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of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

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THE SOCIALISTS MUST LEAD!

*Destruction of National Democratic Party Leaves Socialist Party
The Only Vital Opposition, Norman Thomas Says*

By Norman Thomas

"The Socialist Party is now the official opposition. Let us go forward."

These words from a telegram which I received late election night tell a story. We shall either have a faintly disguised government by blocs in America or we shall build that progressive party of the workers with hand and brain for which we Socialists fought with so much encouragement in this campaign. The Democratic Party is done for on any national scale and the Republican Party as now constituted can hardly be held together without the old line Democratic opposition. Individuals and parties are often a long time dying, so that I do not prophesy the immediate disappearance of a national Democratic organization. I simply point to its manifest impotence.

This crushing defeat of the Democratic Party is all to the good because it helps clear the way for that realistic political alignment which we want. One party can't fool the voters as well as two. As I said repeatedly during the campaign I should have been the equally happy mourner at the funeral of either of the old parties. But I thought from the beginning that the more likely victim was the Democratic Party. Let me say right here that the prime cause of the Democratic disaster was neither Protestant bigotry nor the Anti-Saloon League but, as I predicted during the campaign, the lack of cohesion and organization in the party. Bigotry played a sinister role but it is foolish nonsense to say with Mr. Morgenthau that if Al Smith had been a Protestant he would have been elected.

If Al Smith had been himself, if his party had been itself, and all other factors except religion unchanged, he would have carried the Southern states which he lost and possibly made a better showing in the Northwest. He would have made a worse showing in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. He would not have been elected. He would have joined Cox and Davis in defeat. As it is, it is an ironical fact that Democratic organization and racial bigotry carried the electoral vote for Smith in the six Southern states where Protestant feeling is perhaps the strongest and where there was no thought even of modifying the Volstead Act, much less of changing the 18th amendment. In other words, Smith carried the states most opposed to him! To such a fantastic situation has the Democratic Party been reduced.

THE DISCORDANT G. O. P.

The Republican rejoicing is greater now than it will be a year hence. If any man could unite the incongruous elements behind Mr. Hoover into one party, the man is not Her-

bert Hoover. He will try to give the country a thoroughly conservative administration, efficient in a narrow sense and dangerously aggressive in the pursuit of foreign markets. It is doubtful if he can get along well with his Congress which will probably act as a useful brake upon him. In this situation is at once a challenge to the Socialist Party and its opportunity. We are now the official opposition to the Republican Party.

During the campaign we furnished the only intellectual opposition to Hoover's capitalism. Whatever liberal promise there seemed to be in Smith's acceptance speech petered out badly toward the end. With all the vehemence of his criticism of the Republicans, at a time when he was offering his maximum bid for labor's support he scarcely went beyond Hoover in specific promises in such vital matters as unemployment and labor injunctions. He had no program for foreign relations, coal taxation or the power monopoly as a whole. We Socialists alone furnished the intellectual opposition to Hoover's theory of society which I have previously described as expressed in the advertising slogan: "Milk from contented cows."

THE SOCIALIST OPPOSITION

It is this intellectual opposition which we must continue to offer and to make concrete in the months that are ahead. We have earned for ourselves a position of leadership which we can only keep by continued thinking and planning. Our task will be immensely easier if Victor Berger has been returned to Congress to voice opposition on the floor of the House. But even in private life his clear head and trenchant speech will be invaluable to us in this work of constructive opposition.

Our big task, of course, will be organization, and on methods of organization we must all be doing some straight thinking and effective acting.

Later on I shall have certain concrete ideas to express in the columns of The New Leader. Now I want to reiterate my belief that in this campaign we have done extremely valuable ground work for the rebuilding of the party. We have surveyed the situation. We know the field and the strategic centers. We have a far better idea than we did of the men and women on whom we count.

THE SIZE OF OUR VOTE

What our vote will show I don't yet know. In New York City it is somewhat better than the private estimate which a few of us had made before election. I was never one of those who expected a million votes in the nation. I knew

too well the importance of organization and the weakness of our organization.

Picture the situation to yourselves. Weeks in advance of the election Maurer or I or some other prominent Socialist speaker would go to a town. Usually we would have a good, even an enthusiastic meeting. But we would leave little money and only volunteer organizers. Then the waves of Republican and Democratic ballyhoo and pressure through press, radio, movie and party machine would sweep over the city. The American love of riding on the band-wagon would assert itself. What possible reason had we for expecting a large vote when our organization was so nearly non-existent?

Possibly in spite of lack of organization a mass movement due to crowd psychology and the obvious appeal of our platform might have given us a big vote if the crowd psychology had not been so thoroughly absorbed in the strange complex of issues which the nomination of Smith called into being. From the day of his nomination I knew that our work in this campaign would not show primarily in the size of the vote and that our vote would represent an irreducible minimum of believers in our ideals, believers who are willing to join up for a long fight. Of course I shall rejoice over every additional vote and I am hopeful that the vote will exceed that half million which within the last few weeks has been my private estimate. However that may be, I repeat that we are in fine position to build a party if we go ahead.

"WE MUST TAKE THE LEAD!"

To go ahead will require a sacrifice of money, time and energy. But it will be worth it. We must wipe out the deficit, which fortunately will not be as large as one time we feared, and create an organization fund. We must consider the structure of our party machine.

While I am by no means content with our proposed new constitution, I earnestly hope that it will be adopted for no other reason than that it permits groups to affiliate with us as groups. Fortunately no constitution of ours is unchangeable and in the light of experience we can make progress.

Of these details I can speak hereafter. Today I want once more to thank my comrades for magnificent support and for a fellowship in the struggle that is one of life's richest gifts. In that fellowship let us go forward. If we do not take the lead in making democracy real in politics and in economic life, I do not know who will. Ours is an opportunity that rarely comes to any group. Let us be worthy of it.

Democrats Are Shattered As National Party

Hoover Sweep Breaks Party of Smith as Functioning Political Organization—Industrialized Southern States Swinging to G. O. P.—Four States Go Republican

By Louis Stanley

AL SMITH, courting the favor of Big Business, pocketing the votes of shrewd "practical" progressives, wielding a campaign check book of Republican size, and brandishing a brown derby of the 1928 New York vintage, nevertheless was thoroughly squashed by Herbert Hoover, his stammering, stuttering opponent for the Presidency of the United States.

The genuine party of Big Business, the Republican, cut off the career of its imitation up-start, the Democratic party, in an unmistakable manner.

The Protestant bigots helped to swamp the Democratic bigots. The "realistic" liberals will be unable to resuscitate the Democratic party. They will have to resurrect

Everywhere throughout the country the voters turned out in full force to vote against the Happy Warrior, the gallant candidate of the Democratic Party swung around the circle, leading the voters from their apathy to their ballots for his opponent. Citizens of all cities came out in lines to look at him and vote against him. The Negroes and the farmers swept over the Democratic party and into the Republican shelter. Farmers hurried to ward off agricultural relief from the sidewalks of New York. Such was the great accomplishment of Raskob, the efficient leader of the Democratic campaign contrasted with the bungling per-

formance of Dr. Work for the Republicans.

"Solid South" Broken

Smith's strenuous efforts were mightily rewarded. He did win some Southern states and nosed out Hoover in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. History will thank him for breaking the Solid South. Florida, Virginia, North Carolina and Texas risked "Negro domination" by going Republican. Even Atlanta, Georgia and Birmingham, Alabama cut loose from their Democratic moorings. The border states steered clear of the New Tammany. The religious and moral prejudices of the South were compatible with the section's new industrial interests.

New York, Al's own state, refused to give him up to the nation. The City of New York cut down his previous majority, knowing full well that the rural up-Staters would turn to

(Continued on Page 2)

Hillquit Sees Election Result Full of Socialist Encouragement

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

SOCIALISTS have every reason to be pleased with the result of the election.

From present indications it would appear that we have united about half a million votes on our presidential ticket. This is very encouraging.

We did not expect and did not claim a big vote in this election.

The vote of nearly a million which Gene Debs polled in 1920 was no criterion for 1928. Between these two dates the Socialist movement was almost wiped out through a variety of irresistible causes. In this campaign we made a new start.

We set ourselves the task of rebuilding the movement from the bottom up, without sterile pride in our past achievements, without vain regrets about our past reverses.

In this task we have wholly succeeded. We emerge from the campaign with active nuclei of organizations in practically every state of the union, and with an enthusiastic mass of

supporters, old and new, eager to take up the battle with increased zest and determination.

Thanks primarily to the inspiring work of our chosen standard bearers, Norman Thomas and James Maurer, the Socialist campaign was conducted on an infinitely higher moral and intellectual plane than that of either of the old parties. The Socialist party has won the respect and gained the confidence of many thousands of workers and other open-minded persons, who are bound to come to our support in future political battles.

The decisive defeat of Governor Smith, who always made a peculiar appeal to the politically uncritical among workers and so-called progressives, has cleared the atmosphere and left us the undisputed leaders for the development of a true consistent and effective opposition party of labor and progress in the United States.

This is the great meaning of the election, my comrades, and this is our glorious opportunity.

Personal Column

WANTED. Star gazer or palm reader to interpret result of election. Light wanted on meaning of Al Smith vote. Apply New Republic, Mr. Croly.

FOR SALE. Mailing list of liberals, tired radicals, and progressives who endorsed Al Smith. Apply Progressive League for Al Smith, F. P. Walsh and Fred Howe.

HAVE YOUR VOTE THROWN AWAY by one who has done it and knows how. Heywood Brown, The Telegram, New York City.

TO NORMAN THOMAS. Sorry now I didn't vote for you. Voted for Smith as protest against bigotry. Now I find that only Arkansas, Louisiana and Georgia voted with me. Accept my apologies. Will you forgive me? A. G. Hays.

RE - VITALIZER FOR SALE. Cheap. Eight years experience working for Al Smith. Fancy liberal coatings and atmosphere our specialty. Apply New York World. See Mr. Lippman.

BROWN DERRIES. Great concession. 30 cents a dozen. Apply Tammany Hall.

LIGHTER THAN AIR SPEECHES written on short order. References Herbert Hoover. William Hard, Washington, D. C.

ADVICE WANTED. What should a puzzled liberal do? The Democratic party is dead. I am against prejudice but think the Socialist party ought to change its name. O. G. V., The Nation, New York City.

GOOD SPORTS WANTED. Please help a poor man pay off the Democratic campaign deficit. Anything from a dollar up. John J. Raskob, General Motors Building.

Socialist Vote Up In New York; Berger Loses

Wisconsin Socialist Increases Vote But Is Defeated By Hoover Sweep—Scattering Returns Show Thomas Polling Good Percentage of Total Vote Cast

ONLY scattering and fragmentary Socialist returns are available as The New Leader goes to press, but the figures received show that the party has improved its standing vastly over the figures of the last year or two. Comparisons with the 1924 vote are impossible because the Party did not have its own candidate that year.

The only setback report thus far is the apparent defeat in Milwaukee of Congressman Victor L. Berger who was running for re-election. The final returns will show, however, that Berger increased his vote beyond any other

factor that deprived the Socialists of electing three assemblymen. Most of these voters, as the returns for president showed, were Hoover voters who naturally voted against the local Socialist candidates.

Reading is well satisfied with the Thomas vote, which, in the country districts is regarded as an inspiring accomplishment. Thomas received 2,801 votes in the county outside of Reading, an increase of 300 per cent. over last year's Socialist vote. Smith received 10,226 and Hoover 25,103. In the city of Reading Thomas obtained 3,885 votes, which was within 1,000 of what the party received when it carried the city last year. In the city Smith received 7,971 and Hoover 18,344.

Here are other scattering returns which the New Leader has received: Middlegrove, Illinois, Nov. 7th.

The New Leader: No organization. No campaign. (Continued on Page 3)

Slush Fund Gave Hoover The Election

Unlimited Drawing Account for Local Politicians Gave G. O. P. Victory

(By Federated Press)

HERBERT HOOVER was elected president of the United States by "current expense" funds given to the majority of 3,000,000 voters in 150,000 precincts throughout the country who regularly traffic in votes. This is the thesis of Frank B. Kent, for years Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Sun and the keenest political commentator in America. In "Political Behavior" he has charted the entire course of corrupt, business politics in the United States—the first time that a candid story has been written by one on the inside of the game.

Behind the 2,000,000 who sell votes, swinging the political balance one way or the other, are the untold millions of dollars slushed into the campaign on election day. These funds, given by wealthy business interests, are never listed, never accounted for. They are handled through unofficial treasurers. Herbert Hoover, respectable president-elect, has no "official" knowledge of the fund, its amount or its handlers. The official treasurer of the Republican party, in detailing the four or five millions spent to elect the "fat Coolidge" will never list the \$20,000,000 or more spent to buy the votes that swung the election.

The money is handled by the city and state bosses, Kent explains. On the day before election, it is doled out to the precinct captains. Each precinct captain has at least 10 "workers" who accept \$5 to \$15 for their services. Usually they are men with sizeable families. The "worker" delivers his own vote, his wife's, that of his grown sons and daughters, of brothers, sisters and whatever relatives and friends he can lay his hands on. Thus each "worker" is good for at least 10 votes. Ten "workers" can swing 100 votes, which in addition to those garnered by the precinct boss, are enough to control the average precinct of 600 voters.

Where does the money come from? Just where no one knows, outside the few wealthy contributors and the city boss, asserts Kent. But "no success in present day politics, not altogether temporary and trivial, can possibly be obtained against the united opposition of the financial and commercial forces of the community or country. . . . While the candidates who buck the business interests rarely get elected to, and even more rarely stay in the state offices, the election of such men to the presidency is under existing conditions practically impossible. It is a simple fact that not once since the Civil War has a presidential candidate been chosen to whom the bulk of the business interests were opposed.

"Since 1912 the power of the banks and great industrial units in politics has very greatly increased. Since 1920 they have become, in the eastern states anyway, absolutely irresistible. . . . It is a fact that instinctively in a presidential campaign they (Republican and Democratic financial interests) act together, and bankers all over the country, from the big ones in the large cities down to the small ones in the remote counties, know and reflect the New York sentiment. Any one who now thinks it is possible to carry a national election for any candidate for whom the great New York financial forces have a strong distaste is simply deluding himself."

Socialism is one of the most elastic and protean phenomena of history, varying according to the time and circumstances in which it appears, and with the character, opinions, and institutions of the people who adopt it. —T. Kirkup.

South Carolina Poll Official Refuses to Handle Thomas Ballots

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Charleston, S. C.—S. V. Kennison, state chairman of the Socialist Party, declares that the Socialist ticket will receive the largest vote it has ever received in the state. He has received hundreds of letters from people in all quarters of the state asking for literature and a list of Socialist presidential electors.

"We have sent more than 35,000 tickets to every county in the state and have received cooperation from all except Charleston," said Kennison.

He explained that Allen C. Mustard, chairman of the federal election commission, had refused to distribute the Socialist tickets along with the ballot boxes, while every other county chairman in the state had assured him they would give out the tickets. Mr. Mustard, he said, had distributed the LaFollette tickets in 1924.

Socialist Vote Increases; Berger Loses

(Continued From Page 1)
First Socialist vote since the war. Hoover 100, Smith 30, Thomas 25. F. W. MOORE.

Greenfield, Mass.—Hoover 4,234, Smith 2,471, Thomas 60. For governor, Republican 4,581; Democrats 2,171, Socialist 70. For U. S. Senator, Rep. 3,964, Dem. 2,618, Socialist 62.

Northampton, Mass.—Hoover 4,323, Smith 5,158, Thomas 90. An unofficial election in Smith college gave Thomas 246, Smith 395, and Hoover 1,239.

Greensburg, Pa.—Hoover 98, Smith 28, Thomas 22. For U. S. Senator, Rep. 87, Dem. 27, Socialist 19.

Forest City, Pa.—Hoover 413, Smith 1,306, Thomas 40, Foster 4.

Schenectady, N. Y.—Schenectady County gave Hoover 29,289, Smith 21,218, Thomas 1,113. In 1926 the Socialists received 1,045 in Schenectady County. The city of Schenectady gave Hoover 20,639, Smith 17,700, Thomas 735.

The vote in the county for governor was Roosevelt 22,402, Ottinger 27,077, Waldman (Socialist) 1,056. The city gave Roosevelt 18,194, Ottinger 19,238, and Waldman 733.

Fitchburg, Mass.—Hoover 6,649, Smith 8,167, Thomas 213. For governor, the Socialist, Mary Hagwood, received 239, while Alfred B. Lewis, for U. S. Senate on the Socialist ticket, received 272.

Lincolnton, Maine—Hoover 184, Smith 64, Thomas 15.

Trade Unionists Now Face Barren Party Results

In New York City there is talk among some trade unionists who supported Governor Smith which questions the whole policy of going outside of the ranks of labor in politics. These trade unionists are those who had become pessimists regarding an independent party of the workers.

The complete inability of leaders to make any marked impression on the result, the carrying of unionism into the ditch with Smith, and the consciousness that labor cannot be a force inside either the Democratic or Republican organizations, are now topics of quiet conversation.

In the needle trade unions many of the rank and file recognize that the support of Tammany Hall by a few leaders means death to that idealism which alone built up and which can again build powerful unions in the industry.

Praise From An Opponent

ONE of the very best editorials that appeared in the daily press during the campaign was that of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Sunday Herald on November 2. It deserves to rank as a classic political editorial. For frankness, penetration of sham, and logical presentation of the insincerity of upper class politics it is worth more than all other editorials that have appeared in the daily press. There are many other editors who honestly subscribe to the view of the Bridgeport Herald but they are not permitted to say it. The tribute which the editorial pays to the Socialist Party is also what many editors would say if they were free to say it. Here is the editorial:

Socialists Retain Their Sanity

"American politics is either a joke or it is a serious matter. If it is a joke, the Republican and Democratic speakers are good jesters, and their clowning adds to the gaiety of nations. If it is a serious matter, the Socialists alone are entitled to the attention of sober minded citizens about to decide on the trend which they wish their country to take during the next four years.

"Socialists are sincere. They have some ideas and they are quite frank about discussing them. They say what they think, and the voter may take it or leave it, but the voter is not mystified nor puzzled by them. He does not have to have a Socialist speech interpreted for him. He doesn't

have to wonder why the speaker didn't say this or that, or why he did say this or that. He doesn't have to wonder what the speaker intends to do if elected, because the Socialist puts all the cards on the board. The Socialist may be wrong, but he is clear and understandable, and that is the first consideration.

The Socialist Party is the only one left which exists to promote certain political principles rather than to corral certain public offices, and for this reason the Socialist holds back nothing through fear that by releasing it he may lose votes. All this gives to the Socialist campaign a substantial, dignified and appealing character that is quite lacking among the so-called conservative parties. The froth, buffoonery and repulsiveness of the present campaign is not presented by the "wild-eyed radicals," but by the fish-eyed reactionaries who have given so many fake reasons for asking public support that they are made dizzy by their own confusion and simply whirl about like a little boy's top.

"If American politics is a joke, any vote at all is a waste of time and energy. If it is a serious matter, a vote for the Socialist Party is not a vote wasted, because such a vote at least registers a protest against organizing hypocrisy and buncombe into a national institution, such as has been the crowning achievement of Republican and Democratic political strategists."

Democrats Are Shattered As National Party

(Continued from page 1)

Hoover. It was the verdict of the great State of New York that it preferred its favorite son in the trucking business. It might endure a Democrat for Governor—and it showed its liberality by electing Franklin D. Roosevelt to that office—but not even Al Smith would it make President. The Middle West refused to be budged from the Republican column. The Corn Belt proved that it was more discontented with Tammany, Clerical rule than with low prices for corn. It would even take a chance with a betrayal of another Republican administration than risk its fortunes with Al Smith. Even Senator Norris' appeal on the water power issue did not transform agrarian discontent into ballots.

Wisconsin did not go Smith either. That state had been made out to be a counterpoint of New York. In fact, it was. Neither the Germans nor the vets could stem the tide. Senator John J. Blaine had given Al his endorsement. Senator LaFollette had given his tacit consent to the swinging of Republican votes to Smith. No personal appeals could do any good. The voters just would not have Smith.

On the Pacific Coast the Republican forces swept on pitilessly despite the prophecies of some daring prognosticators. Smith had, as a matter of fact, saved his energy by not even going to the coast but some liberals had engaged in a furious debate as to whether Smith or Hoover could capture the Far West. There were those who predicted a Democratic victory in Hoover's home state. Evidently brown derbies are not yet popular in sunny California.

Two mysteries arise as a result of the campaign. What happened to the progressive and labor votes? Both of them are supposed to have been delivered, one by some noted libertarians, humanitarians and reformers, the other by labor officials according to the formula of rewarding the friends of labor and punishing its

Nationalized Industry Is A. F. L. Issue

Demand of Machinists Again Brings Question to Fore of Convention Problems

WASHINGTON—(FP) Public ownership of public utilities, demanded by unanimous resolution of the recent convention of the International Association of Machinists, will be an issue upon which the coming New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor will witness a battle as serious as that which marked the Montreal convention of 1920. On that occasion the Plumb Plan of national ownership and democratic management of railroads was endorsed. The futile protest of Samuel Gompers against public ownership, the debate at Montreal, was quoted by Herbert Hoover against LaFollette in the campaign of 1924 and against Smith in the contest of 1928. In 1920 it was the demand of the railroad workers that created the debate and decision for public ownership. This year it is the disclosure of gigantic organization and expenditures by the power companies to prejudice the people against reducing the cost of electricity in the home by municipal and federal plans.

William Green, now president of the Federation, and at that time a member of the United Mine Workers' delegation, took a prominent part in the fight for the public-ownership declaration in 1920. Insisting upon the duty of the Federation to acknowledge the right of the rail labor unions to determine whether they would have a better chance for progress under government ownership than under private ownership, he said he was not afraid of government ownership in its relation to unions.

The 1920 convention voted overwhelmingly in favor of public ownership. A powerful lobby for the private utility companies will seek to prevent endorsement of a public ownership of utilities by the New Orleans convention. It will have the support of Hoover's campaign organization, together with a large part of the Democratic political element, in this obstructive effort. Since the public ownership forces have no funds for lobbying, their views will be set forth by individual delegates, largely by chance and without preparation except insofar as the Machinists' delegation may organize the movement.

Prospects are that the power trust will "spin the Bolshevik idea on 'em," in the language of Insull's propaganda director, and that the convention will take no definite action on the issue of the American masses versus the power company magnates and their program of poisoning the minds of school children and adults on the future ownership of public utilities.

It is hard to believe in the wisdom of an economic regime under which scarcity and want are the result of an overproduction of necessary commodities. It is hard to believe that human wealth is increased and the social purpose furthered by committing the natural resources of a country—the gold and silver, copper and iron, coal and oil, field and forest—into the private keeping of a few individuals, instead of administering this bounty for the good of all.—Hanford Henderson.

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Austrian Socialists' Demonstration Serves Notice on Fascists

VIENNA, Austria.—A situation charged with much peril to the trade unions and Social Democrats who control the city of Vienna recently passed off peacefully. For years Fascist bands have threatened force to overthrow the Socialist administration of the city and establish a reactionary dictatorship. The Fascists planned a large military demonstration in Wiener Neustadt, a suburb, Sunday. There is little doubt that they planned another "march on Rome" in imitation of Mussolini.

The Socialists and trade unions have their own defensive organizations and these were also mobilized to meet any reactionary drive. The government of Austria, which is sympathetic with the Fascist bands, decided that a clash between the two forces was too dangerous to risk and ordered out national troops to keep the peace.

The Fascists demonstrated with pickaxes, hatchets, shovels and long metal lances and knelt in the square as Catholic priests uttered fervent prayers. Owing to the presence of the national troops the two forces, Fascists on the one hand and determined workers on the other, were kept apart and each occupied the main square in turn.

About sixty Communists appeared on the scene and engaged in provocative tactics which, if followed, would have resulted in civil war with the danger of the national troops being ordered to unite with the Fascists. The Communists distributed circulars calling upon Socialists to slaughter the Fascists and rise against the National Government. However, the Socialists and members of the trade unions have had much experience since the armistice and the provocative circulars did not affect the discipline which they have maintained for many years.

Popular Socialist Vote in Sweden Jumps 170,000

DETAILED reports of the results of the general election held in Sweden in September show that, while the Socialists lost fifteen Deputies in the Lower House, falling from 105 to 90 out of a total of 230, their popular vote, contrary to some accounts, did not decline, but actually rose from 725,407 in 1924 to 872,500. The cause of the Socialist loss of seats was due to an increase of 508,368 in the total vote and to the fact that the Communists polled 149,096 votes and elected eight Deputies, a gain of four.

In explaining the result, Gustav Moller, a Swedish Socialist leader, points out that, under the Swedish election law there is no way for a party to protect its name. Consequently the Communists were able to run their candidates under the name Labor Party, the official label of the Socialists, and thus obtain the votes of many careless citizens who doubtless were under the impression they were voting the Socialist ticket. Another reason advanced for the Socialist loss of seats is the intensive campaign waged by the non-Labor parties, which brought to the polls hundreds of thousands of ordinarily indifferent citizens who had been impressed with the necessity of "saving the country from a Red regime."

The women's Socialist organization rendered important service to the party during the campaign. The monthly journal of the women, "Morgensbladet," appeared in a special illustrated edition of 24 pages. The pictures of the twelve Socialist women candidates for Parliament were prominently displayed with a special election address which appealed to the women for support. Other articles made this publication a powerful electoral number.

We are not in politics to preserve an unjust system, humanizing the cruelties in which it results, but to make the workers conscious of their wrongs and united in their aim to obtain a just system.—Colonel J. Wedgewood, British Labor M.P.

Macamery Displaces Workers

Labor is Junked by Technicians of Western Electric and Girls Take Their Places at Low Wage

CHICAGO, (P. P.).—A single new machine that winds loading coils for telephone cables does all the work and more of five machines recently scrapped at the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Co. The junked machines were the latest in their line a couple of years ago. Western Electric engineers are already perfecting a machine to displace the one just installed. This business of hiring high priced technicians to put expensive equipment out of date is a paying proposition for Western Electric.

The new winding machine is run by a girl at \$25 a week. The five old machines were run by men at \$35. Weekly labor cost of new equipment \$25; weekly labor cost of old equipment \$175; weekly saving in labor cost \$150; annual saving \$7,800. The actual saving, due to a number of factors, was \$6,000.

That is a single instance. Parallel cases are occurring all the time, not only in the Hawthorne plant but all over the country. The 700 to 800 engineers at Hawthorne spend part of their time maintaining and installing equipment but a large portion goes to the all-important problem of reducing labor costs.

About \$2,500,000 is saved annually in labor costs, it is figured by engineers familiar with the work. Over \$200,000 was saved by installing the conveyor or straightline assembly system in one department. Both the present style handset telephone instrument and the new desk set are now on the endless chain. That means more men out of a job and a smaller number of girls at lower wages hired in their place. Sociologically it usually means the head of a family thrown on the street while the daughters he might otherwise be sending to high school take his place in the electric works.

The average wage of the 24,000 Hawthorne employees, including all of the high skilled ones, is under \$25 a week. The engineers who plan day by day to drive the other employees off the payroll get more than anybody else except the big executives.

The Western Electric engineers not only displace fellow workers in their own industry their inventions and improvements push workers out of other fields also. The present controversy between the union musicians of Chicago and the movie houses has as one of its causes the growing use of moviephones. In the smaller theatres throughout the country either the vitaphone or the moviephone is supplanting human orchestras. Both of these mechanical music makers are Western Electric products.

Over 5,000 are already in use though their mechanical development is still in its infancy. They are not sold but licensed so they can be called in as the progress of improvements warrants. The moviephone is outdistancing the vitaphone because of its technical superiority. The vitaphone requires extra rehearsing to get the music, which is put on a disc record, synchronized with the production of the picture. The moviephone records pictures and music on the same film. The sounds are reproduced through photoelectric cells and amplifiers.

So drastic has been the general reduction of labor forces at Hawthorne that the Western Electric has reversed its old policy and is manufacturing the music machines instead of simply working out the patents. The saving in floor space makes this feasible.

Capitalism will destroy itself, even if we have not the intelligence to discard it in a peaceful and businesslike way. All forms of economic oppression are in conflict with deeper and more powerful laws which will prevail in due time.—J. L. Mahon

ELECTION IS OVER! NOW FOR EDUCATION!

BECAUSE we knew that most New York Socialists would be very busy in the campaign, the Rand School postponed the launching of some of its most important courses till after election. From now till May our educational work will be in full swing.

The Workers Training Course begins next week. Thus far 111 Free Scholarships have been awarded. Only 29 are still available.

These scholarships are open to members of the Trade Unions, the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Workmen's Circle. Any such person who wishes to be considered must apply at 7 East 15th Street within the next week.

On Thursday evening, November 15, August Claessens is to begin a course of six lectures entitled

Motives in Human Conduct which will be an interesting and instructive study in Social Psychology, and of great value to Socialist propagandists.

Marius Hansome's study course in

The Data of Sociology which will be of immense value to students who wish to get at the root of social questions, is to start on Tuesday, November 13.

At 7 p. m. on Friday, November 16, Algernon Lee will begin a course in

Introduction to Economics laying a basis for the study of Marxian theory.

Comrades who wish to enroll later for Claessens' course in Public Speaking must take also some study course in Economics, Sociology, History, Socialism, or Trade Unionism. Now is the time. The second of the Saturday afternoon courses of lectures on Literature will be

American Life in Drama and Novel by Prof. N. Bryllion Fagin. It will start at 2 p. m. on Saturday, November 17.

These are but a few of the many courses to be given at the

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
7 EAST 15TH STREET NEW YORK

11-28 MEANS NOVEMBER, 1928

IN the upper left hand corner of Page One of your paper there is a little yellow slip. It bears your name and address,—also the expiration date of your subscription. Alongside of your name there are two figures, indicating the month and year in which your subscription expires.

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New York, N. Y.
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Mencken Is Stumped!

No one has ever accused H. L. Mencken of not recognizing a newspaper feature when he sees one.

In a recent letter to the New Leader, Mencken says:

"I note the superb cartoon by Art Young. Why do you Socialists have a monopoly of all the best cartoonists?"

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Vote Settled No Issues, Thomas Says

Socialist Candidate Anal- yzes Discussion of Issues Round by Round

On seven major issues of the campaign neither the Republican nor Democratic party won an advantage over the other in the election just ended, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, declared in seven campaign addresses in Manhattan and Brooklyn last Sunday. The only possible verdict of the voters on the Democratic and Republican parties he asserted is "guilty of the use of public money with wholesale and successful intent to deceive."

In his final public statement but one before election, Thomas said that regardless of who was elected, not one single issue would be settled. He enumerated the seven points on which the Republican and Democratic parties came to a noisy deadlock. "So many promises to antagonistic factions within each party have been made that Hoover will not be able to say, without putting the tongue into the cheek, that his election signifies any definite decision on any issue," Thomas said.

"Twenty million dollars in party and governmental expenditures in this election have brought no verdict on anything," he said. He counted over the deadlocked issues.

"1.—Prohibition. The idea that as President, Smith could change 200 dry votes in Congress was speedily shown up. After that he was forced to run on a promise that it would be wonderful to have a man in the White House with a free chance to talk wet. The wet Republican papers in the East are supporting Hoover on the ground that reasons of economy will prevent him from enforcing the Prohibition law anyhow. Mr. Hughes is supporting him on the ground that nothing can be done about it. Senator Borah is supporting him because he believes him to be bone dry. After March 4th, these forces will balance each other just about as they have done in the past, and nothing will have been settled. No decision."

"2.—Labor. Both candidates ducked the obligation of committing themselves on the issue of the injunction. Both parties ducked a real program on unemployment. Draw."

"3.—Bigotry. The Republicans were strongest on religious intolerance, the Democrats strongest on racial intolerance. Both were guilty of both kinds of intolerance. Double foul. Both sides should be disqualified."

"4.—Tariff. The Republicans showed their contempt of the farmers' intelligence by promising them more tariff on their products, which are not affected by the tariff. The Democrats showed their contempt of the consumers' general by throwing away their attack on specially privileged industries. No issue any more."

"5.—Water Power. Hoover made statements that have induced Senator Johnson and the State of California to vote for him. He has made other statements that invite every power trust owner in the country to subsidize him as heaven's greatest gift to them. Senator Borah will be entitled to make a claim that Hoover change his position. The power trust people will be entitled to make a greater claim. Smith has only gone as far as government operation of a few water power sites. There are prominent utility men in his camp who will be able to make a strong claim that he was not on the up-and-up with them if he later comes out for government ownership and operation of transmission and distribution from these sites. Hoover is probably more heavily committed and has had a longer period of intimate contact with the power people than Smith, who has a doubtful shade in this round—an advantage that in time he would lose by turning all benefits of government economy in production over to the transmitting companies."

"6.—Corruption. Both men entered this round with the enforced blindness that results from the two-party system where any man who wants office must wink at his friends now and then. For Hoover to discuss corruption would have meant an attack the could not afford on all the Black Sox of Washington who are supporting him now. It would have lost him votes. Smith thought Tammany was good because it had lasted a long time. Hoover's eight-year silence on the corruption of the government by his colleagues in the Cabinet differed only in degree from Smith's silence about Tammany's slower, more persistent methods over a longer period of time. Fought in a fog. Judges groggy."

"7.—Foreign Policy. Both candidates ducked the issue. Hoover talked the worst nonsense about preparedness but is asking for and accepting both pacifist and Big Navy support."

Smith was even more indefinite on the League of Nations, debts and reparations and has a mere ramshackle party behind him. No decision."

"On every point raised in the campaign people who believe in diametrically opposite positions have been allowed and persuaded to believe that each party candidate is for them. There is no mandate from the public which is clear and unmistakable. On those seven main issues the campaign was a draw. The only possible verdict of the election in both parties is guilty of the use of public money with wholesale and successful intent to deceive."

Iglesias Returning to the U. S.
MEXICO CITY—Santiago Iglesias, Polish Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, who visited recently on behalf of his organization and of the American Federation of Labor, is on his way back to Washington in order to inform both labor organizations about the situation prevailing in Mexico by close co-operation with the Mexican Government and the Mexican Federation of Labor. Iglesias was able to examine thoroughly the political, economic and labor conditions of Mexico, and also a brief interview with President Calles. On leaving Mexico, Mr. Iglesias stated that he was highly gratified and impressed by the present con-

One of Thousands Of Responses to Radio Address by Thomas

Lansdowne, Pa.
Norman Thomas,
Socialist Presidential Nominee,
15 East 40th Street.
"Out on a political desert your message last evening came to me as water and shade. Over and above what you said and your faultless delivery throbbed and glowed the substance of all reality. I know nothing of Socialism but I never fail to follow where reality leads me. I am voting for you. My two sisters, distressed over political situation, deciding the moment of action, went this morning to vote gladly for Norman Thomas. Do send me literature."
MRS. BERTHA MILDON"

Negroes Cheer Socialist Stand In St. Louis

Crosswaith Riddles Claims of Old Parties to Sup- port of Race

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Under the auspices of a Negro post of the American Legion, what is the most exciting political meeting in many years was held in the auditorium of Vashan High School on Oct. 29. The post had arranged a symposium with representatives of the three leading parties as the speakers. Frank Crosswaith of New York City, representative of the Socialist Party, easily captured the admiration of the audience.

The other two parties were represented by university men, Dr. C. H. Phillips, for the Republicans and C. Vashan for the Democrats. The Republican made the typical address which the Negro has heard since the first election of Lincoln. The Republican Party had emancipated the Negro, it is the Negro's friend and fosters prosperity. He also endeavored to work up hatred against the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Democrats because he is a resident of Arkansas, the scene of some brutal lynchings.

The Democratic orator made a more intelligent plea for the Democratic ticket but the audience hissed him a number of times before he could proceed. It was evident that the Republican had the audience with him.

Crosswaith was a stranger and began by saying that his opponents had made his task very easy. One speaker had dug up the bones of Jefferson. Neither had any real issues or had anything of substance to offer. The Negro. As the speaker warmed up to his subject he argued that the Negro worker has the same problems and interests the white worker has. Crosswaith devoted his forty minutes to an impassioned address on this theme and had to beg his audience not to take up his time by cheering.

When the Socialist speaker concluded the wild enthusiasm indicated that the Republican had lost the audience while the Democrat never had a chance. Crosswaith's opponents each had ten minutes to conclude but they labored without effect. The audience was completely with the Socialist.

About 2,500 people were present and many were turned away. When Crosswaith concluded the crowd shouted "Socialist, Socialist," repeatedly and when the last speaker was through, 82 Negroes, ten of them women, handed in their names and addresses for the organization of a Socialist branch. Crosswaith will return to St. Louis within four or five weeks to organize the branch and he will have another large meeting.

The following day the meeting was a topic of general gossip and as Crosswaith appeared in the streets he was hailed on all sides as the bearer of the only message that means liberation for the Negro masses of America.

Jersey Socialists Begin Fight Anew December 2nd

With open air meetings continued right up to the day before election, with a campaign truck parading through Newark and Jersey City, and indoor meetings wherever possible, the New Jersey Socialists finished an arduous but encouraging campaign.

The next big event in the party life of the State is the conference called for Sunday, Dec. 2, to increase the number of branches. Ways and means of retaining a full time state organizer in the field is the chief aim of the conference. Other methods of intensifying propaganda, especially work among the young, are to be considered. Branches should meet and instruct delegates.

Samuel A. Beardsey visited Trenton last Sunday evening to represent the Party in a three cornered symposium at the Y. M. H. A. August Claessens spoke in Trenton the previous week. The local comrades there are expected to assume again the prominent place in the councils of the party they used to occupy and this holds good for the whole of the southern part of the state.

Local Bergen County is congratulating itself that comrade Charlotte Bohlin's accident did not prove fatal, as was at first feared it would be, and the local comrades report satisfactory improvement in her condition, though still in the hospital.

The Norman Thomas meeting in Passaic and in Newark on Thursday of last week were very successful, there being record attendance at both places. Hudson County also continued up to the last minute to wage as vigorous a campaign as the limitations of workers and of funds permitted.

On the night of the election there was a gathering of the workers in local headquarters in Newark, (where a radio had been installed the previous evening to hear the last broadcasting of Comrade Thomas) to listen to election returns, and to informally discuss the future activity

New York City Socialist Vote Rises to 50,117

Coleman Given 56,091 in City, Waldman 48,615—
Discrepancy in Bronx Vote Given Thomas and
Coleman Lend Support to Charge of Vote Stealing
There

New York City Socialist Vote MANHATTAN					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
1	357	377	398	589	473
2	298	326	345	521	478
3	432	404	380	239	216
4	352	390	387	985	610
5	288	330	307	167	174
6	815	877	845	2,070	1,280
7	845	742	848	158	231
8	677	893	765	1,538	1,144
9	795	761	826	165	277
10	760	504	660	144	349
11	749	682	711	177	314
12	414	429	520	247	389
13	611	541	583	172	363
14	321	401	417	286	524
15	607	586	676	654	535
16	500	502	581	457	847
17	443	494	585	889	1,347
18	438	441	460	766	1,242
19	693	674	674	210	388
20	244	282	287	282	436
21	884	910	815	116	176
22	907	845	835	226	273
23	1,428	2,043	635	642	539
	14,771	14,434	14,586	11,402	12,652

KINGS COUNTY					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
1	345	313	354	186	159
2	3,154	3,321	3,868	3,230	2,246
3	217	202	195	112	118
4	532	503	568	744	568
5	1,111	589	603	299	317
6	841	985	1,208	1,608	1,460
7	506	444	436	108	190
8	153	176	160	53	96
9	2,138	1,946	1,799	926	704
10	581	560	590	77	159
11	684	770	879	238	288
12	807	676	719	363	365
13	364	399	386	475	476
14	573	689	632	1,488	970
15	232	219	224	70	201
16	2,751	2,786	3,207	2,563	1,668
17	647	789	875	454	519
18	2,781	2,972	3,884	3,083	2,115
19	1,328	402	439	613	692
20	1,392	908	923	234	578
21	1,819	1,789	1,952	1,038	600
22	1,975	1,973	465	2,127	1,684
23	1,084	1,219	1,508	1,847	1,896
	25,245	24,230	25,878	21,956	17,869

BRONX COUNTY					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
1	404	401	493	872	1,033
2	978	1,148	1,981	2,051	1,566
3	942	874	1,378	1,874	1,695
4	1,007	1,014	1,564	2,106	2,128
5	1,211	1,182	1,774	2,299	1,749
6	1,118	1,007	1,691	732	647
7	1,265	1,225	1,853	1,873	1,907
8	996	1,304	2,177	1,182	908
	7,921	8,155	12,911	12,990	11,635

QUEENS COUNTY					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
1	240	240	341	284	369
2	290	258	407	295	361
3	273	258	415	324	370
4	403	314	532	337	407
5	390	350	549	458	557
6	209	182	262	201	372
	1,806	1,602	2,506	1,899	2,436

RICHMOND COUNTY					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
1	144	124	132	100	130
2	230	70	78	90	130
	373	194	210	190	260

RECAPITULATION					
A. D.	Thomas	Waldman	Coleman	Panken	Thomas
New York	14,771	14,434	14,586	11,402	12,652
Brooklyn	25,245	24,230	25,878	21,956	17,869
Bronx	7,921	8,155	12,911	12,990	11,635
Queens	1,806	1,602	2,506	1,899	2,436
Richmond	374	194	210	190	260
Totals	50,117	48,615	56,091	48,446	44,852

Idaho "Progressives" Sealed Doom With Appeal for Smith

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BOISE, Idaho.—A last minute half-page advertisement appealing to "Fellow Progressives, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists" to support Governor Smith and the Democratic ticket appeared in the Idaho Statesman Sunday morning. It was signed by Frank E. Johnsen, former prominent leader of the third party which in this state a few years ago obtained representation in the legislature on the ground that two leading parties were corrupt and owned by the exploiters of farmers and city workers.

No intelligent person believes that Johnsen paid for this expensive advertisement which shows the complete surrender of these leaders to the capitalism of the East. Part of the appeal is taken from an editorial in "The New Republic" of a few weeks ago which appealed for support of Smith. This section of the appeal is set in italic but there is nothing to indicate its origin.

C. H. Cammings, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, in a double column statement in the newspapers, handles these "progressive" leaders without gloves. This final piece of Socialist publicity concludes a notable campaign waged by the party partly through newspapers, a phase of educational work that has been more thoroughly done than in

Many Bronx Votes Stolen from Thomas

Claessens Fears 5,000 So- cialist Ballots Were Tak- en From Party by Elec- tion Thieves

THE total of 50,117 votes rolled up for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, was the cause of much elation around New York Socialist headquarters. The vote showed an increase of more than 2,000 over the 1926 vote given the party's candidate for governor in the city and an increase of more than 6,000 which the city gave Mr. Thomas when he ran for Governor in 1924.

August Claessens, secretary of the New York Socialists, declared that "serious frauds" had been committed in Bronx County. He alleged that possibly 5,000 votes cast for Mr. Thomas in that county had been stolen.

"Our showing throughout the city, with the exception of the Bronx, shows that we have more than held our own in an election where the personal following of Al Smith and the issues of religion played havoc with the voters. We have increased our vote in Brooklyn to 25,000. In 1926 we received but 21,000 votes there, while in 1924 we received but 17,000 votes. The increase in Manhattan was also marked, as was the increase in Richmond. In the Bronx, which proportionately, we feel is the strongest Socialist borough, the figures show we have been victims of serious frauds. While two years ago we were given 12,000 votes in the Bronx, this year's figures give Mr. Thomas 7,000. The reports we have received from the few watchers we had in the Bronx polling places bear out our fears. The use of paper ballots in place of machines was apparently taken full advantage of by the Tammany-appointed election boards. It must be remembered that in the Bronx, as in many Manhattan assembly districts, the Republican party is but a little brother to Tammany. If it were possible to obtain a recount of the Bronx vote we feel confident that possibly 5,000 new Thomas votes would be found."

A Watcher's Story Of The Bronx

SEVEN thousand nine hundred votes were cast in the Bronx, New York City, for Norman Thomas. They were seven thousand votes saved from the clutches of the over ardent Smith and Hoover captains ready to stab and steal for their beloved standard bearers. But only the careful watching of Socialist watchers rescued the Thomas votes. What happened at those districts that were not named by watchers can be imagined from the happenings at one district in the Fifth A. D.

In this district, the Republicans and Democrats began like cats and dogs, but by the middle of the count they seemed to have grown kindly to one another. This made the Socialist watcher feel happy, but then suspicious. He grew more attentive, that is, he tried to watch two captains, one chairman, and three tally clerks all at once.

As the evening wore on, the tally on the local officers was being taken and the number of blank ballots increased. At one corner of the table, one of the Republican ladies began counting ballots. "Just to speed things up," she said—and our watcher thought it was very nice to do such a thing.

His faith in Republicanism was shaken a little when he saw her using her pencil where some absent-minded voter had forgotten to make his choice. And the Socialist watcher thought that was terrible.

"Mr. Chairman," his eager voice rang out, "the lady here has voted for six people. Those votes will either be declared blank, or this board will be under arrest."

"Listen, kid," said the Democratic captain, "your man can't get in anyway, give us a break—I'll make it even and cross six more ballots, next to Schmuck's name."

"I'm sure Mr. Justice Schmuck would hardly care to be elected by stealing votes. I object, Mr. Officer, the board is crooked. Call the wagon."

"You're on kid," said the cop. A cigarette given to him earlier in the evening was reaping its just reward.

Immediately, the board was moral. The blank ballots were called blank. From then on, they were scared into honesty.

Other election districts had clever crooks, and so they were sure to get away with it, even with watchers around. Fewer than half the election districts were watched. There Republicans and Democrats were at peace. Not molested by Socialist watchers, they worked fast and efficiently. In the same building, two other election districts, not manned by Socialist watchers, were through two hours before we were. In those election districts, the Socialist vote was small.

We might not have been robbed in some places. There is no doubt that we were overlooked. It's going to be the last time that such oversight will occur. We hope so, anyway.

Parkville Students Rallied to Thomas

Undismayed by little or no encouragement from the center of campaign activity, the Thomas-for-President Club at Parkville, Mo., kept up a steady fight in behalf of the Socialist candidate. John M. Moore was the active leader of the group during the spring. In the fall, William Griffin of the college was the leading Socialist spirit in the community. The members of the club hope to make it a permanent forum for political opinion, in a section of the country where minority parties seldom find expression.

That there are men in all countries who get their living by war and by keeping up the quarrels of nations is as shocking as it is true; but when those who are concerned in the government of a country make it a study to sow discord and cultivate prejudice between nations it becomes the more unpardonable. Thomas

Thomas Well-Received By the Harvard Union

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—One hundred and four students attended the luncheon given Norman Thomas last week at the Harvard Union. Many of those present were not Socialists, but Norman Thomas seemed to make his message felt, for large sales of literature took place after the meeting.

The straw vote taken by the Crimson, Harvard's daily newspaper, showed one hundred and fifty votes cast for Thomas as compared with ten for Debs in 1920. These one hundred and fifty votes amounted to 3.70 per cent of the number cast.

Big Electoral Campaign by Swedish Labor

Automobiles With Loud- speakers Feature Polit- ical Struggle of Work- ing Class to Control Parliament.

ON Sept. 15th and 21st, the elections for the Second Chamber of the Swedish Riksdag are to take place. Of its 230 members at present 104 are Social Democrats and 5 are Communists. A gain of 7 seats would accordingly mean a working majority for the labor movement in Sweden.

The Communist Scare is being extensively utilized in order to counteract the advance of labor at the polls. Unhappily for the Swedish bourgeois parties the Swedish Communist movement is so insignificant as to make this slogan, elsewhere so effective, slightly ridiculous. And every day is showing up a greater state of division as between the bourgeois parties themselves and even between the members of the present Coalition Government. A series of ill-conceived measures in respect of unemployment benefit and in legislation professedly for "peace in industry" have, moreover, made them certain of the profound mistrust of the working class of Sweden. So even though the Communist scare be pure bluff, it is no wonder that they themselves believe in the Red Scare.

The working majority which the elections may bring Swedish labor will in this case mean more than the mere fortunes of the electoral system and the passing whim of the electorate. Behind every vote and every representative that is brought into the Riksdag stands a labor movement in continuous growth.

In numbers the party has progressed from 149,429 at the time of the Marcellus Congress (1925) to 202,338 at the Brussels Congress of 1926. The Trade Unions have progressed from 340,616 to 492,029. The Cooperative Movement of Sweden is making it increasingly hot for organized capital in that country and in its range of membership and of interest the educational organization of Swedish labor is a model to all the world.

This movement is now concentrating its energies on the elections. Automobiles with loud speakers are scouring the country. Twenty-one pamphlets on all the central questions of Swedish politics, disarmament, peace in industry, land and labor, the working woman, taxes and inheritance taxes, social insurance, collections and being sold, and in fact help to cover the campaign expenses.

This does not mean a feverish outburst of activity before an election, but merely an extension of the educational and organization work carried on by the movement the year round in order to back up the practical politics of Swedish labor. Whether the outcome of the September elections be success or defeat, the trend of the movement is pointing towards ultimate victory.

Lectures and Study Classes Offered by Rand School

"How to Keep Well" is the subject of a new course which is being launched at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The class meets at 2 p. m. on Saturdays, and those who are interested in getting such a knowledge of the human body and its environments as will help them to cultivate positive health as well as escape disease should be on hand Saturday, so as to get a good start. The course is being given by Mrs. Grace Hansome, who brings to her work a knowledge of working people's problems that will make the courses very valuable.

"New York is not America" as Mr. Madox Ford has observed, and New Yorkers would do well to understand America can hardly do better than attend the lectures on American Literature which John Macy is giving Monday evenings. As Mr. Macy sees it, literature is not a thing by itself, the product of the thoughts or feelings of individual authors, but an expression of the intellectual and emotional life of whole classes and nations. It is from this point of view that he takes up, not only writers whom everybody knows at least by name, but also some of the less known but very interesting figures of the American scene.

Alexander Goldenweiser's lectures dealing with "National Psychologies" on Tuesday evenings and with "The Story of Religion" on Wednesdays, while arranged as courses, are of such nature that each lecture can be appreciated separately.

These are but a few of the courses being given. Others are to start early in November. The Rand School will be glad to send bulletins containing full information to all who desire them.

Of especial importance is the Workers' Training Course, designed for working people who are organized on either the economic or the political field and who have enterprise enough to undertake a systematic and fairly intensive course of study for six months, in order to get a good grasp of economic and social questions and develop themselves for efficient work in the movement. Virtually free scholarships in this course have been offered to the number of 120 in all for the present year. About two-thirds of these have already been awarded, and applications are coming in daily.

Ballyhoo On 'Prosperity' Swung Vote

Radio and Press Success- fully Marketed False Re- ports of People's Well- Being

The tremendous power of the press and the radio for shaping views in conflict with the world in which we live had ample demonstration during the political campaign. Every Republican orator and newspaper chanted praises of "prosperity" over and over again. Questionable figures were cited but chief reliance was placed upon the number of savings bank depositors and owners of automobiles in this country.

All this was accepted by Republicans at least and yet one might read most any day certain items in the press that would shock even the average Babbitt complacency. Thus in the fourth

Utility Co. Is Silent On \$359,000

Electric Bond and Share Refuses to Answer Probers' Questions

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Herbert Hoover boasted of the "glass pockets" of big business corporations, and of the effectiveness of regulation rather than public ownership, in his speech in Madison Square Garden, at 9:30 p.m., Oct. 22. At 10:30 a.m., Oct. 23, in the hearing room of the Federal Trade Commission, in Washington, officials of the Electric Bond & Share Co., holding company for the General Electric trust, defied the Commission and the United States Senate to inquire into its affairs. Glass pockets of the power trust were brass-covered. And the refusal to testify became the more hard in tone when Chief Counsel Healy raised a question as to a secret fund of \$359,000 handed over to Sidney Z. Mitchell, president and chairman of the board of Electric Bond & Share.

Benjamin H. Brewster, general auditor of the holding concern, and A. E. Smith, its comptroller, were the officials who declined to answer Healy's questions regarding this mysterious payment of \$359,000 to Mitchell. They said they would not answer, since their counsel, John MacLane, had advised them not to answer any questions concerning the affairs of their company, except as to whether it had contributed to campaign funds for presidential or senatorial candidates. Healy asked whether they knew that in March, 1927, payment of the \$359,000 was made to Mitchell from the general reserve account of the company. He also asked what the money was paid out for. No answer. Commissioner McCulloch directed each witness to answer. Each refused. They, with their associates, will be cited by the Commission to answer to the federal district court for contempt. The case will go to the federal court of appeals and to the federal supreme court.

Company Trickery Seen
But this mystery as to the \$359,000

Ten Jobs For Every Socialist

Here are some jobs that face the Socialist Party in the coming year.

1. Prepare many months in advance for the campaign in those cities that have an election.
2. Go after those friends and sympathizers we met in the recent campaign and get them into the party.
3. Increase the circulation of the local party papers and the national party paper, The New Leader.
4. Divide our local organizations into active working committees, each with special work to do.
5. Pay special attention to plans for continuous distribution of literature from house to house, year in and year out, making this a specialty in Socialist propaganda.
6. Attaching to the party the groups of young men in colleges and universities who broke their old party ties in the recent election.
7. Arrange forums for lectures and debates, obtaining the cooperation of sympathetic organizations wherever possible.
8. Arrange for a national organizing conference of party delegates next year, the sole business to be consideration of and action on educational and organization problems.
9. Instruct our locals in the art of obtaining publicity in local papers for news of value to the Socialist movement.
10. Inspiring the Socialist members of the trade unions with the necessity of educational work among trade unionists if the labor organizations themselves are to be saved from present disintegrating forces and archaic policies.

MARINES FOR PORTO RICAN ELECTION?

WASHINGTON—Because of reports that the reactionary parties are to try again, on Nov. 6, the tactics of wholesale coercion and fraud that marked the election of 1926, Santiago Iglesias, Socialist senator in the island legislature, is hurrying home from Washington to consult his associates on measures of self-protection. The Republican party leaders, who have a working alliance with the Socialist party against the reactionary group, have proposed that marines be landed to guard the polls. Iglesias knows that this will not be possible, since the Porto Ricans are American citizens and have territorial autonomy in some degree. But he will seek to have federal officials present at the places where coercion is expected.

drawn secretly from company funds by Mitchell, its president and chairman, remains under the full spotlight. March, 1927, was the time when Congress had just adjourned, leaving the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam bills unpassed, and the Walsh resolution, demanding an investigation of the power trust, temporarily stopped. Within a short time after that date, the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations was set going with abundant funds, and numerous "power senators" in General Electric and Insull territory began making statements hostile to any "interference" with the utility interests.

Trickery by the Electric Bond & Share officials, in dealing with the Commission last summer, was likewise indicated in testimony by John Knox Arnold, special agent of the Commission, who secured from the company's offices a series of documents dealing with charges to subsidiaries. Some of these documents he permitted the company to recover temporarily, and they were returned to him last June. But papers which he lent back to them in July were not restored to the Commission. It was at that time that the Commission had met the refusal of the company to permit its accountants to examine its operating expense ledger. In other words, when the federal government sought to learn what private operation of electric power generation and distribution actually costs, the trust hid its records. And when, on October 23, Healy and Commissioner McCulloch demanded that the company officials tell where that ledger is, the officials, grinning, refused to tell.

Hosiery Workers Take Jail As Alternative To Acceptance of Injunction Against Strike



Fined \$100, each by U. S. District Court Judge Geiger in Milwaukee after having been found guilty of civil contempt of Court through violations of a sweeping injunction handed down by the same Judge at the instance of the Union-Busting Allen-A Company of Kenosha, Wis., these young members of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers have chosen to go to prison rather than pay this penalty. The money from these fines would be turned over to

the Allen-A Company which is seeking to wreck these workers' Union and rather than do that, all these workers have decided to take jail terms of an indeterminate length. There are eight girls in this group, all of them splendid fighters for their Union. The two middle aged men at the right of the picture are not members of the Hosiery Workers' Organization, but are active strike sympathizers caught in the dragnet of the Federal authorities.

The Big Boys Cop the Dough

By Federated Press.

PROSPERITY in 1928 is no joke to the wealthy clique centering around the House of Morgan, to judge by the reports of 5 corporate giants dominating their fields in the world of industry. In the first half of the current year these corporations took a combined profit of \$336,734,661—more than a third of a billion dollars out of the pockets of the American consuming public. This is a gain of 13 per cent. over the profits of the same period in 1927.

General Motors leads with the largest 6-month profit in its history. The total of \$161,267,974 which this corporation grabbed for its security holders probably exceeds any profits ever taken by any corporation in 6 months with the exception of the profits of U. S. Steel in the last half of 1916 and the first half of 1917.

The 6-month profit of General Motors compares with \$129,250,207 in the first half of 1927, \$93,285,674 in the first half of 1926 and \$50,363,099 in the first half of 1925. In the 4-year interval its profits have more than tripled.

Owners of the 17,400,000 shares of General Motors common stock get a 6-month return of \$9 a share or 36% on the par value of \$25. But a series of stock dividends and stock manipulations has left the owners with about 37½ shares for each \$100 share held prior to 1917. In other words the multimillionaires who bought shares prior to 1917 are getting about \$340 on each \$100 invested as their share of the half year's profits.

American Telephone & Telegraph occupies second place in this group of 5 Morgan combines with a 6-month profit of \$79,543,682. This compares with \$74,686,873 in the first 6 months of 1927 and represents a return of \$6.17 a share. This absolutely secure investment is making its owners a return of at least 12.3% a year. J. P. Morgan's henchman, George F. Baker, holds about 105,523 shares of telephone stock. His share of the 6-month

profit was about \$650,000.

U. S. Steel comes third in magnitude of its half year profits with a net income of \$56,336,040. Although this is not up to the \$61,606,250 of the first 6 months of 1927 or to the peacetime record of \$63,010,149 in the first half of 1926 it is hailed as eminently satisfactory by the organs of the investing class. It represents a return of \$4.86 a share on the outstanding common stock or about \$6.80 a share on the stock outstanding before the 40% stock dividend declared in 1927. U. S. Steel is thus earning at an annual rate of 13.8% on the par value of the original common stock which, as a matter of fact, has value only because of the accumulated surplus profits of the quarter century elapsed since its founding. Originally the common stock represented nothing more than a capitalization of expected profits.

General Electric, presided over by Owen Young, Morgan henchman, framer of the Dawes plan and backer of Al Smith, is the fourth profiteer. The 6-month profit of \$25,675,307 establishes a new record for this dominant factor in the super-power combine. It compares with \$23,830,162 in the first half of 1927 and \$20,070,923 in the same period of 1926. General Electric's profit for the first half of 1928 represents a return of \$3.38 on each no-par share of common stock. But as the original owners now hold about 6½ shares for each \$100 share owned in 1912 the half year profit is at the rate of 22%. If continued through the year the owners will make over 40% on their investment.

The profits of these 5 great Wall Street favorites are heavily reduced by depreciation and other special charges. Combined profits of the half year before these deduction amounted to over \$400,000,000, enough to pay a half year's average wages to more than 500,000 factory workers.

We suppose the reason the moral forces keep calling our attention to the fact that they are the moral forces, is because they are afraid we might not realize it otherwise, the way they often act.—Ohio State Journal.

British Labor Sees Victory In The Nation

Local Election Triumphs Called Indication to General Election Result

LONDON.—The drift of sentiment towards the Labor Party has striking demonstration in the gains of the party in the municipal elections throughout England last week. Many politicians conceded that the Labor victories forecast a trend toward a Labor victory in the parliamentary elections next year.

The Labor gains are generally distributed throughout the country and the party just barely missed acquiring complete control of a number of large cities. London chose an entirely new municipal council and other cities selected one-third of the membership of their councils.

In Greater London the Labor Party controls 8 boroughs and won 77 seats, leaving 18 boroughs in the hands of the old reformers who lost 95 seats. One borough was won by a Progressive group with 17 members and one borough was tied between the Labor Party and an anti-Labor group. One Independent was elected.

There were 451 women candidates of which number 180 were elected. Among the successful Labor women was Isabel MacDonald, daughter of J. Ramsay MacDonald, former Labor Premier.

Outside of London the Labor Party won a total of 111 council seats while the Conservatives lost 65. The general returns show that the Conservatives are the heaviest losers and this indicates increasing dissatisfaction with the Baldwin Government.

More Work and Less Workers On American Railways

Washington, D. C.—In five years the railroads of this country have released 153,566 employees and handled 16,000,000,000 ton-miles more freight. These startling figures have just been made public by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Each railroad employee today is doing at least 15 per cent more work than he did five years ago.

The commission's figures refute the "high" wage claim that is so insistently urged. With 15 per cent more production the average wage is 66.8 cents an hour, as compared with 61.5 cents an hour in the first six months of 1923.

Round Of Ovations For Thomas

A LONG lean man in a gray soft hat and a black overcoat went striding through East Twentieth Street, New York City, last Tuesday morning.

All the dear ladies at the polling place in a public school at which Norman Thomas voted, held their ears as the photographers boomed off their flash-lights and the reporters swarmed around Norman.

This was the start of a busy day for the Socialist candidate for President—the sort of day he has been having ever since his nomination last Spring. Cheering crowds, handshaking, signing his name for autograph fiends, giving out interviews.

With Louis Waldman and his good-looking wife, Norman went from one headquarters to another, smiling his happy smile and assuring all hands that no matter what the vote a good job had been done by the Socialists in this campaign.

Comrade Pilot of the Workmen's Circle gave up his holiday to take Norman around in his car.

First the party went to Henry Fructer's headquarters in the Bronx. Loud cheering by the Yipsels marked Norman's entry there. Henry was cheerful as usual and told Norman that his district would cast a good Socialist vote.

Then there was a hurried run through various Bronx headquarters and a long ride down to Second Avenue and Seventh Street where the comrades were still celebrating a marvelous street meeting held the night before. Again the Yipsels were in noisy evidence. Said Norman: "The enthusiasm shown by the youngsters puts heart in a man."

Not that Norman needs any stimulus. The writer has been with him all through this most extensive and intelligently conducted campaign and never has he seen a man who could carry on as courageously as Norman Thomas.

There was a stop at Avenue C where the push-cart vendors crowded around Thomas' car and then a long hop to Brooklyn to find out how Louis Goldberg's campaign was progressing. Brownsville, once a Socialist stronghold, has changed completely in character and despite the hot campaign waged by Louis it was dumb enough to vote for an unknown Democrat.

Back home at the Thomas house on Eighteenth Street a telephone boy was waiting with a message congratulating Norman on his masterly address over the radio the night before.

"Gee," he exclaimed, "look who I brought a telegram for." And he too begged for Norman's signature.

Then to the New York hospital to see how Mrs. Thomas who has been ill for several weeks was progressing. She is better now and that was a cheering bit of news.

A hasty dinner and then up to headquarters on East Fortieth Street. Young Gus Gerber, National Campaign Manager, who has forgotten all about sleep and its meaning, was tabulating figures there which showed that the Party was everywhere holding its own and in some places where, before Norman spoke, Socialism was unknown, was actually making miraculous gains.

Party members were crowding in. There was Charlie Solomon who has been one of Norman's most trusted lieutenants during this campaign and faithful Cassidy who has held down a tough job at headquarters and Louis Goldberg with his head up despite his defeat, and many others who have stuck to the ship in all sorts of storms.

Norman then gave out his final statement on the results of the campaign. It was typical of the man. He gave his pledge to all those who have come with us during this long battle that the fight would be carried on until victory perched on our banners. He said that we had really just begun. He looked to the time when there would arrive in America a mighty party in opposition to black reaction now in the saddle. And as you heard

Brookwood To Take Fight To Convention

Conference Draws up Letter to A. F. of L. Gathering—Says Freedom Is Issue

BROOKWOOD Labor College at Katonah, N. Y., will take its case to the American Federation of Labor Convention which meets in New Orleans November 19. This decision was made by the directors at a meeting in New York City last Sunday. The Executive Council has urged affiliated unions to withdraw support from the college and the directors declare that they have not at any time been given an opportunity to be heard.

A. J. Muste, head of the college, announced that a resolution would be submitted to the convention for action, and a request made that representatives of Brookwood be heard.

The directors prepared an open letter to the convention, demanding that before the case is finally disposed of the evidence and its sources be furnished to Brookwood "in order that we may have the elementary privilege so far denied to us of studying these charges, replying to them and submitting our own evidence as to the aims, activities and achievements of Brookwood."

Says It Aids A. F. of L.

The letter says Brookwood has considered it to be its task to assist students to an understanding of the A. F. of L. and its policies, "to study all problems affecting the labor movement in the light of the facts, as calmly and scientifically as possible, teaching students how to think, not what to think, and resolutely refraining from attempting to indoctrinate them with any particular theory or ism."

Brookwood, the letter continues, is part of the labor movement; its instructors are members of the American Federation of Teachers and its students are trade union members. The question is then asked, if a hearing was not in order on the charges of pro-Soviet sympathy, "what about the method of conference in case of dispute on which labor insists in dealing with its employers?"

"How can labor face the world if it denies to its own members what it demands of employers?" the letter asks. "Or how can labor protest against those judicial abortions—injunctions—if a labor college can be enjoined without the semblance of a hearing before judgment is pronounced?"

It was also charged that the fundamental A. F. of L. principle of craft or trade autonomy was flagrantly violated in the case because the American Federation of Teachers was not consulted before the Executive Council acted.

Appeals For Free Speech

A year ago, it is pointed out in the letter, the convention of the federation refused to condemn the Ely Institute of Research in Land Economics on the ground that the A. F. of L. believed in "free speech, free press and academic freedom."

"If an institute financed and encouraged to a large extent by real estate and public utilities interests must have its freedom jealously guarded, even if there is sufficient evidence to convict it of attempt to poison the entire educational system of the country, on what ground is great latitude and freedom in teaching to be denied to a labor college?" the statement adds.

"Brookwood has not considered it to be part of its duty as an educational institution to promulgate without analysis the views and policies of the A. F. of L. or of any other movement or organization."

"We emphatically state, furthermore, that Brookwood is not controlled by, financed by, or committed to the policies of any political party, or subject to the control of any group of individuals other than its own directors, all of whom are members, and, in many cases, officers of long standing in A. F. of L. unions."

The action of the Executive Council F. of L. in condemning the Brookwood Labor College without giving it an opportunity to be heard in its defense has aroused the indignation of the Teachers' Union which is affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The teachers will hold a protest meeting Friday, Nov. 9, at 8:15 p. m., in the rooms of the Ethical Culture Society, 33 Central Parkway. Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers is in charge of the meeting.

The speakers are: John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University; Harry F. Ward, Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary; John A. Fitch of the New York School of Social Work; and A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College.

him say these stirring words to the reporters and went out under a night of stars where gleeful Republicans were celebrating their victory and sulking "Progressives" who had not "thrown away their votes" by casting them for their real leader, were sulking homewards, you said to yourself, "There, by God, is a man." And you were damned right.

ATTENTION

A number of Theatre Benefit Performances will be given under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party, New York City and its various branches, friendly organizations, and the New Leader.

FIRST PLAY

Monday Evening, November 26th

LUCILLE LAVERNE

"SUN UP"

LUCILLE LAVERNE THEATRE

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PROVINCETOWN PLAYHOUSE

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

THE CHATTER BOX

More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

I KNOW a miser's passion for his gold
When I am fronted by my thoughts of you.
These I have gathered, jealousy I hold
And hover over them. Suppose a few
Still stir a rancor or excite a scar.
There are so many left to weave a mist
Of legendary glow . . . Suppose you are
A dead reality . . . I know a tryst
We never parted from. There is the night
When memories began. The song I made
My heart will always sing, and sing, in spite
Of all this cold demeanour we parade.

And while you run the gamut of your men,
I know the joy of loving you again . . .
LAST Monday night at the Little Theatre seeing
Maxwell Anderson's and Harold Hickerson's "Gods
of the Lightning . . ." A finely acted play, a "wob-
bly" tract on radical strike leadership, on the injus-
tice of American justice, with the horrible Sacco-Van-
zetti story woven in full pattern for theme and motif.
It is terribly difficult for an avowed Socialist to give
cool criticism on a play like this, when so much of it
is war and woof of his own philosophy, and yet a
great deal too academically removed from his own
didactic belief as to basic tactics for revolutionary
practice.

Perhaps the play was originally planned by its gifted
authors as a human interest drama with all the high
and low lights of the theatre so shrewdly placed as to
put across the main purpose of propaganda without
affecting directly the always exposed sensitivities of
the middle classes, who are the great theatre support
in this land.

The almost obtrusive comedy relief of the Hebrew
longshoreman, the indigent historian, and the cracked
mythic are the last vestiges of the first intent. The
subject matter of any case like the tragic outrage of
Boston last year must of its own dynamic passion
carry the frail artifices of any theatrical capouillage
before its cataracting turbulence. And when the au-
thors themselves were swept into the path, they could
do very little except tell the brutal truth of it and let
it go on its own route of devastation.

I sat through three acts and five scenes of honest
history, and even my own calloused convictions came
up with a new tinge of feeling, a rebirth of unreason-
ing emotion, an altogether too refreshing impatience.

The hard hand of the hero's distributive against flag,
court, lord and the land slapped black back into the
placid body of my spirit. The old glow I once felt
when Meyer London carried the East Side for Social-
ism came up and I stirred quite visibly. Something
cried out for a hurried end to all this patience and
reason with which I had finally learned to tether my
innest longing for humanity. The court scene, follow-
ing so quickly upon the horror of the district attorney's
trickeries in his sanctum to frame up innocent men,
brought me to the verge of revolt against even my
own faith.

It was the last act with its climax of futility, yes
with even the arch-priest of futility walking in him-
self, escaped from the death house, that settled me
back into my old self.

With the final shrieking and grief of the lass whose
railroaded lover was paying the penalty of his radical
beliefs, patience and deliberate reason re-entered. I
could sit down and weigh quite dispassionately the
value or worthlessness of the project.

Ought radicals encourage and attend plays of this
sort? I can readily see Moscow clutching at this
exposure of American class warfare and fanning the
quiescence of its brood into a new fervor for self-
righteousness. I can also see in a few isolated sections
of the land small groups of impatient men and women
pacing with clenched hands and angered souls before
the words and scenes of this play. And there is a
fierce cry for action from every throat, while the
flames of impotence burn them up utterly.

For liberals and complacent righteous folk, this
drama is thoroughly negative. It is only a repetition
of their own knowledge so thunderously repeated, as
to turn their gentle beings away for fear of being
defeated altogether. There is no doubt that most of
us who dream and work in our own measured way for
justice and peace and plenty to all mankind are just
naturally too kind and sensitive for such overpowering
thunder. And brutal truth that it be, nevertheless.

For myself as a Socialist, a believer in orderly, edu-
cational and political working-class action toward the
Cooperative ideal, the "Gods of the Lightning" strikes
with stultifying depression. I came out a sadder and
weaker man. For the night at least.

Well indeed do I know how necessary propaganda
is for our cause. And well indeed do I know the smug,
and smooth and subtle forces we have to endlessly
combat to put our philosophy across. And better still
are we all aware of how the great electorate of the
nation reacts to the shrewd and almost silent manner
in which they are given the doses for their drugged
sunder.

Also do I know that while the rant and the shout of
all voices distract the hearing of people, they hardly
ever leave the brain peace enough for ordered thought.
And ordered thought is the only condition favorable
to a receptivity for our faith and its tenets.

I wish to deny definitely that there is a man or
woman in any walk of life, normal in physical develop-
ment that cannot think. I deny quite earnestly to
the aristocratic intellect the right to call one class
or another of any people too low for intelligence or
thought. Even the bald fact that they are driven like
attle year in and year out to the polls, and vote with-
out apparent reason against their own well-being does
not preclude the fact that they are all capable of
mental activity for their own good, if they are pa-
tiently and intelligently approached with which to per-
form their trying tasks.

The campaigns of the Social Labor Party, the
Workers Communist Party, the I. W. W., and the
archist groups to convince the people of their ap-
peal for a new order fall flat and futile against
the brains because they avoid and fume and rant,
the tongues of awkward lightning and sound of too
loud thunder. Listen to any of them when speaking
the public and you will understand what I mean.
In this play, for all of its power, its truth, and its
bunding clarity, frightens those who might learn
something vital from it, or just depresses those who
stand all too well.

And yet, for even the experience of convincing your-
selves along the lines of effective radical propaganda,
play should be seen by all of us who seek to better
mental equipment for the good fight that is ever
before us.

S. A. DE WITT.

"Although you cannot cross the ocean
To heathen lands explore,
You can find the heathen nearer,
You can find him at your door."

The "Romance" of Capitalism

By James Oneal

WHEN it became necessary for the
professorial economists to explain
the origin of the modern order resting
on invested capital, they abandoned history
and turned to fiction. They assumed
two types of human beings—saints and
sinners. The saints were few in number
and their sainthood was due to the fact
that they abstained from eating the same
rations of food and wearing the extrava-
gant clothing worn by sinners. So by
sacrifice and saving the saints stored up
some "capital" and soon gave employ-
ment to the sinners who wasted their
substance. Thus the origin of capital and
capitalism was explained by the assumption
that a few practiced virtues and the mass
practiced vices.

This silly tale of the economists was
long ago laughed into oblivion when his-
tory was explored to ascertain the real
origin of capital and capitalism, and the
investigation revealed that the saints
were really pirates and slavers, that fraud
and not only the origin of the bourgeois
order, but that long after its origin these
practices continued to heap
fortunes into the laps of the saints. One
phase of this romantic period of capital-
ism is recalled by a reprint of an old book
by Captain Canot who participated in
the slave trade (Adventures of an
African Slave, New York: Albert &
Charles Boni, \$4) edited with an intro-
duction by Malcolm Cowley. Other books
of this type have been written but it is
doubtful whether any other exceeds this
one in the sheer fascination of its narra-
tive and the picturesque character of its
central figure. It is not only an absorbing
tale of adventure but a graphic portrait
of the horrors of a traffic in human flesh
that continued well into the nineteenth
century.

Canot appears to have understood the
hypocrisy of the ruling classes and their
retainers who hunted down the slavers
and eventually abolished the slave trade.
Here and there he offers some shrewd
observations regarding the traffic and its
relation to bourgeois civilization and they
are all the more cutting because they are
true. One gets a vivid picture of the
Africans themselves and the participa-
tion of African chiefs in the trade.
Slavery was a common custom in Africa
before the coming of the white man and
the need of alien capital for slave labor
merely expanded the domestic African
traffic into a world trade protected for
generations by the "Christian powers."
Incidentally, one gets an interesting view
of the co-operation between Christian and
Mahometan in the slave trade. Each
might regard the other as an "infidel" and
yet both be on the most intimate
terms of friendship because of the profits
each obtained from this human com-
merce. The economic considerations by
which the savage and civilized man, each
with cultures as wide apart as the poles,
fraternized in a common enterprise may
be commended to those who doubt the
influence of the economic factor in his-
tory.

The "Savage" Learns.

The savage was also quick to learn
the "ethics" of the civilized man in
pursuing trade and commerce and he was
just as adept in giving a religious sanc-
tion to his profits as the white man was.
The African could be just as eloquent as
Mr. Coolidge can be before sending an
extra batch of marines into Nicaragua.
If our modern capitalist adulterates his
goods or the Puritan ship captain 200
years ago mixed his rum with water, the
African chief was equal to using blating
drugs to give a buxom appearance to a
slave or to impart an artificial gloss
to his skin if he was not of the "prime"
type desired. Age and disease were
often concealed by these methods but the
white traders soon obtained knowledge of
these tricks and it became more difficult
to dispose of impaired or diseased negroes.

As for this religious sanction given the
traffic by the African's religion, we cannot
resist quoting Canot's observations:
"The Koran commanded the 'sub-
jugation of the tribes to the true faith,'
so that, to enforce the Prophet's order
against infidels, they resorted to the
white man's cupidity which authorized
its volarities to enslave the negro. My in-
quiries were likely to be met by a demand
whether these holy wars spoken of in the
Koran were not somewhat stimu-
lated, in our time at least, by the profits
that ensued; and I even ventured to
hint that it was questionable whether
the mighty chief of Futa Jallon would
willingly storm a Kafrir fortification
were he not prompted by the booty of
slaves."

Ahmad-de-bellah was silent for a
minute, when his solemn face gradually
relaxed into a quizzical smile, as he re-
plied that in truth Mahometans were
no worse than Christians, so that it
was quite likely—if the white elect of
heaven, who knew how to make powder
and guns, did not tempt the black man
with their weapons—the commands of
Allah would be followed with less zeal,
and implements not quite so dangerous.

Delicious as this admission of the Afri-
can chief is, we are not surprised to
learn that the "patriotic" motive also
supplies a sanction for raiding interior
tribes for captives. Of this Canot wrote:
"There was no absolute idea of 'extending
the area of freedom,' or of territorial
annexation, but it was wonderful to be-
hold how keen became the sovereign's
sensitivity to national wrongs, and how
patriotically he labored to vindicate his
country's rights." Certainly, the holy
wars of Christian civilization have their
counterpart in the patriotic complex of
the African chieftains.

Canot had little patience with the Brit-
ish, who posed a horror of the slave
trade. He reports a conversation he had
with a British captain over a flagon of
wine. Canot, declaring his "incredulity
of British philanthropy," which "would
never cease until abandoned her Indian
wars, her opium smuggling, and her
persecution of the Irish."

Despite his indifference to the human
cargoes he shipped to Cuba and his ruth-
lessness in dealing with slaves when con-
fronted, he demanded, we cannot resist a cer-

An African Slaver's Story Reprinted

tain measure of admiration for his pen-
etrating views which often cut through
the shams of the "civilized" exploiters
of white civilization. Throughout the
book one gets a fairly good view of the
economics of the trade in Africa as it
concerned the native chiefs, the coast
traders, the Spanish, American and other
shippers.

Of the trade as a whole he declares
that the white race had stimulated the
negro's passions "by the introduction of
wants and fancies never dreamed of by
the simple native, while slavery was an
institution of domestic need and comfort
alone." What had been a luxury had
ripened into a necessity, so that man
had "become the coin of Africa." Eng-
land had introduced her Birmingham
musket, Manchester cottons and Liver-
pool lead. France sent her Rouen cottons,
Marseilles brandies and gewgaws, while
Germany sent her looking-glasses and
beads, and he adds: "Multitudes of our
own worthy traders, who would hang a
slave as a pirate when caught, do not
hesitate to supply him indirectly with
tobacco, powder, cotton, Yankee rum and

New England notions, in order to bait
the trap in which he may be caught."
Financial Genius.

One other quotation must satisfy our
temptation. "The financial genius of
Africa," writes our slave trader, "instead
of devising bank notes or the precious
metal as circulating medium, has de-
clared that a human creature, the true
embodiment of labor, is the most valu-
able on earth. A man, therefore, be-
comes the standard of prices. A slave
is a note of hand that may be discounted
or pawned; he is a bill of exchange that
carries himself to his destination and pays
a debt bodily; he is a tax that walks
corporeally into the chieftain's treasury.
Thus, slavery is not likely to be sur-
rendered by the negroes themselves as
a national institution. Their social in-
terests will continue to maintain heredi-
tary bondage; they will send the felon
and the captive to foreign baracoons;
and they will sentence to domestic ser-
vitude the orphans of cupidity, disorderly
children, gamblers, witches, vagrants,
cripples, insolvents, the deaf, the mute,
the barren and the faithless. Five-sixths

of the population is in chains."

All the horrors of the middle passage
are depicted with ghastly realism, the
epidemics of smallpox, occasional mu-
tines and the frightful losses from death
while enroute to slave plantations. The
tribal life of the Africans, some of it
grotesque and much of it revolting to
moderns, as it relates to slavery and the
slave trade is also made vivid. Adventure,
greed, romance and sheer reckless dar-
ing entered into the calling of the slave
trader. Some made and lost millions.
Canot made several fortunes and aban-
doned the trade but it appears that he
could not resist the lure of it for he
later returned to it. One may close by
repeating what a successful trader told
Canot himself: "Men in our situation are
Ishmaelites. Our hands are not only
against all, and all against us, but we do
not know the minute when we may be
all against each other."

And, when you come to think of it, in
retrospective of the World War, is not
this epigram of an old slaver also a
fitting one for the polished gentlemen
who rule the nations for the glory of
King Capital?

The Musings of a Captain of War

By Samuel C. Seitz

(A few fragments found in the archi-
ves of the late Field Marshall F. J. F.
former commander-in-chief of the
military forces of the British Empire.

I AM an old, old man—bowed and feeble.
Patiently in my fast declining
years, I await the day which will con-
sume me in the soil. The nightmare of
my stirring years pass vividly before me.
It seems as though I will not be able
to pass my remaining few days in peace
unless I relieve the depression that is
bearing heavily upon my mind. Man,
since time immemorial, has been carry-
ing a terrible burden on his shoulders
which at times, subjected to the phan-
tasmagoria of fumes, conquest, religious
and commercial gain, would dim the
horizon of the world with the clouds of
war and bloodshed.

My conscience exceedingly bothers me
because I have spent almost fifty years
of my life as a leader of infuriated men,
who did not question their superiors but
merely went out to slaughter and be
slaughtered. I have heard the roaring
of immense monsters of death on a thou-
sand fields of battle and have seen the
marring and mangling of innocent hu-
man beings on vast stretches of desola-
tion. My ears have vaguely listened to
the moaning, the anguish escaping from
the lips of the wounded and the dying
as they lay helpless in their hoverings
between life and death. On more than
one occasion have I heard a soldier, in
the agony of pain and delirium, faintly
murmur before passing away, "Mother—
wife—baby!"

In those days these words did not
bring a tear to my eyes or a touch of
sadness to my heart. In me was firmly
implanted the idea that war was a noble
and profitable pursuit, in which man's
valor and heroism could be shown on
the field of battle. The world was, it
seemed, divided into two distinct fac-
tions—in one part were friends and in
the other enemies. It never occurred to
me that it will be possible some day to
proclaim the universal brotherhood of
man, where we human beings could
stretch forth our hands, embrace and
love one another, instead of continually
scheming and planning for each other's
downfall and bringing on wholesale mur-
der and desolation.

Now that the fervent and fiery pas-
sions of my youth have died and in my
days of leisure I am able to clearly see
through the past, my heart aches when I
think of the millions of men who have
committed an infinite number of crimes
—treachery, robbery, depredations, decep-
tion, incendiary fires, murders, such in-
famous that the annals of all the courts
in all the world could not equal in cen-
turies and yet were not regarded as
crimes. I wonder if the beastly and
savage instincts will not some day be killed
in the hearts of men.

I can even now picture that great
moment in my life when I received the
insignia of the Royal Crown and my
commission as sub-lieutenant in the
army. How wonderful did life appear
to me at that time! How proud I felt
and how stately I marched at the side of
my platoon, the shining sabre swinging
to the movements of marching feet! It
was indeed a great sight to watch the
gray uniforms file by as the manoeuvres
were in preparation and listen to the
sawing of the cannon. At that time
in continental Europe youth was fed and
drilled and praised and bullied in the
hellish art of destruction. When the
band struck up a battle song I could
just leave my company, charge at an
enemy I had never seen, cut him down
with the fury of a madman and feel
proud at the noble deed. I would then
be a hero. War to me was a symbol of
strength and security, fame, honor and
glory. The officers who rode past on
horseback with their shining swords,
amid the glitter of gold and steel, to the
sound of the trumpet and the roll
of drums—they were my idols, my gods.

But as time grew on the cannibal in-
stinct hardened the soul of the youthful
sub-lieutenant. A woman to me was
merely a brood animal. Love was noth-
ing more than the fancy of a weakling
who strove to win another weakling,
risk war, the chivalry of arms, to
woman's life on the field of death was
something to be proud of.
As a captain under Lord Kitchener in
Egypt and a colonel in the Boer War I
first realized what war really was, but its
horrors held no terror for me. The lust
for slaughter, when once it bursts forth,
burns so deep down in the hidden souls
of men that it puts them on the same
level and gives them the brotherhood of
the tiger, the wolf and vulture. What
is life after all? A short drama which
inevitably ends in death. I preferred to
die on the battlefield than in a hospital
die of a disease. Then, as a high command-
ing officer I was far from the dangers
of violent death and plunged forward
in my glorious pursuit.

When the great conflagration broke
out in 1914, I entered the war as a
major-general. It did not appear as a
terrible day to me when the European
nations began hurling their declarations
of war at each other, pledging their man-
hood and vast resources to the vultures
of death and destruction. It seemed
wonderful to me that at the mere front
of one man inexhaustible armies, glitter-
ing with the symbols and banners of
savage war, would pour into the battlefield
from sea to sea, while immense fleets of
warships would spread their wings on
the bosom of the waves and follow eagerly
the thunder-clouds of war. I felt
proud to think that I held in my hands
the destiny of a division, forty-thousand
lives; that at my few words of command
they could all be slaughtered and the
kites and vultures would leave their
bones bleached by the thousands on the
sands or rotted in the marshy swamps.
They would all receive their reward in
the end—in the hellish, scorching, the
crows beak, in the worm's caress. The
battle of the Marne and the hammering
of Verdun finally told me that war is a
foolish form of savagery, in which death
and misery alone triumphed, but it was
necessary to shut the eyes to its treach-
erous blows, accepting them as glorious
achievements.

What is war? War is the greatest and
most brutal of hells on this earth. No
man has imagination enough to paint
its death agonies, its horrors and its
cruelties. Just think of sending lead and
steel crashing through the bodies of men.
Picture the indescribable terror that
seizes the victim of brutality. Think of
the widows and orphans! Think of the
maimed, the mutilated, the mangled!

The masses about us have been hypno-
tized as to what war really is. To them
it means spotless uniforms, shining arms,
manoeuvres with mechanical precision,
parades and the grand word victory,
which turns all heads and makes war
appear as a virtue. They see vast ar-
mies of men turned into military machines,
all faithful slaves, obedient to the shout-
ing of one man. They see these vast
armies of men thrilled and stupefied by
the sound of drum and trumpet, con-
verted into instruments for murdering
and shedding human blood on a large
scale and yet they applaud them and re-
fer to them as heroes and defenders.

Yet war does not merely consist of a
man to man contest on the battlefield.
The shame of looting and rape brings up
on a cowardly conception when held up
to the art itself. I have seen thousands
of men pole trembling with homicidal
mania in their eyes become stark mad
when they found themselves masters of
a town taken from the enemy. It was
a common sight to see the doors of
houses give way to the blows of their
rifles and terrified men being pierced
with bayonets, as they ran to the streets,
and in the houses could be seen women
screaming and struggling in the arms
of their assailants, striking them in the
face with one hand, while with the
other they struggled fanatically to re-
tain their clothes.

In our highly cultured and civilized
society today, murder is regarded as the
most terrible of human crimes. The
murderer is an outcast of society. The
human kind looks upon him with a re-
surgence of horror and fear, and every-
one clamors that he should pay the
supreme penalty. Yet nations, as a
whole, cannot live without yielding to
this natural and imperious instinct of
death. They solace themselves with war,
where governments set in motion the
military machines of murder and pre-
pare to slay one another in a debauch
of blood; where armies become mad and
intoxicated at the sight of the red liquid
dripping from the wounds of their ene-
mies and give way to the ferocity of the

beast instincts. They demolish the homes
of peace-loving and innocent civilians,
tramping down human beings, grinding
out lives, putting an end to many a
dream of love and aspiration and killing
the blossoming buds of affection in the
hearts of mothers and babes and sweet-
hearts. They carry in their murderous
wake famine, disease and destitution.
They fill the world with orphans and
widows, whose sufferings will never
cease as they soar in vain to the skies.

Yet the murdering and butchering on
a high scale is considered honorable and
just among all classes of civilized people.
The highly-colored accounts of the terri-
ble slaughters on the fields of death are
read with much interest and antici-
pation. The victims who emerge alive from
the struggle and are credited with the
largest number of killings are not dis-
played by their fellow-men. They are ac-
claimed as heroes, overwhelmed with
honors, gold crosses, rewards and titles.
They are cheered by the mob because
they have been successful in their mis-
sion of death. Women love and respect
them and they are looked upon with
envy by those who have been unable to
shed so much human blood.

War has always been considered as a
noble occupation. The excited appetites
of the Caesars, the Napoleons, the Vlad-
imirs, the Rasputins, the Hottentots,
the Poincares and the Habsburgs had to
be satisfied, vile creatures formerly con-
trolling millions of men and finding in
war the certain, quick gratification of
their lust for money and territorial gain.

Is the anything sweeter
and deeper and stronger than a mother's
love? Is there anything purer, holier and
more beautiful than a mother holding
her dimpled babe against her soft, warm
breast? Yet this mother nurses the
child with her blood, she lays up her
all and sacrifices everything to see this
flower spring up into manhood. When
war breaks out, when a few monsters
get ready to bathe themselves in human
blood, they tear out the roots from the
mother's heart and kill the buds at their
blossoming, not giving a thought to the
cruel pain that would never cease.

Man is born with a right to well-being
and personal freedom. He should not be
a slave to a few self-appointed war-
lords and masters, in whose hands lay
his life and death. Although superior
to the wild beasts of the forest he should
claim the right to life which they enjoy,
instead of organizing in herds and fac-
ing each other on the battlefield with a
ferocity unparalleled by that of the beasts.

Having been through the hells of war,
I can smile at the shams, pretences and
excuses the despots of the past had made
for lighting the fires of hell and bring-
ing about war and bloodshed. In the
light of our new knowledge the truth
should be known. Empires have fallen,
crowns have been shattered to dust and
governments have been turned upside
down. The archives of the former kill-
ings have been opened and memoirs are
issuing. The mailed fist of the censor
muzzles speech no longer and the ears
of those who are willing to hear are
listening to the truth.

No longer will I raise my sword in
defense of useless slaughter. I would
rather be an obscure man, poor and de-
spised, than rise to the height where ne-
cessities of the world are opened
through paths of blood. The sword, the
gun and bayonet, through the ages, have
brought nothing to mankind but tyranny,
despotism and a host of crimes which
place man on a lower level than the
beast. Power is not happiness. A name
that makes nations tremble is not to be
revered. A peasant in his lonely cottage
with his wife and children are more
content than were Alexander, Caesar or
Napoleon, whose names will forever be
blazoned in the History of Time. Man-
kind are brethren. They should study
the foolishness and savagery of the past
and in a spirit of friendship should
unite to serve one another in the true
fraternity of brotherhood.

It is time for the human race to unite
and form one vast universal organization
of love, good-will and progress. The
highest ideals of the human heart and
mind will only be achieved when the
beautiful lines of the Scotch poet, Robert
Burns, will be fulfilled: "That man to
man the world over shall brothers be."

F. J. F.

We sometimes fear that the
movement for absolute truth in
advertising has not yet embraced
the political managers, who say,
for instance: Small contributions
received just as gladly as large
ones.—Ohio State Journal.

CAN WE MEET THIS CHALLENGE?

WITH Norman Thomas in the course of this last
campaign, I had the opportunity for a close-up
picture of that grossly material yet somehow mystic
thing called "mass production."

We went through two huge modern industrial plants
that are making a new sort of revolution in the world
—the Ford plant at Detroit and the General Electric
works at Schenectady.

In those acres of fascinating ugliness, under the
great cathedral-like domes above the belts and engines
and the swarming men at work on them, and in places
like them throughout the country, is contained Amer-
ica's most significant contribution to her times.

These are the testing grounds for all our social and
economic philosophies. As they succeed or fail in
America's real cathedrals, they survive or perish.

No amount of propaganda, prayer or exhortation will
give them life, if the gods of the machines decree
death.

And both of us, I think, came away convinced of the
comparative untruth of schemes political, economic,
religious or artistic in the face of the great whirling
queston-mark which the pattern of the machines was
making.

Easy enough to shout, "prosperity," "high tariff" or
whatever from a Republican platform. Easy enough
too, to announce from the nearest soap-box that "the
workers must take over industry."

The job is one of pattern-making, not speech-mak-
ing, however much the latter may stir men to thought.

Here and there brilliant minds are at work attempt-
ing to inject some meaning other than the all too
obvious one of mere goods production into these ap-
parently inscrutable machines.

A number of them have come together in a provoca-
tive symposium called, "Recent Gains in American
Civilization," edited by Kirby Page and published by
Harcourt, Brace and Company.

It is to this volume that Norman Thomas has con-
tributed his masterly paper called, "Advances in the
Quest for Peace." And it is an amusing commentary
on the opinion held by those outside the Socialist
movement that a reviewer for a New York paper ex-
pressed great surprise that a Socialist could find any-
thing good in American civilization.

But the point I want to make here is that all the
writers whether they are talking about peace or educa-
tion or novel-writing or race relations have in the
backs of their heads the remorseless functioning of
those machines in the G. E. plant at Schenectady or
the smoke curling up from the stacks above Manches-
ter or Essen or Singapore.

And while all of them give indication of what they
are after in general and furnish substantial proofs for
their unexpected (in some quarters) optimism, not one
of these able observers can assure us that we have
the collective wit to consolidate what gains we have
made, to make ourselves masters of these damnable
obdurate machines.

At the conclusion of his contribution called, "New
Outposts of Business and Industry," Stuart Chase says:
"But the honest student, no matter how radical,
must admit that these gains are provable facts today,
even as the honest student, however conservative, must
admit the precarious nature of their status. There is
as yet no organized movement, whether of labor, of
the consumer, or of the common citizen, strong enough
to hold the outposts which industry, in its few years
of prosperity, has almost gratuitously flung forth."

And Chase is right. (He's usually right except when
it comes to politics.)

The Socialist movement for all its recent gains, for
all its practical idealism, has not yet come effectively
to grips with this central problem of our times, the
relation of the machine to humanity.

And I have the presumption to suggest that one
reason may lie in that curious state of mind found
among so many Socialists which consists in blind hate
of the machine.

This of course is natural but not so bright.

No one will ever understand a machine either by
hating it, or loving it. A machine is something to be
studied and used and it will be discovered that a ma-
chine is cheerfully oblivious as to whether it is adored
or despised.

The job it seems to me then is a research job first
and foremost. Old theories must be tested out in the
face of new facts and if they do not run with the
rhythm of the machines they must be ruthlessly
chucked away.

The campaign is over. The time is here for over-
hauling blue-prints, getting direction and plotting
courses.

The Socialist Party alone offers the starting point
for any such adventurous expedition into realities.

The choice here is of leaving the control of the
machines in the hands of profiteering hit-or-miss op-
portunists or of devising some better method for mak-
ing the most of what the machines offer.

To this end we should now perfect the organization
built up in the campaign. To this end we should in-
vite those men and women, particularly the young-
sters who are aware of what is going on in America
in 1928 to join with us in the struggle to do away with
what is bad in the present industrial set-up and to
hold to that which is good.

I know that Norman Thomas has been preaching
this up and down the country since last Spring. But
in the heat of campaigning, the significance of his
message seems to have been overlooked even by many
of his supporters.

If now all of us go along to a collective consideration
of what lies immediately before us—the challenge of
mass production—the campaign will have been one of
the most fruitful in our history. If we go back to
muttering old formulae, rehearsing ancient dogmas, we
are missing an opportunity such as comes only once in
a generation.

McAlister Coleman.

Finn Socialists Lose Pioneer In Moses Hahl

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
Fitchburg, Mass.—Moses Hahl, well known Socialist lecturer and author, died October 27 at the Burbank Hospital here a victim of cancer. Though it was well known among the Finnish comrades that Comrade Hahl had not been in good health during the past few years the news of his death came as a complete surprise. The body was buried in Forest Hill cemetery Wednesday, October 31. Comrade Oscar Tokol, former Finnish Socialist premier, delivered the funeral address at the bier of the deceased comrade.

Comrade Hahl was born in Finland in 1879. At the age of nine he began his life as a worker as a shepherd. After shifting around in various odd jobs he learned the machinist trade and worked at the trade for 12 years. In 1903 he emigrated to America where he lived the remainder of his life. Already in Finland he had been a member of the Social democratic party and on arrival in this country he joined the Finnish socialist movement here and became an enthusiastic worker. Socialism stimulated in him an insatiable hunger for learning as has been the case of all those who have embraced the ideals of Socialism. He developed into an able lecturer and writer who possessed a thoroughness, keen satire and humor. Comrade Hahl served as editor of a number of Finnish socialist newspapers and magazines both in Canada and the United States. More than a score of years he served as lecturer for the Finnish Federation traveling from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast carrying enlightenment to the workers. He is the author of numerous books in the field of economics, drama, poetry, and novels. He was at work on a sequel to a novel that was published last winter in which the history of the Finnish labor movement in America served as a background when his untimely death prevented him from completing it.

The death of comrade Hahl removed from the ranks of the Finnish socialist and labor movement an outstanding figure who for more than a quarter of a century, by both pen and voice espoused and taught the ideals and principles of socialism. Throughout the country in Finnish socialist circles the death of comrade Hahl is mourned.

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EUGENE V. DEBS BIRTHPLACE
The birthplace of Eugene V. Debs as pictured in the American Appeal has now been prepared in picture form and also on postcards. The pictures are 9 1/2 x 11 in., suitable for framing and the postcard picture is on the very best of material.
The pictures sell at 25 cents, single copy, one dozen \$2.00 and one hundred \$15.00. The postcards sell at 30 cents per dozen, or one hundred for \$2.00.
We hope our comrades and friends everywhere will take advantage of this offer. Secure a picture for your home and postcards to write to your friends. Organizations should make it a point to order them in quantities.
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Union Health Center Adds New Clinic

The Union Health Center will add new clinics beginning early in October. Slightly increased rates for special clinics will be inaugurated. The Dental Dept. extends an invitation to union men and women to take advantage of its enlarged facilities.

"From the above it will be seen that both departments of the Union Health Center are forging ahead. Considering the conditions of the last three months, the heat, and the general slowing up of work everywhere, the Union Health Center has done well. The outlook for the winter is hopeful. And so are the people interested in that institution. It is, therefore, encouraging to let the readers of The New Leader know that a new clinic for the treatment of diabetes, kidney trouble, goitre, obesity or overweight, malnutrition or undernourishment, will begin on October 2nd, and will be held every Tuesday evening from 5 to 6:30 P.M. at 131 East 17th street. These ailments—if not cared for in time—are apt to cause the persons concerned, a great deal of trouble. The readers of The New Leader are urged to take advantage of this important additional clinic and have themselves examined at once.

Beginning October first, the fee for all special clinics will be \$1.50 instead of \$1.00. The specialists are big men in their own particular fields. Their private office fees range from \$10.00 to \$25.00 a visit. It is, therefore, a great privilege for our working men and women to get the services of these professional men and women for so low a fee. We trust that those who want a thorough examination by an expert in his line, will heed our advice and find out the status of their own health—before it is too late.

The Dental Department is extending an invitation to all union men and women to come and visit the Dental Department. Located at 222 Fourth Avenue, corner 16th street. There are still a number of men and women of the labor movement who think that this department is operated on a small scale. They don't know that it occupies a loft extending a city block; with its 24 chair units, x-ray department, nurses, hygienic and clerical staff, etc. It is a sight not so soon to be forgotten—especially when we remember that it is the only one of its kind owned and controlled by organized labor. The Dental Department is open daily from 10 A.M. till 7 P.M. Saturdays till 5 P.M. Sundays closed. Just remember this and do not delay action. Let the Dental Department of the Union Health Center solve your teeth problem. Bad teeth interfere with the proper chewing of food and with your digestion. Bad teeth are also the source of many infections and the cause of rheumatism, neuritis, heart and other diseases. Teeth become bad from neglect. Do Not Neglect Your Teeth! Visit the Dental Department today. Do not wait for tomorrow!

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LABOR TEMPLE
14th St. and Second Ave
Sunday, November 11th, 1928
5:00 p.m.—Dr. G. F. Beck on "Daniel's Paradise."
7:15 p.m.—Charles C. Webber on "The Kellogg Peace Treaty."
8:30 p.m.—Forum: Senator Royal S. Copeland on "World Peace."

PLAYS ROLE OF MARTYRED RADICAL IN "GODS OF THE LIGHTNING" AT THE LITTLE THEATRE.



HORACE BRAHMAM

A New Book on Socialism Issued

Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughson, so well qualified by inclination and experience to write about Socialism, has completed a book, **WHAT IS SOCIALISM?**, to be published by the Vanguard Press about the middle of October. The author states so definitely the aims and purposes of the book, and the approach to the subject, that the temptation to quote her exact words cannot be resisted. She says "The aim of this book is scientific, in that it strives to deal with facts objectively, avoiding emotional and partisan bias. It makes no pretense, however, to a passionless pursuit of passionless information. Its purpose is frankly to stimulate action. It aims to clarify the outlines of Socialism for the American reader in such a way that he may see its immediate and permanent importance as a political issue." Dr. Hughson is interested in the post-war developments of Socialism both here and abroad, but she emphasizes the fact that the American point of view will be adhered to, "and only such foreign developments will be touched upon as are important to the comprehension of Socialism in the United States."

It is probably a matter of general knowledge that a book of this kind is the type of book for which the Vanguard Press has become known; for it renders a service in the educative field by furnishing a text that answers the questions of many thousands of readers. That there is a need for such a service is evident in Dr. Hughson's own words at the beginning of her book when she says, "The publication of the Social Science Outlines by the Vanguard Press gives an opportunity to supply to some extent the need still left by college courses, and to present to the general reader the facts undimmed by the smoke of controversy and in a form convenient for comparison."

That is the keynote of "What Is Socialism?" Though the author is definitely a supporter of Socialism, she reaches her decision only after a careful study of other remedies proposed to cure the ills resulting from Capitalism. Her book is a complete statement of an engrossing subject written by an author exceptionally equipped for an authoritative presentation. It was prepared under the auspices of the National Office of the Socialist Party and is offered by the publishers as the authoritative permanent hand-book for party workers.

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NEW LEADER**

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

LOVE AND FEAR

Lucille LaVerne, at the theatre now named for her, is presenting once more that soundest of southern stories, Lulu Vollmer's "Sun Up." This play, out of the life of the North Carolina Mountains, pictures with quiet sincerity and simple truth a part and people of this land that, until the war awoke us to their existence, when they were called to arms, were virtually unknown and unknown.

The atmosphere of these folk it is impossible to wrap around a review; only a full-length novel could make it as real as it seems there on the stage before us; where Widow Cagel, asked the name of the village three miles away, knows only that it is called "Town"; where it is still the Yanks the boys go off to fight; where lives and the emotions that stir them are simple and stark.

Into this out-of-the-way and richly revealed atmosphere, as simple a conflict moves through tragic depths to the sun-up of a higher recognition, when Widow Cagel, whose father, husband and son have been taken by the "law," discovers that it is not only her own son she must love; it is loving them all that matters; when she declares that there is no danger where there is no fear, when the dominance of this spirit in her conquers the cold in the heart of the sheriff, the timidity in the soul of the deserter; when the death of her son has its resurrection in the freshened lives of those around; when feud-law yields, not to threats, which make it the more bitterly determined, but to love.

The acting of Lucille LaVerne as the Widow Cagel is as natural as though she were a mountain woman, living her stern days in the philosophy silence and sorrow have granted. The entire cast plays with a freshness and ease that certainly make further singing out impossible, and gives a worthy rendering to one of our richest truly native plays.

TOO SINGLE PURPOSE
In "The Final Balance," the first of the Provincetown Playhouse offerings this season, David Pinski takes a ludicrous tale as the basis of his allegory, to point the lesson that who so seeketh with sufficiently single heart shall find—and be rewarded in proportion to the value of that which he desireth. Try the Devil's Dictionary! Opportunely, a favorable occasion for grasping a disappointment. So the bread of health turns, after he has denied it to others, to wormwood in the mouth of the Merchant.

In a dream the Merchant has learned that this year's crop of flour will turn all who taste it insane. Last year's will restore their sanity. What more natural—especially if you covet a young wife who ignores you, loving her husband—than to corner the flour of last year? It is not until the idea comes to the Merchant that selling the old flour at an exorbitant rate is a more tedious (and less lasting) way of getting rich than to sell everyone else to go insane, then depose the town that he gives of the new bread to his wife and their equally avicious partner. But when they're all out of step but this flim-dangy scheme, he discovers that the best thing left for him to do is—to hang himself.

Something of the mood of a Pirandello play hangs, like an overripe, ominous fruit beyond mortal tasting, upon "The Final Balance," holding it by a brooding expectancy above the inconsequentiality it nears; there is more power in what it seems to repress, as though the play were damned and only the narrowest of sluices open, than in what it actually tells or shows. The maniac Moneyeender mutters "Mine" to the Wife's echoing "Yes"; and greed and submissive desire are shown by them. By the absurdity of his story and the repressed intensity of his mood—excellently sustained by E. J. Ballantine as the Merchant, by William Franklin, Mary Michael, Emily Graham and more—David Pinski carries over a strong and strange effect.

Who Zoo?
"Animal Crackers" is the title under which the Marx Brothers display their known and agile tomfoolery, at the Forty-Fourth Street Theatre. Outside of a comely and well trained chorus, nothing more matters; yet this is quite enough. From Groucho, who never stops talking, to Harpo, who never talks, the fun these men make leaves no room for other things than laughter. The humor of Groucho depends heavily upon the incongruous, the sudden combination of ideas that have no common relevancy; as into what seems an intelligent discussion he injects a comment upon Al Smith's candidacy, or introduces himself five times within three minutes to the philanthropist to whom he is talking. Harpo's silence is still more fraught with fun; he is such an adept thief that he steals even the poor millionaire's birthmark! Nonsense verse has been fairly clever in recent musical comedy; the last decade has shown our nearest approaches to the high level set by the still unequalled Gilbert and Sullivan; worthy of place among these approaches is the Marx Bros.' song: "We're Four of the Three Musketeers." "Watching the Clouds Go By" is one of the lyrics that the sentimental moments make effective; but it is as laugh-cure for melancholy that the wise cracks of "Animal Crackers," and the unspoken wise plays, make us know that Broadway marks the Marx Brothers as its own.

No Matter Where
The woman who is ready to take the first train out, no matter where it's going, is poignantly pictured in Jean-Jacques Bernard's "L'Invitation au Voyage," sympathetically presented by Eva Le Gallienne at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Miss Le Gallienne, who casts herself wisely, has once more chosen a role in which her intelligent playing, approaching the emotions rather by way of the mind, fits the character and bodies it forth.

Marie-Louise is an "aristocratic" woman, which means a woman of sense and sensitivity, shut in a small French town, where her father, her husband (and we can picture her son) lead the matter-of-fact lives of owners of a large factory that makes nails. Into this town, and from it to Argentine, drifts a young man who becomes the object and the avenue of Marie's long dream. On the one string of her desire the play plucks quietly, but it is her heart-string that throbs; a growing intensity through the stillness tightens in the throat, until the return of the young man breaks the string, leaving an aged woman to give her faithful husband as great a share as the can of the happiness he doubtless deserves. He has done his best; it is no fault of his that Marie-Louise needs wider field and fuller stimulation; she turns from the empty dream to devote herself to her husband.

The nostalgia of Baudelaire is summoned as symbol of Marie's desire; the one fault in the direction—trivial as it may seem—is, to me at least, the absurdly unsuitable binding of the volume Marie-Louise refers to as Baudelaire. The players are all subdued, yet Ria Mooney as the younger sister is lively enough, and the men are quite natural, so that attention is properly centered upon despair and the dreaming of the imprisoned wife.

Justified
The influence of jealousy, as leading to "crimes of passion," has often been shown in the drama. Sometimes it is roused by villainy, as when Othello slays his virtuous wife. Rarely without cause (in drama), it may, by pressing upon the suspect, produce its own justification. More frequently, whether it rise from incidents observed or, springing from an intuitive suspicion, it later discovers the cause, jealousy is the consequence of frailty or infidelity.

Of the last type is "Jealousy," Eugene Walter's well-made adaptation from the French of Louis Vernouil, now at Maxine Elliott's. Between the acts one may wonder at this tour de force, which uses only two players and a telephone; but during the performance there is no lapse of interest, for such thoughts to intrude; the surge of the action makes its valid hold. Fay Bainter's natural air, and John Halliday's tense torment, help to create this effect, as the story of love, sadistic lust, and murder is unfolded.

The mechanics of the play are, if anything, too neat; the polish glitters and catches our eye—when, for example, it is after Maurice phones his confession that he learns the man arrested in his place has established an alibi. This coating, which gives the drama a preternatural ease of flow, prevents us from accepting the characters quite as real. What might have been a genuinely tragic study of two creatures under great stress, is burnished into a shiny melodrama, theatrically stirring, excellently presented, and—in its order—quite worth while.

Rocking Royalty
At first I thought Sidney Howard was pulling Molner's leg. Then I saw through "Olympia," which continues the tradition of the Empire Theatre, of showing good plays. "The Command Performance" is, in good earnest, a mulberry romance of royal families and daring little hero, whose courage and merit lift him to the princess of his dreams. "Olympia" is the same thing, laughing at itself—like Arnold Bennett's "Pretty Lady," which became a genuine best seller through the delicacy with which it burlesqued the best seller. Only it is naughty on "Olympia" here to take so much physical satisfaction in her revenge, leaving her a pleasant memory all stained with a bitter end.

The satire in the play is deftly managed, with acid portraiture. The difficult task of balancing our sympathies so that we watch these petty princelings with interest, yet are ready to accept their ultimate fall, is well handled, the superb acting of Laura Hope Crews rising far above an exceptionally good cast, as the conflict of mother-love and pride of place torment her, until the author remembers the world is democratic, for his end. We are, however, snobs enough to enjoy both the spectacle of nobles astrutting, and their fall. . . . An inconsequential but very entertaining play.

Little Old Paris
Little Old New York, of the Eighties, when Aunt Emma or Uncle Ezra—in those days, mainly Uncle E.—pulled traces from the backwater ditches of the farm regions, to spy upon the brimstone edges of the great wicked city, spun familiar lure. The fascination of New York, its liquor, lights of love, and other dear damned devices, hilarious outlet of inhibited countryman: the scenario of the uproarious farce of a day now (thanks be!) gone by, all but writes itself.

In "Paris," by Martin Brown, at the Music Box, the formula is somewhat depressingly repeated. Irene Bordoni stars, with stout determination to drive home her effects. Louise Closser Hale, as the modern Aunt Emma—today, it is more likely to be the aunt—manages to evoke considerable laughter; and Arthur Margeson does some deft acting. The music contributed by Irving Aronson's players reiterates one place, "Let's Do It," that captures the town with its listing of all who do . . . including the Scandinavian. But I suppose Paris is like that.

IN BRIEF

The reading of "Lazarus Laughed" at the Provincetown Playhouse has been postponed from the 11th to the 18th of November.
Ruth Shipley, last seen on Broadway in the revival of "Within the Law" at the Cosmopolitan Theatre last season, has assumed the principal feminine role

THEATRES

"MACHINAL"

HOLDS ITS HEAD HIGH ABOVE THE PLAYS OF THE NEW SEASON.—Robert Littell, Evening Post.
Arthur Hopkins presents "Machinal" by Sophie Treadwell. Plymouth Theatre, West 45th Street. Matinees, Thursday and Saturday.

GODS of the LIGHTNING
By Maxwell Anderson & Harold Hickerson
"This is an occasion—pitifully rare—when a playwright has so large a thing to say. Here is the stuff of which big bonfires are made. And here is a strong, evocative irony to strike its spark. It is mighty well acted. It has in it Leo Bullock, Charles Bickford, Horace Brahmam and Sylvia Sidney.—Gilbert Gabriel in The Sun.
LITTLE THEATRE
44th St. West of B'way
Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30 Evns. 8:30

CIVIC REPERTORY
THEATRE, 11th St. at 6th Ave.
Oct. 31, \$1.50. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Evns. 8:30
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director
Repertory for week of Nov. 12
Mon. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."
Tue. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Wed. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Thurs. Eve.—"The Master Builder."
Fri. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Sat. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Sun. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Le Gallienne, Cameron, Beck, Mooney, Thure, Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Le Gallienne, Cameron, Beck, Mooney, Thure, Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Fri. Eve.—"L'Invitation au Voyage."
Le Gallienne, Cameron, Beck, Mooney, Thure, Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Sat. Mat.—"The Would-Be Gentleman."
Sun. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."
Le Gallienne, Cameron, Beck, Mooney, Thure, Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Philharmonic - Symphony
WENDELBERG, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, THIS SAT. at 3:00
Soleists: MERLE ALCOCK, and PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
MALE CHOIR
MOZART—CASSADO—BRAHMS
Carnegie Hall, Sun. At. Nov. 18, at 3:00
J. S. BACH—BRUCH—SCHUBERT (Steinway)
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr.

In "The Squalor," the melodrama by Mark Linder which Jack Linder will present at the Forrest Theatre next Monday evening. She will play opposite Reed Brown, recently in "The Big Pond."

"Tonight at 12," the new Owen Davis play which Herman Shumlin is presenting is definitely set to open at the Hudson Theatre on Tuesday November 13.
Shane and Una O'Neill, children of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene O'Neill, will be the guests of honor at the performance of Remo Bufano's Marionettes at the Provincetown Playhouse on Saturday morning. The performance guests and audience will go backstage to see the marionettes. The marionettes perform evr. Saturday morning at eleven and at seven o'clock of honor every week. The program for Saturday includes "Two Sisters and a King" by John St. Vincent Millay, "Cinderella," and "Julius Caesar's Circus."

Isa Kremer, the famous balladist, will give a second song-cycle at the Yiddish Art Theatre next Monday evening, November 12th.
Lionel Ferrend has been engaged as general stage manager by the New Playwright Theatre for the production of "Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds."

Cable advises from Berlin just received by Morris Gest from Max Reinhardt have necessitated the postponement of the engagement of Alexander Moissi in Max Reinhardt's production of Tolstoy's "Redemption" for two weeks only at the Century Theatre from Sunday evening, November 18, to Monday evening, November 19. Moissi's company is still playing to capacity business in the German capital and will continue to play until it embarks on the New Amsterdam for New York.

Reginald Denny has completed his latest Universal picture "Clear The Deck" and has started on another titled "His Lucky Day."

Ian Keith has been signed by the Universal Pictures Corporation for the leading role in "The Haunted Lady," which will shortly go into production with Laura LaPlante in the star role.

The Rain Song," made famous by Bert Williams, is the contribution of Forbes' Randolph's Kentucky Jubilee Choir to

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DOLORES DEL RIO in
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WITH CHARLES FARRELL
IT'S IN SOUND
with Movietone Accompaniment
"GUNS"—In Commemoration of
Armistice Day—musical and
stage spectacle in four thrilling
acts—with Roxy Symphony
Orchestra, Erno Rapee Conducting
—Glenn Rice, Harold G.
Wright, Romy Chapin of 75
Also "Variete" Rusee with Patricia Bowman, and other brilliant
performers—32 Rehearses
See and Hear Roxy Newswell
with Ed Fox Motietone News
Five De Luxe Shows Saturday
and Sunday

The Roxy Theatre this week. It was written about 25 years ago by Will Marion Cook, the Negro composer. John Wengert, Art Director, executes his first designs at the Roxy.
At the premiere of "The Yellow Jacket" next Thursday evening at Coburn Theatre, will be several high officials of the Chinese Republic, according to an announcement by Charles D. Coburn. Mr. and Mrs. Coburn have had acceptance of their invitation from the Honorable S. S. Young, Chinese Consul-General in New York and from Mr. C. T. Feng, the Vice-Consul. Dr. Young returned last week from Geneva where he represented his Government at the League of Nations.

Movie stars and celebrities will be present at a dinner tendered in the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce Club by its board of directors Tuesday, Nov. 13, with Adolph Zukor, president of Paramount-Famous-Lasky, and Sam Katz, president of Public Theatres, as the honor guests. The dinner is in appreciation of the new Brooklyn-Famous-Lasky Theatre at Paramount Square, Flatbush and DeKalb avenues, which opens Nov. 24.

Eva Le Gallienne announces that "Improvisations in June" will be restored to the active list at the Civic Theatre, Saturday evening, November 10. This play by Max Beer, translated by Susan Behn and Cecil Lewis, one of the important additions to the repertory in Fourteenth street last season, is the fifth production of previous seasons to be continued in this season's schedule alongside "The Would-Be Gentleman," "L'Invitation au Voyage," and "The Cherry Orchard." Previous four favorites which are being presented on an average of at least one a week include "The Cradle Song," "Hedda Gabler," "La Locandiera" and "The Master Builder."

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
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Sunday, November 11
Concert by the American Orchestral Society
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The American Institute
Science Lectures
DR. CLYDE FISHER
"Our Earth and Neighbor Worlds"
Friday, November 16
MR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Ancient Greek Ideas of Liberty"
ADMISSION FREE
Open Forum Discussion
At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23d St. (N. 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 O'Clock
Monday, November 12
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Aristophanes"
Wednesday, November 14
MR. NORMAN HILBERY
"Light and Its Properties"
Thursday, November 15
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"The Foundations of the Mechanistic View in Greek Thought: Democritus"
Saturday, November 17
DR. E. BOYD BARRETT
"Atheism in Religion"

LECTURES
November 7 ANITA BLOCK
Reader of Foreign Plays for the Theatre Guild, begins a course of six lectures on "Significant Plays of the Current Season"
In her first lecture the play "MACHINAL" will be discussed.
Course Tickets (Six Lectures).....\$2.50 Single Admission at Door 50 cents
November 8 ADDIE WAITE HUNTON
Gives her third lecture in the course on "The Place of Woman in Our Changing Civilization"
Subject: "A Negro Woman Looks at Western Civilization"
Single Admission at Door 75 cents
November 14 LEWIS GANNETT
will begin a course of lectures on "An Interpretation of the Life of Our Times"
First subject: "America: What Is America?"
Single Admission at Door 75 cents
Course Tickets (Six Lectures).....\$2.50 Single Admission at Door 75 cents
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SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

One Month Added To Referendum Vote
The National Executive Committee has added one month more to the time allowed for voting on the national referendum on the adoption of the proposed new National Constitution. This referendum is important to the Party and our members should give it due consideration before voting. The vote will close in January and the National Executive Committee will meet on Dec. 21, and with the National Secretary on Dec. 27.

JEWISH SOCIALIST VERNAND
Comrade Levitas, Translator-Secretary, writes: "In our previous report we have already told you of the activities of the Jewish Socialist Verband in the campaign. We need not repeat that our leaflets, tours and our special number of Der Worker far exceed our financial means, but now at the close of the campaign we can conscientiously say that we have succeeded in spreading Socialist propaganda among the ranks of the Jewish workers and now at the close of the campaign we turn to our normal work and contemplate a number of activities. We are publishing the history of the United States, written in Yiddish by Comrade H. Rogoff. He is an ardent Socialist and a scholar in American history. We consider his history the best for the Jewish working class. Comrade Rogoff while writing the history considered the needs of our working class. He gives the most elementary facts and elaborates on them to teach his readers American politics. The Verband is organizing two propaganda tours, one with Ph. Block through the south and middle west, and a more extensive one for myself to cover the nation."

FINNISH FEDERATION
Comrade Reivo, Secretary of the Finnish Socialist Federation, writes that they are moving forward in fine shape. He says: "Enclosed you will find my report for October. It is much better than many of my reports lately. In fact, April of 1937 is the nearest that exceeds this in point of membership. I think next month will also be a fairly good one. There are many of the larger locals that have not overruled themselves during the month and will, therefore, order dues stamps. That means a large order for November and perhaps December." **LET US ORGANIZE AND EDUCATE**
Let us organize a big Party movement! All our forces should be marshaled in one big drive for members. Every new recruit voting our ticket should be visited and urged to join. The efforts put forth in the work of campaigning should continue. Our job is to build a big party membership and have power that will enable it to carry our message to the millions. Educate as you organize by keeping up the distribution of literature, pamphlets, books and leaflets. There is no better time to do educational work than between elections.

Indiana
The State Secretary of Indiana reports that a general distribution of literature is being made. There is much sentiment for Socialism in the old Hoosier state and a healthy vote seems assured.

Virginia
State Secretary George, sent a report to the National Office that their campaign was ending in good shape; that meetings were being held right up to election day. Local Norfolk reports a vigorous organization campaign and that they are planning to build a powerful local. Local Richmond has increased its membership to twenty-five members. Comrade George assures the National Office that the Virginia comrades will cooperate fully in the work to be done after election.

Iowa
I. S. McCrillis, State Secretary, reports a good, active campaign right up to election day. A good number of comrades not only talked to a group of people, but also had his talk broadcasted on the radio. This was the first time that a talk delivered there in many years and it was well received. Five new members were signed up. Other meetings have recently been held at Fort Dodge, Grinnell and Shenandoah.

California
The Labor Work, the party weekly in this state, published a special Rumanian number for distribution among Rumanian workers. This issue was expanded to seven columns and only a few items printed in English. Four pages of solid reading matter without one advertisement were used to appeal to Rumanian voters to support the Socialist ticket.

Florida

Comrade Feldman, Secretary of Local Jacksonville, reports that the local has added eight new members and that he has made arrangements for open forum meetings. He asks for speakers to assist in carrying on the educational campaign the local has undertaken.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh Socialists resorted to a unique method of advertising the meeting for James H. Maurer on Nov. 1. They printed a small six page folder which contained the announcement of the meeting. When folded it served as an envelope, size 9 by 4 1/2, with the address side bearing portraits of Thomas and Maurer. A one cent stamp carried this to the voters. One page carries a comparison in three columns of the position of the three parties on important questions. Another page carries an appeal to the working class and a fine cartoon from the Pittsburgh Press showing Wall Street as a fat man in a cart at one end of which is a donkey and at the other an elephant. The cart is in a circular cage with only one exit and no matter whether the donkey pulls the cart or the elephant performs the job the fat man is hauled through the exit which leads to the White House. Still another page is a comparison of the presidential candidates of the three parties and the rest is excellent propaganda matter which is given a good typographical display.

Connecticut

The Connecticut Socialist Party campaign closed with a number of successful street and shop meetings addressed by Jasper McLevy, candidate for Governor and Martin F. Plunkett, candidate for U. S. Senator. McLevy addressed the New Haven League of Women Voters Friday afternoon, Nov. 2. He received the greatest applause by far than was received by the old party speakers. Watch out for the 1939 "Commonwealth" Calendar. Address, M. F. Plunkett, Room 82, Pol. Bldg., 23 Church St., New Haven, Conn. details, and so forth, will be given later.

The Party expects to start a membership campaign immediately after the election. Anyone wishing information concerning the party should get in touch with the State Secretary, Martin F. Plunkett, Room 82, Pol. Bldg., 23 Church St., New Haven.

New Haven

The Socialists of New Haven and vicinity gathered at the Women Circle Educational Center Tuesday Evening, held a social and listened to the election returns over the radio.

New York City

City Central Committee
The City Central Committee will meet on Wednesday evening, Nov. 14, in Room 402, Peoples House.
Party National Referendum
All branch organizers and members will please note that voting on the new national Constitution of the Socialist Party has been extended for one month by the decision of the National Executive Committee. The vote will close Dec. 15. Branch secretaries must file their tabulated report with Secretary August Claessens on or before Dec. 15.

Theatre Parties

The first of a number of theatre parties under the joint auspices of the City Office, Party branches and other organizations, will be held Monday evening, Nov. 22, at the Lucille La Verne Theatre, 39th St. Tickets are now on sale at the city office and Party branches. Prices range from one dollar to three dollars. The second of these ventures will be on Dec. 19, 20, 21. The play on this occasion is "Singing Jailbirds" by Upton Sinclair under the auspices of the Provincetown Playhouse.

MANHATTAN

This branch will meet Monday evening, Nov. 12. The strenuous campaign conducted by this branch has made necessary the postponement of meetings during the last month, consequently a number of important matters must be acted upon and the program for the winter activities will be planned.

Upper West Side

The branch will meet Thursday evening, Nov. 15 in one of the rooms of Temple Israel Community Center, 210 West 91st Street. Secretary August Claessens will be present and an effort will be made to improve the status of this branch. The members will also vote on the National Referendum Ballots. 22-23 A. D.

The branch will meet Tuesday, Nov.

12, at 610 W. 164 street at the Civic Club Rooms, 8:30 p.m. Every member is urged to make an effort to attend.

BROOKLYN

It will take a few days to learn what the results of the campaign were in the Bronx. The largest number of Socialist watchers for may years covered the polls on election night throughout the County. Meetings in the Bronx were held and great quantities of literature were distributed. There will be an intensive drive for Party building in the many branches. This work will commence immediately.

3rd A. D.

The branch will meet this Friday evening, Nov. 9, in the home of Comrades Orr, 901 Beck street. Esther Friedman and Irving M. Knobloch will be present.

A special meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Nov. 13 at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

BROOKLYN

Bensonhurst Open Forum
The Bensonhurst Branch of the Socialist Party in conjunction with the Workmen's Circle, Branch 402, and the Workmen's Circle School, organized a Committee under the auspices of which an open forum will start on Nov. 18. The open forum will take place every Sunday morning at 11:30 a.m. sharp.

The forum will be conducted in English and in Jewish. A well-arranged concert program will also take place at the forum on every Sunday.

The open forum will be conducted for the entire Winter at the Savoy Mansion, 64th street and 29th avenue. It will start on Nov. 18 at 11:30 a.m. sharp. Comrade Claessens as the lecturer and also with a concert. The theme is going to be "These United States."

16th A. D.

The next meeting will be held Friday evening, Nov. 9, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 7316-20th avenue.

18th A. D.

There is no greater pleasure than in going over the results of a political campaign and apportioning credit and blame where each is deserved. The 18th A. D. branch has made its debut after a long period of inactivity and silence following upon the recent war. With the reorganization of the 18th A. D. branch after the close of the 1927 campaign, there appeared better prospects for Socialist activity in the 18th during 1938 and appearances crystallized into reality. In addition to canvassing and mailing thousands of pieces of literature, the conduct of the campaign was characterized by the staging of three rousing indoor rallies in Public School 18, last in conjunction with the 23rd and in which Thomas was the main speaker. Beside these indoor rallies, the branch started with one street meeting a week during August, raising it to two weekly during September and four weekly during October and up to the end of the campaign in territory not previously visited by Socialist campaigners.

The 18th Assembly District has been emphatically placed on the Socialist map. Special credit for the conduct of the campaign is due to our Campaign Manager, Jack L. Afros, to our candidates who did not spare their time or energies; to our rank and file Jimmie Schick, Gus Fertik, Mr. and Mrs. Bell, with their two young daughters, Florence Milin, Minnie Platt, S. Benjamin Daublin and Sy Sarason for their campaigning. These are only some whose activities have been consistent. For the next year we of the 18th promise increased activity.

Bronx Fellowship

In place of the Sunday evening Fellowship Service open Forum at the Bronx Free Fellowship, meeting at Azure Mason Temple, 1591 Boston road, Dr. Leon Rosser Land, leader, has turned the meeting over to the Youth Committee on Peace for Armistice Day, Sunday Nov. 11. John Nevins Bayre, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and editor of the World Tomorrow, will speak on "Can We Abolish War in Our Time?" Dr. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "Peace and Religion" and there will be short speeches by May Boskin, Abraham Kaufman, Julius Urmanski, Selma Dales, Gaylord Russell and William McPhaden. Leona Finestone will read poetry and a special musical program which includes solos by Rose Witebsky, Genevieve Kaufman and Hilda Clark has been arranged.

Members of the various organizations represented on the Youth Committee on Peace, a group of students from Union Theological Seminary and members of the Young Poale Zion, will participate in a peace parade Saturday afternoon. The parade will start from the Custom House on Bowling Green at noon and will march up Broadway to disband at Union Square.

Music Industries Offer \$1,000 Prize for Slogan

Why is a slogan? Eight or ten words, put together in a snappy phrase, stimulate a national business more definitely than almost any other factor, say business psychologists, who are trying to figure out a reason. The only definite thing they have decided is that a good slogan is about the best thing a big business can have. Perhaps that is why the public gets a chance, every once in a while, to win large sums of money by writing a popular slogan.

In a \$1,000 Musical Instrument Slogan Contest, the Music Industries Chamber of Commerce declares it prefers a concise, snappy slogan of a few words. In the case of a ten-word slogan this would be at the rate of \$100 a word. The rate would be even higher if the slogan adjudged the best were to be less than ten words, as it conceivably may be.

The principal thing to be borne in mind, according to the rules, is that the successful slogan will convey the idea that everyone can and should play a musical instrument and emphasize the fact that no music gives the same satisfaction as that which we play ourselves.

The judges who will award the prize of \$1,000 in the contest are S. L. Hofeloh ("Roxy"), the famous movie impresario; Dr. Frank Crane, known to millions as an author-journalist; and Frank Presbury, one of the outstanding advertising authorities in the nation.

Full information concerning the contest may be obtained at any music store throughout the country, or by writing directly to the Contest Committee, Music Industries Chamber of Commerce, 45 West Forty-fifth street, New York.

Bricklayers Hear of Big Figures

BOSTON—Hear bricklayers were chafing over figures submitted to the national convention in Boston showing \$3,865,000 in the treasury. In the past ten years \$10,500,000 has been paid out to aged and infirm members and in death benefits.

The convention acted to decrease the number of apprentices through enforcing the rule forbidding members to allow more than one son to enter the trade. In New York there are two apprentices to every five journeymen, it was brought out.

Be thou the first true merit to befriend, His praise is lost who stays till all commend. — Pope.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION MECHANIC WELDERS
General Secretary: A. F. MORTON
Executive Headquarters
2603 SNYDER AVE., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 174, A. M. O. & E. W. of N. A.
Labor Temple, 243 E. 64th St., Room 13
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
150 East 54th St., Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday
D. GINGOLD, President
MAYNE POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.
Hess. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 104th St.
Madison 7098
GABE CHASIN, President
M. WEISS, Secretary-Treas.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 324, A. M. O. & E. W. of N. A.
115 E. 74th St., Orchard 7766
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
ISSIE LEFF, President
L. KORN, Secretary-Treas.

WORKERS!
Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers
Always Look WAITERS & For This LABEL
LOCAL 1
162 E. 23rd Street
Tel. Gramercy 9543
LOUIS RIFKIN, President
LOUIS RIFKIN, Sec'y-Treas.
Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 9th St.

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Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Phone 6798
Reg. Meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays
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JOSEPH KARAS, Vice-President
SAMUEL MINDLE, Sec'y
ALBERT KILL, Fin. Sec'y
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers
OFFICE: 133 SECOND AVE.
Phone Orchard 9560-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
S. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
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Executive Board meets every Monday
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THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Promote the Legal Rights of Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 222 Broadway, Room 2700-10, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 64th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P.M.

Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Fasslbaum, N. Ullman, Sec. Sec'y
A. Weitzman, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres.
Wm. E. Chikley, Business Agent

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Office: 31 W. 15th St., Orchard 1357
Board meets every Tuesday evening at 8 P.M.
All locals meet every Wednesday
MORRIS MONAT, Manager
HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-17 Arlan Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGLISHAN, W. Black, Sec'y.

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager
Office 115 East Broadway
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

United Neckwear Cutters' Union
LOCAL 11816, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th St. Phone: SUYVENANT 7000
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTFREDMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. D. FUCHS, Bus. Agent

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. SUYVENANT 3887
Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
L. L. FREEDMAN, President
LEON HATTAIS, NATHAN REISEL, Manager Secretary-Treas.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION
Local 1, I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7104-7
A. SNYDER, Manager

Hebrew Actor's Union
Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.
Phone Orchard 1923
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

German Painters' Union
LOCAL 408, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g., at the Union Office, 243 E. 64th St.
FRANK WOLLENBOCK, Fin. Sec'y
ALFRED KOPPEL, President
ALVIN BOETZINGER, Secretary
1564 Ave. A., N. Y. C.
243 E. 64th St., N. Y. C.

United Hebrew Trades
175 E. 2nd BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board meet on day, 9:30 P. M.
M. TIGEL, Chairman
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treas.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Phone 6798
Reg. Meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. REISS, President
JOSEPH KARAS, Vice-President
SAMUEL MINDLE, Sec'y
ALBERT KILL, Fin. Sec'y
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent

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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers
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Phone Orchard 9560-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
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OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday
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THE MILK DRIVERS' UNION

See that Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union
Local 554, I. U. of T.
Office: 208 W. 14th St., City.
Local 554 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 9th St.
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at
BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 9th Street.
CHAS. HOFER, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Fasslbaum, N. Ullman, Sec. Sec'y
A. Weitzman, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres.
Wm. E. Chikley, Business Agent

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NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neal

Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

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



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

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1928

The Significance of The Election

NOT since the end of the Civil War has the Democratic Party suffered the defeat which it met in the election on Tuesday. Its electoral vote is smaller than in any election since 1868 when the total for Seymour and Blair was 80. Its Gibraltar, the old South, has also been penetrated by the Republican troops. At least four southern states have marched into the Republican camp and its representation in Congress has declined. This has happened in the greatest registration of voters in years, and among high Republican leaders it occasions genuine regret although they are not speaking for publication.

The Democratic defeat is all the more striking for other reasons. In recent years its campaign fund has not been large. In 1924 the Republicans had over four million dollars and the Democrats less than a million for campaign expenses. This year the Democrats were given equal access to the money vaults of the great capitalists and bankers with the result that both parties obtained between four and five million dollars each. The funds showered on both parties by the economic and financial masters testified to the fact that both now rest in the affection of this ruling class. Even the phlegmatic Coolidge observed last week that no matter what happened on Tuesday the interests of the ruling business class would not be disturbed. Despite the large funds at the disposal of the Democrats and the blessing they received from their rich keepers they went to a disaster more overwhelming than that which overtook them in 1920. As a party of the higher capitalism in competition with the Republican Party of the same stripe it is a dismal failure.

Why The South Broke

The break in the Solid South is also significant. It has its explanation in the rapid rise of industry in this region since the end of the World War and a new class of capitalists with a stake in tariff legislation. Sons of old southern aristocrats and northern capitalists who have migrated to the South represent the new capitalism of this region. Southern Democrats have revised their tariff views to keep pace with this industrial change but the vote shows that eventually the Republican Party will mobilize voters in elections for the new interest.

Perhaps the most sorry aspect of the Democratic Waterloo is that the leaders of the trade unions were carried down with the crash. Most of them outside of the railroad brotherhoods were annexed to the Smith party. They staked the prestige of the unions on the Democratic Party in an election which witnessed the complete ownership of the party by the owners of the nation's industries and banks. More amazing was the fact that the union leaders were organized into a committee by John J. Raskob, a multimillionaire who has been denounced in trade union publications as an open-shop enemy of the trade unions!

We have often disagreed with the late Samuel Gompers regarding the so-called "nonpartisan policy" in politics, but there was one thing that he always stressed. He warned against permitting either of the two parties to use the unions in elections. The unions were to remain independent, carry on their own political work, issue their own literature, and use the politicians rather than permit them to use the unions.

Liberals and Labor

This year witnessed a complete surrender of even this policy and organization of the union leaders direct by the National Committee of the Democratic Party with John J. Raskob himself in charge of the work and George Berry of the Pressmen his chief lieutenant. To the extent that the activities and prestige of the unions could be absorbed by the Democratic machine they were absorbed. With what result? Only to show that the unions so directed have no influence in elections. They were carried down into the general ruin, sharing the stigma of the most disastrous defeat which the Democrats have suffered in sixty years! The wound thus inflicted on the labor movement is the most humiliating one it has suffered since it was organized just one-hundred years ago. Four years ago, despite some desertions, the unions shared in the credit of rolling up nearly 5,000,000 votes for LaFollette. This year honor and prestige were battered and profound humiliation followed.

Then there were the "liberals," or at least the

majority of them, who supported Smith for as many reasons as there were "liberals." They did not want to be guilty of a "futile gesture" but what a sorry spectacle they present! That reason is only another form of the old cry, "I don't want to throw away my vote." Or they wanted to "re-buke bigotry," the assumption being that the southern bourgeois and the Tammany vulgarians were the special keepers of fairness, enlightenment, culture and tolerance. In no other modern country would this small group of independents be caught in such an awful mess.

The Re-vitalizing "World"

What does the election mean? The New York World, chief organ of the Democratic Party in the East, in two editorials before the election attempted to interpret it. The World declared that "the whole complexion of American politics has been altered as irrevocably as it was by the rise of Jeffersonian Democracy in 1800, of the Jacksonian Democracy in 1832 and of the Republican Party between 1856 and 1860. We are witnessing one of the creative phases in the history of the American people." Three days later it declared that primarily the parties are changing and that the political upheaval "is the result of the new vitality and the revised doctrines which Governor Smith has given to the Democratic Party."

This interpretation will not bear analysis and the analogy with other political upheavals is a forced one. The party revolutions mentioned were the beginning of new political eras while the present election was the culmination of an old political era. Jefferson's election in 1800 was preceded by his resigning from the Federalist Administration of Washington a few years before and organization of his rural democrats for the overthrow of the Federalists. This the new party accomplished in 1800.

Before the end of the twenties the Jeffersonians and Federalists had become alike. They were fat, conservative and satisfied. Issues had disappeared. In 1820 Monroe was re-elected with but one dissenting vote and even old John Adams headed Federalist electors in Massachusetts who voted for the Jeffersonian Monroe in 1820. In 1828 (not 1832) the Jacksonian revolution swept out the two-party alliance of Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans and old aristocrats fled from Washington as though a revolutionary Jacquerie had risen to power.

An Early Forced Alliance

Within twenty years after this party revolution Whigs and Democrats had again formed what was practically another two-party alliance, this time to smother thinking and action on the issue of slavery. Both parties had their northern and southern wings and between them they nominated candidates and adopted platforms which signified that no matter which was successful slave interests were safe. This continued into the middle fifties and when it became increasingly difficult to hold the voters in line for the two parties religion was thrust into the foreground as an "issue." It worked for a few years. In 1854 and 1855 a number of states were carried by the American Party, the "Know-Nothings," and a group of Americans were heaved into Congress. Northern and southern political leaders of prominence went over to the new party but the end of another old political era had been reached and another new party was required to meet the situation.

This appeared with the first organizations of the Republican Party in the two years which witnessed the victories of the "Know-Nothings." The two-party alliance of Whigs and Democrats was shattered to bits in the next few years as the fundamental issue of expansion of slave territory emerged with the Republican Party. The Whig Party disappeared and the Democratic Party was left to fight the battle for the old order of human bondage. It met disaster in 1860 and the extinction of slave property was the result.

The Modern Parallel

Is there an analogy between these party revolutions and the present party of the Raskobs and Tammany Hall? Certainly, but instead of the Democratic Party representing the beginning of a new "creative phase" of politics it has reached and it represents an old phase. Just as Whigs and Democrats became the property of the slave magnates so the Democratic and Republican parties have become a two-party machine of the modern owners of the United States. Both proudly boast of their affection for big business. Both have access to the money vaults of the powerful bankers and corporations. They represent a closing phase of an old era, not an opening of a new era. The World completely distorts previous party revolutions in the hope of salvaging the bedraggled creature that is on the twilight road to its death.

That is the significance of the present election. There are no longer three parties in this country. There is the two-party alliance of Republicans and Democrats which has been emerging for many years. The alliance has been complete in the large cities for years. Here in New York City Tammany has served as a nurse for Republican organizations in many districts. In the nation as a whole Republican leaders really do not feel elated because of their big victory. They wanted to win but they do not want to exhibit their friend as a feeble invalid incapable of putting up a respectable sham fight.

The New Opposition

Whatever the Socialist vote may be in this election, the Socialist Party is the second party in American politics. No doubt many of its sincere friends thought otherwise and unwittingly cast their lot, for one reason or another, with one or the other wing of the old alliance. They now have time to think. Viewing the campaign in perspective, these friends will realize that we have reached another stage when another party is essential to break the two-party alliance established by the fat and moribund leaders of capitalist politics.

Even the World, in its painful effort to sell the Democratic Party, declared that its success would mean no essential change. It declares that people supporting Smith ask only "for recognition that they are entitled to participate on terms of full equality in the preservation of the established American system." That is, we are to accept the established order of the two-party alliance of capitalism, be content to serve the masters of American life in industry and politics. It is the "equality" of dependence and submission which the World philosopher recommends to the toiling millions in

THE NEW LEADER

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

Confesses to Socialism

Editor, The New Leader:
From various occurrences in recent weeks, it appears that I shall no longer be able to deny that I am a Socialist. To practice my new profession I wrote a letter to The Times and to The World, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. Neither paper published it.

Wishing you the best of success, I remain
WILLIAM FLOYD
New York City

To the Editor of The New York Times:
The accusation by Herbert Hoover that Al Smith is a Socialist, and the reply by Franklin D. Roosevelt placing the stigma upon Hoover also, on account of his advocacy of public works, shows that all public spirited men are somewhat tainted with the dread affliction.
Modern Socialism, as preached by Norman Thomas, does not involve a bloody revolution, nor the confiscation and division of all property. It aims to extend the governmental system that has gradually been accepted by conservatives. Educating children free in the schools is Socialistic. Why is it so terrible to take care of them in their old age? Furnishing water to private homes by municipalities is Socialistic. Why is the process so much worse if the water happens to be frozen into ice? Carrying the mails at a uniform rate is Socialistic, especially the parcel post taken from the express companies. Would it be wrong to carry people as well as packages? Fires are extinguished by governmental fire departments. Why cannot fires be built with coal supplied in the same manner? Possibly we are all embryo Socialists.

WILLIAM FLOYD
New York City

MACHINERY CROWDS OUT 200 WORKERS

MILWAUKEE (FP)—Over 200 employees of the Eline Candy Corp. were thrown in the discard when new machinery was installed and several departments consolidated.

Stedman Pays Tribute To Berlyn At Grave of Veteran Socialist Builder In Chicago

By Seymour Stedman

BARNEY Berlyn was born in Amsterdam, Holland, on February 7, 1849. In 1859 his parents brought him to this country. He grew up in New York and, as he became older, took up cigar making. In 1863 he joined the first union of his craft, in the City of New York. In 1865 he left New York and went to Detroit. Later he lived in St. Louis, then in Springfield, Illinois. In 1868 he located in Chicago where he maintained his residence up to the time of his death. Comrade Barlyn was always, intellectually, a young man. He was keenly alive to and interested in everything of importance that was taking place in the world. He was assiduously attentive to the national and international political, economic, material and mechanical changes. He was hungry to see, to know, to understand, everything that was old and everything that was new. His youthful years in the United States were passed during a period in modern history when there was a cracking and crumbling of an old and outworn system which was making its last efforts to perpetuate itself. He was a young man when the colors of Fort Sumpter were struck; when Lincoln was a president; he was a young man during a period of our reconstruction, in those exciting times when the first steel railway linked the two great seaboard, and when Western Europe was linked electrically with the American continent; he watched the opening of the West.

All these events—as he was of an unusually inquisitive mind and had a marvelous memory—made him an unusual and unique character. The tremendous labor upheavals and struggles between our early 19th century capitalism and organization of the trade union movement formed a part of the experiences which determined his mode of thought and the main activity of his life.

Part of the Labor Movement

He became a part of the labor movement. The cigar makers at the time of his activities were in the habit of selecting a reader, each cigar maker contributing a part of his product to the reader, an unique method of educating and informing themselves. Berlyn was a profound student. He was anxious to know the fundamentals of things. Upon becoming a socialist, his entire life as an advocate was characterized by earnestness and sincerity, and these same qualities deepened his interest in the economic and political affairs of this country.

Barney Berlyn was kindly and he was gruff. He was an idealist and he was stern. He could see through the shams of capitalist hypocrisy and he was bitter in exposing their follies. Although himself emotional, he was not diverted by the hysteria or the frenzy of the multitude. For many years he had accepted and believed and knew that the economic forces were the principal determining factors in historic change. He believed this and he announced it at a time when it was shocking, not only to the world at large, but even to the intelligentsia. He proclaimed it at a time when it was an unwelcome gospel to those who believed that all changes were due to a variation in transcendent opinions about ethics, religion, kings, dukes and lords. He knew that back of the wars of the kings

agriculture and urban industry. It is the ethic of severity which it holds out to the millions whose labor makes this civilization possible.

If this is the best that the chief Democratic organ can offer we may be sure that upper class politics has reached the end of its strategy. As Socialists we rejoice that the Socialist Party has kept clear of the stupidities and hates which the bankrupt parties cultivated during the campaign. Moreover, one of its greatest assets is the large number of young men whom it has attracted to its standard

Hoover, Individualist

An Imaginary Conversation With Our President-to-Be

OUR new President is an individualist. He believes in individualism. He believes that each human being should be a self-made man, relying on individual efforts to forge ahead, to be successful, to be a noble type of "rugged individualism."

Glaze at Mr. Hoover. He raises his own sheep, shears the wool, weaves it into cloth, cuts it and makes his own clothing. He butchers cattle, tans hides, cuts the leather, then tacks, pegs and sews it into shoes. This individualist goes into the forest and fells trees, transports the logs to the saw mill he built, saws them into lumber and transports it on railroads which he built. To build his railway Hoover mined ore and coal to make structural steel and rails, bolts and bars and nails.

Having done all this our individualist took charge of the train as engineer, fireman, dispatcher, conductor, brakeman and track-walker, and brought it safely into the depot which he erected. Meantime our individualist was eating so he cultivated wheat fields and vegetable gardens. He erected a flour mill and ground his flour which in turn was transported to his bakery which required some time to erect. There he mixed dough, fired the furnace, watched its temperature and placed his bread and cookies out to cool. The vegetables under his care were in turn stored by him in his pantry with the help of his willing spouse the only time the great man depended on others.

Our "rugged individualist," spurning all blighting government interference, learned the alphabet and the multiplication table by sheer individual endeavor. No paternalist teacher guided his studies. He was just as independent in this field. He would read no books that he did not himself write, so he wrote his own histories, the history of mankind in all ages and all nations. He looked upon his work and called it good. He set his own work at linotype machines, read the proofs and made up the forms, electrotyped the pages, operated the press, bound and stitched them between covers.

It also occurred to our "rugged individualist" that he must have city transportation and as a specialist in engineering he built his own subway, elevated and surface lines and then turned to making his own automobile. But all work and

no play makes Jack a dull boy, so our great man wrote his own comedies and operas, dramas and movies. The Victrola and radio also came from his gifted hands.

But one day a dull fellow met the great man and spoke strange words as follows: "Who's Hoover? All the generations of mankind on this planet since your first shaggy ancestor gnawed a bone in his cave have made you what you are and all who now live make your excellence possible. Without the cooperation of millions of human beings at this moment you would be wearing the hide of an animal and grubbing roots for your food."

"We millions of toilers feed you, house you, and clothe you and you gabble about your individualism and the self-made man. All the inventions and discoveries of all time represent the genius, sacrifice and toil of millions of human beings past and present. All this is a social heritage of the race and you urge that a few individuals shall inherit and own these things to the exclusion of the millions who have made you what you are. This is the name of individualism."

"Who's Hoover? You are but a microscopic atom in the vast sea of humanity and you exalt that atom. We shall some day answer you, and when we do we will recover what belongs to us. Meantime we laugh at you, you sleek bundle of bone, muscle and tissues; we who made you what you are."

"Individualism? Your egoism is only equalled by the arrogance of your class and humanity will not bear with either when it knows the secret of its power."

Herbert swooned and his good spouse called a doctor. The great man had never figured out how the individualist could administer smelling salts to himself while unconscious.

It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime—both against the unfortunate offspring and against society.—John Stuart

LEADER MARKET RISES AGAIN

SEVENTY-two years of age but filled with youthful enthusiasm for Socialism is Frank S. Griswold, Pasadena, Cal. He sets the pace for the youngsters by sending in 10 short subs that will soon sprout into long-timers.

Don M. Chase, New York, sends in 3 subs for Californians.

The trail blazed by Presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, can now easily be followed by looking over the subs being sent in from cities, towns and villages where the inspiring message was delivered by our standard bearer. The ground has been broken. NOW IT IS UP TO THE SUB HUSTLERS TO GET BUSY AT ONE.

Six subs from Pearl Greenberg, Assistant Secy, Socialist Party, Chicago.

From Kansas, Ross Magill, State Secy, sends in 3 more.

A couple of new ones from Adolph Fleming, Philadelphia.

DO IT NOW!

"I may not be so flush later, so am sending my renewal for a year," writes Edno L. Robinson, Pasadena, Cal.

"More Power to you!", says Harry H. Uerling, Mason City, Ia.

B. Reiseroff, Worcester, Mass., sends \$5.75 for a bundle of New Leaders and subs. Subscriptions always follow a distribution of the paper without a muzzle.

A subscriber who does not want his name mentioned, sends in the names of 10 clergymen to be placed on the list of the New Leader.

"Check to cover a course of instruction such as the N. L. gives." Glenn C. Clement, New York.

"Just a tiny contribution towards the Thomas campaign," writes C. L. Potter, Washington. The contribution consists of 5 subs.

Natl. Secy. Henry forwards 3 subs.

Another sub with the promise of more, from F. N. Dougherty, Ladora, Ia.

J. M. Cuthbert, Nashua, N. H., renews and says he does not want to miss a single issue. Albert Miller, Jacksonville, Fla., expresses himself in the same way.

From Duluth come two subs, sent in by Stanley Marsh.

"The New Leader is a credit to the Socialist movement and a tribute to its founders," says W. S. Neal of San Diego, Cal., as he sends in \$2 for renewal and contribution of \$5 to the campaign fund.

Another 100 copies go to H. R. Edwards of Los Molles, Cal.

H. W. Glasgow of Fairmount, W. Va., sends in a sub and adds that he is proud that his first vote will be for the Socialist Party. If space permitted, we would like to quote his letter in full as it is filled with idealism and enthusiasm of intelligent youth. We note especially, that he speaks of the N. L. as "our paper."

C. B. Whinnall of Milwaukee writes that he had the impulse to pay \$10 for 10 copies of a recent issue. Needless to say, he obeyed the impulse.

"Here's my renewal to the best paper on earth." (E. M. Platt, Ligonier, Ind.).

One of the old reliable veterans of Shelton, Ind., sends in his renewal.

Everyone who has listened to a Socialist speech, everyone with whom you have discussed the Presidential campaign, everyone who has read a stray copy of the New Leader or the Party leaflets—all of these are good prospects for our subscription hustlers.

Soon an army of voters will realize that they threw their votes away in voting for the political parties of property. The flare and bonfire, the flubdub and smoke screens, will soon disappear. Soberness of mind and a realization that the system of profit and plunder will continue, will bring home to millions of workers. All this to the New Leader boosters means that the harvest for the securing of subscriptions is with us.

We missed hearing from some of the regulars this week. Our guess is, that they are out campaigning and that next week their silence will be broken by a bombardment of subs.

Iglesias Reports On Mexican Situation

WASHINGTON—Santiago Iglesias, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, reported on his recent trip to Mexico, at the session of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in Washington on Oct. 22. He told how the Labor members of the Mexican congress were recently ousted, due to a tation by their enemies following the murder of Obregon.

Iglesias explained the arrangement that must be made for the meeting of the Sixth Congress of A. F. of L. He asked that a delegate be sent to Latin American countries to invite their national labor movement take part.

A Correction

Louis L. Wilson of Chicago writes to correct an error in our issue of Oct. 6. A news item announced the resignation of a Thomas For President Club at Cornell University under the leadership of Burton Tarr of Mount Vernon, Iowa. The item should read that the club organized on the campus of Cornell at Mount Vernon, Iowa. Cornell University would not grudge organizing a club by Cornell University. Cornell College should not be deprived its prestige. The New Leader is

in many educational institutions. They constitute the young "Wide Awakes" who supplied the enthusiasm of the party revolution that sent Lincoln to Washington.

With youth on our side we can build and grow and we shall build and grow. We welcome this young element to our ranks and invite them to share in the joy of working to utterly destroy the two-party alliance of upper class politics and help bring the next political revolution that will wrest public power from the enemy.