

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

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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

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RULING AND FOOLING WETS, DRYS

Drys Get Bogus Enforcement, Wets Get Their Booze, Politicians Get Office, and Voters Get Swindled

THE political campaign comes to a close one fact towers mountain high before intelligent men and women who have studied the liquor issue of the two capital parties. They have been staging the biggest swindle in the history of American politics. It appears to be a partisan leadership of deceit. It is a matter of ruling both Wets and Drys. And the swindle is to continue for many years if the politicians have their way.

A little book on politics intended to blast fakism from Bennett Munroe declares that it should "be plain to anyone of normal mentality that ballots cast by men who have been merely herded and hounded to the polls can never contribute to" an intelligent verdict. With the politics of the master brokers emptied of principles and issues; with the two parties kept by the interests, the liquor "issue" gives them an opportunity to "herd and hound" the voters for many years. *game appears to be a matter of keeping Wets and Drys at each other's throats and to satisfy neither.*

Professor Howard Lee McBain is the author of a book, *Prohibition: Legal and Illegal*, published by Macmillan. It is a remarkable study of the problem in its legal aspects. It is not his purpose to reveal the deceit of the politicians and yet one cannot read the book without being convinced that they are either ignorant or that they are playing a game of deception on both Wets and Drys. Socialists and intelligent people in general have no objections to a referendum of the nation on the liquor question but it certainly offers no easy solution for many years. In fact, it does not guarantee any satisfactory decision although many of Governor Smith's supporters think so.

FIVE PER CENT RULE 90 PER CENT

Why is the referendum faulty? Because, as Professor McBain points out, thirteen of Smith's Democratic dry states in the South which contain only 5 per cent of the nation's population can nullify the will of 90 per cent of the people in all the other states. This is due to the fact that it requires a vote of three-fourths of the states to amend the constitution. It would be just the same if these thirteen states were wet. They could impose their will upon 90 per cent of the population of the country. *That means that a referendum to be successful must be almost unanimous and that is practically impossible.*

What of enforcement of the Volstead Act? Smith and Hoover solemnly affirm that they will enforce it

yet everybody knows that it has not been enforced. Why? "For the simple reason," declares McBain, "that Congress has never seen fit to set up the machinery for its more complete enforcement." It would have to set up a "giant bureaucracy" penetrating the smallest community and involve a cost so enormous that it would stagger the taxpayers. Facing this tremendous expense Congress prefers to make a gesture at enforcement.

FOOLING BOTH WETS AND DRYS

With what results? The prohibitionists are fooled. They are induced to support candidates who are pledged to enforcement. *The candidates get the offices, the prohibitionists get a hypocritical enforcement, and those who are wet have their wetness satisfied.* All attention of the voters is concentrated on this "issue" and the politicians reap a harvest of offices out of the ignorance of the voters. McBain declares that enforcement is "a gesture of sheer hypocrisy" as Congressmen "bamboozle dry constituencies by orthodox regularity" in pretending to enforce the law.

Another aspect of the problem is that by messing the liquor problem the whole character of the government is being changed. Bungling the slavery issue by the politicians brought us dangerously near an intolerant oligarchy. We are now facing a return of this danger. A body of judicial interpretation is evolving. The Civil Rights amendments of the Constitution cannot long survive the present tendency. *If that is the price we are willing to pay for present conditions it is the price that will be exacted by governing officials in the coming years.*

GOVERNOR SMITH'S BUNK

What of Governor Smith's idea that Congress should by law "find a more scientific definition of what constitutes an intoxicating beverage?" Governor Smith knows and every intelligent man and woman knows that "even the most moderate Wets want wine and beer that are in fact intoxicating by any kind of scientific definition. And they will be satisfied with nothing less."

It is a deadly answer. Smith knows that the answer is true. So do all his partisans. Smith's proposal for modification along these lines is sheer bunk. It may be good for votes but that is true of all bunk. Yet Wets and Drys drift on from futility to futility and the only thing certain is that the bankrupt brokers of high hat politics will gather votes from the gullible while we drift dangerously to a republic ruled by an oligarchy of bureaucrats.

Is this situation hopeless? Must we forever be chips in a crooked game played by political sharps in every election? Let us turn to the experience of Canada for light. Professor Reginald E. Hose has surveyed Canada's problem in his book on *Prohibition or Control?* published by Longmans, Green and Co.

Canada has had a history of temperance, the saloon, licensing and prohibition similar to our own. In the year 1920 all Canada and all of the United States were under a prohibition act. Both countries were legally dry. Since 1920 there has been a remarkable change in Canada and by cautious experiment the Canadian people have worked out a solution of the problem while we are still tormented by the political brokers and their parties.

Our Canadian neighbors have been able to solve their problems because they have a political system which enables citizens to register their will in public law and administration. In this country we are bound hand and foot by an archaic Constitution so that 5 per cent of the people can nullify the will of 90 per cent in the matter of amending the Federal Constitution.

DEMOCRACY FINDS A WAY

Beginning in 1921 the provinces, one by one, dissatisfied with bootlegging, poison liquor, impossibility of thorough enforcement, and a general demoralization began to go over to a policy of nationalizing the liquor traffic and regulating it in accord with local sentiment. By a combination of local option and a referendum every two or three years in each province the law is modified in accord with experience and changing sentiment. The system has worked to such satisfaction that by the year 1927 every province, except Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, has been won to the new system. One of these dissenting provinces has also gone over to the new system this year.

Even the smallest constituency is not coerced. If a province votes some modification in the general provincial law, an electoral division or even a smaller group or even a ward or a number of wards in a city may be dry if it so votes. There may be a licensed area and adjoining it one that is not licensed, or the sale of beer by the glass, or prohibition of such sales. An area may vote that certain beverages may be sold and others prohibited. *In every way the handling of the question responds to the experience and wishes of the people affected.*

Government stores have the business in hand under

strict regulations which wipe out the features of the old saloon while the provincial commissions in charge of the business educate the people "to a new standard of both purchase and consumption, and a gradual eradication of the unrestrained habits which marred the old licensing regime." Private profit is taken out of the traffic except in the case of the breweries but these must deliver to the government stores. No incentive is provided for store agents to encourage drinking and in many provinces the amount that may be purchased by one family is limited.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM SOLVED

The result of this system is a democracy of control and regulation that is ever responsive to popular opinion; bootlegging as a trade is on the decline; temperance is encouraged; the influence of liquor in politics has not come back; the profits go to maintain the cost of the service; the people are conscious that policy and law may be shaped by referendums every two or three years, and the problem is not a football for designing politicians.

How did Canada come to change her mind? The Moderation League made up of people of all opinions took the initiative when it was apparent that the old system was unsatisfactory and unworkable. Then Canada has the advantage of a real democratic political system which permits of change and which registers changing views as they occur. Experiment in one province won supporters in another till all provinces were won. Canada has made a solution effective which has been urged by Socialists in many countries.

What a contrast between the two countries! We are compelled to serve as chips in a poker game by our professional politicians while they prey upon ignorance and prejudice. There is no final solution of the problem except the Socialist way, but a reactionary political system and worship of private profit in business condemns us to be victims of charlatans for some years to come.

Votes cast for Smith or Hoover on the liquor problem are literally thrown away. They are wasted by both Wets and Drys. No matter which party is successful there will be no change for the better for either side in this controversy. The present mess keeps the voters in a turmoil and plays into the hands of empty-head politicians.

The intelligent voter will aim to smash this deceit with a Socialist vote on November 6th.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President

HERE are few cities in the United States where there is even an approximately honest count of the vote. In instances, there are whole Assembly districts in Greater New York where not only I but Herbert Hoover are lucky to have any votes counted for us. Governor Smith by his vendetta has best to continue this conduct. Probably we should not be having quite so much trouble about the size of election precincts and the scarcity of voting machines in New York if Governor Smith had approved last winter a bill limiting voting precincts to a manageable size.

Nevertheless experience shows two things: (1) Men and women with a little courage who act like human beings, not like scared sheep, can usually get their votes counted even in New York City. (2) As our experience in Judge Panken's district last year made clear, capable watchers can do wonders even in districts infested by Tammany gangsters on and off the bench.

In short, this is an appeal for watchers—not only in New York City but everywhere against the vote thieves of both old parties.

Surely I do not need to tell prospective Socialist voters that we are building a party, not voting for individuals. We want support of the entire Socialist ticket. And here let me express my appreciation of the spirit and energy of my associates on state tickets throughout the country. I am honored to be of your company and find in the work you are doing a great bond of fellowship.

The plight of our liberal friends who will do anything—they say—for progressivism except vote Socialist is daily more pathetic. There isn't a chemical trace of progressivism in the Hoover of 1928, and as for Al Smith—well, to vote for him is to

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Sewer Pipe Democracy Of New York Kills Goat For the Happy Warrior

Grafting Connolly and Pal Go to Prison While Tammany Negotiates Treaty With Heirs of Plunder Ring—Raskob Ambassador to Sewer Pipe Court

By Antolycus

FROM the beginning of the investigation of the Queens sewer ring to the end of the trial of former Borough President Maurice E. Connolly, one unseen figure and one alone dominated the situation. His name was not heard in open court. There was no formal evidence to connect him with it. But everybody knew that he was in a real sense the central figure of the whole business, and in the lobby conversation between sessions of the trial his name was constantly mentioned.

That man was Governor Alfred E. Smith. The scandal "broke" first when it did because of the Smith candidacy for President, and the trial was set for September in order to give Tammany Hall time to demonstrate to the country, to its own satisfaction, at least, that the scandal did not concern the organization of the white-haired lad of Oliver street.

A week before the trial began, a primary election was held and Tammany Hall was careful to nominate a candidate against Bernard M. Patten, the choice of the Connolly gang for Borough President and to let the world know it.

Everywhere Tammany people are loudly asserting that Tammany is not responsible for the sewer scandals, and that it was Tammany Hall that caused the exposure of the Queens sewer ring.

All of which is a little ingenious. If Tammany Hall is such a great organization and if Al Smith is such a wonderful man, people have a right to know why his benign and much-advertised influence for public good and the public spirit of the philanthropic Wigwag organization were unable to cross a narrow river and influence a sister organization of the same party in another county; if Smith could not influence a sub-division of his own party across the bridge to refrain from plundering the people, how can his influence be expected nationally to reform the notorious and corrupt party whose national candidate he is?

The plundering of the people of Queens county of over \$10,000,000 was in the single item of concrete sewer pipe. What other plundering there has been remains to be exposed. If a gang

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Idaho Socialists Razz Renegade "Progressives"

Declare Chief Leader "Last of the Mohicans"—Party in Big Literature Campaign

BOISE, Idaho.—Idaho Socialists are making the most of the desertion by H. F. Samuels, former gubernatorial candidate of the Progressive Party, to the G. O. P. and incidentally having a little fun at his expense. In a statement which appears in Idaho papers Samuels is referred to as "the last of the Mohicans." Samuels and other "progressive" leaders have crawled back into the ranks of the parties which through two-party legislation years ago forced them to organize independently as a third party.

The bankruptcy of that party and the attempt of its leaders to sell its tatters to the leaders of capitalist parties is a warning of the necessity of the workers to organize their political power from the ground up and to retain control of the organization. The spectacle of men who a few years ago were telling the voters that the old parties were bankrupt and who are now supping at the same table with the old gangs is a big lesson to intelligent voters.

The Socialists expect to poll more votes to become an official party. The number required is 7,800, but watching the vote is very urgent this year and volunteers are needed.

The state organization has sent out 15,000 pieces of literature, including platforms, leaflets and pamphlets. About 5,000 of the Thomas letters to farmers will also be mailed to voters, as well as 6,000 new Idaho pamphlets which show why the more than 50,000 LaFollette voters of four years ago should support the Socialist candidates.

Another strong appeal has been mailed to Idaho friends of the party to send contributions to help pay for this big literature campaign. C. H. Felton, State Chairman, and C. H. Cammanns, State Secretary, have not only been giving their time free to the party but have spent liberally of their own funds.

Contributions may be sent to C. H. Cammanns, Room 27, Shaw Building, Boise, Idaho.

Thomas Speaks To Big Crowds in Pennsylvania

Presidential Candidate Packs Reading Auditorium and Broadcasts to Many Thousands in State—Pays Tribute to Debs and Maurer—Answers Hoover

PHILADELPHIA.—Addressing a mass meeting of Negroes in the Royal Theatre last Sunday afternoon, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, accused both Herbert Hoover and Governor Smith of permitting their parties to play upon racial bigotry especially in the South, and called Negroes to vote for the Socialist party as the only one offering racial equality in industry, politics and the courts.

"I speak to you primarily not as to Negroes but as to men and women," said Thomas, "comrades in this great task of keeping life going in this world of ours. It is a tragedy in any country when any group feels compelled to vote along lines of race or language. War, hunger, injustice, speak a universal tongue. The basic problems in America have to do with the way we make our living. That is, they have to do with the control of land, natural resources and the means of production for the common good."

"This is the concern of the Socialist Party and the Socialist platform. We say that there will not be freedom, peace or plenty till workers with hand and brain organize together economically and politically as workers to rid the world of waste and parasitism. There is not enough human energy to waste on racial prejudices when these great issues of life and death are at stake."

"Yet I recognize that all manner of injustice from Lynch law to political disfranchisement forces American Negroes to think of the race question day and night. Smith and Hoover in varying degrees are deliberately playing up or permitting their parties to play up to racial bigotry especially in the South. I have just been South and was appalled once more by the price the Southern white worker pays for his race prejudice. Low wages in the South are at least partly the result of the fact that the bosses can divide the workers and pay the white man not with money but by flattery that he is white! Indeed, throughout the country labor has paid spiritually as well as materially for the degree in which it has allowed itself to be used to keep the colored man down. Dr. Du Bois in a brilliant

article in the current Nation shows how our race prejudice poisons the springs of politics and thwarts and hinders liberal action.

"Knowing these things I come to you to say that the Socialist Party asks your cooperation as comrades in the common cause of ridding the world of poverty, tyranny and war. We pledge ourselves to one justice for colored and white; to one test for the right to vote and hold office; namely, the test of personal fitness. When backward states think they need a literacy test it must be applied without reference to color. There should be reduction of representation for these states where citizens are disfranchised by force of fraud.

"I am aware that we who struggle for justice have no easy road. We need courage and intelligence. We cannot safely fight prejudice with prejudice. Our duty and our hope must be in convincing white workers and colored that together they can conquer as neither group can conquer when it is the tool of a master class. In this spirit I ask your support believing that a socialism which cannot conquer a

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Where Thomas And Maurer Can Be Heard

THOMAS DATES

Friday, Oct. 26—PASSAIC, N. J., Prospect Y. M. C. A., 6 p.m.; evening, New York City, banquet, Parkview Palace.

Saturday, Oct. 27—NEW BEDFORD, Mass.

Sunday, Oct. 28—SPRINGFIELD, Mass. State Theatre, 2 p.m.; Northampton, Mass., 8 p.m.

Monday, Oct. 29, CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Harvard Union, noon lunch hours; MANCHESTER, N. H., Grand Theatre, 8 p.m. Tuesday, Oct. 30—BOSTON, Ford Hall and Wallingford Auditorium.

Wednesday, Oct. 31—NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., New Jersey College of Women, Rutgers College, and Agricultural College, one meeting, 6 p.m.; PRINCETON, Princeton University, at 8:30 p.m.

Thursday, Nov. 1—NEWARK, N. J., Laurel Gardens; Passaic, Memorial School; at noon, NEW YORK CITY, Great Hall of the City College.

Friday, Nov. 2—New Utrecht High School; James Madison High School, BROOKLYN; Hunts Point Palace, THE BRONX.

Saturday, Nov. 3—ALBANY and SCENECTADY, N. Y.

Sunday, Nov. 4th — Amalgamated Temple, BROOKLYN 11 a.m.

Sunday, Nov. 4th—Pythian Temple, CONEY ISLAND, 2 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 4th—Thomas Jefferson High School, BROOKLYN, evening.

Sunday, Nov. 4th—Brownsville Labor Lyceum, BROOKLYN, evening.

Sunday, Nov. 4th—In the 18th Assembly District, BROOKLYN, evening.

MAURER DATES

Saturday, Oct. 27—KENOSHA, Wis.

Sunday, Oct. 28th—CHICAGO, Ill.

Monday, Oct. 29th—ST. LOUIS, MO.

Tuesday, Oct. 30th—CINCINNATI, O.

Wednesday, Oct. 31st—PITTSBURG, Pa.

Thursday, Nov. 1—READING, Pa.

Sunday, Nov. 4—READING, Pa.

Big Debate of Years! Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris Hillquit Will Debate in Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue Wednesday, Oct. 31st., Subject: "Should Progressives Support Smith?"

Thomas Raps Herbert Hoover Heaves Politicians Hokum Into Crowd In Debate At Garden Address

Haggood and Fish Embarrassed in Attempt to Defend Foreign Policies of Their Parties

NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist Presidential candidate, took a good whack at the foreign policies of the two capitalist parties at the three-cornered debate conducted by the Foreign Policy Association on Oct. 26 at the Community Church in New York City. The Republican speaker was Hamilton Fish, Jr., a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and a candidate for re-election to Congress in the Seventeenth District, New York City. Norman Haggood, co-author with Henry Moscowitz of an idealized life of Alfred E. Smith, took up the Democratic cudgels.

Norman Thomas ridiculed the plea of innocence and altruism put forth by Hamilton Fish in defense of the Republican Administration and pricked the illusions from which poor Norman Haggood was suffering. Thomas was easily master of the situation.

James G. McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association, who presided, introduced each speaker by reading the planks of their party platforms dealing with foreign relations. The Republican and Democratic statements of principle were practically the same and were received in dead silence. When the Socialist plans opened with the clear demand for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Nicaragua, the audience burst into applause, so striking was the contrast with the evasiveness of the other two platforms.

Haggood Does Not Know
Hamilton Fish attacked Al Smith's silence on foreign affairs and praised Norman Thomas for his outspoken declarations on every issue. To pin the Democrats down, Fish put fourteen questions to Norman Haggood.

Haggood began by making it clear that he was not defending the Democratic platform. He was simply impressed by what he called "the political reality" of Al Smith. He did not know what Al would do but he was sure that he would do the right thing. To most of the fourteen questions put by Hamilton Fish, his answer was "I don't know." He displayed his ignorance by declaring in anticipation of Thomas' claim as to the similarity of the two capitalist parties that there was as much difference between them as between the Socialist and Communist parties. He actually seemed to think that he had scored a point. During the question period, when Thomas asked him where Smith in his acceptance speech had promised the immediate withdrawal of troops from Nicaragua, Haggood plainly showed his embarrassment and irritation.

Marines and Elections
Thomas found no need to answer the questions of Fish, since the ringing declarations in the Socialist platform, as read by Chairman McDonald, supplied the answers. To the explanation of Hamilton Fish that the Marines were in Nicaragua to ensure an honest election, Thomas replied with the advice that same be sent into the Seventeenth Congressional District, where Fish was running for election, or Hoover and Thomas would not get any votes. He spiked the claim of Fish that the United States had no motives for the exploitation of Nicaragua by citing a little history that Brown & Co., J. & W. Seligman, and the Guaranty Trust Company had everything to do with the case. The Socialist Presidential candidate expounded his views and that of the Socialist Party on the League of Nations. The League was imperfect but he favored participation, because the future peace of the world will depend on international organization. Of course, he pointed out there could be no real assurance of peace until the workers of the world controlled their respective governments. When in the question period, Fish showed that he was disturbed by the deficiency in the League Covenant found in Article V, which requires the unanimous consent of the Council for any action to preserve peace, Thomas said he did not know the number of the Article, but well remembered its contents and the fact that it was put in to meet the Republican objections to the possible dictation to the United States by the League. Commenting on Fish's remark that the United States was opposed to the use of force in China if it could help itself, Thomas explained that this was because the American businessmen wanted to sell goods to China and dead Chinamen were bad customers.

Haggood's New Messiah
The Socialist standard-bearer made short shrift of Norman Haggood. He exposed the futility of lining up behind Messiahs for so-called practical reasons. He, Thomas, at least wanted to know what the Messiah was. In the case of Smith one did not know. Tarrying for a moment on Haggood's praise of Al Smith's courage, Thomas reminded Haggood of his role in the expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen, and of the simple chronological fact that Smith had come out for non-intervention in Mexico in his reply to Marshall's letter on Catholicism only after public opinion had been aroused against the bungling policy of Kellogg and in favor of an amicable settlement. Thomas ended up on a note of hope that the workers united through the International Socialist movement would soon take over the reins of government, for only through the substitution of the Socialist Commonwealth for the capitalist system could peace and freedom come to the world.

Kansas Veteran Passes
Garnett, Kansas.—H. J. Andrews, an old comrade of St. Francis, has passed away. He was well above 80 years old, a veteran of the Civil War and a veteran in Socialist ranks too. He has been a faithful comrade in this state a number of years. He was one of our presidential electors on our state ticket this year.

By Backstairs Spokesman

LET us look for a moment at this man who will be President of the United States for the next four years. I mean Herbert Hoover.

How wonderfully his attitude towards life was revealed in his Madison Square Garden speech this week.

How hypocritically he attempted to fasten on the all too innocent front of Al Smith the red badge of State Socialism.

"State Socialism" and Al Smith! No wonder the crowd walked out as this pudgy plute mouthed these words.

He said that he felt deeply on the subject of "government in business" because he had seen government go into business in Europe after the war.

Yes, but he forgot to say how he used his supposedly charitable offices to suppress the revolution in Hungary. How he gave orders that relief would be handed out only to the political orthodox and as a result Hungary has today one of the most revolting dictatorships in all Europe.

Dictatorship. That's what he intends to bring about in America. Even more than Coolidge this autocratic successor of his will give us a dictatorship of those who are now paying his campaign expenses.

It's merely a cold-blooded matter of give and take. Mr. Hoover is not winning this election. He is buying it.

And he is buying it from those very people who have done all they could to put business into government.

I beg you to read, "High Power Propaganda," by H. S. Raushenbush, the able secretary of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, published by the New Republic and selling for 25 cents, if you want a close-up of the gang that is back of Hoover.

"During the past seven years," says Mr. Raushenbush, "there has been more dirtying of the waters of public opinion, more muddying of the streams of education in schools, press and public groups, than this country has ever seen before."

And those who have been doing the dirt are the men who have been publicly praised by Hoover as devoted and public-spirited characters.

What has this high-power propaganda been shooting at? The idea of public ownership of public resources, of course. Anyone who advocates that is a "State

Fighters on Every Front Give To The Campaign

THEODORE DEBS, brother of the late Eugene V. Debs, sends his contribution of ten dollars to the national campaign fund through The New Leader. Comrade Debs has also done his bit for the Terre Haute campaign and for the Milwaukee campaign to return Victor L. Berger to Congress.

Comrade Debs writes that if the working class has any brains "or a grain of gratitude, Thomas and Maurer would receive a vote that would rock the very foundations of the country. As it is, the great majority of the workers will, as usual in their blind prejudice and stupidity, vote a capitalist ticket. . . ."

Theodore has the unconquerable spirit of his great and noble brother, Gene, his contributions are offered to the fighters on every front in this great electoral struggle. He helped to organize the Social Democracy in 1897 and served the organization as National Secretary. Many times his watch was in pawn to pay the rent of the National Office. He stood his ground against the terror in the war days when the war maniacs threatened to drive him and Gene from the city.

One more week and our fight with which Theodore Debs is a noble example will end but the contributions are needed to the very hour when the masses go to the polls. The work goes on in the belief that YOU want to help share the cost. We rely on YOU. What is your answer?

Since the last report the following have contributed to the fund:

Frank Iskowitz, Detroit, Mich.	\$3.00	Nick Wetlich, Massillon, Ohio	2.00
Ed. H. Bernstein, Marquette, Mich.	1.00	John Collins, Pasadena, Calif.	5.00
Swann Wedar, Gladstone, Mich.	1.00	David Curran, Dallas, Texas	2.00
Chas. Beckman, Maines, Mich.	1.00	John Haggood, Maines, Mich.	1.00
John Wagar, Maines, Mich.	1.00	A. Reader, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
John Haggood, Maines, Mich.	1.00	A. V. Remison, Charleston, S.C.	2.00
A. Reader, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	A. Comrade, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
A. V. Remison, Charleston, S.C.	2.00	U. Kasky, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
A. Comrade, Chicago, Ill.	2.00	M. Patterson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
U. Kasky, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00	M. Fay, New York City	2.00
M. Patterson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	O. J. Lindgren, Fair, Kansas	5.00
M. Fay, New York City	2.00	Max B. Ames, Washington, D.C.	2.00
O. J. Lindgren, Fair, Kansas	5.00	Nath. Ellenbogen, New York City	1.00
Max B. Ames, Washington, D.C.	2.00	Ernest James Butell, Woodbridge, N. J.	1.10
Nath. Ellenbogen, New York City	1.00	Frank J. Gussotti, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Ernest James Butell, Woodbridge, N. J.	1.10	Chas. N. Miles, Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Frank J. Gussotti, Chicago, Ill.	1.00		
Chas. N. Miles, Chicago, Ill.	2.00		
		Total	\$102.80
		Previously Reported	\$386.25
		Total to Date	\$489.05

Address all communications to The New Leader Campaign Appeal, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Jursek Busy at Many Campaign Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The meetings of Karl C. Jursek, assistant national campaign manager, have aroused great interest. During one past week he addressed eight meetings for Thomas and Maurer before Shipstead, Farmer-Labor Party, Independent and private gatherings. A group at the home of Mrs. Thompson attended by several members of the Teachers Union resulted in three members for the Socialist Party as well as for the Thomas and Maurer Club. The Williams meeting, due to the fine efforts of Laura Bunker, was a fine success. This meeting held the night of Thomas' speech direct to this audience. After Jursek's speech, Mr. Williams was due to speak but quickly agreed to give some of his time in order that Thomas might be heard. After hearing the address he stated that he wholeheartedly endorsed Thomas and Maurer.

The demand for Thomas and Maurer speeches is given by Jursek before outside interested groups continues. Arrangements are being made for him to address the Liberal Club of St. Paul and the Student Senate of Hamline University. He will speak in Duluth the following date: Saturday Lunch Club, Duluth, Saturday, October 27 at noon. City meeting, Duluth, Saturday night, October 27. Downtown meeting, Duluth, Monday, October 29. Uptown Duluth, October 30. Minneapolis and St. Paul. To finish up Superior, Wis., Oct. 31 and then return to the election.

All arrangements are being made to have the Maurer meeting at the Garrick Theatre develop into one of the best held in the city of Minneapolis. Jursek, Sala, Shier and others are actively on the job as campaign publicity posters, throw

Thomas in New England For Big Meetings

Five Large Cities in the Coolidge Paradise to Hear Presidential Candidate and Candidate for Governor

BOSTON.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, comes to New England for meetings which will add impetus to the campaign carried on by other candidates of the party in this section. Massachusetts voters will hear him in a number of cities with other candidates and he will invade New Hampshire with an address in Manchester where some ten thousand textile workers face destitution as a result of Calvin's "prosperity." Thomas will speak in Boston, on Tuesday, Oct. 30, at Ford Hall and later that same evening at the Sarah Greenwood School in Ward 14.

Mary Donovan Haggood, candidate for Governor, will speak in South Boston, on Broadway, P Street at 8:00 o'clock, Monday, Oct. 29.

In New Bedford, Norman Thomas, Mary Donovan Haggood, Frank Manning, and Alfred Baker Lewis will speak at the High School Auditorium on Saturday, Oct. 27. At Springfield, George E. Roemer, Professor Ralph Barlow of Smith College, Mary Donovan Haggood and Norman Thomas will speak at the State Theatre on Taylor Street near Main beginning at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, Oct. 28.

In Northampton, Norman Thomas and Mary Donovan Haggood will speak for the Hampshire Progressive Club in the evening of Oct. 28.

Mary Donovan Haggood will speak at the Worcester Forum in the morning of Sunday, Oct. 28.

The local candidates, Leon Arkin and Samuel P. Levenberg, will speak at the Worcester Forum on Sunday morning, Nov. 4. The Campaign Committee under the leadership of Max Hamlin in Ward 14 is holding rallies nearly every night on Blue Hill avenue.

Norman Thomas will speak at a luncheon of the Harvard Thomas-for-President Club at the Harvard Union at one o'clock Monday, Oct. 29.

Norman Thomas speaks at Manchester on Monday, Oct. 29 at 7:30 p.m.

Frank T. Butler, the candidate for Governor and Pierre Denio are holding meetings in various towns prior to the Thomas meetings.

Mary Donovan Raps Smith, Hoover Over Air

Boston.—Broadcasting Tuesday evening over WBZA, Mary Donovan Haggood, the Socialist candidate for governor, rapped both the old parties for their anti-labor bias and urged support for Norman Thomas and the whole Socialist ticket. "Both parties are against the workers," she said, "because they are financed and therefore controlled by employers who pay wages and consequently like to see the workers kept in a state of ignorance."

"We Socialists on the other hand represent the workers by hand and brain, the men and women who work for a living instead of owning for a living."

"That is why we are the only party in this campaign which favors unemployment insurance. We claim that men who are thrown out of work should be taken care of just as the employers take care of idle machinery to-day."

"We are the only party that favors ratification of the anti-child labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution, so as to prevent Massachusetts mills from moving into the Southern States where they can work little children of ten in the mills and factories. The Democrats and Republicans in failing to vote the ratification of this amendment show conclusively that they are more interested in the Southern mill owners than in the Massachusetts wage earners."

Maurer Stirs Audience At Big Portland Meeting

Portland, Ore.—James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, spoke to a splendid meeting in the Labor Temple Auditorium in this city on October 18. It is estimated that over 600 people were present.

Maurer spoke for more than an hour and held the rapt attention of the audience with his smashing drives against the big exploiters by Berger speeches. His marshalling of facts in support of his earnest address was convincing and the audience was certainly impressed.

George H. Goebel, who is traveling with Maurer, made a stirring appeal for activity and organization as well as for contributions to the campaign fund. A banquet was held after the address and about 25 friends sat down and enjoyed a very pleasant hour. A number of representative union men attended the dinner and some very friendly contacts were established.

The Portland organization of the party will continue to hold meetings and will work out a program for building a strong party membership and thus prepare for more efficient work in future campaigns.

R. Winterrow, Marshalltown, Ia., is a N. L. supporter. He is also the author of a booklet, "What the Democratic and Republican Parties Have Done For Me." Of course there are blank pages; nothing else, in fact.

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National Headquarters News

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

National

Leave Nothing Undone!
Leave nothing undone. Hold as many meetings as can be arranged before election day. Get new members for the Socialist Party. See to it that there are NO leaflets, pamphlets, Socialist papers or any other good propaganda matter left undistributed. End the campaign with the feeling that you have done all that was possible. Then start all over again the day after election. Build up the membership of the Party.

Iowa

State Secretary McCrillis reports a big local of the Party organized at Des Moines. McCrillis is also planning to speak at a number of points in the state before election day.

Louisiana

One of the few states that will be without our ticket on the ballot this year is Louisiana, but that will not stop the Socialists of that state from voting for Thomas and Maurer. Instructions have been sent to thousands of Socialists and progressives as to how they can write in the name of their choice.

Mississippi

W. C. Kennedy, State Secretary, writes the National Headquarters that the Democratic state bosses tried to keep our ticket out of the ballot. The Socialists complied with the requirement of the law, and the Democratic bosses in the state for law. However, due to the vigilance of our comrades two Socialist electors will go on the ballot. The big Democratic political boss in the state is the noisy, professed Jeffersonian, Pat Harrison. When that politician comes north he spreads the scare.

Colorado

State Secretary Bushnell reports on a speaking tour for J. A. Kimmer in the northern section of the state. He states that considerable literature is being put out and predicts a good vote.

New Hampshire

A new state organization has been formed in New Hampshire. The state is now recognized as independent of the New England District. We would like to hear from other states—Maine, Rhode Island and Vermont.

Indiana

E. B. Young, of Laconia, is the State Secretary and is going ahead with his work in fine shape. A full report of the work that had been done in the state was sent to this office by Organizer Pierre DeNio, who has been doing fine work there. Young and DeNio have laid a foundation on which a lasting state movement can be built.

Delaware

The Socialists of Wilmington are busy organizing a local with the cooperation of the National Office. That city has a number of very live comrades and we are confident that a good local will be formed.

Terre Haute

The Terre Haute Socialists held a Debs Memorial meeting on Oct. 20. One meeting was held on the steps of the Court House and one in a hall. Conrad Kelly was one of the speakers. The Terre Haute comrades are sorry that they did not get a meeting with one of the presidential nominees.

Pennsylvania

State Secretary Limbach urges the party members to double their efforts during the remaining period of the campaign, with the hope that the Socialist vote will be large enough to make the party official. Jessie Stephen of Great Britain and George R. Kirkpatrick of Chicago have been touring the state. Requests for organizers are coming in from a number of points.

Philadelphia

Tuesday, Oct. 30, 8 p.m.—Ukrainian Hall, 847 N. Franklin St. Speakers: Esler, Friedman, of New York; Chas. Sehl, of Philadelphia; Fred Hodgson, State candidate for Auditor General; Dr. Chas. Mazer, candidate for U. S. Rep. in Congress; M. Polin, candidate for State Senator.

Monday, Nov. 5, 8 p.m.—New Auditorium Hall, 7th and Snyder Aves.—Harry N. Berger, manager, Jewish Daily Forward, Philadelphia; Fred Hodgson, Dr. Chas. Mazer, Morris L. Polin, candidates.

Distribution of Literature

Besides the throw-away cards advertising the campaign meetings, campaign literature will be distributed throughout the city next Saturday, Oct. 27, covering Kensington, South Philadelphia, Strawberry Mansion and West Philadelphia. Comrades will please communicate with the Party Office, 808 Locust Street, Room 303—Pennyquaker 7-4-5-4.

Watchers

See that our vote is counted. Every Socialist should volunteer. Watchers' lists are being prepared. Send in your name and address and, if possible, your ward and division. If you are not certain about the division—we'll look it up for you.

We will send you along with a watcher's certificate, detailed instructions as to your duties. We will have some one in the Party office on the Sunday preceding election to give detailed information. Do not wait until the last minute. Send in your name now.

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Milwaukee Socialists Forge Ahead

Usual Legislative County Successes Obtain and Excellent Prospects for Two Socialist Congressmen

By Marx Lewis

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—With less than two weeks to go, an old-fashioned Socialist victory—the kind for which Milwaukee used to be famous, and which years ago helped give the Socialist movement impetus in other parts of the country—seems likely.

Local Socialists, besides fighting to turn Victor L. Berger to Congress, making special efforts to carry the Congressional district, where Senator Walter Polakowski is the Socialist candidate for Congress, and the county clerk, coroner, and to re-elect numerous state legislature officials.

The re-election of Berger seemed assured. His Republican opponent is the former Congressman, W. H. Stafford, who has repeatedly defeated, and who is making a special effort to stage a comeback. Banking on the close vote, which Berger pulled through four years ago, when progressives at the last moment deserted him despite his acceptance of help La Follette, the Socialist candidate, Stafford counts on unfavorable situation of a Socialist presidential election to pull through.

The dangerous situation in a presidential year has led to more intensive campaign, with the result that Berger's election is expected, notwithstanding adverse circumstances. There is a Democratic candidate who has not a special effort, although his vote was increased by reason of Governor Brannen's popularity in Milwaukee.

In the 4th district, Polakowski is campaigning for Hoover. Two years ago the progressives decided to support Melms, then the Socialist nominee, the decision was made rather late. Schaffer's desertion to the Stalwart was not known until after the primary. Schaffer was re-elected by about 5,000 plurality. This year they entered a candidate against him for the nomination who polled 9,000 votes in the primary. Schaffer won the nomination, but it is expected that much of the vote cast by the progressives in the primary will go to the Socialist this year.

However, Schaffer has built up a personal machine, is getting all kinds of stalwart aid, and is considered a formidable opponent. The victory of the Socialists may depend in a measure on the strength of the Democrats. If they get a large vote the fight will be more than cornered than it has been in years, and as the Socialists have always polled, even in the worst years, more than a third of the vote, Polakowski may win.

County candidates are conducting more determined campaign than ever. The fact that the Democrats are sure to poll a much larger vote this year than in the past, making the county fight three-cornered, has given the Socialists additional confidence. An increase in the Socialist representation in the State Legislature is expected. Carelessness in election day, which resulted in the loss of several Socialist aldermen in the previous election, one of whom lost by two votes and another by thirty-five, will not occur again on November 6. Every precinct being organized to bring out the vote.

Both Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential nominee, and Dr. Otto R. Hauke, candidate for Governor, are expected to poll a big vote in the State. Progressives, who lost the nomination by 20 votes, will divide their strength between Hauke and the Democratic gubernatorial nominee. Hauke has been conducting vigorous State campaign, speaking all over the State, and is in the leading cities of the State.

Expect a Good Vote

Richmond, Va.—Socialists in Virginia have heard the call to arms and are answering.

Following Norman Thomas' speech in Richmond on Saturday, October 6, much interest has been shown throughout the Old Dominion in the campaign being waged by the Socialist Party.

Much comment has been heard from all sides on the Socialist candidate's address.

A prominent Democratic Party leader is quoted as saying to a prominent Socialist Party leader that "Norman Thomas' address was the best political speech he had heard this year."

A large Socialist vote is expected in Virginia due to the split in the Democratic Party caused by the Anti-Smiths and their battle against that party's nominee, Smith, who is seeking modification of the dry laws.

Socialist Party leaders realize that they now have an opportunity of advancing their cause by jumping into the breach caused by the split and are carrying on their campaign with much vigor.

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Thomas Speaks To Big Crowds in Pennsylvania

(Continued from page 1)
distinctive race prejudice is no true socialism and that true socialism is the only road to a solution of our social ills."

Great Meeting in Reading

READING, Pa.—Both the Republican and Democratic presidential nominees came in for their share of criticism when Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, addressed an audience that crowded the Orpheum Theatre Sunday night. It was estimated by Socialist officials that an equal number of people were turned away.

Thomas was scheduled to go on the program at 8 o'clock, but by 7:30 every one of the 1,473 seats in the house was occupied and several hundred persons were standing in the foyer and aisles. The doors were thrown open at 7 o'clock, and a half hour earlier the lobby was packed. When shortly before 8 o'clock, Mayor J. Henry Stump walked down the aisle with the presidential candidate, a burst of applause, punctuated with shrill whistles, greeted them. When Mr. Thomas was introduced by School Director Raymond S. Hofes, another warm reception was accorded the Socialist nominee.

Address Broadcast
His speech was broadcast over radio station WRAW and he frequently made remarks, humorous and otherwise, for the benefit of his "unseen audience." Many persons, who were listening in on the program, telephoned asking Thomas to tell of various aspects of the presidential campaign, especially concerning Teapot Dome and Tammany Hall.

Mr. Thomas delivered five addresses in four communities. In the morning he spoke in New York, in the afternoon in Philadelphia and at Boyertown and in the evening at the Orpheum Theatre and at the Labor Lyceum at a reception held in his honor by members of the Socialist Women's Clubs.

A Tribute to Debs
In opening his address at the Orpheum, Thomas paid tribute to Eugene V. Debs departed leader of the Socialist party to whom he was compared by Chairman Hofes.

"No higher honor can come to any man," he declared, "than to be called upon to lead the Socialist party. I believe with the poet who said, 'When God made Eugene Debs he broke the mold.' There is, there never can be, a successor to Debs, but we must carry on the work where he left off."

"Reading to Socialists is a kind of national possession. A kind of oasis in a desert of capitalism. I believe that all people who think that the duty of a government is to represent the people honestly, are grateful for the Socialist victory in Reading and for the work of Mayor Stump and his associates."

"It is an honor to be associated with Jim Maurer. He was my choice for the presidential nominee. I only agreed to run for President when it became obvious that Reading couldn't spare him. That was one time I almost wished the Socialists had not been victorious. What the Socialists are doing here is the most effective sort of campaign. I pay homage to Maurer, who single-handed, has done more to get progressive legislation than any other man. I pay tribute to your city officials for the work they are doing. I accept your applause as your endorsement of their work."

Real Issues
"We Socialists have no hesitation in saying that the real issue of this campaign is the building of a strong and clean party of the working masses. Did you ever think to what a despicable level party government has sunk? Did you ever think that you chose two dolls on a string, two pears from one pod? You always vote against someone. You always are turning out the rascals to put somebody else in power. You always are running away from the lion into the tiger or some other wild animal. You think you are getting somewhere. You are not. I have never yet met a man and woman who would stand up and state the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. If anyone in this hall thinks he knows I'll be glad to listen and while I'm listening I'll tell a funny story."

A plea for contributions made to the crowd in the Orpheum by City Purchasing Agent Wilson was answered with contributions totaling \$400. This money will be used in the Socialist party's national campaign. Before Mr. Thomas went on the program the Shillington Male Chorus, comprising 25 voices, under the direction of J. J. Herman Miller, rendered several numbers. Mrs. Florence Hartz Plank was accompanist.

Thomas Answers

Hoover in Rochester
ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Centering his bombardment on the so-called "rugged individualism" which Republican leaders assert for the policies of their party, Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, declared in a large meeting here that the nation is threatened with exploitation of our basic industries and public utilities by "capitalistic dynasties." Mr. Thomas paid particular attention to Herbert Hoover's address in New York City, saying that his sincerity could not be doubted but that "his wisdom needs analysis."

"First," said Thomas, "let us make it clear that Mr. Hoover's speech was not properly directed against the Democratic Party. It was, instead, directed against the mighty movement of Socialism. Occasionally Al Smith picks up some bright and shining project of Socialist origin which like a magpie, he takes to adorn his own nest. He never builds a Socialist nest, now and then he tries to take a Socialist shirt when in ordinary decency he ought to take a whole Socialist suit."

"Rugged Individualism"
"Mr. Smith's proposals on farm relief and water power are scarcely more Socialist than Mr. Hoover's own, both of them have moved a long way from Adam and the tree."

What Choice Bigots? In Arkansas—Vote Smith Or Starve

SEVERAL complaints have been received from people of Little Rock, Arkansas, about a resolution adopted by the lower house of the Arkansas State Legislature requiring all applicants for jobs in the 1929 session of the legislature to file pledges of loyalty with the clerk that they will vote for the National Democratic Ticket.

Our informants relate to us that the Reverend Mr. Hayes, a minister for 61 years, and chaplain of the Arkansas Legislature for many years, was compelled under that resolution to resign his position.

Such conduct on the part of the Democrats in the legislature of Arkansas establishes a precedent which is a menace to free institutions. The integrity of the secret ballot is the basis of democracy. To extract from citizens the filing of a pledge to vote for certain political candidates as a condition to being granted state jobs, strikes at the very heart of free institutions.

Al Smith and the Negro

AL SMITH has repudiated the politically embarrassing Negro as thoroughly as Herbert Hoover in the opinion of W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, editor of The Crisis, Negro monthly, and well-known champion of the colored race. Writing in The Nation, Dr. Du Bois claims that the Democratic organization has established a "Jim Crow" annex and does not allow Negroes to have offices in the regular headquarters. This he says lines the Democrats up with the Lily Whites of the South as surely as did the action of the Republicans whom he charges with ousting every Negro political leader in the Southern states.

The unsuccessful effort to induce Governor Smith to make a friendly gesture toward Negro voters is thus described by Dr. Du Bois:

"A number of enthusiastic colored folk and friends of colored people put before the advisers of Governor Smith several possible statements which he might make to show that at least he was not an enemy of the American Negro. He refused to say a single word. He refused to let even indirectly anything go out from his headquarters which should seem to represent him as friendly to black men. Negro Democratic headquarters were indeed established but they were not allowed to have offices in the regular Democratic headquarters but were given a small 'Jim Crow' annex where they exist without real authority, without explicit recognition, and without the slightest initiative."

"On the other hand, explicit and repeated anti-Negro propaganda is being sent out by Democratic headquarters. When the Klan accused Governor Smith of having as his private stenographer 'a Negro wench,' Democratic headquarters at Washington on September 8 sent out the following release:

"Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the State of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc."

"The interesting thing about this statement is that it is perfectly true. In all of Governor Smith's long career, he has sedulously avoided recognizing Negroes in any way. He has twice vetoed bills which would have given a colored magistrate to Harlem. He has never given a Negro any major appointment. He has seldom been willing to receive a Negro delegation and it is doubtful if he has met personally in all his career a half-dozen of the 150,000 Negroes of his State."

Both Sides Cater to Ku Klux

ATLANTA—(FP)—Hooverites in the south are wooing the Ku Klux vote. The regular Democrats are doing the same.

"Vote for Hoover and white supremacy" is the slogan raised in large black type by the Anti-Smith Democratic Headquarters, in Atlanta—a left-handed Hoover movement—in a page advertisement in the pink Hearst Atlanta Georgian.

And "Vote for Smith and white supremacy" has been the slogan of the regular Democratic stump speakers since the campaign started. The regular Democrats made capital out of Hoover's order of last March abolishing segregation in the Department of Commerce offices. They list the presence of a few Negroes on Republican committees in the South and they hark back to Reconstruction days.

The page blast of the bolters features the picture of a Negro dictating to a white stenographer, and this is described as a friend of Al Smith and a Tammany civil service commissioner, Frederick Q. Morton. Underneath the other charges follow: that black and white children attend school together in New York, and New York has 200 colored policemen; that Al Smith as legislator supported a bill requiring hotels, restaurants, barber shops and theatres to serve Negroes, and that the New York Negro World has endorsed Smith.

Officially the Republican Party is not fanning the race hatred flames. It lets its left-handed friends, the bolters, do this passion-exciting job. But curious voters and disfranchised Negroes are asking who is footing the bills.

about the method of regulating the transmission of power at Boulder Dam and elsewhere, which is publicly produced. The utter breakdown of Mr. Smith's regulatory commission in New York State and his shocking use of the reactionary public service commissioner, George Van Namee as a campaign manager and fund collector, to say nothing of his dependence on those great power magnates, Messrs. Raskob and Young, ought to deprive the real progressive, to say nothing of the real Socialist, of any confidence in the Governor's proper handling of the power situation.

"It would be easy to riddle Hoover's speech in detail. I prefer to accept the challenge of his philosophy of individualism. Does rugged individualism describe the present American economic order? Let us remember that the age of the pioneer, the age of free land, the age of the self-contained community has definitely gone: there is no rugged individualism about our management of land, a management which creates slums and multiplies tenant farmers. If our methods of real estate speculation are truly individualistic, then Monte Carlo is the crowning good of our civilization. When Socialists say that society should take the rental value of land which society creates, they favor the individualism of the man who dwells in his own house."

Syracuse Has Good Meetings

Syracuse, N. Y.—Wm. Korlin spoke here at an open-air meeting October 12, which was attended by about 250. The meeting was one of the best that we had

Congressman Berger Replies To Lewis' Bunk

Miners' Chief Glorifies Coolidge "Prosperity" While Miners Face Low Wages and Destitution

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Referring to the claims of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and a Hoover supporter, made in a radio speech, that we are living in an "era of unprecedented prosperity," Representative Victor L. Berger, speaking at a factory meeting cited the conditions of the mine workers to refute Lewis' claim.

Mr. Berger said: "According to government statistics, those in the mining industry get an average wage of \$22.78 a week, while the lowest paid in the industry receive \$10.34 a week, when they work, and many of them do not work more than half of the time. These workers could afford to have radios. I wonder how Mr. Lewis' speech would sound then—his talk of an era of unprecedented prosperity. Surely he must know better."

And the Steel Mills.
"Or has this 'era of unprecedented prosperity' struck the workers in the steel mills of Chicago, who earn \$3.12 a day when they are employed—and they are not always employed? Or the railroad workers who, in 1926, had an average income of \$17 a week—and there are 200,000 such laborers? Or the workers in the lumber industry where the average earnings are \$17.77 per week, and the lower paid laborers get only \$10.48 a week—in this era of unprecedented prosperity?"

"According to the Republican secretary of labor there are between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000 people in the United States who are always on the verge of starvation—in this era of unprecedented prosperity. And what the rest of the people?"

Two-thirds of People Poor.
"Out of a population of 117,000,000, fully 76,000,000—or two-thirds of the entire population—belong to the poorer class, receiving an annual income that provides only the bare necessities, but is not sufficient to take care of them in such emergencies as sickness and unemployment, not to say anything of old age?"

"Socialists call attention to these facts to disprove the contentions of old party politicians and so-called labor leaders, because here will be no attempt to solve the problem of poverty as long as it is denied that there is such a problem. There will be no unemployment insurance and no old age pensions, which the Socialists advocate, no adequate taxation of wealth and no other reforms necessary for the improvement of the working classes, by the two old parties, while they take the position that all are enjoying an unprecedented prosperity."

"The Socialist party, alone, offers to the people a program of relief, based upon a true understanding of what the present industrial and social conditions are."

Smith Audience Swings For Thomas In Boston Vote

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BOSTON—In a vote on the Community Church in Boston last Tuesday after a debate on the merits of the different parties and candidates, Norman Thomas received the highest number of votes.

Mrs. Mary Donovan Hapgood spoke for the Socialist Party at the debate, while Mrs. Maud Wood Park and Mrs. Larue Brown supported Hoover and Smith respectively.

Mrs. Park, in her speech for Hoover, picked to pieces the "Smith myth" and showed that instead of being a liberal he was the true representative of a corrupt political machine. In spite of the fact that she admitted the two old parties were like "Tweedledee and Tweedledum" and quoted from Norman Thomas's servitude to Tammany, she said that his acceptance speech to show Smith's subordinated Hoover as the one outstanding efficient "humanitarian" of capitalism and that if he was elected and failed to change conditions for the better it would be the final proof to her that the Socialists were right and that the system must be changed.

Mrs. Brown not only spoke for Smith as a liberal individual but said that the Democratic Party was more liberal than the Republican. In her experience as a social worker she had found Smith more agreeable to reform measures than the Republicans.

Mrs. Hapgood, in a clever and convincing speech, showed not only that both the candidates of the old parties were loyal to their parties and thus to Big Business but also that even if they were liberals it is not the individual, but the party, which controls the government. She showed that the liberals today who are for either of the old party candidates are doing exactly what the timid reformers in Great Britain did in the days when they supported the Liberal Party, helping to keep alive and thus to retard the growth of a third party based on a real program.

At the end of the debate and question period, the Smith followers, sure that their candidate would win, as the Boston Community Church has been overwhelmingly under the "Smith myth," insisted on a vote against the wishes of many at the meeting. The result of the vote was Hoover 29, Smith 32 and Thomas 42.

Neal to Speak at Y. M. C. A. Jamaica Symposium Nov. 1st

The Central Queens Branch of the Y. M. C. A. at 8925 Parsons Blvd., Jamaica, has arranged for a symposium by representatives of the three parties for Thursday, Nov. 1, at 8 p.m. Thomas Austin will represent the Democratic Party, Warren B. Ashmead the Republican Party, and James Onal, editor of The New Leader, the Socialist Party.

Sewer Pipe Democracy Of New York Kills Goat For the Happy Warrior

Continued From Page 1
contract would be assigned to another contractor, who would pay Phillips anywhere from \$14,000 to \$86,000 for that assignment—always in cash, in \$1,000 bills.

Not a single contract nor assignment was legal without the signature of the Borough President. Maurice E. Connolly signed every contract Phillips wanted to have awarded, and tossed out every bid that Phillips wanted tossed out, even if all bids had to be thrown out and the job re-advertised. But Phillips got the gravy, large wads of \$1,000 bills, which his crew of bootlicking underlings banked for him in their checking accounts or in their safe deposit boxes. He himself did not care to be bothered with trifles like bank accounts or bookkeeping. That's the kind of a little guy he was.

Connolly got his indirectly. He says he and Phillips didn't get along very well, and that they were on opposite sides of the political fence, that while he was in the Hearst-Phyllis gang opposing Fourth Street's Al Smith camp. But just the same he did everything Phillips wanted him to do, and refrained from doing everything Phillips wanted him not to do, and he prospered mightily. And as to the moral you are at liberty to draw your own conclusions.

Connolly Fourth in Royal Line
Connolly was the fourth of an illustrious line of Queens Borough Presidents, every one of whom was leader of his party in the county as well as Borough President. For the benefit of earnest students of the New Liberalism, the following Outline of Queens History is submitted:—

Queens Borough was born with the City of Greater New York on January 1st, 1898. Borough Presidents had no power in those days. The first Borough President of Queens was Frederick Bowley, a respectable butcher of Astoria, who had no powers, whose salary was \$3,000 a year, and whose opportunities were small. He retired a poor man.

Four years later the city charter was changed, giving the Borough Presidents great powers in the awarding of contracts. Since then there have been five Borough Presidents, all Democrats.

Curley Joe Cassidy was Borough President and party boss. He went to Sing Sing. Lawrence Gresser was ousted by Governor Hughes. He, too, was party boss. Joseph Bernel was a respectable florist when he became Borough President. He also sought to be party boss. Governor Dix had him investigated and one afternoon when the investigation was just getting interesting, Bernel boarded a street car, went to the ferry, crossed to Manhattan and slipped away quietly to Europe for his health. He never came back.

Bright Reformer
When Bernel went out a bright young lawyer who had been a city magistrate at the age of 24, began to shout "turn the rascals out." He was so eloquent and convincing that he was put in, and thus he began 17 years of service as the fourth in the line of Borough-Presidents—party bosses. His name was Maurice E. Connolly and he went into office to clean up. He did. He is worth a million dollars today.

Bernard M. Patten has been Borough President six months. Let us be charitable and assume he is still honest.

The procession of witnesses who testified under oath in the Connolly trial constituted the tattereddemolition army of the Queens Democracy. Andy Zorn, errand boy to Phillips, clown and court jester to the ring, Democratic leader of Dutch Kills; Fred Curran, Phillips' secretary, a fat, greasy, stupid looking wight, through whom Phillips took \$80,000 to the campaign fund of Tammany Hall through the "Independent Committee of the Friends of Alfred E. Smith"; Pete Campbell, collector of the fund to buy a solid gold dinner set for the Sewer Sultan and Keeper of the safe deposit box in which as high as \$100,000 at a time was kept on ice to be supplied to the Royal and Imperial Pants Pocket at will; Albert Decker, who extorted donations of \$500, \$1,000, \$2,000 and \$2,500 for the \$44,000 dinner set from contractors who wanted Phillips' favor and who rigged up contracts for bidders in his office in a stable on Merrick road, St. Angelo Paine, Papal Knight, who carried a \$10,000 bill in his purse and showed it to newspaper men, much to the disturbance of their heart action—these men and more were the real government of Queens and every one of them is a booster for Al Smith.

When Phillips died of acute alcoholism after a boozing bout with persons unnamed (but not to this scribe unknown) he was laid to rest after a typical racketeer funeral in a \$50,000 mausoleum which was pilfered American flags. Gentleman Jack was a patriot.

Tammany Smothers Inquiry
Now, there was nothing new in all this story. Every charge that was made last winter and aired on the witness stand was known years ago. In 1921 the Meyer Committee came down from Albany and unearthed the Phillips-Connolly story. But the Democratic party killed the investigation. Tammany didn't want the truth then.

In 1925 Senator Karle, running against Connolly, repeated it—for his own, selfish purposes, of course—and no attention was paid to it. Tammany wasn't bursting with civic pride then, so again it was hushed up.

But in 1928 it was different. Senator Karle knew the story, and he is a member of the party of Fall and Daugherty and Sinclair. He would give the story to the campaign committee of his party, and they would use it. It would have been most effective ammunition against the Sappy warriors.

That is why the same Tammany that killed the story in 1921 and again in 1925 undertook in 1928 to smoke it out and make the Queens Democratic organization the goat. Better let Connolly go to jail and break up his gang than risk the consequences of having the whole

to 39,000 for the job-hungry hangerson of the Connolly machine that renominated Patten for the brief one-year remnant of Connolly's term.

That looked good as a working basis to the patriots of 14th street, and they set to work to knife the Patten ticket, to support the Republican candidate—quietly and discreetly, of course—and then after Patten's defeat to appeal to the people of Queens on the facts. They would say, Behold, we tried to defeat the follower of the convicted man, but we lost. And your machine was unable to hold the Queens Borough presidency that has been in the hands of Our Party since 1898. Therefore, leave it to us to reorganize the Queens democracy on a Tammany basis. Which is just what they want, because with a dwindling population in Manhattan, Tammany needs another and a growing county as an annex to keep the leadership of the city in the hands of the Schemers.

Raskob Negotiates Treaty of Amity

When the word of that "maneuver" got around, however, the Queens people began to whisper very quietly that in reprisal—more in sorrow than in anger, of course—the good people might punish the organization that had invaded the virgin sanctity of their borough by not quite coming up to expectations in the size of the required Smith majority. Indeed, it would not surprise them if Smith didn't carry the borough at all. In other words, a knife can be wielded by more than one.

All of a sudden, the noble Raskob saw a great light, and in the interest of Harmony summoned the leaders of all Queens factions to the Biltmore and told them to Get Together for the good of the cause. And they did. The Connolly gang and the "Clean Government" League (the Tammany annex) are now united in a harmonious party and Tammany is fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Connolly gang, each with a fraternal knife concealed behind its back in the interest of the Higher Plunder.

That's the Democratic Party that is going to purify American politics and whose spokesman is talking about Salt River and Elk Hills and Teapot Dome and the Ohio Gang.

How do you like it?
There is but one course for decent and self-respecting people in Queens and everywhere else. Drive out the thieves and racketeers of both parties. Build up a mighty protest vote as the basis of a genuine party of the decent, common people, through which they will rule themselves without the aid of court cloaks and papal knights and Pipe Potentates.

VOTE FOR EDDIE LEVINSON!

G.O.P. Nominee Answered by Waldman

Turns Tables on Ottinger Whose Attack on Loan Sharks Shows Real Character of Coolidge 'Prosperity'

SYRACUSE—Twenty-four hours after

Franklin D. Roosevelt quit this city after an attack on Albert Ottinger, his Republican opponent, Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor, invaded the courthouse building here Wednesday night to continue his criticism of the O. O. P. nominee. He was followed by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President.

For several hours the Socialist speakers heaped charge after charge on their Republican adversaries. They painted pictures of despair, unemployment, crime, old age and sickness, and all because "the workers are being robbed of freedom and self respect."

Waldman attacked both parties in general and Mr. Ottinger and the Republicans in particular. Taking up the question of "loan sharks," Waldman charged that "every year more than 500,000 persons in New York State are in such dire need that they must resort to 'loan sharks' to borrow small sums of less than \$300 at usurious rates."

"That figure," the Socialist gubernatorial candidate continued, "is taken from Mr. Ottinger's acceptance speech, but he doesn't tell you that it was Republican prosperity that has forced these persons in dire distress to borrow the money."

Mr. Waldman asserted that the Socialists could cure the "loan shark" evil and "so could Mr. Ottinger and Mr. Roosevelt if their party bosses and wealthy supporters would permit it."

Norman Thomas Speaks in Bridgeport

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, invaded New England Monday to deliver a joint attack on Herbert Hoover and Gov. Smith for their power policies, failure to deal with the employment question, repression, trade imperialism and relief for the aged. He painted a picture of misery, because "we let our natural resources, machinery and capitalists enslave us, instead of putting them to work for us."

"Gov. Smith and Mr. Hoover," he told his audience, "have been authorized by the bosses to offer the workers and farmers certain glittering concessions; the Socialists, owing nothing to the bosses, offer the workers freedom, peace and justice."

Lewis Says Walsh Faces Two Ways

Democratic Senatorial Candidate in Massachusetts Razzed for Welcoming on Child Labor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON, MASS.—Declaring that the Democratic Party in this election was seeking the votes of the millions and the campaign contributions of the millionaires, and necessarily making contradictory promises to both, Alfred Baker Lewis, the Socialist candidate for United States Senator, has sent an open letter to David I. Walsh, the Democratic candidate, in which he asked Mr. Walsh as the self-styled "People's Candidate," to state which group of the people he really represented. The letter was as follows:

"Dear Mr. Walsh:
"I see from your campaign posters that you are the self-styled 'Peoples Candidate,' and I would like to ask just what group of the people you represent. You cannot possibly represent the true interests of all the people because some people, namely, the employers and the bankers who are behind them, are buyers of labor power, and others, who work for wages or salaries, are really selling their annual, clerical, or mental labor power. Naturally, the buyer of labor wants to pay low wages and the seller of labor wants to get high wages, so it is not possible to serve the interests of both worker and employer any more than a man can serve both God and Mammon."

"Your own record does not make clear which group you represent. For instance, the workers want to get rid of the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, for under these injunctions workers can be jailed during strikes without a jury trial for things which are not crimes at all. Yet while you were Governor of Massachusetts you made no move whatever to abolish the power of the courts to issue injunctions against the workers in labor disputes."

Dodged on Child Labor

"You voted at one time to submit to the people the Anti-Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, and most of us thought you would speak in favor of its ratification. But when you found that the amendment was not so popular as you thought it would be, you kept absolutely silent. You left your colleague on the Democratic ticket four years ago to go about this State proclaiming that the Anti-Child Labor Amendment was drawn up by a Russian Bolshevik, when you must have known that the real author of the amendment was Florence Kelley of the Consumers League."

"Surely you realize that the low standards of labor legislation in the Southern States where your own Party is in complete control makes it necessary to give the Federal government power to regulate child labor in order to protect our higher standards of labor legislation in this State. How then do you reconcile your silence in the face of misrepresentation of the Anti-Child Labor Amendment by a prominent member of your own Party with genuine devotion to the workers' interest? Don't you think your silence at such a time serves the interest of the Democratic mill owners of the South better than the interests of the wage earners of this State?"

"I am particularly interested in trying to find out which part of the people you represent because the whole Democratic Party in this campaign appears to be trying to get the votes of the millions and the campaign contributions of the millionaires while necessarily making contradictory promises to both. Your Party and your presidential candidate is accepting the financial backing of John J. Raskob and William H. Woodin, both of whom are high officials of gigantic open shop anti-labor corporations. The General Motors Corporation and the American Car and Foundry Company respectively. Another of your Party's millionaire backers is Owen D. Young, who is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the General Electric Company, a concern which fought and defeated organized labor in its plants in West Lynn and Pittsfield in this State. Surely no Party and no candidate can represent the interests of such anti-labor Wall Street magnates and of the workers both. So I would like to know if you do not think your Party is trying to imitate Mr. Feing-Both-Ways and straddle the issue."

Hays and La Guardia For Goldberg in 23rd A.D.

The Brownsville assembly campaign, where Louis P. Goldberg is running the 23rd district, is pleased by the announcement that Congressman Fiorella LaGuardia and Arthur Garfield Hays will actively support the Goldberg candidacy.

Both men are scheduled to address a meeting in behalf of Goldberg in the auditorium of P. S. 84, Glenmore and Stone avenues, Friday night, Oct. 26. Their speakers will be former assemblyman Charles Solomon and J. I. Rudavsky, prominent Zionist leader. Godberg will also speak.

The support of La Guardia is expected to substantially aid Goldberg's candidacy among the Italian electorate of whom there are many in the district. The meeting is arranged by the Louis P. Goldberg nonpartisan committee, including prominent business and professional men of Brownsville and environs.

Morris Hillquit and B. C. Vlaseck come to Brownsville Wednesday night, Oct. 24, when they speak in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. A. I. Shipiloff, congressional candidate, and Goldberg, will also address this meeting.

The Brownsville campaign will wind up with a Non-Party meeting in the large auditorium of P. S. 154, Sunday, Nov. 4, under the joint auspices of the 18th and 23rd Assembly districts.

WHY I AM FOR NORMAN THOMAS

And Why A Vote for Hoover or Smith Will
Be Thrown Away—

By Paul Douglas

THE average American progressive who fancies himself to be an intellectual continually deplores the fact that we have no labor party here comparable to that of England, and, with great solemnity, at every election, for the less reactionary of the two old parties. This is amusing enough, but what is even more mirth-provoking is the glibness with which these towering intellects that they are consistent. From the rapt adoration with which they swarm around the luminaries of the British Labor party when these dignitaries visit our shores, the unsophisticated observer might conclude that an American labor party was about to arise by the process of spontaneous combustion. But these ecstasies have in fact little effect upon the actual political behavior of this species. Its members may day-dream of a strong labor party which will recognize their merit by calling them to leadership (and who, they believe, can be better qualified?), but in practice they will not support any party in which there is not the promise that the seed sown in August shall ripen into political victory by November. Calling themselves realists, they turn their backs on any movement which, aiming at the same ends they espouse, is tainted with the sin of being numerically weak and, instead, support that candidate with a chance of immediate success who promises a few reforms. As these gentlemen are now preparing to go through their quadrennial performance, it may not be inappropriate to cast an eye over their gyrations during the last two decades, in order to determine whether or not they are so wise after all.

Thus we find them in 1908 supporting Bryan, because of his promises to curb inflation; but by 1912 they had persuaded themselves that they were indeed standing at Armageddon, not only with Roosevelt, but with the Lord as well. Four years later, it was again the Democratic party under Wilson which was the hope of pacific liberals. In 1920, like Stephen Leacock's hero, they mounted their horse and rode off in all directions. Some supported Cox in order to ensure our entrance into the League of Nations. Others, at the advice of Hoover and Hughes, rallied behind the statesman from Marion, in order to obtain the same end more effectively. Still others, like that Harding was just the man to end the imperialistic policy in the Caribbean which had been fostered by their erstwhile liberal hero, Woodrow Wilson. A few supported the struggling Farmer-Labor party, only to desert it immediately after election.

Only 5 Million Votes

In 1924 hopes beat high for the hastily organized candidacy of La Follette, but when the liberals found that only five million others had voted similarly, or approximately as large a proportion of the votes in the country as they had, they immediately plunged into the deepest dejection. Some took the boat for Europe; others, like Candide, cultivated their gardens. Now we find Eastern liberals enthusiastic about Smith because he is humane, believes in the publicly owned generation (though not transmission) of power, and has denounced the Coolidge policy in Central America, while some of the Western liberals lean to Hoover because of the genuinely pacific and humanitarian promptings of his Quaker heart.

Now, since all this running hither and thither has been justified in the name of political realism, it is only proper to use that standard in determining whether or not liberal ends have been as well furthered by this wandering as have been by the investment of the same energy in fostering an independent party, based solidly on the economic interests of rural, urban and intellectual workers. In the first place, our pseudo-realists, in trying to pick a winner, have generally supported candidates who have had little more chances of success than the humbler parties which they have rejected. Despite the truly gallant efforts of Governor Smith to pump political vitality into his candidacy, there is every prospect that the liberals who now support him will have no better luck. Secondly, in those few instances when a darling of the liberals has been successful, events have almost invariably shown that he is far less liberal-spirited than the intelligentsia have credited him with being, and that they have totally under-

estimated the terrific pressure from selfish business and nationalistic interests to which he is inevitably subjected. Woodrow Wilson is here, of course, the crowning example. For almost a generation, therefore, the American liberals have, by their aimless political philandering, thrown away their votes, and they now find themselves at the end weaker than when they began, and without a political home.

The English Experience

If we turn to England, and consider not merely the brilliant maturity of the Labor party, but also its slow growth over nearly forty years, even an American intellectual can see that this has largely been due to the maintenance of an independent organization through years in which there was absolutely no prospect of political success. There were Worldly Wisemen galore in England during the nineties who whispered to Kier Hardie and his followers that it was folly to set up an Independent Labor party, and that labor should, instead, pin its faith upon either the social-reform sympathies of Joseph Chamberlain or the Gladstonian Liberals of Morley and Campbell-Bannerman. But Kier Hardie and his men had what is rarer than intellectual subtlety: namely, moral courage, and they knew that they were building, not for a few years only, but for decades, and, indeed, for all time itself. It was the presence of the Independent Labor party

which later furnished the political nucleus upon which the trade unions, in their resentment over the Taff-Vale decision, could build, and it has ever since impregnated the larger body with the stimulus of its own imaginative devotion.

Thus both the negative experience of America and the positive experience of England demonstrate that, if a strong labor party is desired, the way to secure it is patiently to build through the years an independent and aggressive political party, and not to run constantly from one of the old parties to other for those short-run gains which are generally illusory.

All this would seem definitely to demonstrate that it is the duty this year of every economic liberal to support Norman Thomas and the Socialist party. But before one can finally accept this conclusion, there are at least three further questions which need to be answered: (1) whether, despite our verbal allegiance to the idea of a labor party, such a group is really needed in so prosperous a country as America; (2) whether it is possible to build up such a party; and (3) whether the Socialist party, as at present constituted, should be encouraged to become its nucleus.

The Bases of Labor Parties

The Labor parties of Europe owe their impetus to the positive misery of most of their working classes. They are, as Patten would have said, the product of

a pain economy. Does the high level of real wages in America (which is from 60 to 75 per cent above that of Great Britain), and the recent extraordinary increase in production, amounting as it has to over 40 per cent, per employee, remove the necessity for any such party here? The answer to this is that, while the material progress of the workers has in the last fifteen years been real, the situation is by no means as favorable as Mr. Hoover and his fellow prosperity-shouters would have us believe. A large proportion of the families of urban unskilled labor, as Miss Houghteling has definitely shown, are still below the subsistence level of living, and the others are precariously close to it. There is virtually no collective protection against the hazards of illness, unemployment and indigent old age, while the distribution of wealth and income is grossly inequitable.

Many industries, such as coal, textiles and farming, are in a mess, and need collective measures to pull them out. An orientation in our foreign policy toward peace is moreover, imperatively demanded such as only an international solidarity among the workers can give.

These are changes which can be effected only by a party founded on the economic interests of those who are to benefit from them. They cannot come from the Republican party, which is quite definitely the party of property, nor can

they permanently be fostered by that hedge-podge of the reactionary South and the boss-ridden Irish-Catholic machines of the North which operates under the name of the Democratic party. Even the New Republic itself furnishes only a very attenuated hope that liberals can help their avowed cause by supporting Smith. In the issue of September 12, the most which the editors can find to say for their candidate is that a vote for him is "an affirmation of the reality of a supposititious political alternative to Republicanism." Liberalism has indeed come to a somewhat sorry pass if such a tarnished and hypothetical prospect as this becomes its dominant political goal. To vote for Smith really means, however, to perpetuate a contradictory symbol and thereby to postpone that realignment of voters on the basis of real differences of interests and ideals which the New Republic has, on countless occasions in the past pointed out as perhaps the greatest need in our political life.

The Socialist Party Has Endured

The failure thus far to create an effective labor party has led many to disbelieve in its ultimate possibility. The difficulties in its way certainly should not be minimized. The present indifference of the skilled crafts and the individualism of the farmers are great impediments.

The temptation to believe that the old parties can be captured through the direct primaries, the task of getting national unity out of the forty-eight state policies, and the direct election of the executive are all difficulties which the British Labor party is not compelled to face. But these are not insuperable. If the unskilled and semi-skilled could be organized, their natural desire for legislative protection would probably force the American Federation of Labor to support a labor party. This was precisely the effect in England of the organization of the unskilled, and if the laissez-faire philosophy of Henry Broadhurst could be overcome there, then the similar philosophy of Gompers can in time be superseded here by the less skilled. If a strong independent political nucleus is encouraged, moreover, it can by its agitation hasten the coming of this larger labor party and can provide an organized framework which will help it to get started.

The only question, therefore, which should remain for a realistic liberal is whether the Socialist party is worthy of being encouraged as the vanguard of the coming labor party. An obvious answer is that it now is the only party in the field which can fulfill that mission. The Farmer-Labor party of 1920 collapsed because there was not enough spiritual devotion in its members. Even a poll of five millions did not give the La Follette

movement sufficient courage to continue. The Socialist party, with all its faults, has alone possessed the vitality to endure, and, what is more, to improve. Many liberals have in the past been deterred from supporting it because in so doing they were required to support a dogmatic Marxism which, so far as the labor theory of value was concerned, had no more to do with the basic principles of Socialism than the tenets of the fundamentalists have with the message of Christianity. The present platform, however, wisely dispenses with all this economic theology, and bases its program solely upon realities. It calls not only for the public ownership of power, as does Governor Smith, but also for its distribution by the public, which Smith does not advocate, and the absence of which would largely prevent the economies of the super power system from penetrating to the ultimate consumer. It advocates the nationalization of the coal industry as the surest means of closing down the excess mines, and of joining the industry up with the development of power. Alone among the parties, it demands a thorough going system of social insurance and the skimming off, through taxes on large incomes, inheritances, and economic rent, of those socially appropriable surpluses which are not necessary to carry on production, but which are, instead, merely sold because of a monopolistic position. Finally its foreign policy is a very model for liberalism, calling as it does for the withdrawal of our troops from Nicaragua and Haiti, the limitation of armaments, the cancellation of the debts, provided European armaments are reduced; and, if the Treaty of Versailles is revised, affiliation with the League of Nations. It has further modernized its own machinery by abandoning a belief in Marxism as a requisite for membership, which now rests solely on a belief in the democratization of industry and in independent political action by the workers of hand and brain. It has given a further earnest of its sincerity in pledging itself to cooperate with all groups which may later wish to combine in a labor party, and by its action in the La Follette campaign has shown that it is willing to take its place with the Independent Labor party, in a larger whole. Finally, in Norman Thomas, it has nominated a man who is intellectually the equal of Hoover and Smith, and who, despite their real virtues, is morally their superior.

Realists? or Political Babbitts?

Supporting Thomas is not only the best way of helping to create a labor party, but it is also the best way of wringing concessions from the old parties. A large Socialist vote would put far more pressure upon the Republicans and Democrats to liberalize their policies than they suffer further losses than could any incoherent and unorganized collection of liberals without a party to give them effectiveness. A liberal can, therefore, exercise more influence upon the old parties, from without.

If, in the face of all this, the liberals persist once again in supporting one of the old parties, they will demonstrate anew that they are in fact neither intellectuals nor realists, but merely political Babbitts who worship immediate and visible power and who lightly sacrifice an ultimate promise of American life for highly hypothetical concessions. In no other walk of life would they expect to gain their ends so cheaply, nor can they, in fact, do so in politics. They need most of all to ponder and to adopt the political as well as moral implications of William James' famous passage:

As for me, my bed is made: I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and with the invisible molecular moral forces that work from individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary ooze of water, and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time. So I am against all big organizations as such, national ones first and foremost; against all big successes and big results; and in favor of the eternal forces of truth which always work in the individual and immediately unsuccessful way, underground always, all history comes, after they are long dead, and puts them on the top. —From The New Republic.

The Biography of A Voter

A Young Progressive Voter Decides To
Cast His Ballot for Norman Thomas

By Norman Studer

HE IS one of the thousands of young Americans who came of age shortly after April 7, 1917—too late to be infected, as he undoubtedly would have been were he ten years older, by the Wilsonian crusade for the New Freedom. He began to think about the war and its consequences and about things in general, in those dark days when the Apostle of liberalism was throwing his liberal and radical friends into jail at the slightest provocation and turning the White House over to his enemies, the hate-poisoned jingoes and greedy industrialists. Randolph Bourne's essay on "Twilight of Idols," this young man accepted as the best epitaph of those liberals who cheerfully welcomed the war and fawningly dreamed that they were molding it to democratic and world-transforming ends. He learned his political lesson early—the lesson of skepticism and doubt. No liberal politician would ever find him, he resolved, with his heart pinned to his sleeve.

In his childhood he had learned that water refuses to flow uphill and he now thought that he had learned his political A B C's when he concluded that the politician is governed in his actions, if not in his rhetoric, by the economic and political limitations of his party. Woodrow Wilson had preached against the influence of business in government and then allowed the industrialists of New England to veto the inclusion of Brandeis in his cabinet. The liberal weakness was to accept rhetoric and disregard realities; to "adjust" themselves to one of the two old parties in the hope that a little heaven would lighten these lumps, no matter how sodden they were with reactionary politicians. The student was amused, upon turning through the files of one of the liberal magazines, to find an editorial inspired by the Wilsonian victory of 1916, solemnly advising the Republican Party that if it wished to become more than a minority party it must oust the Democrats for liberal support. The Democrats would be neatly maneuvered into a conservative position by this clever strategist and the Republican Party would become the voice of "the more intelligent business men, the liberal middle class, the energetic West, the farmers and possibly even a majority of labor." The student reflected that the Republican Party had discovered another way in 1920 to emerge from the temporary obscurity of a minor-

ity position, and it was interesting to find this liberal Napoleon offering even so late as 1928 to march his army down the hill to a re-born Republican Party. Unconquerable hope!

"The defect of any philosophy of 'adaptation' or 'adjustment,'" Bourne had written, "even when it means adjustment to changing, living experience, is that there is no provision for thought or experience getting beyond itself. If your ideal is to be adjusted to your situation, in radiant cooperation with reality, then your success is likely to be just that and no more. You never transcend anything. You grow, but your spirit never jumps out of your skin to go on new adventures. If your policy as a publicist reformer is to take what you can get, you are likely to find that you get something less than you should be willing to take." The populist movement of the 90's had succumbed to this pragmatic philosophy and had perished. The Bull Moose and Wilson Democrats had gone the same way.

In 1924 the student was somewhat heartened, for it seemed as though there was at last to be a "wild adventure." Like Senator Norris and a few other staunch old fighters of the best liberal tradition, Senator La Follette was a man whom the political skeptic might follow with a few mental reservations. For once all forward-looking men were united under one banner, and the young man felt the mental exhilaration of being immersed in a large current of humanity flowing toward a goal that he approved. To one whose lot it had been to doubt and oppose, this was a novel and satisfying experience. One felt that the world was moving and that dammed-up ideas were about to find outlet in constructive action. So it seemed, for a while at least, as one outlined one's political Utopia from the platform of an automobile truck on the street corner of middle-western railroad town, or before a crowded hall of farmers and their wives on an Ohio crossroad.

The La Follette candidacy seemed much more promising than the empty theatricality of the Rooseveltian or the fluctuating progressivism of the Wilsonian revolt, but there was one flaw that soon became apparent. The candidate committed the familiar liberal sin of expecting immediate returns. The most fatal thing that could have happened to this progressive movement, the student was convinced, was for it to succeed in placing La Follette in the White House. The country was not prepared for any fundamental politico-economic reforms, and the student doubted whether an eighth of the four million La Follette voters were. Even the mildest of changes, in such a case, would fade away overnight, as did the vaunted gubernatorial reforms of Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey. For effective political action the progressives should have begun a campaign of education in fundamental reforms, as they had an excellent opportunity for doing. Instead there was the usual scramble for immediate success, and the La Follette party melted away in a month.

The Liberal Press in Agency

All during the summer of 1928 the liberal press was in an agony of uncertainty. Mindful of past disappointments the liberals were chary of placing their hopes in one of the old-line candidates. "If Al Smith only speaks out," they wrote, or "Hebert Hoover might win the respect and support of liberals, if..." Such were the sighs and yearnings of these liberals who wanted desperately to be wooed. If the candidates would only speak out... It was indeed a period of "inquisitive and watchful hesitation" for progressive editors, if not progressive voters. Here again was the old disregard of economic realities. Even though Al Smith surrounded himself with as illiberal a group of plutocrats as ever lined the Republican treasure chest, rhetoric conquered all. Finally Al Smith did speak out in somewhat liberal accents in his acceptance speech. As soon there-

weakness of this new progressivism. Frankly admitting their confusion of mind the editors left to the individual conscience of each progressive voter the question of whether a more realistic party alignment might be secured by voting for Thomas or for Smith.

"The New Republic," without such pangs of uncertainty, gave its support to Al Smith. Hoover had eliminated himself from the consideration of progressives by his determination to out-Coolidge himself. The progressive choice was between Al Smith and Norman Thomas. Since the people were "inert and contented" this was not the year to propose radical political action. Al Smith had shown progressive tendencies and, since he had a chance of being elected, a vote for Al Smith was a vote for political reality. The radicals had failed in former campaigns and a vote for Norman Thomas would express nothing "but an emotional antipathy to existing social controls." "The New Republic," recognizing Smith's shortcomings as a progressive, recognizing also that the majority of the Democratic members of Congress were hopelessly reactionary, chose to gamble on the possibility of Smith's gradual conversion to a more thoroughgoing and militant progressivism that would eventually lead him to purge the Democratic Party and make it a powerful weapon for change.

The Student Rebels

Our student reflected that this New Republic policy of adjustment to such a hopeless organ as the Democratic Party of 1928 represented the desperate straits of a bankrupt political pragmatism. The Wilsonian crusade might be understood and forgiven, but to have learned nothing since 1916 seemed preposterous. Wilson had cut loose from the bosses before he ever became a candidate for the presidency. Whenever he spoke of the party machines thereafter it was in most scorching terms. There was a reasonable basis for hope then. Al Smith, on the contrary, delivered a warm eulogy of Tammany Hall a few weeks after his nomination. And if his acceptance speech sounded progressive his choice of campaign associates, which spoke louder than words, had a different ring: Raskob, the virtuously open-shop millionaire, and the scores of others of his kind who loosened their purse strings to prove that the Democratic Party was as safe for Business as the Republican. The voter who believed that the contributions of such men created no insurmountable political obligations, even though no verbal agreements were made, was deluding himself once more. The anonymous political correspondent of "The New Republic" with his shrewd common sense, did not apparently subscribe to the editors' hopes for "President Smith," for he wrote: "Should the unexpected happen and Al be elected, the tip is that Jake (Raskob) will be Secretary of the Treasury, succeeding the ailing Andrew." Perhaps, the student mused, Al Smith's mayor of New York, Jimmy Walker, would be elevated to the Secretaryship of State. The desire to be on the winning side must be strong to impel one to accept such political bedfellows.

Another group of intellectuals selected their candidate with even less regard for the underlying realities. There were the Pot and Kettle partisans, and some were for Pot while others were for Kettle. If they were for Smith they pretended that corruption was a Republican weakness, and if they were for Hoover they ignored the patent fact that he had moved complacently for years in the stench of Republican corruption, and focused their indignation on the Tammany Tiger. One of these Pot-and-Kettles assailed our student with the argument that he ought to vote for Smith in order to administer a salutary defeat to the religious bigots, but he reflected sadly that such a vote would be cast in support of a party that maintained its solid block of electoral votes in the South by keeping that region a "white man's

be cast for a possible winner; but he is quite ready to forego the dubious satisfaction of having made his vote "effective" by helping to elect a rhetorically liberal candidate whose roots are firmly imbedded in machine politics. If the country is not to experience indefinitely a mere sterile succession of "ins" and "outs," he believes, those dissenters who wish to participate in politics at all must do something more constructive to do with their votes than merely to throw

And The Sub List Increases

As the campaign draws to a close, interest increases. A large number of voters, including non-socialists, are interested in our slant on current political affairs, (the number of these will increase after election), making the securing of subs easier than ever.

David G. George, campaign manager of Virginia, is one of the reliable. Sending in for bundle orders and scouting for subs is a habit with him. This week he sends in a check for \$6.50. My wish tribe increases.

"I got scared stiff to think that I had overlooked renewing. Find check for \$2 enclosed. I must have the N. L., says Louis Schlossberg of Jersey City.

A bundle of papers for the students of Union Theological Seminary, New York. Don M. Chase, says: "Although debarrd from registering to vote, students here are keenly interested and Thomas buttons are worn by a large number of students. No one wears a Smith or Hoover button. The Thomas-for-President-club has about 50 members."

THERE IS NO SOCIALIST LIKE A THINKING AND READING SOCIALIST. WE OF THE EIGHTEENTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT BELIEVE THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BUILD UP OUR MOVEMENT IS TO STRENGTHEN OUR

PRESS. (J. N. Cohen, Corresponding secretary.)

John F. Higgins, State Secretary of the Party in West Virginia, sends in \$4 for 2 subs. "We must build up the Party press," he says.

"I am proud of the fact that I have been a Socialist for 25 years," says G. E. Thornburg, Muncie, Ind., as he renews.

Karl Jursek, Minneapolis, fires in a sub for R. B. Threw.

"Just received my first copy of the N. L. I like it. I am sending in a sub and will secure others." Henry Hanson, Buffalo.

Martin Lofgren, Berwyn, Ill., says, "I thank you for the good work you are doing." He does not forget to send in a sub for a friend.

The singles have been pouring in. There is not enough space to record even a small fraction of them.

SAY IT WITH CARTOONS If you know of a voter who is unable to laugh at the campaign waged by the parties of self, profit and plunder, send to The New Leader for the folio of sixteen cartoons by Art Young. (Thirty cents by mail). Don't forget that many of those who purchase the folio, will want to enjoy Young's cartoons which appear in The New Leader each week.

IS YOUR SUBSCRIPTION ABOUT TO EXPIRE?

How about the friend to whom you have been giving your copy of the paper? Now is the time to go after his subscription.

Campaign Leaflets and Supplies

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST PARTY
15 EAST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Campaign Literature

1—PLATFORM	\$ 4.50 Per 1000
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3—"IS IT FUN WHEN MEN HAVE TO STRIKE?"	9.00 "
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Send Posters, Thomas and Maurer

Organization
Education
Solidarity

FREE

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

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

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

The Wheel of Progress

THE students of the colleges of the city have organized into groups, whose main interest is campaigning for Norman Thomas. They are forgetting that young people should be seen and not heard. They are suffering from us—and no relief for it. We see unemployment. We see ugly dark shadows called houses, and people living in them. We see crime and bitterness, and no attempt to change conditions. We want, now, to register a protest, an active protest. To eradicate this distress, we give our youth to help build the Socialist Party—to help gain new votes for its candidate, Norman Thomas. We are young. For a while, it seems proper that we announce that this is the best of all possible worlds. Or at least, the inevitable state of things.

If we remember correctly from our history, feudal lords and feudal serfs accepted the world as it was then. The Church spoke about the need for charity—encouraged those who were crushed in the system by saying that the meek would inherit the earth—that heaven held all sorts of glory for them. But without their realizing it, the bottom of this world fell out. The wheel of progress had moved in spite of them. As

seemed an impossible, a rash, an unusual thing to think that those who worked might be interested in the government, too. But again, in spite of them, the wheel of progress moved. Within a hundred years, political democracy instead of being the exception became the rule. And with startling rapidity, it was announced that God had meant the world this way and no other.

We are still young enough to believe the wheel of progress will continue to move, that the stamp of God's approval will be put on any kind of a world that will exist when it has moved.

We cannot understand the numerous things happening around us. It is, no doubt, to be attributed to our immaturity. But since we are the ones who are inheriting this world of ours, we would like to be given some explanations.

Why, may we ask, is there poverty even in a country with the wealth of ours? Is it absolutely necessary that some men have billions and others have nothing? Must there be unemployment in a country that produces in such large quantities? Is it absolutely essential to have some men working ten hours a day—and others tramping the streets? Is it essential to have children work, while these same men need jobs? Our sense of right and wrong must have been impoverished. These things do not seem right to us—and yet they exist.

Why, may we ask again, did you ever allow those windowless houses we see in town—and yet they exist.

think that crime will be stopped by you longer and quicker sentences? It seems that you are applying salves to sores when society needs a reorganization, a new mode of living. We are too young, I suppose, to understand your reasons.

We do not understand your method of remedying evils at all. A man commits suicide after attempting to support eight children on \$22 a week. You immediately help the orphan. And we laugh. It seems that you would try to prevent such tragedies. A family is found in a basement so damp that water runs down the walls. You weep. You contribute to the collection of the New York Times. Again we are calous.

It is so hard to get the affairs of this world straightened out. You will have to help us again. In studying the causes of wars, we find them to be tariffs, racial prejudices, imperial expansion, militarism. And yet we have a tariff higher than ever before, with Japanese and Chinese antagonized, a more vigorous attempt to give our students military training, demands for a large navy. Do you believe that we are so different from those who have gone before us that what led them to disaster will lead us to a higher civilization?

For you who are old, you are weak from the weight of traditions it is impossible. But for us, who are free, it holds no such fears. A new and better world will come. While there is life and youth, there is hope. While there is youth, questions will be asked.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

NOTES ON MY CAMPAIGN

SURE that I have been very modest and restrained in not using this column to boost my campaign for Senator from New York.

modesty and restraint don't pay butcher bills or notes, so here goes for a strong drive for myself on the eve of my election.

I have just read about the formation of a Smithsonian Sports Committee of "leaders in various departments of sports." Among the members are Babe Tony Lazzeri, Vinnie Richards, Sammy Mangione, Gene Tunney, Lavern Fator and Joe McCarthy.

is to announce the formation of the "Coleman-Roach Sports, Wines, Ales, Liquors and Cigars Club."

Following are just a few who are leaders in their departments: Ben Stolberg, heavyweight boxing champion and domino runner-up of Wilton, and Sunnyvale; August Claessens, pinochle champion of the Sixth Assembly District; Oscar McLaughlin, jockey of Illinois, Oklahoma, Wisconsin and Louisiana; Harry Laidler, Non-partisan shot-putter; League for Industrial Democracy; Gus Gerber, mobile racer; Mr. and Mrs. Morris Ernest, bowlers; Sam De Witt, conqueror of Upton Sinclair in recent tennis tourney at Sunnyside; Edward Levin, weight-lifter (he bends iron bars and tears up books, too); Travis Hoke, champion weather forecaster; Herbert Merrill, all-American beggar for argument; Julius Gerber, roof-lifter and champion singer; Cather Levinson, lightweight box-fighter, and Kennedy.

my behalf the following leaflet is being distributed among the bowling members of the Club:

"WHISPERING CAMPAIGN"
THE JOHN ROACH STRATON SUNDAY MORNING BOWLING AND BREAKFAST ASSOCIATION
Here is a chance to elect one of our own members to the U. S. Senate!

Not much of a chance, but if Copeland and Houghton should withdraw and several million Democrats and Republicans should suddenly drop dead we might put McAllister Coleman across!

This of the class it would give us to have a real Senator in our Association!
Mac is the only candidate who has come out flat-footed (that's the way he bows) on the question of bowling.

Mac stands for three balls to a frame!

What have Hoover and Smith ever said about three balls?

Mac is for shorter alleys. Copeland and Houghton are afraid to face this issue.

BOWLERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!
VOTE FOR
McAllister Coleman for
U. S. Senator

Bowling Committee: Newman Levy, Chairman; Dorcas S. Greenbaum, Mabel Souvaine, Anna Hoke, Adele Nathan, Ada Gabriel, Margaret S. Ernest.

Now it looks as though I were going to sweep the boy vote.

I am going back to the Northern tier this week to some more whirlwind.

My managers report that the Northern tier is "safe." haven't yet asked them what it is safe for. But it's good to know it's safe.

I see little Al Ottinger is following me up, like both is following Smith.

I heard a fellow broadcasting about Al the other night. He said that while Al was born on East Fifty-fifth street, his parents came from Division street, he naturally became one of the "Grand Street Boys."

Well, my father was born in Gramercy Square and was born on West Seventy-third street, so naturally I am one of the "Rivington Street Rovers."

The same fellow said that around the office they call "The Little General." Although I have been called "The Big Stiff" at times, the most military title I ever was "The Four-Eyed Sergeant."

That was when I was in the Army looking for loan-sharks to lend me something on the fifteen per month was dragging down to keep the Hun off the gate in Virginia.

One novel feature of my campaign is what we call Blindfold Test for Voters.

The voter is blind-folded, gagged and tied tightly to chair. He is then sprayed with Flit and a non-partisan board of judges reads the Democratic Platform loud to him.

The bandage is removed from his eyes and he is examined by a non-partisan physician to determine if he are any signs of life left.

The victim still survives, he is given three shots of Adolphus milk and the Republican Platform is read aloud.

One who comes through alive vote Socialist without further struggle.

yes, I forgot. My campaign song. It goes like

HE'S MY WEAKNESS NOW
Where can you find in all this land,
A candidate as pure and grand,
As noble, fine and good and true,
As sure to fitly represent you,
As McAllister Coleman?

How do you like it, boys and girls? There are severe verses, but some of them are so extremely funny that modesty forbids me to print them.

The old-line candidates—and I have this one in common—we hate to talk about ourselves.

McAllister Coleman.

Militarism

Coming from the city the slow-rotting youth,
When his lungs in the air;
From the mountains the rustic uncouth,
Who neglected him there.

He came with a cheer and a sigh,
To prepare them to die!
His madness would hear to the stars

A Call For A Crusade

The Address of Norman Thomas Heard Over Twenty-three Radio Stations Last Thursday

By Norman Thomas

Except for the Socialist efforts this campaign had woefully failed as a forum for discussion of great issues. On all sides it is admitted that there is no difference between the parties as parties. We have on this point the testimony of men like Pierre DuPont, Owen D. Young and Rudolph Spreckles. Both parties have played up religious and racial bigotry. Mr. Smith and Mr. Hoover have, indeed, spoken against religious bigotry but neither of them has said one word against that racial bigotry to which the old parties are appealing so strongly in the South.

Neither is prohibition properly a party issue. The enforcement or lack of enforcement of the law, the hypocrisy and corruption attending it and the whole basic notion of prohibition do, indeed, deserve the serious attention of the American people. But Herbert Hoover cannot make the Republican Party honestly dry, nor can Al Smith make the Democratic Party politically wet. I advocate as the only way out that all parties agree to give legal efficacy to the results of a nation-wide referendum on the subject.

Old Parties Puppets
What is left to divide the two parties? Is it a question of personality? Both Smith and Hoover are competent men. But if Hoover were a second Lincoln, which emphatically he is not, and Al Smith a second Jefferson, both would be almost powerless under our system of party responsibility which both have acknowledged, to solve the pressing problems which hereofore they have evaded.

Look at the parties. Two wings of the same bird of prey. The Republican Party, party of the Old Guard, the oil scandals and the Hamiltonian tradition of government by the rich. The Democratic Party, party of Tammany Hall and the Hague machine in Jersey City; party of the Southern mill owners; party of Rasbok and his associated millionaires and open shoppers. Both of them parties owned by Big Business which stages a puppet show to distract the people and is sure to win, whoever loses.

Let us examine the issues that are alleged to exist. By common consent there is no longer any difference in principle between them on the tariff, on immigration or any other clear-cut policy. An attempt has been made by both parties to capture the farmers' vote. Governor Smith has gone a little farther than Mr. Hoover toward the McNary-Haugen bill but he has never plainly said the words, "McNary-Haugen" or "equalization fee."

Certainly neither he nor Mr. Hoover has shown the slightest conception of the dangers of the increase in tenant farming which could be largely stopped by a just and scientific program for the taxation of those land values which society creates. We Socialists are ready to endorse the principle of the McNary-Haugen bill as an emergency measure. But, we say, if a government authority is to be set up to market a surplus abroad at cost to the ultimate consumer at home why not go a little farther and have a government commission deal with the whole problem of marketing? There is reason to think it would be possible to come to the help of the farmers without increasing prices to the consumers if the enormous waste and profiteering of our competitive system of distribution of all farm products, from cotton to milk, were done away with.

We Socialists therefore urge the establishment of a federal marketing agency to work in conjunction with co-operatives, progressively to eliminate profit-taking, middlemen and scientifically to organize the business of marketing. Add to this social insurance against losses due to weather conditions and you have a basis for a genuine farm relief. It is vitally important, however, to remember that there can be no prosperity of industrial workers at the expense of farmers or of farmers at the expense of industrial workers. They have common interests in freedom, peace and plenty and they need to have their own party to work for them all year round instead of depending upon the vague promises of politicians at election time.

Silence on Great Issues
Suppose we go on now and list other issues which a few minutes' talking will persuade us are vital. I think we will agree that vital issues include unemployment, the waste and tragedy of the coal fields, the injunction evil, the recovery of justice and liberty, taxation, the problem of superpower and other public utilities and the maintenance of the peace of the world.

On these great and pressing issues both parties and their candidates have said the same thing, and that is, nothing. They ask you to sign a blank check which they can fill in during their period of power. Oh, yes, I am aware that there are some exceptions to my statement of the agreement of the parties. Not in the platforms but in the speeches of Smith and Hoover there seems to be some contrast in the matter of imperialism and water power. Governor Smith, in other words, has properly criticized the Coolidge policy in Nicaragua. That doesn't mean much, however, so long as he is silent about Wilson's imperialism in Haiti. He has never said whether or not he will remove the marines from Nicaragua and Haiti if elected. Scarcely more than Mr. Hoover has shown any appreciation of the meaning and causes of imperialism. He has been even more evasive than Mr. Hoover and the Republicans on debts and reparations, the World Court and the League of Nations and the recognition of Russia—all of which matters are vital to an intelligent foreign policy.

Smith on Water Power
Let us turn now to the position of the old parties on water power.

Muscle Shoals is a cryptic utterance which requires theologians to interpret. By his words and his record we can fairly set him down as the apologist and defender of the private power trust.

Governor Smith has properly criticized the power lobby but has offered no program to deal with the power trust as a whole. Yet that power trust is one of the masters of the future. It fights today not only for control over us but about half a billion dollars annually in excessive charges to housewives, farmers and workers, many of whom have to go without their electrical servants because of the cost. Governor Smith proposes, in brief, to develop power at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam by government authority and then to sell this power to transmitting companies which will be regulated by commissions-and by the terms of a contract. Now, important as Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam are, they are hardly more than a drop in the bucket of the total power in America, and simply to control them means little.

Moreover, the heart of the problem is in the transmitting of power. Regulatory commissions have notoriously broken down in protecting the public as they ought, nowhere more so than Governor's own commissions in his own state. San Francisco sells power developed by the city at Hetch Hetchy to a private transmitting company without benefit to the ultimate consumers. New York City's subway contracts have never solved her subway problem.

Moreover Governor Smith has never answered my question, whom will he appoint to make the contract? Imagine Rasbok and Owen D. Young, both Smith men and both power magnates, in the Cabinet making contracts with companies in which they are or have been directly or indirectly interested. Doubtless these gentlemen are able and honest men according to their lights, but their lights are electric lights. We Socialists would keep Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam merely as steps in acquiring an integrated system, city state and federal, for developing and transmitting all power, something after the analogy of the system which has worked so well in Ontario, Canada.

This we would do as part of our general program of recovering for the people what Governor Smith calls their God-given natural resources. It is interesting that the Governor has learned that much from us Socialists. But if water power sites are God given, what about coal, iron, oil, copper, etc.?

Smith's Stolen Garments
We Socialists are consistent. We have a whole out of clothes and it would be more decent if Governor Smith would steal that whole suit from us rather than picking up now a sock and now a shirt to attract the eye of voters.

Let me make it plain. Socialists do not believe in mechanically dividing up. They want more not less private property, more food for the hungry, more clothes for the naked, homes for those who live in hovels. But there are some things that cannot be private property in our world. We can no more divide up equitably the natural resources on which we all depend than we can equitably divide up streets, sewers, water works, etc. We have achieved our relative independence from nature and the possibility of conquering poverty through machinery and mechanical power at the price of a necessary interdependence on each other. We have to learn how to manage together cooperatively our common life depend on those natural resources and great aggregations of machinery which no man made. It is ridiculous.

Peace Is Menaced
Out of our profit system arises not only the denial of liberty but the menace to

Unity House Reunion

The members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, of other unions, and friends of Unity House, will be glad to know that a Unity Reunion has been arranged for Saturday evening, Feb. 2, 1935, in the beautiful hall of Manhattan Opera House. The annual Unity Reunions are inspiring affairs. They offer an opportunity to thousands of friends to spend an evening in a sociable atmosphere which reminds them of the beauty of Unity House and of the happy days they spent there.

A Committee on Arrangements is already at work. They will spare no effort to make this affair most memorable. Friendly organizations are asked not to arrange affairs for Feb. 2, and to join us in the Unity Reunion. Details will be announced later.

Le Cercle Victor Hugo

Marguerite Tucker, Executive Secretary of the Civic Club of New York, will speak at the Saturday Luncheon Conference of Le Cercle Victor Hugo on Saturday, Oct. 27, at 1 o'clock, at 25 West 24th Street. Her topic will be "Women in Russia Today."

Mrs. Tucker recently spent one month in Russia as a leader of an Open Road Tour. As a young girl, brought up in England, she became a follower of Tolstoy, and lived for over a year in Russia under the old regime.

Joseph Ernest McAfee, the director of the Social Service Department of the Community Church, will speak at a Dinner Conference of Le Cercle Victor Hugo on Thursday, Nov. 1, at 6:30 p.m., at 25 West 24th Street. His topic will be "Can Unemployment be Cured?"

Radio Bosses Beat

Nockles To It
WASHINGTON—When Edward Nockles, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor radio station, arrived in Washington with his engineer and lawyer to argue for restoration of the 1,500 watts power of his station and for other rights of development, he found that the Radio Commission

lous to talk about political democracy and our freedom from kings when the Princes of House of Astor, the House of Ford, the House of Rockefeller, will have more power over us than the Prince of Wales would ever exercise. Today we have a kind of halfway collective ownership by absentee owners who do not and cannot responsibly manage what they own. We do not and cannot manage our enterprises scientifically for the common good. They are managed for the profits of the owners. Hence arise those tragic wastes which Stuart Chase has so brilliantly described and from these wastes arises unnecessary poverty.

Our task is to assert the ownership of society in place of the ownership of absentees competing for profit. As Veblen has said, the real social revolution will come when engineers work for society as they now work for absentee owners.

The means we must use are organization in co-operatives, unions and in a political party. The weapons of a political party will be scientific taxation and socialization of basic industries. The land question can be settled when society claims for itself through a tax the economic rental value of land apart from improvements which it creates. Economic dynasties can be held in check by high income and inheritance taxes and government can be properly financed by them.

Wants Industry Nationalized

Meanwhile we must push forward an intelligent program of nationalization acquiring experience as we go. We must possess the commanding heights of modern industry which include the public utilities, superpower, coal and banking.

The conquest of poverty requires not merely this recovery of the one-third of our wealth now owned by one per cent of our population. It requires a national labor code, old-age insurance for the benefit of that one-third of our population sixty-five years of age and upward now dependent upon the bitter bread of charity. It requires immediately the program for the alleviation of that social cancer of unemployment which the Socialist Party has outlined. This unemployment which Herbert Hoover deliberately minimizes and Governor Smith ignores can be helped by nation-wide employment agencies, public works in time of business depression, unemployment insurance and a steady approach to the five-day week. No less a program will be sufficient.

In managing our social machinery so as to get plenty we shall have a better chance for freedom. There isn't much real liberty when a few men own the jobs that other men need. Meanwhile, however, there is a program for civil liberty that must be pushed. A party not of owners but of workers must face the fact that in America there is one justice for the rich and another for the poor; one for the Negro and another for the white man; one for the striker and another for the employer. Even Smith and Hoover have recognized that our injunctions in labor disputes are excessive. Neither has told us specifically what he would do about it. The hope expressed in the Democratic platform that capital, labor and the bar are getting together to clear up the injunction situation will be fulfilled when cats and mice get together to decide how many mice each cat will have for dinner. We Socialists propose the abolition of the use of injunctions in disputes. There is plenty of law to deal with violence.

Peace Is Menaced
Out of our profit system arises not only the denial of liberty but the menace to

Mutual Aid Dinner

Friday Evening, Nov. 2, Lewis Browne, author of "This Believing World," "Graphic Bible," etc., will speak on "Intimate Confessions of a Lecturer" at the League's annual dinner, to be held at the Civic Club, 18 East 10th St. Roger Baldwin, will be chairman. Tickets at \$1.50 from the League for Mutual Aid, 104 Fifth Ave., phone Watkins 7581.



ON MY WAY
by J. R. Young

THE casual autobiography in comment and anecdote, cartoon and confession of America's transient social caricature—a well loved figure in American life. A beautiful and gentle story of experience and observation, touched by geniality, wit and calm philosophy. Illustrated with many reproductions of cartoons and drawings. \$4.00

HORACE LIVERIGHT, N.Y.
GOOD BOOKS

THE CHATTER BOX

For Norman Thomas

On Sahara's sand
Once a blustering captain stood
Before his bloody legions,
And proclaimed:
"Soldiers of France, behold the Pyramids!
Their thirty centuries look down
Upon your glory . . . they command
A march to victory . . ."

They tell it was inspiring to see
How battle-wearied herds
Of soldier cattle arose enflamed,
And sallied forth with bristling arrogance
Before the whiplash of his words . . .

Oh, Captain, oh, our Captain, here is sand
As fierce as Africa's . . .
And there are wars
Beneath the fog of peace upon the land;
And though we hear no thunder of the guns . . .
The fields are bloodier than Napoleon's.

And here before a living pyramid,
Behind whose horrible height
The very sun is hid,
Your threadbare legions stand . . .
Waiting for your words
Of high command.

And this we know, you will not speak
Of empty glories, nor invoke the dull
Splendors of the dust, when there is truth
Before your eyes . . . truth so terrible . . .

This you will say to us: "Today
Our words are weak:
The wall about the Pyramid
Is stone and thick and high,
And all is hung in mists,
So that the glittering peak
Is shrewdly hid
From those who lie
Below.

Bolstering up a grim, inhuman show
Of opulence and pain . . .
And all our words
Are puny, bleeding fists
That batter on the wall . . . again,
And again . . .

"Yet Soldiers of the shop and mine,
Battalions of the pitiless soil
The unsummed centuries of unrewarded toil
Look down upon you and proclaim
A war, a march to end this shame . . ."

Oh, Captain, oh, our Captain . . .
We, whom you lead are few,
Yet look, we stand here
All of us tall and erect with you . . .
Look deep into our eyes
And you will find the gleam
Of your faith and hope
Struck from the same unconquerable dream . . .

The same dream . . . these are the words,
For that day when the bolting herds
Will tumble the peak of the Pyramid down . . .
The same dream . . . trumpet and call
For the levelled heap to burst apart the wall . . .

Oh, Captain, oh, our Captain
Here are sands and wars
As fierce as Africa's . . .

And here before the groaning Pyramid,
Behind whose monstrous height
The rising sun is hid . . .
Your dream-clad legion stands,
Happy for your words,
Glad with your commands . . .

Now is the time for all good, valiant men to start planning for our Party. We know most clearly what will happen two weeks from now. There will be a stupendous landslide for reaction . . . There will be just a comparatively minute count for us. Some of our ever enthusiastic comrades talk in millions . . . the serious students hope only for a sparse million . . . the old timers whisper about half a million. Somewhere between these estimates, the real sum total of our influence and effort will show upon the adding machine.

Count me as one who does not hold any figure of the vote for us too vital for our future tasks. I am thinking of the first Wednesday in November.

We shall have before us the fierce labor of keeping hope and a dream alive in the hearts and spirits of thousands who have worked so bitterly to keep the Socialist campaign before the nation, with ever so little of money and means. We may have a deficit in finances to confront. The sum would be ludicrously small to a Rasbok or a Dupont . . . It will mean months of incessant plugging and begging and scraping to honorably liquidate the debt. We will also have to consider the beggared position in which our party press, our schools and allied activities find themselves even now before the campaign is ended. We will have the work of co-ordinating, and building up a new national organization, now just barely outlined, and commencing to pulse with the quick of purpose.

The prospect is not to be tinted with auroral flushes. The way ahead may just as well be shown now, with all its tortuous steps; with all its discouragement. We shall either be worthy of our name as Socialists by accepting everything ahead of our happy duties; or retire to our more or less comfortable private lives, turn on the radio, and during the jazz periods, tell our children, how once upon a time Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall, until a wolf came along wearing Red Riding Hood's cloak, and chased the cow over the moon.

Count me as one who will have no tales to tell my sons about how greatly their father fought, what victories he gained, what a big shot he was in the political racket until the Ogre What's the Use came around and just mauled him up for life.

This I will tell them, whether they follow me or not . . . "Because I know I am right, because Socialism is the only hope for justice, happiness and peace for all humanity, and because only through constructive enlightenment will the people come into the security and joy in life that is their due, it is my task, my sworn duty to carry on. No day is so dark, no cause is so hopeless, but that patience and work cannot bring forth light, and fulfillment. It is only those who falter and quit in the face of the dark and discouragement, who die before their time. Nothing is more dead to me than boredom, than cynicism, than despair. Nothing is more vibrant with living nerve and blood and faith, and hope, and the indomitable conviction that because you are right, your cause will prevail . . ."

Nor will these be just words meant for self-reassurance. There never has been any doubt in my mind since I joined the party, that there is anything wrong with the tenets of Socialism, or with its splendid promise for humanity. There may come darker hours than these. The people to whom we speak will perhaps be deaf, and so heartlessly indifferent even to their own hurt and loss. Perhaps they will even continue to revile and punish us for our tireless endeavour in their behalf. We must be understanding, and above all intellectually tolerant. We must remember that we have reached an adulthood in knowledge.

S. A. de Wit

Williamsburg Socialists In Big Campaign

Plans Being Made for Permanent Party Work to Recover Section Once Represented by a Socialist Assemblyman

Williamsburg Socialists are carrying on an extensive campaign of meetings and are also planning for educational and organizing work after the votes are counted. They intend to abandon the haphazard methods of old days and get right next to the voters in all future work.

The candidates are Hyman Nemes for the Assembly in the 14th district; James O'neal for Congress in the 7th district; Harry H. Schachner for State Senator in the 11th district, and A. Barron for the Assembly in the 4th district.

Nemes is one of the most active and popular members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and for years has been an effective speaker at campaigns in his district. Schachner is equally active as a speaker and Barron is active in the Bakers' Union. Both of these candidates are also giving many nights to the speaking campaign.

Much of the management of the campaign falls to Emil Bromberg, a familiar figure in this section of Brooklyn and who for years has been an active party worker. Bromberg is the candidate for Congress in the 4th district, as well as campaign manager for all the candidates.

The crowds that attend the open-air meetings are larger than in previous years except during the campaign for LaFollette and it is believed that with intelligent and persistent work this former stronghold of Socialism, which once sent Henry Jager to the Assembly from one district, can be recovered.

One of the plans for the active after-election work has matured in renting the Williamsburg Mansion at 297 South Fifth street for lectures and debates each Friday night during the coming months. The first meeting was held last Friday night at which all the candidates spoke. The mansion provides a beautiful assembly room and will prove an attractive rallying center for the party in this section.

The next campaign demonstration in Williamsburg Mansion will be held Friday night, November 2, at which B. Charney Viadeck, manager of the Forward, will speak. Nemes, Schachner, Barron and O'neal will also be on the program.

Viadeck is an old favorite of Williamsburg workers and this final hall meeting will likely be packed to the doors.

New Jersey Campaign Active and Promising

Plans are being made in Essex and Hudson Counties to have open-air meetings every night until election, Hudson County having purchased a special truck for the purpose.

Arrangements are completed for watchmen in these two and some other counties. Those who can should get in touch with local headquarters.

A record crowd will hear Norman Thomas in Newark on Thursday, Nov. 1, and in Passaic the same night. In Newark and nearby districts a parade is scheduled for the evening before Halloween—and comrades who can contribute cars are asked to do so. Report at 53 South Orange avenue, not later than 7 o'clock.

Five requests from young people for information about the Yipels are heartening the young people. Big things are expected from them when the campaign is over. Study and social evenings are under way.

The Women's Committee of Newark are giving a Halloween party on Saturday, Oct. 27, and local comrades are invited to be present. Entertainment and refreshment committees report an unusually good program.

Hackensack Socialists are congratulating themselves on the success of their Norman Thomas meeting. A shadow was over the meeting in the news of Mrs. Bohlin's serious accident. It is understood that there is hope for her recovery, though serious disability may result. Local comrades are redoubling their efforts to enroll new members and roll up a good vote.

Camden is going ahead with literature distribution, open-air speaking and general electioneering work, and do not mean to let up after election, either.

Whatever the number of votes for our candidates, New Jersey is again on the map, and determined to go ahead with reorganization work in every nook and corner of the State.

Tell the Advertisers you saw their Ad in The New Leader.

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Large, light room, with all improvements, for gentleman. Write M. K. c/o New Leader, 7 E. 15th Street.

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Thomas Joins Workmen's Circle at Large Meeting of Members and Friends

Speakers Pay Tribute to Presidential Candidate Who Joins Circle as an Integral Part of the Socialist Movement

NORMAN THOMAS is now a member of the Workmen's Circle. At a beautiful celebration held in the Jewish Folk's Theatre on the morning of Sunday, Oct. 21, the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party was inducted into membership in the Workmen's Circle in general and Branch 1 in particular. Comrade Thomas became Friend Thomas.

After splendid addresses by speakers prominent in the Socialist Party and the Workmen's Circle, Norman Thomas was escorted to the platform. J. Zuckerman welcomed Thomas in behalf of the Young Circle League of the Workmen's Circle and presented the Socialist standard bearer with a bouquet of flowers as an expression of appreciation from the youth of the Workmen's Circle. I. Baskin, General-Secretary, then performed the official ceremony of installation. He presented Thomas with his membership certificate, as the Workmen's Circle Mandolin Orchestra took up the "International."

Thomas, moved by his reception, addressed the audience. "Mr. Chairman, Comrades and Friends," he began, to the delight of his hearers. "This is one of the most momentous days of my life. I well remember the occasion last July at the Workmen's Circle Camp at Pawling, New York, when my becoming a member of the Workmen's Circle was first suggested to me. It was two comrades, S. Wechsler and N. Pilot, whom I have to thank."

"On this stage various dramas have been enacted. I wager none can surpass the drama thru which the Workmen's Circle has passed during the years of its existence. It is a story that ought to be written. A chapter in your history is coming to a close but it is not the end of the story. The first task of the Workmen's Circle was to unite men who had recently been refugees to face the hard struggles, the disasters, the sorrows, the sicknesses, that are so terrible under capitalism. The next task is to apply this idealism on a large scale through Socialism."

Thomas then told of the "poor" prosperity in this country that he has observed in his travels up and down the land. He thanked the Workmen's Circle for its active support of the Socialist candidates in this campaign. Wherever he went he found that the Workmen's Circle branches were upholding the banner of Socialism; in some cases they were the sole propagators of the faith. The Workmen's Circle, too, has contributed heavily to the Socialist Campaign fund, for which he and the Socialist Party were grateful.

He was proud to belong to an organization like the Workmen's Circle not only for what it is itself but also because it is part of a great movement. "We shall go from victory to victory," he concluded, "from beauty to beauty until men shall live in truth and be free."

The other speakers all paid fitting tributes to Norman Thomas and the Workmen's Circle and pointed out the relationship one bore to the other. J. Weinberg, National Chairman of the Workmen's Circle declared that it is one of the special tasks of the organization to advance the cause of Socialism and that, therefore it was a cause for great rejoicing that the Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States should come among them. Morris Hillquit showed that the initiation of Norman Thomas as a member of the Workmen's Circle was symbolic of the loyalty of the organization to the Socialist movement. Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York State, surmised that if Al Smith was elected that the Knights of Columbus would have a representative in the White House; if Hoover, the dark forces of Protestant reaction would; and if Norman Thomas, then the Workmen's Circle. Taking up the serious portion of his talk Waldman thought that the celebration symbolized the complete freedom of the Socialist movement from the bigotry that has characterized the reaction campaign and the adherence to fundamental principles. Judge Jacob Panken elaborated on the symbolism of the morning's festivities; the devotion to the world-wide Socialist movement and the combating of intolerance. B. C. Viadeck of the "Forward" pointed out that beneath the conservative, even reactionary surface of American life has flowed a stream of idealism nourished by Roger Williams, William Lloyd Garrison, Albiged of Illinois, Eugene V. Debs and now Norman Thomas. The Workmen's Circle members contributed the idealism of the Old World. The morning's celebration symbolized the merging of these two streams of idealism. And since American idealism was supposed to be practical, he took up a collection amounting to four hundred and fifty dollars.

Responsible in a large measure for the success of the meeting were the theatrical folk who did their "bit": Leon Blank, Isadore Kashner, Zenna Goldstein, and Leon Gold. The Mandolin Orchestra of the W. C. graced the occasion. Thanks were due to the management of the Folk's Theatre for the use of the theatre.

Bronx Meetings
On Wednesday, Oct. 31, 8:30 p.m.—Public School 67, Mohegan avenue and 179th street, Bronx. Speakers: Louis Waldman, Esther Friedman, McAllister Coleman, Isidore Phillips, August Claessens, Jacob Bernstein.

Karlin to Speak in Yonkers
William Karlin, Socialist candidate for Attorney General, will speak on the issues of the campaign, state and national, at a meeting to be held at the Workers Co-operative Center, 252 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, next Sunday evening. This is one of a series of meetings sponsored by the Workmen's Circle of Yonkers.

Midnight Theatre Party
For Campaign Committee
Everything is staged for the big Theatre Party for the benefit of the National Campaign Committee Saturday, midnight, Oct. 27, arranged by the Hebrew Actors' Union, in the Second Avenue Theatre, 2nd Avenue and 2nd Street. George Jessel, star in the war play, "War Song," will contribute his services. Mollie Picon of the Second Avenue Theatre and Maurice Schwartz will present a one-act play. A number of other acts will also be presented.

Tammany Brave Challenged
By Mrs. Friedman in Bronx
Julius Berg, Tammany candidate for the Assembly in the 3rd D. D. Bronx, recently declared at an open air meeting that Socialist speakers no longer challenge him for a debate. Either Friedman, the Socialist candidate in the same district, upon hearing this boast immediately sent a challenge to the Tammany brave.

Berg is challenged to meet Mrs. Friedman at Longwood ave., near Westchester street, Oct. 27. In case of rain Berg is asked to be at the same corner Monday evening, Oct. 28.

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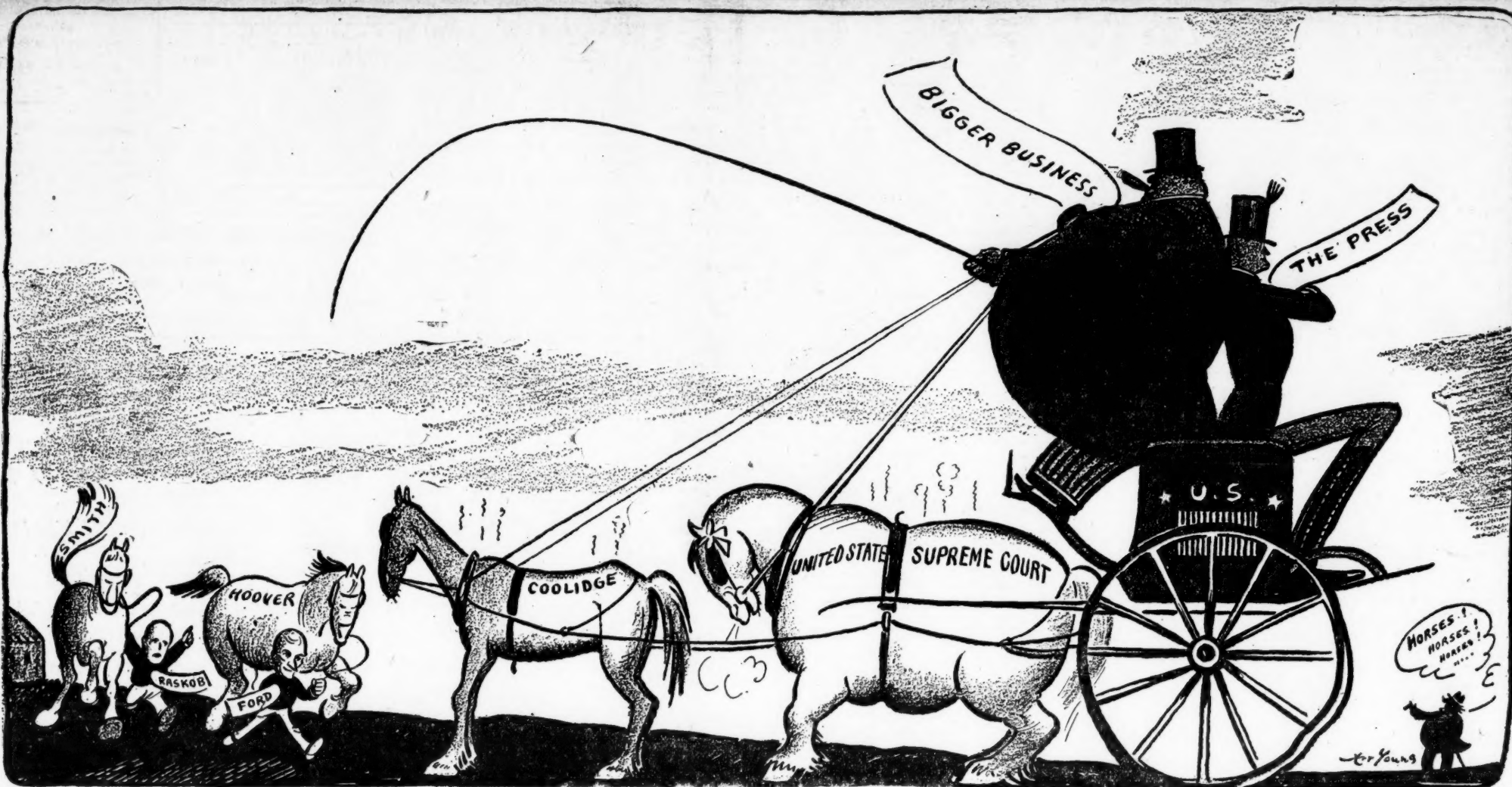
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Whoa!!



Drawn by Art Young.

Just Change the Front Horse Again—Then "Giddap!"

NEW LEADER

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

Editor James Oneal
Assistant Editor Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

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

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1932

Mr. Hoover's Drivel

HERBERT HOOVER'S Madison Square Garden speech was an essay by a high school boy who has just heard that Herbert Spencer lived in the nineteenth century. Directed against his "opponents," he charges them with favoring "State Socialism," whereas it is state capitalism which Smith favors, at least for super-power, a capitalism which has, in some respects, better prospects for capitalists than corporate capitalism has.

Reading this speech we are convinced that Hoover is an over-inflated bladder. A Socialist ditch-digger would make a sorry figure of the Republican candidate in a joint discussion. He assumes much and proves little. His own party has a long history of acting as a government nurse for capital invested in industry and yet he assumes that the masters of American life have acquired this mastery without such nursing.

Nationalization of industry? Hoover will have none of it. Capitalists should own our industries and laborers work for the owners—when they are needed. And why? Because nationalization "poisons the very roots of liberalism—that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press and equality of opportunity."

Follow us, Mr. Hoover, into regions where there is no nationalization of industry, regions where private enterprise is constituted as you would have it. Follow us into the textile regions of New England; into the textile provinces of the South; into the coal regions of West Virginia; into the steel areas of western Pennsylvania; into the feudal regions owned by absentee masters in Colorado, Idaho and Montana. Here is your paradise of "private enterprise."

Here workingmen dare not speak or act without terror dogging their heels. Company spies are as numerous as flies around a honey vat. Attempts to organize are ruthlessly crushed. The gunman rules in many of these regions. Public meetings are prohibited. In some sectors of this paradise—West Virginia is an example—private ownership

owns the stores, schools, amusement houses, newspapers, police powers, politicians, candidates, parties. Economic and political oligarchy is the rule.

All this is the ripe fruit of capitalism for which Hoover pleads. To accept his view of this country one is required to be deaf, dumb and blind. Capitalism is the enemy of elemental human rights and these disappear where it becomes the master of any region. Hoover knows it for the evidence stares intelligent people in the face. Knowing it the reader may form his own judgment of the man who is capable of spewing the drivel that was spewed in Madison Square Garden Monday night.

Our Indecent Snobs

WE repeat that this campaign of the two wings of capitalistic politics has sunk to the lowest depths of degradation. The high hat gentlemen leaders of the two parties have revealed themselves as snobs and cads in addition to appealing to the primitive emotions that have stirred mankind since the early days of the religious wars.

It is only a few weeks ago that Smith's snobs considered it an insult to Smith to suggest that he would employ a Negro girl as a stenographer. Now it is the turn of Hoover's cads to answer a statement that he had once danced with a Negro woman as "the most indecent and unworthy statement in the whole of a bitter campaign."

We venture the assertion that there are civilized men in the southern states where race prejudice is most widespread who are revolted at this spectacle. In fact, there is an intelligent group of white men and women in that region which for years has been working to discourage this sort of thing with the view of promoting better relations between the people of both races.

Here are two instances where old abysmal hates do not crawl out of the depths. They issue out of luxuriously furnished offices and are penned by high mandarins of capitalist politics. They fan the dying embers of a fire that has seared the southern people of both races and that has left hideous scars on southern life. Old gaping wounds are opened and for what? In order that the cads and snobs may reap a few more votes for parties that are as empty of principles and issues as a hip flask is of liquor after a night's carouse.

A nation of informed voters would hurl these contemptible politicians into the obscurity they merit. Let them market hokum if they will. Practice deceit, serve as obedient poodles to their wealthy keepers, and swine their way through graft and loot if they must. But the cad and the snob and the bully who sups on abysmal hates when civilized people give their time to obliterating old prejudices are guilty of high crimes against humanity.

The Socialist Party and its candidates appear before the bar of judgment in these matters with clean hands.

Mr. Woll's "Discovery"

FOR amazing perversion of facts an article by Matthew Woll in some trade union journals on the British Trade Union Congress is a classic. British trade unionists will be interested to learn that they have decided to "follow the principles and practices of American trade unions" and that the general policies of American trade unions are "rapidly being followed by the labor movements throughout the world."

If this is true the statement accuses our British brothers of scrapping their Labor-Socialist party and delivering themselves over to the Liberal and Conservative parties. It means a non-partisan politics which sends no fighting members of the workers into parliament. It means that representatives of the unions sit in the councils of these parties with open shop enemies of the trade unions.

The reason why Mr. Woll asserts that the British movement is learning from the American movement is because the Congress turned down Communism and Communists. The Congress has done this year after year but it has also favored recognition

of and trade with Russia and it still favors this policy and rightly so. Mr. Woll is opposed to this recognition.

The other reason is because in the present plight of British industry the trade unions have decided to help the incompetent capitalist owners to stabilize it. To Woll this means abandonment of the aim of eventual nationalization of industry. No such change was made in the program of the unions and their party, yet Woll sees not only American conquest of British trade unions but American conquest of the labor movement of the whole world.

Well, he will not go abroad and tell intelligent workers about his discovery. He will be laughed at for his pains. Considering that the trade union movement in all the nations across the Atlantic without a single exception have a much larger percentage of the workers organized than we have here; and considering that in this respect our unions are at the bottom of the list, there is little likelihood of the trade unions abroad accepting Mr. Woll as a philosopher and guide. Moreover, we could not wish that calamity upon them.

"Up From the City Streets"

AN ALL-STAR cast is rehearsing a sketch from a biography of Gov. Smith, "Up From the City Streets," which is to be broadcast over the radio in support of the Democratic campaign. It is a good idea and we hope that it will include an important episode in the life of the Happy Warrior.

We offer the following suggestion. Leading Characters, Al Smith, Speaker of the Assembly; Charles F. Murphy, chief of Tammany Hall. Time, August, 1913.

Murphy in New York at the telephone with the Happy Warrior at the other end of the wire in Albany. Murphy: "Hello, Al." Al: "Hello, Charley; what can I do for you today?" Charley: "I want you to get busy with our boys up there and throw Sulzer out." Al: "But there is no evidence on that guy that will warrant removal." Charley: "What to 'ell's the matter with you? I'm the evidence. Pitch 'im out." Al: "All right, Charley. I'm regular and out he goes."

Scene in the Assembly chamber with the Tammany boys on hand, some soused as they gaze at the Happy Warrior managing the impeachment proceedings. The vote is taken and Sulzer is out.

Climax: Murphy in New York the following July in Tammany Hall. The boys gather at the annual Fourth of July celebration and pay homage to the Declaration of Independence with Charley master of ceremonies.

CURTAIN.

The Chain Store Giant

WHILE grog and religion are occupying the attention of the voters a new sovereign is rising to share in the rule of American subjects. The chain system of retailing goods has for years been growing and now the various systems have become sufficiently important to warrant unity of action. More than fifty such chain systems have organized the National Chain Store Association and it brings within its range more than 16,000 stores throughout the country which do an annual business of more than 750 million dollars. A number of grocery chains have been united in a super-chain for eight years and this monarch becomes a part of the new retail dynasty.

Here is an "infant" that Hoover will have to look after when he succeeds Lord Calvin next year, for one of the reasons for organizing the new chain is to "combat unfair and uneconomic legislation affecting all chain stores." In other words, economic mastery carries with it the will for political influence and power. This follows the history of all industrial combines in our history. Commerce and merchant capital 150 years ago: land and slaves before the Civil War; railroads immediately thereafter; then the rise of oil, steel, copper, coal, banks and, finally, super-power. In the cities it has been utilities, gas, transportation, water and electric power that have shaped the modern world.

The chain store giant is late in arriving at the luxurious dinner table spread for American nobles of cash and politics but it is promised a good feast. The small business man and shopkeeper will eventually be thrust aside. He may get a job as clerk for the nobles but some will have to join the ranks of the unemployed. Meantime the giant will be represented at Washington. Ignorant voters will choose the representatives from candidates of the two capitalist parties as they have chosen them for oil, steel, copper and so on. When they get tired of this they will choose representatives for themselves. That will be a great day for the Socialist Party, a period of a real fight for stakes that are worth while.

Sweet Voices and Smiling Faces

IN THE noble days when we were making the Indians safe for democracy by taking their lands and debauching them with rum there came to the Redmen an awakening to American hokum. In 1811 certain gentlemen met certain Indian chiefs at Buffalo with the view of getting some more Indian lands in the usual Christian way. The British on the other side of the lake had warned the Redmen against the American sharps and the Americans warned them against the British. In short, two parties were appealing for the support of the Indians. Red Jacket, whose name signified Keep Awake, replied:

"Brother: At the treaties held for the purchase of our lands, the white men, with sweet voices and smiling faces, told us they loved us, and that they would not cheat us, but that the King's children on the other side of the lake would cheat us. When we go on the other side of the lake, the King's children tell us your people will cheat us, but with sweet voices and smiling faces assure us of their love, and that they will not cheat us. These things puzzle our heads, and we believe that the Indians must take care of themselves, and not trust either in your people or in the King's children. . . . We beg you to make your mind easy and not trouble us, lest our heads should be too much loaded and by and by burst."

And there, brethren, was the origin of class consciousness; there is the logical reason for not trusting either the Hoover or the Smith parties. Avoid their bunk "lest our heads should be too much loaded and by and by burst."

NOT IN NICARAGUA!

The solemn hour of choice has come!
It's Tweedledee or Tweedledum!
The nation lifts its mighty voice
Of votes that spell the nation's choice:
Rah! Tweedledee Rah! Tweedledum!

Now I must cast a patriot's vote
For Tweedledee? Or Tweedledum?
The thing is clear: I'll first take note
Of issues hanging on my vote
For Tweedledee or Tweedledum.

"I'm for the tariff," says Tweedledee;
"The tariff for me," says Tweedledum.

"Economy's fine," sings Tweedledee;
"Economy's mine," sings Tweedledum.

"Keep up the bars," cries Tweedledee;
"Against alien hordes," chimes Tweedledum.

"Business is King," greets Tweedledee;
"Obediently yours," signs Tweedledum.

"To the Solid South," coos Tweedledee;
"I'm lily white," smiles Tweedledum.

"The flag and the home," shouts Tweedledee;
"The home and the flag," adds Tweedledum.

"God save the farmer!" prays Tweedledee;
"Our dear friend the farmer," sighs Tweedledum.

"The fat family purse," points Tweedledee;
"That full dinner pail," points Tweedledum.

"You fill it in," vows Tweedledee;
"The bank knows us," vows Tweedledum.

The solemn hour of choice has come—
It's Tweedledee or Tweedledum
To see my way, I've sadly failed—
On this dilemma I'm impaled
Horn Tweedledee — Horn Tweedledum

TIMELY TOPICS

Continued From Page 1
throw away your vote. He almost certainly will be defeated and you liberals will have to hire the editor of the New Republican to explain the significance of your vote. Besides Smith's evasions on racial bigotry, foreign policy, injunctions, unemployment insurance, water power, etc., make him the candidate who has tried to get progressive votes at the cheapest price yet offered. And his party? What an aggregation of open shoppers, small town politicians, and big city grafters!

The only way not to throw away your votes, my progressive friends, is to vote for the Socialist Party. The Socialist vote will mean something only as a warning to the next administration but in the building of our own party which is our only hope.

Hamilton Fish and Norman Hapgood are both able men. It wasn't their fault that they made so miserable a show with regard to the foreign policy of Republican and Democratic parties at discussion the other night in the Community Church. It was the fault of stupid, evasive policy of their chiefs.

Whether Hoover or Smith is elected there will be a kind of European alliance to leave the United States holding the bag in a new deal on reparations debts. That seems to be the meaning these European conferences on relations. The one way out is the way we Socialists have suggested: forgiveness of Allied debts, not as a matter of legal right, but of common sense on these conditions:

1. An abandonment of reparations based on the lie of Germany's sole responsibility for the war.

2. Steady progress toward international disarmament.

3. An increase in inheritance and come taxes on that class which no longer by the foreign debt claims it and has no mind to forgive. In words, investors, not workers, should for our forgiveness of debts.

The conviction of the atheist as Mr. Smith, in Arkansas, ranks with interference with Communist meetings a blow to true democracy. When I of Communist meetings I refer to has happened in Pennsylvania and Virginia, not to the amusing effort of Communists to make Ben Gillow the of an Alime Sempie McPherson K. ping. To be intolerant even to tolerant merely helps prove the against democracy and civil liberty.

I want to close this column with appreciation of the magnificent work I got in our Socialist city of Reading and with far deeper appreciation of Mayor Stump, his colleagues and party are doing in that city. Com did on the day of the very ceremonies connected with my reception into the Workmen's Circle, my reception made the date October truly memorable in my experience.

Roe Declares in Favor of Thomas and

Gilbert E. Roe of New York, of the Eastern Division of the Laborer Campaign in 1924 on Tuesday in support of Norman for President in a statement Thomas-Maurer Independent Campaign. "It is entirely all right to use said Mr. Roe in a letter to Dr. H. ler, Chairman of the Committee understand that I am not a believe not a regular one. But aggressive I am glad to support Mr. In fact, from my point of view