Avenue, Tuesday, Oct. 2, at 3 p. m.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Monday, Oct. 1, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers report at 96 Avenue C. Speakers: August Claessens, Abraham Weinberg, Molly Weingart, M. Staiman.

Tuesday, Oct. 2, 8:30 p. m.—Ratification meeting, Hennington Hall, 214 E. 2nd Street. Speakers: Louis Waldman, Jacob Panken, August Claessens, Algonon Lee, Margaret F. Karlin, Feinberg.

Tuesday, Oct. 2, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers report at headquarters, 62 East 106th Street. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Louis Weil and others.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers report at 96 Avenue C. Speakers: August Claessens, Margaret F. Karlin, Abraham Weinberg.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Ratification meeting, Stuyvesant Casino, 142 2nd Avenue. Speakers: Louis Waldman, Solomon, Panken, Claessens, Algonon Lee, Mamen, Panken, Margaret F. Karlin, A. Weinberg.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—13th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers: Jesse Wallace Huggan, Andrew McGuire.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—158th Street and Broadway. Speakers: August Claessens, Max Delson.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers report at headquarters, 62 East 106th Street. Speakers: William Karlin, Louis Weil, Barney Shub.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Rivington and Pitt Streets. Speakers: Ben Goodman, S. P. Ulanoff, Louis Lieberman, J. Reichner.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers report at headquarters, 96 Avenue C. Speakers: William Karlin, August Claessens, Rachel Panken, Margaret F. Karlin, Mrs. Weingart, A. Weinberg.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Monterally. All speakers report at 96 Avenue C.

BRONX
Saturday, Sept. 29, 8:30 p. m.—Longwood and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: Samuel A. DeWitt, I. Phillips, Murray Gross.

Tuesday, Oct. 2, 8:30 p. m.—152nd Street and Wadsworth Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Murray Gross.

Tuesday, Oct. 2, 8:30 p. m.—Tremont and Clinton Avenues. Speakers: I. Phillips, Julian J. Schuchman, Herman Schuchman.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Burnside and Creston. Speakers: Jesse Wallace Huggan, Isidore Polstein, Louis Panken.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—163rd and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Henry Frucher, I. George Dobson, Samuel A. DeWitt, Philip Pascoe.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Inter-Valley and Wilkins Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Henry Frucher, I. George Dobson, Philip Pascoe.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—138 Street and Brook Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Samuel A. DeWitt, Emmanuel Deutsch, Henry Gross.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Avenue S, John and Fox Streets. Speakers: Isidore Corn, Murray Gross and others.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Bathurst and Tremont Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, I. Phillips, J. Bernstein, Lillian Replitz.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Washington and Claremont Parkway. Speakers: Frank Crosswath and others.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Aldus Street and Southern Blvd. Speakers: Henry Frucher, Samuel A. DeWitt and Henry Gross.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Longwood and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Henry Frucher, Samuel A. DeWitt and Henry Gross.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Longwood and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Henry Frucher, I. George Dobson, Samuel A. DeWitt, Murray Gross.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—180th Street and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: Murray Gross, William Karlin, I. Phillips, H. Molin.

BROOKLYN

Saturday, Sept. 29, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Hendrix Street. Samuel Kantor, Samuel Block and others.

Saturday, Sept. 29, 8:30 p. m.—Kings Highway and 15th Street. Speakers: William Feigenbaum and others.

Monday, Oct. 1, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Hindale Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Joe Tuvin, Frank Rosenfarb.

Monday, Oct. 1, 8:30 p. m.—Saratoga and Blake Avenue. Speakers: Jacob Axelrad, Benjamin Doubin, F. Brodsky, Barnett J. Riley, J. L. Afros.

Tuesday, Oct. 2, 8:30 p. m.—Lee Avenue and Rodney Street. Speakers: Hyman Nemser, Harry Schachner, J. Axelrad, Barone.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Sunner and Floyd. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Joseph A. Weil, Herman Rosenblatt, I. M. Ghatouf.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Graham Avenue and Varet Street. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, J. A. Weil, William Shapiro and others.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Rutland Road and Rockaway Parkway. Speakers: Jacob Axelrad, Barnett J. Riley, F. Brodsky, Si Sarashon, J. L. Afros.

Wednesday, Oct. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Stone and Dumont. Speakers: Joe Tuvin, William Feigenbaum, Samuel H. Friedman.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Bay Park way and 68th Street. Speakers: William Feigenbaum, J. A. Weil, Samuel Stodel and others.

Thursday, Oct. 4, 8:30 p. m.—Hooper and South 3rd Street. Speakers: Hyman Nemser, Harry Schachner, Samuel H. Friedman.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Schenectady Avenue and 5th Avenue. Speakers: Jacob Axelrad, Daubin, Si Sarashon, Louis Sadoff, J. L. Afros.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Arlon Place and Bushwick Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Shapiro, J. A. Weil.

Friday, Oct. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Kings Highway and 15th Street. Speakers: Joe Tuvin, William Feigenbaum, Jessie Wallace Huggan.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South 3rd Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Samuel H. Friedman, H. Schachner.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Avenue J and 15th Street. Speakers: Jacob Axelrad, Joseph Tuvin, William Feigenbaum.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Howard and Herkimer Street. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, Louis P. Goldberg, George Field.

STATEN ISLAND
Saturday, Sept. 29, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Walter Dearing, Mrs. P. Farr.

Saturday, Oct. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water Street. The speakers to be announced.

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OF AMERICA - LOCAL 216

NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neal
Managing Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

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L. Cohen, Algonon Lee,
Harry W. Laidler, Norman
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Cohen, Clement
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. It is a platform for the expression of the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of contributions 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 29, 1928

The Liberal Complex

WE are not among those who are surprised that Hoover has strung a number of "liberals" and that Smith has many more on his string. The average American liberal accomplishes some good in his constant protests against arbitrary power and invasion of civil rights but as an opportunist he just as often supports men and parties who bring us perilously near to despotism. He has no long-range vision. He is essentially a faddist. Politics is not a serious matter for him involving the welfare of millions but a chess game. He is "intrigued" by the pieces on the board.

If many of them abandoned the capitalist parties four years ago in the mass revolt that supported LaFollette it was because it was a "daring adventure." It provided a rare thrill. It is just as easy for them to come back to the two parties this year as it was to leave them four years ago. They pick Roosevelt in one campaign only to learn that the Big Noise was inviting Harriman to help write presidential messages. They support Wilson only to find that the "great liberal" brought us nearer to despotism than at any time since the administration of John Adams. Many of them turned to Debs in 1920 in order to "rebuke" Wilson. With the Democratic party in the firm clutches of the great capitalist interests of the East they turn to Smith.

If the Socialist party was a much more powerful party than it is it would attract many of these liberals. This is evident from the growth of the British Labor Party and the acquisition of this type is a danger for that party. Not that the liberal is dishonest. On the contrary, he is the most naive honest person to be found. He is generally staked with "erudition" and he is terribly "practical." He does not want to be guilty of a "futile gesture" by voting for Thomas and Maurer but his whole career is one of futile gestures. He wants what he does not get and he gets what he does not want.

Harold Stearns wrote the obituary of the American liberal in 1919 in his "Liberalism in America." He wrote from experience. Discussing the attitude of American liberals toward the World War Stearns observed that "they increasingly took refuge from the contradictions of stubborn reality in an ideal world of myths." That is what they have generally done. This year it is the myth of the "New Tammany" and Smith. What it will be four years hence no man knoweth, but whatever it may be they will again be "intrigued." We are amused, not indignant. They will be indignant in the four years following the election. They always are.

Smith's Power Program

GOVERNOR SMITH'S speech last week in Denver was devoted to the issue of super-power. In this address he admirably represented the Raskobs and Owens of this giant capitalist interest who are providing much of the Democratic campaign funds.

Smith regards the power sites as the "God-given resources of the country." The address as a whole can be reduced to the following tabloid statement. "I view the power sites as God-given resources of the country to be held by the nation and the power exploited by great capitalists under regulations that will not make the skinning too hurtful."

That is the program of the Democratic party. The power sites are "God-given" to all of us but the profits of light and power will be given to the very super-power gang Smith denounced in Denver. Both Hoover and Smith agree that capitalist corporations shall reap the fruits of this "God-given power." The difference between them is that Hoover would permit the corporations to own and distribute under government regulation while Smith would have the nation retain the title of ownership but accept the rest of the Hoover program.

Both programs do not interfere with the essential thing which is of interest to the exploiters of super-power. That essential is the enrichment of capitalists and bankers who have investments in the industry. God may have "given" the power sites to all of us but Smith and Hoover favor giving the fruits of distribution to a handful of exploiters. The Democratic candidate should carry this program into other fields. Why not urge con-

tinuance of government ownership of the post-office but farming out the distribution of mail to capitalist corporations? Such a program would attract a few more boodle angels like Raskob to the Democratic party. We pass the suggestion on to Fred Howe, Frank Walsh, Herbert Croly and a few other "liberals" who are burning incense at the Tammany altar.

Their Weakness Now

POLITICS is a matter of power for some class or classes in society. If there is a class complaining of neglect at Washington or at the state capitals the complaint simply means that this class does not have power. If another class is satisfied that is evidence that it has power. These are elementary principles of politics and the voter who does not understand them simply does not know how to protect his own material welfare.

Consider the complaint of the farmers. They insist that since the end of the World War their welfare has been neglected. No man can dispute this. But since the end of the war there have been two presidential elections and we are now facing a third. There have been four congressional elections and we are now facing the fifth. Farmers have had five opportunities to change the situation at Washington and they are still complaining that there has been no change.

Do the mass of them show any evidence of doing otherwise than they have done in the past four elections? Well, more will vote the Socialist ticket this year but there is little doubt that most of them will divide between Smith and Hoover; in 1920 they divided between Harding and Cox; in 1924 between Coolidge and Davis. Yet they complain. They will have four more years of complaint and two more elections in those four years, 1930 and 1932.

The only consolation the farmers have is that large numbers of city workers have failed to translate politics into power for themselves. Capitalist party politics is power for the classes who own the United States. As for the workers they may chant their complaint to a popular melody, with a little variation. "Hoover and Smith. That's My Weakness Now."

The Happy Babbitts

MR. ALEXANDER BLOCK of the Metropolitan League of Savings and Loan Associations returns from a tour abroad to observe the "marvelous prosperity which distinguishes America from the rest of the world." Our Babbitts are becoming insufferable bores on this theme. It is sheer mockery to hundreds of thousands of farmers, miners, textile workers, iron and steel workers and others.

The history of this country has demonstrated that members of a ruling class could become almost poetical about the happy life of slaves on southern plantations. Newspapers, pamphlets and books often carried idyllic portrayals of the slave working in the open air, without any worries, cared for by his kind exploiter, having his little garden patch, and singing the folk songs of his race. All this hokum was intended to convince outsiders that it would be little short of a crime for anybody to hurl a brand of discontent into the southern plantations.

Our Babbitts are playing the same game. The slaveocracy gave way to capitalism and George insists that if he has plenty in his capacious paunch, if he can make another tour abroad, and he has no economic worries to disturb him, we mudsills on the farms, in the shops and factories, should be as happy as he. We are all enjoying "marvelous prosperity," says George. He is really enjoying marvelous ignorance while the underlying population carries him and his class on its shoulders. Some day the masses will hurl these gentlemen off their backs. A big Socialist vote will go a long way towards this happy consummation.

A party is known by the men and women that support it. And a party that has as its leaders and standard bearers such men as Norman Thomas, Jim Maurer, Louis Waldman and McAllister Coleman must be a pretty swell party. And it is!

Advice to William Allen White and the Rev. Dr. Straton: Only honest men should attack Governor Smith.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress, August 24, 1912, of

THE NEW LEADER

Published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1928, State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid personally appeared Samuel A. De Witt, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Leader and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true and correct statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Editor—James O'Neal, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Managing Editor—Edward Levinson, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—S. A. De Witt, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Owner—The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.; Morris Berman, President, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Meyer Gillis, Treasurer, 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Julius Gerber, Secretary, 48 New Chambers Street, New York, N. Y. 228. Stockholders, none of them owning or holding one per cent. more of the total amount of stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as such are entitled to vote, and that affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

S. A. DE WITT, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1928.

My commission expires March 30, 1929.

Easley and Woll Engage in Hot Lusk Hunt

ANOTHER repetition of the Lusk red hunt of 1919-21 is threatened by the National Civic Federation, as the result of the adoption of a motion by Matthew Woll, acting president, that radical activities be placed under the spyglass of the Federation's department on subversive movements.

The new hunt on radicals was decided on after a luncheon held by the Federation at the Bankers Club in the Equitable Bldg., near Wall street. Ralph B. Goddard, of R. G. Dun & Co., chief statistical firm for Wall street speculators, asked that the department also investigate radical activities in colleges and universities. His motion was adopted.

Back of the investigation will be the Federation's secretary, Ralph Easley, who collaborated with Archibald Stevenson in compiling the Lusk report, on the basis of which Socialist assemblymen were driven from the New York state legislature. Libels against liberals and progressives, culled from the Lusk report, are not privileged, Justice McCook ruled recently in the \$100,000 suit Mme. Rosika Schwimmer won against Fred R. Marvin, another red better.

Easley, ever since the Russian workers' revolution, has been "seeing red." His record was noted in Professional Patriots, a book edited by Norman Hapgood. In 1922 he attacked the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, at the height of the famine. He referred to Capt. Paxton Hibben as a "rascal and a scoundrel," to John Haynes Holmes as "wild and crazy," to Henry Collins Sioane of Union Theological Seminary as a "red" and to Raymond B. Fossick as a "wild red."

Mrs. Willard Straight, a founder of the New Republic, was the "most dangerous woman in America," Easley thought. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers is the "Balkans of America" and the late Mrs. Henry Villard "a most notorious pro-German." He is quoted as saying: "I would drive out every damned Quaker out of America." Easley's National Civic Federation represents conservative business in its opposition to minimum wage laws, child labor laws, old age pensions and welfare legislation.

Among heavy financial supporters of the Federation are Finley J. Shepard and his wife, the former Helen Gould, and V. Everit Macy of the Central Union Trust Co. The late August Belmont was a large contributor, and according to one labor member of the Federation, Judge Elbert H. Gary, of U. S. Steel was "one of the Federation's financial angels."

The department on subversive movements, charged with the new witch hunt, offers a pretentious program. Among its activities are: a sub-committee on Socialist doctrine and tactics; another studying trends of revolutionary forces into the church; the press, social agencies, foreign groups and women's organizations; one scrutinizing (in alliance with the power trust?) text books on history, economics and civics; one on Soviet propaganda; another to examine federal statistics and the use made of them by Socialists. A special committee is busy on the "limitation of free speech" and its industrial department has published a report headed, Free Speech a Nuisance.

Easley avails himself, in his periodic red hunts, of the files of the Department of Justice's secret service. William J. Burns, when head of the secret service, was Easley's right hand man.

Two Letters to Algonon Lee On the Views of Marx

Editor The New Leader:

It is seldom that your paper contains more interesting matter than Mr. Algonon Lee's discussion of Marx's theory of value which appears in your issue of the 16th inst.

I may be trespassing too far upon your space and upon Mr. Lee's good nature in asking the following questions, but it seems to me that they involve a point of interest that your readers may appreciate.

I have never been able to determine the attitude of Marx toward the all important problem of distribution, and Mr. Lee's article leaves me still in doubt. From certain paragraphs I gather that Mrs. Lee accepts the view of Bernard Shaw that the problem of distribution is insoluble on any other basis than that of strict equality, but is this the attitude of Marx?

Turning to the first chapter of Das Kapital, I find the following paragraph: "Skilled labour counts as intensified, or rather as multiplied simple labour, a given quantity of skilled labour being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour. Experience shows that this reduction is being constantly made."

The different preparations in which different sorts of labour are reduced to unskilled labour as their standard, are established by a social process which goes on behind the backs of the producers and consequently appears to be fixed by custom.

The idea of a given quantity of skilled labour being equal to a greater quantity of unskilled labour would seem to imply the idea of inequality, and the idea that this ratio is fixed by a social process going on behind the backs of the workers, would seem to imply a faith in this process as a means of determining these ratios.

Possibly Mr. Lee may be able to quote some more definite declaration of principle from the author of Das Kapital. Without this I at least must still retain the

The Gospel of Work, Archaic Ideas, and Swine Politics, Make Adam Support Thomas

By Adam Coalidigger

THERE is nothing more difficult in this world than to introduce a new set of ideas unless it is to destroy sets of ideas after they have become detrimental to human happiness and well-being.

Take the gospel of work for instance. Ever since old Ben Franklin wrote Poor Richard's Almanac, the woods have swarmed with advice how to get healthy, wealthy and wise by going to bed with the chickens, rising with the cocks and collecting calluses between times.

Of course Ben was too wise a man to take the medicine he prescribed for others. But I admit that for the time and the people he wrote, his philosophy of work and scrip had considerable sense to it. The country was young, millions of square miles of soil awaited the ax and plow of the pioneer. Roads and farms had to be hacked out of the wilderness. Bridges, homes, towns and cities had to be built. And all this with crude tools made on the spot. Work, damn you, work.

Moreover, the early settlers were poor devils, bondsmen, indentured servants with here and there a busted nobleman, so capital was scarce. Save, damn you, save.

Thus developed the religion of stinginess. Anything that cost money was sinful. Don't dance, don't play cards, don't drink, don't wear fancy clothes, don't gambol around on Sunday, it may make you too tired for work on Monday.

Even salvation was made free or at least as cheap as possible. In place of stately churches of the old world with their bellfries, chimneys, carvings, organs and stained glass windows came dull whitewashed meeting houses as barren as a beery, cheer and art as a Texas ten-shant shack.

Organs cost money. Out goes the organ. Fiddles cost money. There is a devil in every fiddle. What, pay salary to a preacher when anybody can preach who is called? Out with the lousy lout. Singing was still permissible at the meeting house on Sabbath day, but not on work days. No use wasting valuable wind when there is work to do and even the good old hymn "Work for the Night Is Coming" reduces efficiency in stump pulling. Out of these drab, dull and poverty stricken conditions developed the religion of slave and save and Benjamin was its prophet but not one of its converts.

Super-Power and Old Ideas

Since the days of the Puritans a tremendous revolution has taken place in the manner in which men support existence. Steam power has supplanted man, mule and ox power. Electricity carries this power in every nook and corner of the country. A trip from New York to San Francisco takes less time than it took in Franklin's day to travel from Philadelphia to New York.

Two men on a modern engine pull more freight in one day than all the Colonial oxen could pull in one week. A 14-year-old girl weaves more cloth in a day than her Colonial great, grand-mother could turn out in a month. Ten miles an hour was the break-neck speed of the fastest stage coach when Franklin was postmaster-general of His Majesty's colonies. Now we fly 200 miles per hour in airplanes.

So far, indeed, have inventions and discoveries progressed that most economists agree that three or four hours of labor per day would support all of us in comfort. But while we are standing on the threshold of automatic production, the heads of our industrial lords are still back in the days of ox carts, tallow candles and hand looms. And as a result of the clash between super-power production and superannuated ideas we are still working as if the wolf was howling at every door of this great republic. Indeed I doubt if there ever was a time

when the great mass of people slaved as frantically as we are slaving now.

What the world needs above everything is less work and more spending, less hustling and more playing, less "root hog or die" and more "live, man, while you're living." Puritanism is hopelessly out of date. If resurrected in its original purity it would even put Durant Ford and Rockefeller on the blink for who would spend money going to hell in gas wagons when angel wings can be gotten for nothing?

Adam Bats for Socialists

Why am I going to vote for Thomas and Maurer? Well, in the first place, I regard the Republican machine which nominated Hoover as shamelessly, brazenly and hopelessly corrupt.

I believe that the men who sat cheeply jowl with such political swine as Albert Fall, Charles Denby and Harry Daugherty, without uttering a single word of protest, or lifting a finger to purge their Fatherland from this filth do not deserve the vote of any man whose picture does not decorate the rogues' gallery.

I believe that men who silently acquiesced in the stealing of Teapot Dome, the naval oil reserve, and the looting of the Veterans' Bureau, are unfit to be trusted with anything more valuable than a leaky mouse trap.

And I add that if these men were unaware of the shameless looting going on under their very noses, they are too damned stupid to pound sand in a rat hole.

I believe that men who remained silent when their party brothers and cabinet colleagues exchanged the natural resources of their country for the Liberty Bond bundles of the Sinclairs and Debnys would steal nickels out of the tin cups of blind men and kick their dogs for good measure.

I believe that a party which denied relief to farmers on the pretense of being against paternalism, while sanctioning an increase of fifty per cent on the tariff on pig iron by the plea of helping infant industry, is too dishonest to operate shell games at county fairs.

Tammany a Spare Tire

And secondly, I regard the Democratic machine which nominated Smith as a sort of spare tire on the chariot of Philocracy. Its principal function consists of furnishing the votes for the passage of mendacity too raw for Republican majorities.

I believe that the Democratic party is an unholy trinity of ignorance, intolerance and lust for pelf.

While I cannot forget the high treason and indecency of the Ohio gang, neither can I forget the still greater crimes of its predecessor in infamy—swindling, bamboozling and browbeating the American people into a war for Democracy in partnership with Czar and Mikado after securing power on the plea of keeping us out of war; persecuting men and women of intellect and conviction who refused to swallow the inanities and prevarications and incantations of Morgan's "food" doctors and Northcliffe's medicine men; torturing the few sweet souls who still believed that Christ meant just what He said and that the Sermon on the Mount must not be confused with a Democratic platform; the sale of alien patents by its Palmers and the looting of Liberty Bond proceeds by its Hog Islanders.

And last, but not least, I believe that the sordid system of knocking down the highest offices of the Republic to the highest bidder, as practiced and sanctioned by both parties, will inevitably lead to the death and decay of the country of Washington, Lincoln and Debs.

And so, as a lover of my homeland, respecting its history and traditions, jealous of its honor and proud of its contribution to life, liberty and happiness, I shall vote for Thomas and Maurer.

In voting for the Socialist candidates I shall nail my vote to the future instead of throwing it in the sewer of the present evil days.

LaFollette Wing Loses In Wisconsin

(Continued from Page 1.)

the questions raised by the "Times." It includes Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, and Otto R. Hauser, the Socialist candidate for Governor, as alternatives to the readers to consider. The editorials of the "Times" reads:

"In what way can the Progressive cause be best served? Shall this newspaper support Hoover and Curtis and agree to the contention of those who maintain that Hoover is a great humanitarian and idealist? Shall the 'Capital Times' lend its influence for the advancement of the Smith and Robinson ticket? Or shall we support Norman Thomas? The Socialist candidate for President?"

"And what shall we do in the state light? Support Kohler, the Republican nominee? Or shall we support Mayor Schmedeman, Madison's mayor, for governor, on the Democratic ticket? Or shall we support Otto F. Hauser, the Socialist candidate for Governor?"

"The 'Capital Times' is desirous of obtaining the point of view of its readers on these questions and to that end we are offering \$10 for the best letter to be printed in the Voice of the People on the course which this newspaper should follow. The contest will close one week from Saturday and the prize winner will be announced one week from next Sunday."

"The letters which the 'Capital Times' receives will be printed in the Voice of the People. Send your views to this newspaper. Got your letters in early."

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

Editor, The New Leader:

I am sorry to see the New Leader adding its voice to the lies told about the lot in Pittsburgh at the recent miners convention called by the Save-the-Union group. I was in Pittsburgh and consequently know what happened.

Instead of the "large group of miners, estimated at nearly a thousand," who, you say in the issue for September 15, "came to the hall and asked for admission and to be heard in opposition to the communists," there appeared between two and three hundred paid pickets, street anglers, and district and international officials of the United Mine Workers, he paid pickets, who receive from ten to twenty-five dollars a week for living near the mines where a theoretical strike is still on after two years, had been called into conference the week before and instructed to report in Pittsburgh early in the morning of the convention.

he mission of the gang who appeared in front of the hall was first to break up the convention and then to beat up and probably kill the leaders of the new movement. Whether the leaders are communists or not is not relevant. They have just as much right to be communists as I have to be a socialist. Furthermore when I say the mission of the Lewis gang was to "beat up and probably kill" I speak from experience, for at the convention of the United Mine Workers in Indianapolis two years ago, to which I was a delegate duly elected and paid by my local union, I was nearly murdered by two international and one district officer of the United Mine Workers, at least two of whom were present in the gang which attacked the Pittsburgh convention. Moreover two of my best friends in the anthracite region, Alexander Campbell and Peter Reiley, were murdered last winter by the group supporting the Lewis machine, and two weeks ago another friend, Frank Bonita, was also murdered by the same group. The Lewis gang calls every progressive a communist, but it happens that I was a member of the Socialist Party when I was attacked in Indianapolis and neither of the murdered men in the anthracite region was a communist.

When the Lewis gang approached the hall, they started throwing stones, and finally, when dollar bills were passed out to youngsters, they rushed the hall. To have allowed them inside would have meant death to many of the Save-the-Union men, for the Lewis gangsters no more go unarmed than did his appointee, international Organizer Angelo, from whom a pistol was taken by the police when they finally broke up our fight in Indianapolis when I was attacked by him and International Organizer Turnbull and Vice-President Patton of District 8.

Moreover anyone with a delegate's credential was admitted to the convention. The 250 or so who stormed the hall had not credentials but "picket badges" which in this case granted them immunity from arrest.

When the convention finally got started in East Pittsburgh—ten miles from the first hall—it was less than a day before the Lewis gang and deputy sheriffs again found out where the convention was being held and came to prevent it from going on. The police, for the second time, dispersed the delegates to the convention who had been meeting quietly and peaceably. The Sheriff's proclamation was read announcing that the Save-the-Union group could hold no more meetings in Allegheny County.

As we left the hall about 150 officers and paid pickets of the United Mine Workers were waiting for us, ready to start trouble. The deputy sheriffs, some of them with drawn pistols, kept the two crowds apart. Among the Lewis gangsters I recognized a dozen or more union officials, with some of whom I had worked in the days that I was an organizer for the United Mine Workers.

Included among the officials present were International Organizer Heffley from Illinois; Rube Fern, from Kansas; Organizer Tom Robertson, who is also a vice-president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and William Patton, the same hug who with the help of two others tried to beat me up in Indianapolis. When you imply that the international officers knew nothing of the affair and repeat Murray's hypocritical excuses you are aligning yourselves with labor fakery who have destroyed the United Mine Workers and who now seek to prevent any organizing done by anyone. Such an article is not worthy of the official organ of an anti-capitalist party.

POWERS HAPGOOD.

North Brookfield, Mass.

The New Leader was compelled to rely on numerous press dispatches for its story as it had no representative on the ground. There is reason for believing that certain officials of the United Mine Workers are guilty of the sort of conduct described by Comrade Hapgood and it appears that conservative and inept policies have contributed to the decline of the organization and despair among many members of its future. On the other hand there is no doubt that the "Save the Union" group has been largely under Communist leadership. For months we have been getting publicity from Communist agencies which identify the "Save the Union" group with these agencies. We believe that new blood and progressive leadership are required to bring the organization of the miners to its former power but we do not think that Communists can supply it. They have touched ruin to everything they have touched. We have no doubt that there are non-Communists in the "Save the Union" group but the Communists in it are sure to insure disaster. In New York City one of their allies is charged with the murder of a picket in the Hebrew Butchers' Union as the result of a similar physical conflict.