

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

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## BEHIND THE ROTHSTEIN MURDER

### Unparalleled Story of Police Corruption Being Covered Up

LADIES and gentlemen; meet the Tammany Hall Police Department.

To the last man, intelligent, hard-boiled, courageous when it comes to hustling pickets, push-cart peddlers, poor pickpockets.

But when a high-toned gambler is murdered in the heart of the new Tenderloin—well, that's a different matter.

Watch these bully-boys bust hell out of a radical meeting, frame a prostitute who hasn't come across, rough-house a delinquent Third Avenue speakeasy.

And then watch them go to work on the killing of a racketeer like Arnold Rothstein.

As this is being written ten days after the fatal shooting of Rothstein following a conference of gamblers at the Park Central Hotel, the police have been holding "conferences", acting mysteriously, posting guards at the Rothstein offices at 45 West Fifty-seventh Street. But they haven't been making any arrests. And when and if they do, there isn't an informed newspaperman or politician in all New York who won't bet you that the man they finally accuse of the murder is any more than some minor crook, "framed" by the proverbial stool-pigeon.

East Side, West Side, all around the town are well-dressed, quiet-spoken young men who seem to know a lot more about the man behind the gun that finished Rothstein's flashy career than the entire police department from "harness bulls", through plainclothesmen clear up to the fat inspectors.

"He was a decent enough chap," said one of these elegant young men standing in front of a hotel in the Forties, "he'd never been in any shootings before. Only this Rothstein got his goat, with his four-flushing and he got mad and plugged him. Tell you his name? Say, call up the Commissioner. He ought to know by this time."

WHAT SPELL DOES THE GHOSTLY PRESENCE  
OF THE DEAD GAMBLER CAST UPON OUR PAID  
POLICE THAT THEY ARE SO OBVIOUSLY AFRAID

TO MAKE ANY IMPORTANT ARRESTS IN THIS CASE?

Who was Rothstein anyway that police inspectors, captains and sergeants are suddenly stricken dumb and impotent at the mention of his dreaded name?

Well, he was a big racketeer.

The "racket" is generally supposed to be a Chicago institution. But long before the official name came out of Cook County's gang-land, Arnold Rothstein was racketeering all over the side-walks of New York.

His "legitimate" racket was real-estate, which means that he owned a number of apartments and small hotels in the Forties and Fifties where you ring certain bells and are admitted to certain apartments at the showing of certain cards and are then at liberty to make what research you want into what President-elect Hoover calls "the noble experiment of Prohibition."

But that was the "innocent front." His biggest racket was gambling, of course. Five weeks before he was bumped off he was in a game where a turn of the cards involved hundreds of thousands of dollars.

And then there were side-lines.

So corrupt have certain elements in the labor movement of New York become that Rothstein made fat pickings out of "fixing" strikes. Which means that he went to the police for whom he acted as "business agent" and told them to lay off his group of pickets or lay on that.

That's all a part of the famous non-partisan tactics of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies." That's what always happens when labor plays ball with the old-line politicians and is nowadays as much taken for granted as the "framing" of insurgents by conservatives or the bribing of foremen, or the beating up of members of rival factions within the union.

And then there was the fixing of baseball games, and dealing with dope-fiends and various other prac-

tices arising out of this advanced capitalist civilization of ours. All of which put Rothstein on the same social standing as a successful stock-broker or permitted him to move within the inner circles of polite New York society so that even Mayor Walker was proud to claim his friendship.

So you see, what with all the politicians for whom he had done favors and the gamblers and the rich "fancy men" and the wealthy "snow-sifters" and the rest, it just doesn't pay to be too hot about finding out who shot Arnold Rothstein with that neat little detective model pistol that a thoughtless taxi-driver picked up on Seventh Avenue, the night of the shooting, and handed over to the police.

The police handling of the Rothstein case has been as complete a piece of bungling and ineffectiveness as has ever disgraced New York city's "finest." Commissioner Warren issues statements which a few minutes later are contradicted by District Attorney Banton. He announces through the press that he wishes certain gangleaders would come and see him. He would very much like to ask them some questions, he says.

It's high time the decent people of New York asked the Police Department a few questions.

UP UNTIL A SHORT TIME BEFORE HIS KILLING ROTHSTEIN WAS KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE CITY AS "THE BUSINESS BROKER FOR THE WEST 30TH STREET POLICE STATION." IF THERE WAS ANY FIXING TO BE DONE IN WHICH THE SERVICES OR THE ABSENCE OF THE SERVICES OF THE POLICE WERE REQUIRED, ROTHSTEIN, IT IS SAID, WAS THE MAN WHO COULD DO IT. HE DID IT EXCEEDINGLY WELL, ACCORDING TO REPORTS, IN THE COMMUNIST-RIGHT WING IMBROGLIO IN THE NEEDLE TRADES UNION TWO YEARS AGO. AT THAT TIME, IT APPEARS, HE HAPPENED TO BE SERVING THE

COMMUNISTS. AT OTHER TIMES, ROTHSTEIN WOULD WORK FOR OTHERS.

And now Mayor Walker enters the picture. After every crook, gunman or police official who might have had anything to do with the case has had almost two weeks time in which to cover-up and get away, the Mayor thinks it is time for him to act. Late as usual.

Mayor Walker has as much right to investigate the Rothstein killing and the part played in it by the police department as the Kaiser would have to render an impartial verdict on who caused the World War. WALKER HAS SOME EXPLAINING TO DO. HIS JOB IS NOT TO INVESTIGATE. HE AND THE POLICE DEPARTMENT NEED TO BE INVESTIGATED THEMSELVES.

In 1912 on the North side of Forty-third Street just off Broadway a gambler named Herman Rosenthal was called out of a restaurant on the early morning of July 16th and shot to death by some young men who rode away in a car.

For his murder Charles Becker, a police lieutenant and four doped boys were electrocuted.

There are plenty of people in New York today who believe that "Becker's execution was a tragedy of politics and police graft in New York City. He was a sacrifice for both." In fact this is what Harry H. Klein, New York attorney says in so many words in his fascinating book, "Sacrificed, The Story of Police Lieutenants and Becker."

If the real facts about the Rothstein murder ever come out, they will rip the town wide open and make the Rosenthal murder seem like child's play. They never got the real criminals in that case. The men back of the Rothstein affair are much higher up even than they were.

The "new Tammany" that will be asking for our votes next year seems to have expanded in a number of directions—no less among them than in the gentle art of hiding up murder.

## LABOR MOVEMENT FACES THE CROSSROADS

### Present Policies Point the Road to Eventual Extinction

THE convening of the American Federation of Labor on November 19 at New Orleans calls attention to the precarious status of organized labor in the United States today. Never in the forty-seven years of its existence has the A. F. of L. faced such a crisis as confronts it today. There have been business depressions, employers' offensives and rival unions but through these difficulties organized labor has been able to pass by sheer vitality. Today we have comparative plenty, employers and labor leaders preach cooperation and even if we give consideration to the upstart Communist dual unions, there is none of the danger to the American Federation of Labor that the Knights of Labor or the I. W. W. presented.

At the time of writing, the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is not yet available. It would probably not change the present analysis in any essentials. The report will no doubt breathe a spirit of complacency. Utterance will be given to the higher philosophy of trade unionism in terms of voluntary association, productivity and cooperation.

The American labor movement may be considered under three heads: (1) its industrial aspects, (2) its political phase, and (3) its auxiliary organizations. A careful survey shows the economic, the political and the auxiliary programs of the A. F. of L. in sharp declines. Re-valuation and reorganization are in order.

#### On The Economic Field—Retrospection

The economic wing of the American labor movement consists of the trade unions themselves. Are there any gains to which one can point with genuine satisfaction? That magnificent organization, the United Mine Workers of America, which for years has been a mainstay of the A. F. of L. is merely a hulk of its former self, though in its reports to the A. F. of L. it has been claiming its old membership. The needle trades have gone through a harrowing experience and are having difficulty in maintaining present standards. The eatshop has taken on new life. In textiles we witness the evaporation of the Passaic organization, the satisfactory settlement in New Bedford and the unhappy refusal of the Associated Silk Workers of Paterson to affiliate with the A. F. of L. union, the United Tile Workers of America. Even the heroic struggle Kenosha, Wisconsin, is but a symbol of the difficulties which face the American Federation of Full Unioned Hosiery Workers with the expansion of its territory.

We hear also that the Willimantic strikers, after three years on the picket line, have been unable to bring their struggle to a successful conclusion. The building trades' unions prospered with boom, and while they have not yet had any setbacks, they admit they can expect no further. The railroad workers both in and outside of the A. F. of L. have expressed their dissatisfaction with the workings of the Watson-Parker law. The metal workers have not been a serious contender for power

in their open shop industry for many years. The campaign to organize the automobile factories, even with temporary concessions to industrial unionism, never really got under way.

The employers have had little need to ride rough shod over their workers for resistance by wage earners has been feeble. The balm of company unions and welfare work has taken care of most of the dissatisfaction that has showed itself. Everywhere there is speeding up. Everywhere workers are clamoring for overtime. There is not the spirit of old to fight the one or the idealism and intelligence of former years to dodge the other.

#### On The Political Field—Impotency

On the political field the A. F. of L. can no longer pretend to be a factor in national politics. No doubt the Executive Council will sing its own praises for maintaining the traditional non-partisan policy. It will be empty boasting. It declared its neutrality as between Hoover and Smith and, hence, can not even claim that it delivered the labor vote to one or the other of the capitalistic candidates. The break-down of non-partisan politics was inevitable for practical and logical reasons.

So long as labor does not have its own political party, the trade unions must choose between the representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties. Individual labor leaders will support one or the other because of their allegiance to local political machines, hope of personal gain, or perhaps as a matter of principle. When, therefore, we get union officials who would rather bolt the A. F. of L. with their unions than see Hoover or Smith endorsed, the non-partisan policy comes to a miserable end.

And what is the logical outcome of non-partisanship

but neutrality accompanied by the submission of the platforms of the old parties for study by those who care to read the record in the form prepared by the A. F. of L.

#### The Feeble Legislative Battle

In the field of legislation the A. F. of L. has been committed to two major propositions: limitation of the use of injunctions in industrial disputes and old age pension laws. In the last session of Congress a silly anti-injunction bill was introduced which was worthy of the dentist who sponsored it. It forbade injunctions to prevent damage to intangible property and roused the fury of lawyers who were interested in patents, copyrights, "good will" and the like. The Senate subcommittee finally emerged with a bill that had some sense. We should like to see the advocates of non-partisan political action get it through Congress unemasculated.

As for old age pensions, the situation is a disgrace to organized labor. The A. F. of L. was fortunately committed to old age pensions many years ago or a reversal of policy at this late date would not be unthinkable. Ever since the formation of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company with its reliance upon group insurance the A. F. of L. Executive Council has been studying, investigating and meditating over old age pensions. It is safe to say that it will continue to do so until the workers in no uncertain terms demand a show-down. If the A. F. of L. were really anxious about old age pensions and other elements in an adequate system of social legislation, it would not even give the verbal allegiance to non-partisan politics that it still does today.

#### Insurance and Education—Backward Steps

When we turn to the auxiliary organizations we see a sorry spectacle. Labor banks, insurance and work-

ers' education are the chief developments. What has happened to the labor banks that were going to capture the financial system of the country? They are still puny. They cut no figure in the world of business. There have been some failures. At best can they be distinguished from any other bank owned by private capital? How have they helped labor?

And what of labor insurance? There are two companies in the field. The first to be organized was the Union Cooperative Insurance Association run by the Electrical Workers. Then, as if that was not enough, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, backed up by the A. F. of L., was founded. Now they compete with one another. The big insurance companies, however, do not worry. In fact, they encourage labor insurance. It can not rival their enormous business and it is the most effective protection against social insurance that they know.

Important too is workers' education. The Workers' Education Bureau, which is practically the Educational Department of the A. F. of L. has been languishing. Worst of all, it has tried to turn the little workers' education there is into channels dangerous to the labor movement. It has practically committed itself to the narrow confines of adult education, looking with disfavor upon any schooling that is based upon class consciousness.

Now comes the "American Federationist," the official organ of the A. F. of L., and announces a new theory. It wants to surrender cultural education to the conventional schools, while workers' education will devote itself to those things which will make the worker more effective in the trade unions. Therefore, workers' education should be controlled by trade unions. It is plain to see that this is aimed at Brookwood Labor College which has refused to hand down official dogma to its students, and which, while it is controlled by labor officials, has fought shy of domination by the A. F. of L. as such. The new conception of workers' education means that only orthodox as interpreted by the Administration of the A. F. of L. shall be taught in workers' classes.

The American labor movement is at the cross-roads. Organized labor instead of marching forward to storm the ramparts of capitalism is groveling in the dust. Economically, politically and socially it is making no headway. Progressives in the trade unions are letting the battle go by default. What we need is renewed activity by idealists, men and women who are willing to start the fight again. When there is apathy there should be evangelical zeal, missionary fervor.

There was a time when the labor movement was a religion. A reawakening is coming. Bread and butter will not win the battle. The wine of idealism must intoxicate the fighters. The vision of a world free from capitalist exploitation is the wine. Trade unionism and Socialism will go forward together.

## MURDER ON THE HIGH SEAS

ANOTHER dreadful disaster of the sea has given another ghastly example of cupidity and greed of great organizations of business, and another shining example of heroism and unselfishness.

When the Lamport and Holt liner Vestris went down in a boiling sea off the Virginia Capes on Monday it carried with it nearly 120 human lives. Men and women prayed to their God and hoped for the safety that the law provided, should be at their disposal, and they counted upon the unselfishness of other men.

They were not disappointed in other human beings, who gave their lives to save persons who were strangers to them, but their trust in the great steamship company was misplaced.

According to survivors of the disaster every single life could have been saved if the lifeboats had been lowered on time. Indeed, if it were not for criminal negligence the ship need not have been in distress at all.

Sunday evening the ship was listing badly. It is believed now that a door in the coal bunkers was not closing properly and enough water was shipped to cause the beginning of the trouble.

The expenditure of a few dollars, a careful inspection of the ship, and the door's peculiarity would have been discovered and corrected, and the Vestris would now be on her way toward Barbadoes and South America.

But the ship listed and cabins were filled with water hours before messages were sent asking for help.

Many hours later—hours too late—the captain ordered the life-

boats over the side. From the stories of survivors every one of the lifeboats was leaky. Boat after boat slowly filled with water as refugees bailed and bailed. Every passenger who has told his story reports that feet were wet all the time because of the leaky boats.

Why were the boats not kept in proper shape? Did the mighty Lamport and Holt line, one of the leading steamship lines in the world, choose to bet the lives of passengers against the possibility of an accident?

Why did the skipper, Captain William J. Carey, fail to call for help until it was too late to save scores of lives? Was he afraid to expose the Lamport and Holt Line to the criticism that its ships were not safe to send passengers and cargoes? Was the good name of the line—which means dollars in profits—more important than lives?

Captain Carey was true to the traditions of the sea, and he went down with his ship. His life had been courageous, and his death noble. But why did he not send for help in time to be saved himself? More than one passenger says that if he had not gone down he would have had to face serious questions as to the reason he put to sea with leaky lifeboats and defects in his ship.

But the moment the mortal blow was struck at the ship the heroism in man came to the front.

Men risked their lives for others. Lionel Licorice, a Barbadoes

(Continued on page 6)



# Scattering Socialist Returns In

THE New Leader has received from the Socialist National Campaign Committee and other sources some fragmentary reports on the Socialist vote cast in the last national election.

The New Leader is in touch with responsible officials in each of the forty-eight states and will publish the vote state by state as it is made public.

In the meantime we offer the following reports. The figures given in black-face after each state named is the vote cast in the years 1924 and 1926 for the state-wide Socialist candidates. From the number of states which had no candidate, it will be seen what a tremendous job the Socialist Party was up against in the election just ended.

## Alabama

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Jefferson County—Hoover 18,068; Smith 16,736; Thomas 105.

## Utah

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Green River—Hoover 239; Smith 64; Thomas 3.  
Ankney—Hoover 42; Smith 3; Thomas 5.

## California

(Vote in 1924: no state-wide candidate; 1926, 45,972)  
Alameda County—(410 precinct out of 728), Hoover 86,962; Smith 44,466; Thomas 872.  
Santa Clara County—Hoover 31,555; Smith 17,543; Thomas 396; Lena Morrow Lewis, for U. S. Senate, 733 votes.  
Los Angeles County—Hoover 7,608; Mrs. Lewis for U. S. Senate, 11,507; Sorenson for Congress, 8,085; Shert for Congress, 19,001.  
San Diego County—Lena Morrow Lewis, 596 votes.

## Colorado

(1924, 1,575 votes; 1926, no candidate)  
Wray—Hoover 3,414; Smith 1,363; Thomas 92.

## Connecticut

(1924, 5,168 votes; 1926, 3,192 votes)  
New Haven (complete), Hoover 24,483; Smith 32,556; Thomas 502; for Governor, McLevy, Socialist, 493.  
New London—Hoover 4,678; Smith 4,320; Thomas 58.  
Wallingford—Hoover 2,662; Smith 2,415; Thomas 30.

## Delaware

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Entire state (complete), Hoover 67,895; Smith, 35,136; Thomas 191; Foster, 46.

## Georgia

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Fulton County—Hoover 5,932; Smith 8,873; Thomas 30; Foster 17.

## Florida

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Jacksonville—Hoover 16,886; Smith 9,300; Thomas 249.

## Illinois

(1924, 15,191; 1926, 2,998)  
Chicago (complete), 8,003 votes for Thomas.  
Fulton County—Thomas 454.

## Iowa

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Woodbury County—Hoover 20,587; Smith 16,381; Thomas 78.

## Kentucky

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
City of Scottsville—Hoover 4147; Smith 1473; Thomas 25.  
City of Beaver Dam—Smith 591; Smith 540; Thomas 5.

## Maine

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Lincolnville—Hoover 184; Smith 64; Thomas 15.

## Maryland

(1924, no ticket; 1926, 2,409)  
Cumberland—Hoover 19,634; Smith 9,056; Thomas 144.  
Baltimore—Thomas 1,089.

## Massachusetts

(1924, 6,292; 1926, 4,750)  
Amesbury—Hoover 2,556; Smith 2,001; Thomas 39; Foster 1.  
Lawrence—Hoover 7,635; Smith 19,324; Thomas 130.  
Northampton—Hoover 4,323; Smith 5,159; Thomas 90.  
Greenfield—Hoover 4,324; Smith 2,471; Thomas 60.  
Fitchburg—Hoover 6,449; Smith 9,167; Thomas 213; Foster 32.  
Gardner—Hoover 3,100; Smith 2,677; Thomas 90.  
Chelsea—Hoover 3,753; Smith 5,022; Thomas 150.  
Springfield—Hoover 36,518; Smith 26,805; Thomas 258.  
New Bedford—Hoover 13,860; Smith 17,512; Thomas 510.  
Berkshire County—Hoover 39,908; Smith 24,044; Thomas 109.

## Montana

(1924, 466; 1926, 1,451)  
Butte, Mont.—Returns of the Socialist vote in Butte and Silver Bow County are very meager two days after the election and it will be several weeks before the vote in the state will be known.

At this writing the vote in Silver Bow County for four Socialist presidential electors ranges from 295 to 347 and for Governor, Duncan received 254. The Socialist candidate for Congress in the First District received 243 votes.

The vote for other Socialist candidates on the state ticket in this county is: Lieut.-Governor, 252; Attorney General, 219; Secretary of State, 218; Treasurer, 219; Auditor, 231; Supt. of Public Instruction, 233; Railroad Commissioner, 212; Clerk of the Supreme Court, 224.

## Minnesota

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Hennepin County—Hoover, 116,173; Smith, 14,580; Thomas 1,404.  
St. Louis County—Hoover 16,043; Smith 11,381; Thomas 307.  
Duluth—Hoover 26,052; Smith 12,870; Thomas 218.

## Mississippi

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Carson Precinct, Jeff Davis County—Hoover 18, Smith 56; Thomas 2.  
Shubuta—Hoover 331; Smith 194; Thomas 3.

## Nebraska

(1924, no ticket; 1926, no ticket)  
Webster County—Hoover 2,870; Smith 1,339; Thomas 23.

## New Jersey

(1924, no ticket; 1926, 1,451 votes)  
Essex County—Thomas 1,085.

## New York

(1924, 99,169; 1926, 83,482 votes)  
Port Jervis—Hoover 2,921; Smith 1,885; Thomas 158; for Governor, Roosevelt 2,046; Ottinger 2,733; Waldman 152; other Socialist candidates: Hahn 151; Roth 140; Karlin 143; Wilcox 137; Coleman 131.  
Sherrill, Oneida County—Hoover 940; Smith 287; Thomas 53.  
City of Oneida—Hoover 3,183; Smith 1,950; Thomas 174; Waldman, for Governor, 164.  
Schenectady County—Hoover 29,269; Smith 21,218; Thomas 1,013.  
Watertown—For Governor—Ottinger 7,602; Roosevelt 6,071; Waldman 336.

## Ohio

(1924, no ticket; 1926, 5,985)  
Glencoe—Hoover 91; Smith 182; Thomas 12.  
Hamilton County—Hoover 30,433; Smith 112,846; Thomas 704; Foster 81.  
Lucas County—Hoover 78,480; Smith 44,785; Thomas 346.  
Bridgeport—Hoover 20,863; Smith 12,807; Thomas 181.  
Marion—Hoover 3,343; Smith 5,440; Thomas 145; Foster 2.

## Oregon

(1924, 4,412; 1926, no ticket)  
Entire State—13 counties out of 38—Hoover 174,971; Smith 93,933; Thomas 2,590.  
Umatilla—Hoover 112; Smith 102; Thomas 16.

## Pennsylvania

(1924, no ticket; 1926, 77,705)  
Harrisburg—Hoover 379; Smith 263; Thomas 36.  
Pottstown—Hoover 4,493; Smith 1,203; Thomas 219.  
Weavers Old Stand—Hoover 98; Smith 38; Thomas 22.  
Forest City—Hoover 413; Smith 1,306; Thomas 40.  
Philadelphia—Hoover 409,962; Smith 289,952; Thomas 2,409.  
Greensburg—Hoover 2,186; Smith 1,553; Thomas 36.  
Hempfield—Hoover 148; Smith 121; Thomas 17.  
Fort Pitt—Thomas 131; Smith 112; Thomas 8.  
Harrison City—Hoover 3231; Smith 110; Thomas 8.

## Virginia

(1924, 4,594; 1926, no ticket)  
Richmond—Hoover 10,767; Smith 10,213; Thomas 35.  
"Vote is a disappointment, but not discouraging. We are just beginning the fight," David C. George writes.

## Wisconsin

(1924, 45,268 votes; 1926, 40,293)  
Marx Lewis, in another column of The New Leader, this issue, estimates the vote for Thomas in the state will be about 25,000.

## Erie County, N. Y., Gives Socialists 11,169 Votes

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BUFFALO, N. Y.—Although the official canvass of votes has not been completed, the Erie County Board of Elections has announced that the Socialist Party average vote in Erie County is 11,169.

Local newspapers commenting on this announcement state that this large Socialist vote is due largely to errors made by voters who pulled wrong levers on the voting machines. They base their arguments on the fact that the Socialist enrollment has steadily declined in recent years being only 1,272 in the county at present. There is actually little basis for their argument. Socialist voters know that loss of positions or petty persecutions are liable to follow Socialist affiliation, hence they vote the ticket but do not affiliate with the Socialist party.

The Socialist vote cast in Erie County this year is the same total vote received for the past eleven years, whenever the full Socialist following could be induced to vote. In Presidential and gubernatorial elections the Socialists do vote; in off years many of them fail to vote. Last year the Socialist vote in Buffalo averaged 6,000 votes. In 1920 it was 12,179 in the County. In 1924 it was 12,062. In 1926 it was 5,731.

Much was made of the fact that in one Assembly District where ballots were used this year, the Socialist vote was small while elsewhere where voting machines were used it was much greater. Any Socialist who has watched a ballot count can give the answer. Two districts were commented on especially—the 23rd ward of Buffalo and the City of Lackawanna. The Socialist enrollment in the 23rd ward is about 12; the vote this year was 222. This was no error in machine voting. In 1925 in the commission government elimination primaries, Robert A. Hoffman, Socialist candidate for Councilman, polled 201 votes in the 23rd ward and ballots were used instead of machines. In the City of Lackawanna there are about 50 enrolled Socialists; the vote this year was 205. This was no error. In fact, as compared with last year's vote, it was a slight decrease, the vote in 1927 in Lackawanna being 240 Socialist votes.

## Shipstead Majority Breaks Minnesota Record; Kvale Wins, Carls Loses

ST. PAUL (F.P.)—Henrik Shipstead was re-elected as U. S. senator from Minnesota by the biggest vote ever given any candidate in the state. His Farmer-Labor total will probably reach 600,000, double the vote of his Republican opponent, O. V. Kvale was the only Farmer-Labor congressman elected. W. L. Carls, Farmer-Laborite from Duluth, running for re-election to Congress, was defeated by a Republican.

# Socialist Vote Rises Upstate N. Y.

## Steady Increases Reported From All Counties—100,000 Total Is Possible

STEADY Socialist increases in all upstate counties of New York State which have reported the Socialist vote thus far has been the rule. A most striking increase is reported from Erie county, where Buffalo is located. Here the vote went from 5,198 in 1926 to 11,089 this year. Only two counties thus far have reported losses—Queens county and Bronx county. In the Bronx, as was stated last week, by August Claessens, Socialist secretary, the loss of more than 5,000 votes cast for Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, for governor, is believed to be due to the theft of at least that many votes by the old parties who are believed to have been in a deal to throw Thomas votes to Smith, and Waldman votes to Ottinger, the Republican.

New York State Vote (11 counties out of 62 reported)			
Allegany .....	588	561	246
Bronx .....	8,678	8,155	12,089
Erie .....	11,069	*	5,198
Genesee .....	719	*	322
Kings .....	23,882	24,230	21,956
Madison .....	281		230
New York .....	14,806	14,434	11,402
Orleans .....	647	633	433
Rochester .....	513	436	269
Queens .....	1,784	1,602	1,899
Richmond .....	240	194	199
Cattaraugus .....	604	570	391
Wayne .....	*	557	253
Tompkins .....	234	*	86
Livingston .....	563	517	517

\* Vote not received.  
On the basis of these returns Thomas' vote in the eleven counties has increased 7,844 over the 1926 figures. This represents an increase of about 12 percent, which, if maintained throughout the state, will bring the total vote in the neighborhood of 100,000.

Much amusement has been occasioned by complaints of politicians in both old parties who have attempted to explain the Socialist increase by alleged unfamiliarity of the voters with the voting machines which were used for the first time in this election. The comment of our Buffalo correspondent is printed below.

Congressman Archie D. Sanders, chairman of the Genesee County Republican Committee, complained that the 719 Socialist votes there were, in the main, cast because Republican voters made mistakes and voted Socialist. Long Island politicians made the same complaints. Republican County Committee man Charles Pfeiffer alleging that he made a mistake himself by voting Socialist when he intended to vote Republican. He discovered his mistake in time "to rectify it," the New York Times says. Just how Pfeiffer "rectified" his vote is hard to understand. The machines cannot be tampered with once a vote is recorded. The only explanation possible is that he voted Republican once or twice after having once voted the Socialist ticket.

The Brooklyn Times, under the heading "Large Socialist vote," says "the biggest surprise of the vote in Brookhaven Town was the unusually heavy Socialist vote cast in many of the districts, and especially in Patchogue and along the South Shore."

"When the returns started coming in from Patchogue there was a steady support of the Socialist ticket that puzzled political workers and leaders of both major parties. In some Patchogue districts the Socialist vote ran from 40 to 50, and averaged 25 in most of them, while to the east of here there was a strong vote. Ordinarily only three or four votes to a district were cast in past years. Whether these Socialist votes were mistakes, as Republican leaders claim, or whether they were intentional, due to dissatisfaction with the candidates of both major parties, is an enigma."

The increase in Socialist vote is no enigma to The New Leader or the Socialist party. We have known that the use of voting machines, which reduces vote frauds to a large extent, would show an increased Socialist vote. We feel sure if all Socialist votes cast throughout the country could be honestly counted and tallied we would increase our national vote by several hundred thousand. The explanation of the increase of the New York vote is simple.

This has been the first year the Socialists have secured anything near an honest count. In Bronx County, where the old paper ballots, were used, the old story was repeated.

72,992 for Black  
Additional figures on the New York City vote indicate that William Karlin, candidate for attorney general, ran far ahead of the rest of the Socialist ticket. Karlin received 76,751. The vote for Thomas, Waldman and Coleman in New York City was printed last week. Here are figures on the other state candidates:

Hahn	Karlin	
Manhattan .....	14,205	14,498
Bronx .....	10,440	15,505
Brooklyn .....	25,560	27,334
Queens .....	1,892	1,784
Richmond .....	203	194

Mrs. Elizabeth Roth, candidate for Controller, received 61,246 votes in New York City, while Ezekiah D. Wilcox, of Court of Appeals, received 65,751 in the city.

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# A Tribute To Norman Thomas

By August Claessens

ONE of the very encouraging lessons of history is the fact that in most every critical period there arises a challenge. Most every seemingly hopeless situation brings forth a reaction, a voice to give it expression, a standard bearer to carry on anew. The campaign just ended revived the faith in many of us and our experience has rekindled our enthusiasm.

The Socialist movement of the United States during the last four years—a painfully plodding band of men and women questioning the future! Nineteen Twenty Eight—again a national election—another opportunity—and for us an agony born in a consciousness of our utter weakness. Then the Socialist Action Committee—a new hope! The National Convention—a surprising demonstration! And then Norman Thomas, a new voice in our national wilderness, a willing crusader and an invincible leader. Battle lines are reformed, a new host is hastily gathered and in all parts of the country the cry echoes—march on! At the head of it all, fighting against terrific odds, barehanded against armor plate, stood our splendid comrade. The fight that he and his relatively small army made is worthy of an epic—comparable with heroic episodes in all history.

## The Man

Of the finest metal—steel tempered in the mill of reality, hardened by struggle and polished with a noble character. In learning, observation and vision—a scholar, a sympathetic student and a practical dreamer—Norman Thomas takes his place among the great leaders of the International Socialist Movement. Modest, intensely human, generous beyond restraint, a comrade among the humblest of comrades, a rare personality, he compels attention, admiration, respect and devotion from all who meet him. Unsparring in energy, critical of his own effectiveness, yet he develops greater powers and brings forth finer efforts with every demand made upon him. To those who are fortunate to know him intimately, Norman Thomas is an inspiring example, a flaming torch, an irresistible magnet—a leader who must arouse a faith and a following.

## In Action

As a speaker—no labored eloquence, concealed posturing or false dramatics. His appeal is so objective, factual, impersonal, and yet impassioned and colored with the sparkling charm of sincerity. With a remarkable economy of language a simplicity of expression and illustration, a homely wit and with great fervor he fires his barrage of argument with maximum effectiveness. His range of subject matter is wide and thorough, no important item escapes his attention. With epigrammatic and sharp sentences he lances every social sore. Extremely careful in presentation of fact and analysis his comments spring forth in clear and convincing manner. No, he does not arouse his audiences to emotional frenzy—that intoxication whose effects so quickly dissipate—rather, and verily, so much more to our great need, he does instruct, convince, awaken and draw to himself and his great cause a superb trust and an assurance of ultimate triumph. In his speeches there is no taint of personal grievance, no rancor, no demagogic appeal, no exploitation of bombastic slogans or battle cries to imaginary armies and barricades. His message is the finest expression of modern realistic Socialist thought delivered in the manner of the social scientist. His attitude is that of the true statesman, his enthusiasm and zeal places him among the great idealists of all times.

The response to our Socialist message as conveyed by our new national leader, Norman Thomas, has heartened our comrades in all parts of the country. His voice over the radio has dispelled all kinds of static. Those who have heard him and particularly those who have worked with him have been enriched. With Norman Thomas as our presidential candidate, and as such our outstanding and chief spokesman, our party has enjoyed a blood transfusion. This is apparent in all parts of the country. The size of the vote when tabulated will not tell the whole truth. Only the renewed life and vigor of our organization will manifest the influence of our splendid comrade. Long life, health, joy and success to you, comrade Norman Thomas. Granted this, then surely, long life, health, joy and success to American and World Socialism.

## Minn. Labor Spy Wins Reelection to Legislature

DULUTH, Minn.—(F.P.)—Chauncey A. Peterson, the steel trust spy exposed by Frank Palmer of The Federated Press, was re-elected to the Minnesota legislature on the republican ticket from Duluth. His majority over the Farmer-Labor or opponent was about 1400 votes out of 5600 votes. After his exposure as a stool pigeon in the electrical workers union for the liver Iron Mining Co., Peterson was expelled by the union with right of appeal. He never appealed. The story of the exposure is told in Palmer's book "Spies In Steel."

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## Partial Connecticut Returns Give Thomas 2,589

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—The Socialist vote so far reported to the state secretary is 2,585, about half of the towns have reported. The towns that have not reported are very small ones and we don't expect at the most, more than 300 more votes. The Socialists vote dropped in the large cities, Hartford, Bridgeport, Waterbury and New Haven. The Socialists vote in the State and congressional election 1926 was about 3,192.

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# Reading Socialists Enthused

## Vote Shows Marked Growth of Sentiment for Party Throughout the County

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
READING, Pa.—The Socialist Party is a young and vigorous political power in Reading and Berks County. This is evident from the vote cast in the recent election. The city and county witnessed the same heavy increase in the Republican vote which featured the Hoover landslide from coast to coast yet the Socialists forged ahead while the Democratic Party for the first time in many years did not elect a legislative representative. The outstanding features of the Socialist vote are the following.

The Socialist vote in the county is three times the Socialist vote cast one year ago. Norman Thomas ran second in three county and twelve city voting precincts, receiving 4,000 votes in Reading and 3,000 in districts outside the city, making a total of 7,000 votes for the Socialist candidate for President. The Socialist candidates for the Legislature, Andrew P. Bower, Jesse George, and William C. Hoover, came within a thousand votes of last year's total Reading vote despite the Republican sweep.

The vote for George and Bower, city legislative candidates, with several precinct totals not included, was 7,257 and 7,227, respectively, compared to 5,625 and 4,625 cast for James H. Maurer and Bower for the same offices two years ago.

The Socialist totals, while falling short of enough to win any of the contested offices, was a truly remarkable showing, coming as it did in a presidential year after a national campaign which appealed to all the prejudices of humanity and centered the attention of voters, who formerly cast split ballots, upon the heads of the old party ticket. The party's vote in the rural sections of Berks had grown to three times the number cast a year ago. In the election of 1927, Andrew P. Bower, running as a candidate for prison inspector with the support of the Prison Economy Board League, polled 2,056 votes, while Elwood Lefter, without any support but that given by normal Socialist voters, polled 1,247. This year William C. Hoover, polled 3,719 in rural Berks and Norman Thomas, head of the ticket, polled 2,861. These totals will be increased when all the city and county precincts are tabulated.

The encouraging increase in the rural Socialist vote was a surprise even to the Socialists themselves and is of particular significance in view of the fact that it came at a time when the entire country was agitated by the injection of religion into the national campaign.

Speakers Bring Results  
The rural figures are viewed as a vindication of the party's policy of sending speakers into sections which heretofore had been neglected in local political campaigns. Approximately fifty new speakers were pressed into service for the task of carrying the message of Socialism to the farm and borough voters. Many of the Socialist soap-boxers had never before attempted a public lecture, but they understood the task and the fact that their arguments fell upon receptive ears is now demonstrated by the vote cast.

Thomas Vote High  
Despite the high totals of both old party opponents, Norman Thomas polled a strong vote in every precinct in the city and held second place in 12 out of the city's 67 voting districts. He also ran ahead of Smith in three rural precincts.

While the Socialist candidates shared the fate of the democrats in the republican landslide, the vote showed that a powerful wedge has been driven into the rural districts and opened the way to further activities in what was practically virgin territory prior to this year. The party organization is in a splendid position to take advantage of the willingness of the farm and borough voters to listen to the Socialist program of workingclass political action.

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## Thomas Polls 8,003 Votes in Chicago; Big Gain Over '26 Total

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Norman Thomas Socialist vote in Chicago this election was 8,003, as compared to 3,317 in the entire state in 1926. A new Socialist Party branch has been organized on the south side and a second meeting of the branch is to be held at 10 a.m., Sunday, November 18, to strengthen the membership and map out party work for the winter. Local Cook County will hold a general membership meeting on Sunday, December 2nd, 2 p.m. The Socialists of Chicago are planning to place as many nominees in the field as seems advisable for the spring aldermanic election.

## Crosswath Speaks Sunday in Philadelphia

Frank Crosswath is becoming one of the most popular Negro orators in the assemblies of his race. Frank was in Philadelphia a few weeks ago where he addressed a large meeting in the Gibson Theatre. This address created so much interest that he returns to Philadelphia Sunday for another meeting.

This second meeting will be held Sunday at 2 p.m. in the Salem Baptist Church, corner of 12th and Lombard streets. His subject is, "Socialism, the Hope of the Negro."

Crosswath is also a regular contributor to the Boston Chronicle, a Negro weekly, and he has also been asked to contribute each week to a Negro weekly in St. Louis.

## Baltimore Yellow Taxi Drivers Strike

BALTIMORE (F.P.)—Yellow taxis practically disappeared from the streets of Baltimore during a strike of drivers. When the Yellow Taxi Co. boosted the price of gas on the drivers, it capped the climax on a long series of abuses which characterizes the company's labor policies in every part of the country.

Of the 300 cabs in the city, only six were operating. The strikers have formed a union, with the help of the Baltimore Federation of Labor. Meeting halls in the Labor Temple have been thrown open to them. Pickets are stationed at the cab barns and stands to warn the public of the strike. Placards scattered throughout the town tell of Yellow Taxi wages and hours.

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# Berger Gains 16,000 Votes But Loses Out

Recount Is Begun in Hope of Offsetting Republican's Lead of 400

By Marx Lewis

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—After two days of uncertainty, due to the closeness of the vote in the fifth congressional district, it appears that Congressman Victor L. Berger, lone Socialist of the House of Representatives, lost the district to his Republican opponent by about 400 votes. It will take an official canvass, which was begun this week, to determine the final outcome. The rest of the Socialist ticket was caught in the landslide and by the avalanche of votes of people who had never voted before, and who were brought out by the Hoover-Smith contest.

Attempt to interpret Berger's apparent defeat as a setback for Socialism fall into consideration the following salient facts:

In the first place, Congressman Berger polled 16,000 more votes this time than he did two years ago, when he was elected by a majority of 2600 votes. Practically all who voted for him before, and apparently 16,000 more than voted for him before, came out for him in this election. One more such stalwart victory, and the stalwarts will be lost forever, so far as the fifth congressional district is concerned.

**30,000 New Voters**

In the second place, there were 30,000 new voters, who came out because of the Hoover-Smith fight. Some of them voted the Democratic ticket straight, and gave the Democratic candidate for Congress a large vote. But a large number on the registry lists used by the Socialists, voted for the Republican congressional candidate. The large Catholic vote Smith brought out, and which would not go to the Socialist candidate for Congress, brought up the vote of the Republican candidate, making it difficult for Berger, even with his 16,000 increase over two years ago, to pull through. That also worked against the rest of the Socialist ticket.

The enormous proportions of the vote, which not only exceeded the expectations of the Socialist campaign managers, but which created a ballot shortage, as a result of which hundreds of voters were turned away in the Socialist wards, created an avalanche which Berger, with the tremendous vote of 42,000, could not overcome.

**Confused by New Ballot**

Added to this was the confusion created by the use of a new ballot. Despite instructions issued by the election commission, on which the Socialists have representation, calling attention to the fact that a split ballot, under certain circumstances, could be counted for the candidate for whom it is split, many election inspectors, including the Socialist inspectors, had failed to read the instructions, and permitted many split ballots for Berger to be counted for his opponent. As a result of this confusion, Socialists are instituting steps to have a recount taken. Congressman Berger's principal strength, especially this year, rested on split ballots. Out of a total vote of 107,000 in this congressional district, two hundred such votes would give Berger the election. Due to the carelessness of recounting 107,000 votes, the recount for the present will be confined to one ward, where it is believed this error was more prevalent.

In their efforts for a recount, Socialists make no charge of fraud. The election was conducted honestly, and any mistakes that may have occurred, except a few rare instances, were errors made by the Socialist inspectors as well as the others, due, as I said, to a change in the form of the ballot.

The Republican who appears to have benefited from this has stated to his friends that he considers his victory good for two years. In an off year, two years hence, he cannot pull through.

**Three Assemblies Elected**

In the fourth congressional district, Congressman Schafer was reelected, by a 15 to 1 reduced majority, but the strength of the Democrats, which gave them second place, failed to make the fight threatened, on which the Socialists banked. A tremendous increase in the vote in this district, which is overwhelmingly Catholic, was divided between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Socialist ticket polled three thousand votes, receiving 10,000 for the Republican, and 10,000 for the Democrat.

The progressives failed completely to pull in the election. Despite the official endorsement of Smith by both Blaine and La Follette, only 10,000 of the seventy in the county were carried by Smith, who lost 10,000 votes. Nor did they vote for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, whom they supported. Nor did they figure much in the congressional election in Milwaukee, where their vote was the old parties, and thus cancel each other.

State vote for Norman Thomas probably be about 25,000, and for the gubernatorial candidate about 10,000. The Socialist county candidates between 40,000 and 50,000 votes in three counties. In the Wisconsin election instead of 8 assembliesmen they will have 3 but they retain their in the senate.

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# "State Socialism" Earns And Saves Millions for U. S. At Panama And in the Army

"State Socialism" Profitable at Panama Canal

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Total net revenue to the United States government from its combined Panama Canal and Panama Railroad operations in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, was \$20,621,314.82—the best showing for any year to date.

That is the significant summary in the annual report of the Governor of the Panama Canal, M. L. Walker, made public Nov. 12 by the War Department.

Traffic through the Canal was greater by 18 per cent. in the number of commercial transits, 12 per cent. in net tonnage, 11 per cent. in tolls and 7 per cent. in cargo carried, than in the preceding fiscal year. While seven ships have been handled where six were handled the year before, the force of men doing this work has been increased only 4 per cent. Hours of operation of the Canal were extended and in other ways the plant was run to greater business advantage. Present traffic is considered as being 45 to 50 per cent. of what the Canal can handle, as constructed at present. Work is under way to develop a supplemental water supply which will deepen the water in the cut and over the sills of the locks. When this is done, and a third set of locks is built parallel to the present twin flights of locks, the government will be able to handle 70 per cent. more traffic than could now pass through the waterway.

"Under business activities," says Gov. Walker, "are grouped such enterprises as the stores and retail establishments for purveying foodstuffs and supplies, oil and coaling plants, drydocks and shops for repair and manufacturing, operation of the Panama Railroad and its shops on the Isthmus, piers and wharves for handling of cargo and passengers, operation of the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, operation of the quarters for the canal force and their families and the conducting of other enterprises which in the usual community are under private management."

"Under governmental administration some of the principal items are public schools, sanitation and medical and hospital service, police and fire protection, customs service, quarantine and immigration, and some provision for recreation in a population which includes approximately 8,000 civilian Americans, 9,000 Americans in military and naval stations, and 20,000 aliens, mostly West Indians."

Gov. Walker emphasizes the necessity for the Panama Canal's having "its own controlled sea communication with the United States," which is maintained by the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, administered by the Panama Railroad—both owned by the government. These have modern wharves and piers, repair shops, bunkers, etc.

"The value of these services under centralized control," he says, "has been shown by experience. They assure to shipping adequate facilities at reasonable prices under a management developed primarily to the efficient handling of vessels; and they make much easier the maintenance of an adequate and contented force which can be depended upon for the effective operation of the canal. . . . It is notable that in the face of general opposition to the government's engaging in business activities, the wisdom of this arrangement at the canal is recognized practically universally."

**"State Socialism" Saves Millions in the Army**

WASHINGTON—(FP)—During the fiscal year 1928, says the annual report of the Army Transport Service to the Secretary of War, "the Army Transport Service transported 48,568 passenger, 179,919 cubic tons of cargo, 680,264 pounds of mail and 510 animals at a total cost of \$4,144,173.71. Had the same service been rendered by commercial transportation the cost to the government would have been \$6,753,610.46."

Six passenger transports, the U. S. GRANT, THOMAS, CAMBRIDGE, CHATEAU THIERRY, SOMME and ST. MEHIEL, and two freight boats, the U. S. MEIGS and the KENOWIS, were on a regular schedule of sailings during the year from New York to San Francisco, New York to Porto Rico and the Canal Zone, San Francisco to New York, San Francisco to Honolulu, and San Francisco to Honolulu, Guam and Manila.

**More "State Socialism" in U. S. Army**

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Undisturbed by the Hoover dictum against "state socialism," the report of Maj. Gen. Cheatham, quartermaster-general of the Army, for the fiscal year 1928, shows that net earnings of \$551,047.89 were made by the 40 laundries and 4 dry-cleaning plants maintained by the Army.

Gen. Cheatham explains that Uncle Sam's laundry enterprise is the biggest in the country operated under one management, and covers the widest territory, as the laundries extend from New England to Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone and the Philippines. Last year they served 97,660 patrons, handling 66,967,228 pieces.

Another invasion of the field of private profit was noted in this report. By growing part of its own forage at the various stations throughout the country, the Army saved an additional \$326,194.71. By wider distribution of invitations for bids it saved \$225,000 over the previous year in the purchase of forage at contract.

**Powerful German Socialism Celebrates 50th Year of Gag Laws**

BERLIN.—On October 21st fifty years ago was passed the "Law against the Dangerous Activities of the Social-Democrats," by which the German Social-Democratic Party and the Trade Unions were rendered illegal. The powerful and rapidly growing socialist organizations of Germany were destroyed; their members were ill-used and often driven out of the country. The faithful few who sought to carry on the work and to build up the organizations once more in defiance of the law, were threatened with imprisonment.

But the tyrannical persecution of Bismarck's government aided by a hypocritical system of justice failed of its end. The Social-Democratic Party in 1874 registered not quite half a million votes, but at the 1893 election, three years after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, 1,786,000 votes were recorded for the Party, and it returned 44 representatives to the Reichstag. The Socialist idea had triumphed over force.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the 21st October 1878 the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, in conjunction with the German General Federation of Trade Unions organized demonstrations throughout the whole country. The celebration in Berlin was especially impressive, speeches being made by Kuenster, member of the Reichstag and President of the Local Branch of the Social-Democratic Party, and by Bock, also a member of the Reichstag and representing the veterans of the Anti-Socialist Law days.

**Y Secretary Asked To Be Mine Spy**

In a letter quoted by Harry F. Ward of the Civil Liberties Union, an ex-Y. M. C. A. secretary, states how he was expected to spy for a mining company and refused.

"I used to work for a big electric company out west," said the man. "We made electricity at 7-8 cents per kilowatt and sold it for 10 cents. It wasn't right."

"Then I was with the Y as industrial secretary in a mining district. A few weeks after my appointment an official of one of the companies came to see me. He was very pleasant and a good supporter of the Y, but after a bit he mentioned several matters about which he would like me to pass on information to him from time to time. I looked him in the eye and asked him if he thought I was fit to be a spy for his company. 'No, I didn't last very long.'"

# Arbeiter Ring Gave \$10,555 To Party Fund

Weinberg Reports on Workmen's Circle Contributions to Socialist Campaign

THE national Socialist campaign for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer could hardly have been possible were it not for the part played by the Workmen's Circle. The recent initiation of Thomas into membership in the "Arbeiter Ring" was symbolic of the close association in the campaign of the party of which Thomas was the candidate and the active elements of the Workmen's Circle.

Workmen's Circle activity took shape in a number of ways. More than half of the Thomas meetings throughout the country found Workmen's Circle local leaders in active cooperation if not in actual charge of the meetings. The Circle gave most substantial help, however, along what is perhaps the most difficult line. This was in the raising of funds.

Joseph Weinberg, President of the Workmen's Circle, and a member of the National Campaign Committee, announced this week that \$10,555.17 was raised by the branches for the Socialist campaign fund. This was by way of preliminary report. The final report will very likely find the total somewhat larger than \$10,555.17.

A Committee of sixty, representing Workmen's Circle branches instituted the drive for funds which was taken up by 325 branches all over the country. These branches responded to the limit of their ability, some with large sums and others with smaller amounts.

Under direction of the Committee of Sixty, one dollar, five dollar and ten dollar certificates were sent to all branches for sale to the members. Propaganda circulars urging the need for contributing to the campaign fund were issued periodically from headquarters in New York City. Members of the Committee made personal visits at meetings of 198 branches thus carrying direct appeals to the members. In the meantime various district committees had been set up which carried on intensive propaganda in their respective territories.

Comrade Weinberg made public the following preliminary report this week of funds collected:

From Workmen's Circle Branches	\$7,185.00
From District Committees	1,626.75
From Individual Contributors	1,180.00
(Including W. C. doctors)	563.42
Collected at Meetings	563.42
Total	\$10,555.17

Weinberg, through the New Leader, expressed his appreciation and that of the campaign for this generous response. He also urged that branches and district committees which are holding funds which have been collected for the campaign turn them in immediately, since funds are urgently needed to meet the debts of the national campaign committee.

**Iglesias May Lead Porto Rican Senate**

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Information received in the capital from Porto Rico indicates that the election there on Nov. 6 resulted in a great victory for the Socialists—headed by Santiago Iglesias, leader of the Socialist party, president of the Free Federation of Workmen, and secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Iglesias has been the only Socialist senator in the island legislature, ever since autonomy was established during the Wilson administration. The year he made a coalition with the progressive remnants of the old Republican party, the coalition program being one of labor welfare legislation, better schools, public health service, rural credits and resistance to economic exploitation of the island by absentee American corporations who keep the workers in abject poverty.

Early returns indicated that Iglesias and his associates would control the senate in the new legislature, and would run the governments of a majority of the towns in Porto Rico.

**Revolutionary Antiques On the War Path**

AMES, Ia.—(FP)—Iowa's Daughters of the American Revolution through Frau Louis B. Schmidt, chairman of the Committee on movie films, ask their committee: "Is there a frequent showing of the propaganda film, especially the so-called red, Russian type? Keep watch of this class."

**Lewis Unopposed for Relection**

SCRANTON, Pa.—John L. Lewis will be unopposed for the presidency of the United Mine Workers in the coming union election. Nomination have been closed, with Lewis, Vice President Murray and Secretary Kennedy named to succeed themselves. No opposition ticket will be in the field. A referendum is to be submitted to members to dispense with the bi-ennial convention scheduled for 1929.

**Dr. Ward Says Civic Federation Dictates Educational Policy of Federation of Labor**

Hundreds of New York's leading educators and trade unionists endorsed Brookwood's appeal to the A. F. of L. conversion for a revision of the ban imposed on the labor college by the Federation's executive council, at a meeting held by Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers.

"I am saddened and depressed," said John Dewey, leading American educator and philosopher, "by this show of reaction by labor officials. The public school system has not done its full share in America, and certainly there is room and need for labor's own schools and colleges. Brookwood has blazed the way on this new road to workers' education and the American Federation of Labor should aid it, instead of attempting to hinder its work."

# \$1,288,216 Is Year's Profit of Electric Bond and Share For Handling Utility Stocks

Holding Company Takes Liberal Slice of Earnings of Local Corporations

WASHINGTON—(FP)—That the Electric Bond & Share Co., holding company for the General Electric group, received \$1,288,216 last year as commissions for selling the stocks and bonds of utilities companies was disclosed by testimony of A. R. Colbert, an economist for the Federal Trade Commission, in a hearing before the Commission. More than \$500,000 profit was taken on sales of preferred stocks.

Colbert went over some of the accounts of the Electric Bond & Share before it decided, last month, that it would refuse to show its books or give testimony as to its profits and operating costs.

With one exception, the subsidiaries paid \$2 per share to the holding company for marketing their preferred stock. They include the Alabama Power Co., American Gas & Electric Co., group including the Appalachian Electric Power Co., Atlantic City Power Co., Indiana General Service Co., Indiana & Michigan Electric Co., Ohio Power Co., Rockford Electric Co. and the Wheeling Electric Co.; American Power & Light Co., group including the Florida Power & Light Co., Nebraska Power Co., and the Southwestern Power & Light Co.; the Arkansas Central Power & Light Co.; a subsidiary of the Arkansas Power & Light Co.; Birmingham Electric Co.; Carolina Power Co.; Central Arizona Light & Power Co.; Electric Power & Light Corporation group, including Arkansas Power & Light Co., Dallas Railway & Terminal Co., New Orleans Public Service, Inc., and the Utah Power & Light Co.; Idaho Power Co.; Kansas Gas & Electric Co.; Memphis Power & Light Co.; Knoxville Power & Light Co.; Pacific Power & Light Co.; Portland Gas & Coke Co.; Utah Power & Light Co.

# Campaign Workers Honor Thomas And Jim Maurer

New York Comrades Present Campaign Leaders With Tokens of Appreciation

WHEN Julius Gerber declared at the dinner given to Norman Thomas Tuesday night that it was a "family gathering" he expressed what every person present felt. About 140 men and women spent what all agreed to be THE celebration that has been held by Socialists within recent years. There was almost a religious fervor rampant, a profound feeling of rejuvenation, of returning influence and power for the Socialist movement that was expressed in hilarity as well as in sober review of the work and results of the recent party campaign.

Tributes were paid by various speakers to comrades who had borne important responsibilities in the campaign. Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, of course, received special mention. "Jim" had come on from Reading, looking as young as ever, and charged with the humor that never fails him on any occasion.

Morris Hillquit served as toastmaster and declared that our tribute was also paid to the unknown Socialists who rendered yeoman service. There were other compensations for us, he said, than our great campaign and return of old vigor. We will have no more of Cal Coolidge and we could also celebrate the "splendid defeat" of Smith. If the latter had been elected confusion would have continued to reign among the masses for years but the result has cleared the atmosphere. We should not expect too much when all the returns of the vote are in but we know that we are a new party, less dogmatic, more flexible, and with many young men and women enlisted. Our party is the only promising political force in the nation, still small, but growing, influential and significant.

**Praise Is Liberal**

Then speaker after speaker received the floor till midnight, each pouring out a message of enthusiasm and paying tribute to our standard bearers and other party workers. The latter included Mrs. Thomas who spared her husband in the campaign and whose ill health prevented her presence at the dinner; Gus Gerber whose able work as campaign manager elicited universal praise; B. Charney Vladeck whose remarkable work in raising finances left no resource or prospect untouched; Joseph Weinberg of the Workmen's Circle whose organization gave inspiring cooperation; Edward Levinson whose publicity work was unsurpassed by any previous service of this character; August Claessens, Charles Solomon and George H. Goebel whose difficult tasks on the road with Thomas and Maurer had been so ably performed, and the Jewish Daily Forward, the Milwaukee Leader and The New Leader for their able support of the campaign.

William Karlin said that the campaign had a small beginning and a big ending. Edward Cassidy declared that the place held in the affections of the masses by Eugene V. Debs was now held by Norman Thomas. Abraham Cahane was impressed with the fact that Thomas had introduced the human element into the campaign. James O'neal said that for nearly ten years he had been like a squirrel in a cage, always running but getting nowhere. This was no longer true. McAllister Coleman convulsed the diners with his humorous comments on the election. Jasper McLevy observed that the campaign had been the most fruitful one in our history. August Claessens reported that he is busy opening new mail and that other secretaries must be having the same experience. Florence Kelly brought a ripple of laughter by saying she had joined the movement in 1886 and in six months had been expelled because she spoke English! That fanaticism now belonged to history.

**Gifts Given to Candidates**

Jacob Fanken had got a big kick out of the campaign. George H. Goebel was ready to shoot Socialists who had passed the age of forty and offered to commit suicide. Anita Block said as a result of the campaign we are the most optimistic Socialists in the world. Esther Friedman: "Organization is the watchword now." Algernon Lee: "Those in their twenties bring the spirit of youth to our movement." Harry Laidler: "The work of Norman Thomas in the universities will tell in the coming years." W. E. Woodward: "If every Socialist converts ten voters we will be a big force in 1932." Art Young: "I am thankful from the top of my heart where the pump is, for Norman Thomas." Louis Waldman: "Our large vote update provides a big opportunity."

The 6th, 8th and 12th A. D. of which Thomas is a member, sent an affectionate telegram of greetings to Comrade Thomas and Mrs. Thomas.

G. August Gerber, campaign manager, gave a dramatic account of the difficulties that had to be overcome in many states and said that to reap what we had sown we must contest every election in 1929; every congressional district in 1930; every local election in 1931, and then for the great drive in 1932. Morris Berman said that when we started it was like looking at the top of a high mountain, but we had arrived.

Comrade Vladeck was at his best in announcing the gift of a watch and chain to Comrade Thomas, a travelling bag to Comrade Maurer, a brief case to Comrade Gerber, and a present to Mrs. Thomas. Vladeck's address was almost a poem for its solemn earnestness and deep feeling which moved the entire audience.

**Boom For Hillquit**

"Jim" Maurer was caustic in his criticism of the trade unions which had lost spirit and prestige. The speech of Norman Thomas was even more effective than anything he has said before, if that can be said of one who is always effective, especially at such gatherings.

The sorry plight of the "liberals" who had followed Smith or Hoover, the tragic impotence of the trade unions, the disaster which had come to the Democratic Party and the thousands of noble men and women who are ready to build with the Socialist Party were his themes. He concluded by saying that together with our fight for old age pensions and other immediate stakes in the struggle we must keep our fundamental philosophy without which there can be no cohesion and no successful Socialist movement. He hailed his comrades everywhere as builders of the road to victory and emancipation.

Called together as an informal tribute to Comrade Thomas, the dinner also produced a young boom for a new candidate to lead the Socialists in the Mayoralty election in New York City next year. First Laidler, then Waldman, and finally Thomas placed the name of Hillquit before the gathering as the prospective Socialist leader in the mayoralty campaign. The suggestion each time drew vigorous assent from the comrades present.

# Austrian Socialists Argue Taxes

Public Housing Also Occupies Attention of Vienna Congress — Tenant Farmers Defended

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA.—The annual meeting of the Austrian Social-Democratic party, which opened Sept. 14th in Vienna, had to deal with a number of questions of the greatest importance for the development of internal politics during the next few years.

Otto Bauer dealt with the protection of tenants and with the Social-Democratic housing policy. Bauer pointed out that only by protecting tenants can the economic existence of Austria be secured, whilst at the same time such a policy is an essential condition for the raising of housing standards and so of the general standard of life of the masses of the population. He therefore urged that the Tenants' Protection Act should be extended. The permanent maintenance of the Act, he declared, depends on securing increased activity in housebuilding. Bauer showed that this could only be obtained through public corporations, as private capital would only be invested in building at a rate of interest higher than the economic situation in Austria could stand. The bill introduced by the government penalized building operations on a public basis in the severest possible manner, whilst the higher rate of interest foreshadowed in the bill would be insufficient to attract private investors into the building industry.

Moreover, the existing National Assembly, whose bourgeois deputies had been elected on the platform of "safeguarding of tenants protection," had no right to proceed to abolish such protection. The Social-Democrats therefore demanded that a fresh election should be held, as that was the only means of deciding the fate of the Tenants Protection Act. The object of the Fascist activities of the "Melanwehr" (Home Defense Corps) was to bring pressure to bear on Parliament so as to force it to abolish tenants protection and to distract public opinion from the struggle for the maintenance of such protection.

After a thorough discussion a resolution in the spirit of Otto Bauer's report was unanimously adopted.

**Old Age Pension Demanded**

A further item on the agenda, Labor and the distribution of the proceeds of taxation, is closely connected with the question of tenants protection. Robert Dannenberg, President of the Vienna Provincial Assembly, reported on this subject. The question at issue in this case is the distribution of the tax receipts among the provinces and municipalities, which has already frequently been modified to the detriment of Vienna, and which is now according to a plan drawn up by the Government, once again to be altered against Vienna's interests, although the present arrangement is based on an agreement between the parties. A further reduction in Vienna's share in the proceeds of taxation is bound to interfere considerably with the building operations of the Vienna municipality, without improving the difficult situation of the other municipalities. The discussion showed that the Party was fully and unitedly in agreement with the views expressed by the author of the report, and the resolution submitted by him was unanimously adopted.

Eldersch delivered a report on the party's demands on questions of social policy. He particularly stressed the demand for the effective introduction of old-age and invalidity insurance. The resolution proposed, with two additional clauses, was adopted unanimously.

Alois Menast submitted a report on the struggle for the protection of tenant farmers, in which he set forth the demands of the party in regard to farm tenancy rights, and particularly the extension of the duration of leases. The resolution which he proposed was unanimously adopted.

Skarl presented the report of the Parliamentary Party. He pointed out that the party membership had increased during the first half of 1928 by 34,446—viz., 31,966 men and 3,500 women; so that at present one man in every four, and one woman in every ten, in Austria is a member of the Social-Democratic Party. The report was approved unanimously.

**Temperance Approved**

The Congress also adopted a resolution submitted by Theresa Schlesinger, declaring that it is the duty of the party to encourage the temperance movement.

The various officers and committee members were unanimously re-elected. The Congress was attended by 493 delegates, presided over by Selts, Tomshik, Offenbock, and Marie Beutelmayer. A number of fraternal delegates from foreign countries were also present, including Crispian (Germany), Saskatits (Hungary), Nosek and Dunder (Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party), Polach (German Social-Democrats in Czechoslovakia), Petelan (Yugoslavia), Welfer (Bulgaria), Pils, Zaharack and Skrivan (Czech Social-Democratic Party in Austria).

A meeting of women delegates was held in connection with the Congress, at which the transformation of the periodical "Die Frau" (Woman), the Women's Day, women's schools, and the International Conference of Women at Brussels, were discussed.

The life of the social organism must, as an end, rank above the lives of its units.—Herbert Spencer.

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# What the Election Means to the Socialist Party

## Democratic Party Left Leaderless and Without Principle; Socialists Called the Only Party of Opposition

By Harry W. Laidler

IN the presidential election just over the expected happened. The betting odds of 5 to 1 on Hoover and the Literary Digest returns proved again to be fair indications of how the election would turn out. Herbert Hoover, Quaker with a military background, received the overwhelming number of electoral votes. The Happy Warrior went down to complete defeat. The election gave another proof that the country as a whole is normally Republican and that it takes either a split in the Republican party such as occurred in the Roosevelt revolt of 1912 or some great crisis or impending crisis, as in the 1916 election, to swing it around to the Democratic.

The campaign resulted in the casting of the largest volume of votes ever cast in a national election. It brought out the women of the nation as never before. It introduced to the American people a new and powerful political tool, a new instrument of education or miseducation as the case may be—the radio—which brought the voice of the principal candidates to the hearstons of the people in the remotest villages of the nation and which, incidentally, emptied the coffers of the two old parties to the tune of no less than one and a half million dollars. It was a campaign waged largely on non-economic issues—rum and religion—with agricultural reform and water power trailing behind as poor seconds. Only the Socialists emphasized, in season and out of season, the economic issues vital to the American workers.

**The Republican Strategy**  
The strategy of the Republicans throughout the campaign was a simple

one. It was directed primarily to the conserving of their usual majority. In 1924 Coolidge had won with an electoral vote of 382, as against 136 for Davis and 13 for La Follette. He had piled up a plurality of more than 7,000,000 over his Democratic opponent and of about 2,500,000 over both Davis and La Follette. On the basis of this showing, declared the Republicans, let Hoover conduct a dignified, colorless campaign. Nominate a man from a farm state as vice-presidential candidate. Keep the farmers from revolting by conceding, if need be, an extra session of Congress after the inauguration and by making the most of the loyalty of Borah, Nye, Frazier, McNary, Haugen and company. Emphasize the issue of Prosperity. Scare the people by the cry of state-socialism. Appeal to Republican tradition. For the rest depend on the Prohibition and the religious issues for keeping the mass of Republicans from voting for Al Smith, and the trick is done. If, in addition, the Solid South can be invaded and some of the southern states can be torn from their former allegiance, so much the better.

**The Democratic Hopes**  
The Democratic strategy was essentially different. To succeed the Democrats felt that they must obtain recruits from Big Business, both for the purpose of providing a great war chest and appearing "safe and sane" before the country. They must keep the South solidly Democratic. They must attract the farmers of

the North-west to their standard. They must parade as the party of progressives, and capture former La Follette votes. They must make the religious issues an asset by denouncing the intolerance of their opponents. They must rally around them the city workers.

In pursuit of these difficult and quite inconsistent tasks, they appointed John J. Raskob as the campaign manager; drew a large circle of big business men on to their committee; raised the largest campaign fund ever raised by the Democrats from industrial, financial and public utility leaders; committed themselves to a high tariff program; omitted all mention of the Negro question; nominated a Southerner as vice-presidential candidate; swallowed the principles of the McNary-Haugen bill; promised to call a Farm Conference after election; attacked the Eighteenth Amendment and religious bigotry; favored the public ownership of hydro-electric plants at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam and exhibited their magnetic candidate for the benefit of the populace in all portions of the East and the Middle West.

**All Got the Cheers**  
The result was great popular demonstrations for Al Smith, and an increased popular vote, but little more. The Solid South was broken. It refused to be impressed with such selections as that of Raskob whom Governor Dan Moody of Texas described as "a cynical commercialist with an alcoholic complex who has no conception of the attitude or

ideals prevailing in the South or West." Big business as a whole felt that it was just as safe with Hoover as with Smith, and saw no great reason—except on the Prohibition question—for changing. The farmers were not convinced that Smith's newly developed love for them was anything to get excited about and many thousands of progressives, while agreeing with Smith in his denunciation of the Republican party, could not be inspired by his few constructive remedies to present day evils, while many, approached by the Democrats to vote for them on the ground of tolerance, thought of the Democratic racial intolerance in the South and were not moved. Here and there, as in Boston and New York, a great mass emotion swept the city dwellers and even the intelligentsia in the direction of Al Smith. Great crowds gathered to hear Smith's caustic denunciations of Republican inaction and corruption but some of those fighting characteristics which made his addresses most telling before his immediate audiences, detracted greatly from the effect on his invisible radio audience. And throughout the country, outside of the South and some of the great centers, the Democratic party lacked the organization which is necessary to get results while the Smith program for farm and city workers lacked the vitality to overcome Republican tradition, religious and social prejudices and the fear of Tammany domination.

**The Solid South Broken**  
Thus when the votes were counted,

Hoover was found with an electoral vote of some 444 and Smith with 87. The New England states went Republican with the exception of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where the industrial situation was in many instances desperate, where the religious and Prohibition issues naturally favored Smith and where Smith had the great ovals of the campaign. In the Middle Atlantic states the Happy Warrior even lost his own happy hunting ground, New York State, because of the overwhelming opposition of the dry Protestant farming and town population outside of the city. In the South, the Democratic machine, by its appeal to the voters to hold the Negroes in check, retained the chief Southern states for the Democrats, despite their religious and anti-wet prejudices, but these prejudices, among other things, were sufficiently strong to break the South and to swing Florida, Texas, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee into the Republican column. Kentucky and West Virginia, which went for Coolidge in 1924, remained Republican adjutants. In the Southwest also Oklahoma, which gave Davis a plurality in 1924, rolled up a Republican plurality.

In the Middle West the Democrats hoped and many ardently expected that the defections of Norris, Blaine, La Follette and others and the inadequate farm program of the Republicans might yield to them Nebraska, Wisconsin and possibly Minnesota and South Dakota, but this was not to be and there and on the Pacific Coast every state helped to pile up

electoral votes for Hoover. On the other hand, Smith did secure a great popular vote large enough to elect a president in normal times.

**Democratic Loss**  
Despite this popular vote, however, the Democrats issued from the election with greatly diminished prestige. The election demonstrated to political students that the Democratic party could not hope to elect a president for years to come and brought home to thousands the desirability of casting their lot with a third party movement rather than engaging in the hopeless task of rehabilitating the Democratic party and trying to put it into power. It swept aside from the presidential race the strongest personality that has appeared in years among Democratic leaders. It showed to thousands that there was no longer any essential difference between the two parties on any vital question and placed the Socialist party as the Opposition party as far as ideas and program, though not of numerical strength, are concerned.

This loss of influence for the Democrats meant in no small way an increase in influence for the Socialists. During the last few months the standard bearer of the Socialist party, Norman Thomas, has carried on a magnificent educational campaign from Maine to Florida, and from coast to coast. He has addressed large audiences in over 40 states, and his voice has been carried over the radio network into every town of the Union. Wherever he went he presented in a bril-

liant and eloquent fashion the fundamental economic and international questions that the American people must sometime face if they are going to be free. Through his spoken and written addresses, he has commanded for the Socialist party an attention and a respect not heretofore given. Wherever he went he met men and women of labor and young men and women in the universities who pledged themselves following election to help build a party of labor in the days to come. And he was assisted in this educational work by James Maurer, vice-presidential candidate, by August Goshaw, the youthful and enthusiastic campaign manager and a host of others. It was the Socialist party during the campaign which pointed to the real evils under which the people were suffering; which pointed to the real remedies to these evils. Because of the heat raised over the Prohibition and the religious questions, the favorable impression of this educational campaign was not translated, as it would otherwise have been, into votes, but it laid a splendid foundation for a socialist advance following election and for the development of a vigorous American labor party.

**New Socialist Tasks**  
There are certain tasks of supreme importance which the Socialist party stands before it and which it must undertake if its educational gains are to mean anything of a tangible character in the next four years. It must employ young, vigorous organizers with imagination and a knowledge of the American scene to bring within the party all who believe in the party program. It must further work out constructive municipal, state and federal programs on all the vital issues of the day. It must be ever alert through its publicity service to inform the American people where the party stands on all important issues. It must constantly place itself before the public as the one intelligent and fundamental Opposition group to the smug, Big Business, imperialistic administration which may be expected after March, 1929, and it must educate, agitate and organize among the masses in behalf of independent political action which, combined with economic action, is the one salvation of American labor. If the Socialist party does this, it will soon be regarded as the one party that will be able effectively to challenge the individualism of Herbert Hoover—an individualism which in reality means private monopoly, industrial feudalism and international conflict—and head the country in the direction of economic justice and international peace.

### Fel Are Well Off, Tax Roll Shows

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Exactly 8.35 per cent of the 4,122,242 Americans who filed income tax returns for the calendar year 1927 had incomes over \$10,000 a year, according to the report of statistics of income issued by the Internal Revenue Bureau.

This 8.35 per cent of the persons filing returns had 44.70 per cent of the total incomes. On the other hand, the 11,067 persons who filed returns showing incomes of \$100,000 or more—their being only 0.27 per cent of the reporting army—had 12.45 per cent of the total incomes. The 3,234,877 persons having incomes under \$5,000 had 38.58 per cent of the total incomes, or a little more than three times as much income as the 11,067 aristocrats of fortune. Thus their so-called equality of economic opportunity, as compared with the group above \$100,000, was approximately 1 to 100.

There were 134 persons admitting incomes of \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000 last year; 54 others had incomes of \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000; 55 had incomes of \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000; 22 had incomes of \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000; 8 had incomes of \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000, and 10 had incomes above \$5,000,000 each. This group of 10 admitted that their income for 1927 was \$38,995,242.

Legal exemptions reduced the list of actual payors of income tax to 2,464,168, and the taxed income from \$22,572,317,917 to \$18,082,610,787.

I could point to a philanthropist or two—even to their statues—whom Poverty should it ever turn from administering the way they spent their money to considering the way they got it, will probably compare very unfavorably with G. Fawkes—C. G. Bernard Shaw.

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## Socialism And The Trade Unions

### SOME QUESTIONS

**EDITOR, The New Leader:**  
Permit a former, active member of the Socialist Party, who left the Party years ago on account of its conservatism and compromise, but who voted the ticket this week, though four years ago he cast his ballot for the Worker's Party, to jot down thoughts which may be in the minds of hundreds like him.

I voted for the Socialist Party, not because I approve your platform completely—which I do not—nor because I admire Comrades Thomas and Maurer—which I do—but chiefly because I am becoming more and more antagonistic toward the Communists. I heartily disapprove of some of their tactics and slogans, but I still admire their enthusiasm, their sincerity, their fierce class-consciousness. Some of these qualities are lacking among most American Socialists, though I remember the time when we of the Party had these necessary traits.

You wish to build up the Party anew. Can you bring back as members comrades like me, who, though still good Socialists, consider you not Socialist enough?

During this campaign you criticized the A. F. of L. officialdom on account of its stand on political matters. Good! Will you continue to do so now and quit knowing to it? Will you continue to condemn the left wing movement in toto just because the Communists have taken advantage of the lack of real leadership for their party purposes, and will you not recognize the justice, in many cases, of the opposition's contentions? Will you always be with the machines of certain unions and prevent worthwhile criticism of them? Will you take a stand, if for Socialists, on trade union problems, perplexing to many of us, regardless of the Communist stand, even though the latter is in accord with yours?

Positive answers will help many of us to decide to rejoin you. Those of us who ache for a strong Socialist Party in our country and wish to help establish it cannot conscientiously become part of your organization, unless we are satisfied with your militancy on all fronts. But perhaps you don't want us. You prefer our remaining sympathetic, in many phases of the labor movement, with the Communists. Nevertheless, we remain Socialists, vitally interested in the genuine movement.

And you need us.

Mordcaid Shulman.

Chicago, Ill.

### The Editor Replies

The above is a very interesting letter and deserves consideration. The writer notes that we have been consistent in our criticism of the A. F. of L. political policy but wants to know whether the Socialist Party will continue to do so and "quit knowing to it." The question so put is confused. It admits that we have consistently opposed this policy and then asks whether we will "quit knowing to it." Ignoring this confusion we can only say that there is not the slightest indication that the Socialist Party will change its attitude on this question.

We are asked whether we will condemn the Left Wing in toto. That is also vague but our answer is the same. The Communist Left Wing is not likely to ever get Socialist support in the unions because it is wrong in method and futile in results. It consists of planting cells in the unions that are under the direction of Communist leaders. We cannot approve this without agreeing that any outside organization should do it to us. Communist organizations themselves condemn it as applied to them. Coupled with this policy the Communists resort almost exclusively to malicious lying regarding their opponents. This has become so general that even if they come across a case of real dishonesty in the unions nobody can believe them.

We must keep in mind this last consideration when answering the next question as to whether we will recognize many of the contentions of the Communists regarding the unions. Which are truthful and which are false contentions? If the contention is meant that many of the old leaders are so conservative that they have lost sight even

of labor objectives, we did not need the Communists to tell us. This was being said many years before their movement appeared. If it be said that the trade unions cannot organize the basic industries on the basis of crafts, that is not a discovery of the Communists. Socialists and progressive members of the unions recognized this long before the Russian revolution. If the failure of many trade union publications to arouse the idealism of the members and inspire them with the will to greater conquests is meant, that too is not a discovery of the Communists.

**The Socialist-Unionist**  
We doubt whether the Communists have brought a single new idea to the old discussion of trade unionism. Even their malicious attacks on all who disagree with them is not new. It is merely a continuance of a policy which began with the S. L. P. many years ago. We do not believe that cells directed by men outside the unions can save them. We do not believe that the Socialist Party can save them. The unions can only be saved by the members of the unions themselves just as the Socialist Party can only become strong by the action of its own members.

This does not imply that the Socialist does not have a duty to the union if he is a member. It is his job to contribute all that he can to educating his fellow members to understand the necessity of new and more fruitful policies in organization and political action. To the extent that he fails to share in this educational work does he fail to serve the union itself. However, it would be wrong and futile for the Socialist Party to secretly instruct and direct the activity of the union member in his union. We would not permit that in the Socialist Party and the union is right in also fighting it.

Will we always be with certain machines? Our correspondent is again vague. What machines? Our friend, as a former Communist, must know that about the most perfect machine that has ever appeared in the unions is the Communist cell. We have no doubt that in some unions the presence of such machine cells has resulted in opponents organizing as a machine to fight the other machine. Such opponents would certainly be foolish not to so organize. It is a matter of either organizing a machine of your own or be destroyed by the opposing machine. The outsider with his sympathies for the union is then compelled to choose between two machines. For him to denounce the reaction which the machine cell has caused without placing first blame upon the cell is to fail to reason from cause to effect.

We are aware that this situation has happened and it will always happen when secret cells are planted in any organization. We have often been amused at the protests by the Left Wing against a "machine" when the Lefts have themselves called it into existence.

We certainly favor the utmost democracy in the trade unions and in all the institutions of society. We do not believe that the Socialist Party is impeccable, that it will not make more, or that it will ever reach a stage of perfection when it will be above criticism. The party has learned much since the end of the World War and we are certain that its old fighting spirit is returning. It welcomes all its former friends and members as well as the new recruits it has gained in the recent campaign. That is the only promise it can make. Nothing more should be asked. Criticism is welcomed, but not that venomous assault on character and motive which has been the substance of all Communist propaganda. Our correspondent is right in conceding the earnestness and enthusiasm of the Communists, qualities that have been lacking in the Socialist Party in recent years. Of course, the war terror, the split and the quarrels that followed account for this situation but these qualities were again evident and plentiful in the Socialist Party in the recent campaign. Intelligent work is ahead of us to intensify these qualities and make the mite dynamo of the new Socialist Party.

## Saving Heirlooms—And Elections

Well, the election is over and everybody can speak his or her mind without getting a rotten egg heaved at him. So we commend the story of the Arkansas coon hound and the pitcher to our voters who didn't know how to scratch.

In the recent election, we saw dry Democrats fighting for the wet Smith, wet Republicans fighting for the dry Hoover, farmers' friends for Hoover, union men for open-shoppers, Catholics for Ku Kluxers, and vice versa—all because they were tagged with the label "Democratic" and "Republican."

Well, the guys who stood for one thing before the campaign got started, and flip-flopped when the party regularly called went out, show the enormous intelligence, acumen, and brilliance displayed by the Arkansas coon-hunter in preserving his heirlooms!

Once upon a time there was a poor Arkansas way who only pride in life was a beautiful pitcher and a blooded "coon dawg."

The water pitcher he had inherited from his forebears, who, as the story runs, were "quality folks befo' the war." It was the sole remaining heirloom from those days of glory and, so, its possessor was inordinately proud of it.

The coon dog was a more recent addition to the family, but as he had the reputation of being the best coon hound in that section of the country, his owner was often heard to say that he "would not take a million dollars for him."

Well, one dry and hot day this very dry and hot million-dollar coon dog searched the cabin of our Arkansas way for water to quench his thirst. He found it at last in the heirloom water pitcher. Having discovered the water, Mr. Coon dog poked first his nose, then his long ears, and at last his whole head through the narrow neck of the ante-bellum water pitcher. So far so good.

The trouble started when doggie tried to withdraw his head from the heirloom. Son a panicky coon dog rushed about the cabin knocking over spilt bottom chairs, using the priceless heirloom as a battering ram.

When the owner, attracted by the commotion, entered the cabin, panic spread to do—let the dog continue on his wild rampage and break the pitcher, or let the million dollar coon chaser smother to death in the invaluable vessel?

At last he caught the dog, but do what he would, he could not extricate his head from the pitcher. Followed long and profound meditation. At last came the solution. Pulling out his jackknife the frantic owner cut the dog's head off and thus saved the priceless pitcher. Then he broke the pitcher to save the dog's head.

Adam Coalidigger.

## Our Costly Elections

By James H. Pollack, Jr.

TWO great desires in government are for efficiency and economy. But in complete contrast to the great success which has attended the elimination of waste and inefficiency in industry, our governmental machines in many respects continue to creak and to groan, and to make government a by-word for careless and wasteful expenditure. In the field of election administration we have one of the best instances of how and why the American citizen is burdened with unconscionable costs, and handicapped by colossal inefficiency.

A few comparative figures will make the point clear. In the matter of registration of voters it costs the average American municipality from 50 cents to \$1 annually per registered voter. In Philadelphia the cost per year per registered voter is \$1.33. By way of comparison, it costs the people of Milwaukee but 12½ cents per registered voter per year to run their permanent registration system. And sadly enough, the cities where registration costs are the highest are also the cities where there is the most fraud.

Furthermore the actual costs of conducting the election on election day have become so large that it is amazing that

our people have not taken notice of them. New York City alone spends more money in providing for its city election, than does the whole German Republic in electing the entire Reichstag. The city of Chicago spends more money in electing its officials than does all of Britain in electing an entire House of Commons.

Obviously something is wrong. There must be waste somewhere. It is very clear that our registration system needs serious overhauling such as it has received in a number of our states. It is also clear that elections must be considered not as money-making ventures for our political machines, but as solemn referendums to be efficiently conducted. The employing of too many election officials, the renting of too many election precincts, the failure to make wider use of voting machines, the requirement of annual registration in the precincts—these and many other objections must be overcome before we can hope to have cheap and efficiently conducted elections.

Any doctrine that will not bear investigation is not a fit tenant for the mind of an honest man. Any man who is afraid to have his doctrine investigated is not only a coward, but a hypocrite. Ingersoll.

### Tennessee Convicts Used Against Molders' Strike

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—(FP)—Use of Tennessee convicts against the Intl. Molders Union is spurring state unionists to a renewal of the fight against the prison contract labor system when the legislature convenes this winter.

Ninety convicts in the penitentiary foundry are producing Washington brand stoves and ranges for the market under contract between the state and the Gray & Dudley Stove Company. This production gives the firm the ability to resist a strike of its free labor employees in a Nashville plant outside the prison walls.

### EDUCATORS' POWER PROBERS NAMED

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Paul C. Stetson, superintendent of schools at Dayton, O., and David A. Ward, superintendent at Wilmington, Del., are expected to take the lead in the probe of power trust propaganda in the schools, which is to be made by their committee of 10, named by the National Education Association. They are young, energetic, and are on record as opposing the use of the schools as defenses of private ownership against public ownership of utilities.

### PROSPERITY?

Chicago.—The Herald-Examiner of this city three days after the election printed a "prosperity" note which is credited to an Associated Press dispatch from New York. It declares that at the end of October 1927 blast furnaces were active in the United States. This is 57.4 per cent of the 343 furnaces available for iron-making and is unchanged from the number in blast at the end of September. As the iron and steel industry is considered the "barometer" of "prosperity," these figures tell their own story.

**Help advertise the New Leader** by posting one of our attractive placards illustrated by Flambo. These placards are printed on excellent stock and are 12 by 18 inches in size. Just the thing for stores, union halls, newsstands and lecture halls. Send for yours today.

Free For The Asking

### My Idea of Success

By ART YOUNG

JUDGED by that standard of success which most of the American people accept and believe, I would be classed among the failures. Now past sixty, with an obvious talent and reasonably industrious in doing the work I like, yet never in my life very far from bankruptcy. If I should happen to be a money success when I am old—and the years ahead of me are very few—the fact remains the same in the common vernacular, I lacked brains to get on and clean up; throughout all the years of an average life-time. I belong with the failures—with the man who is sitting at home tonight after his day's work who knows what his wife, his relatives and friends think "he is a failure." I'm with this man and the whole army of splendid men and women who wear the ragged badge of defeat. I know that some people are successful who deserve to be, but I am with the unadaptable, the out of luck, the weary with money-struggle. I am with them but not sadly because in my vision of a new world there is going to be a different definition of success.

—From "On My Way."

### Welcome, "Harlem"!

A "FORUM OF NEGRO LIFE" edited by Wallace Thurman, Aaron Douglas (art), and S. Pace Alexander, has appeared under the name of "Harlem," the center of New Negro life. The first issue contains much material that is both excellent in itself, and promising for the success of the venture, which aims to give the artistic side of the Negro full opportunity for expression, without overlooking its interrelations with the other sides of human contacts. In the opening article, Walter White, discussing the problem of the Negro vote, points out the folly of putting trust in either of the two dominant parties, but takes the pallid way of suggesting that, within these parties, the Negro vote for the Man. Of what avail it is to vote for an individual pledged to the policies of a pernicious party, it is difficult to see; Mr. White may protest that I am crying "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" but how many Christs have there been in the past two thousand years? We may expect about as many "independent" politicians.

The list of known names among the present and promised contributors to the magazine is long, with poem, story, drawing; but newer figures are also valid. H. Van Weeber has an excellent review of two books of Negro life, and Richard Bruce brings home a social point from the drama. In the various ways in which art impinges upon life, "Harlem" starts out with vigor and effective stir, and should—with proper support—prove the developing ground of many Negro workers in the arts and in the art of life.

Two more from John Fisher, Gillespie, Ill. He says that the N. L. is ideal to spread the gospel of working class freedom.

### SOCIALIST THEATRE PARTIES

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

in "Sun Up"

at LUCILLE LAVERNE THEATRE 35th Street East of Broadway

Prices:—\$1.00; \$2.00; \$2.50 and \$3.00

### SECOND PLAY Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, December 19-20-21st "SINGING JAILBIRDS"

by UPTON SINCLAIR

at PROVINCETOWN PLAYHOUSE Presented by The New Playwrights Theatre

Prices:—\$1.00; \$1.75; \$2.50

Tickets now on sale at Socialist Party, City Office, 7 East 15th Street, Branch 1



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## PITY THE DUMB REPUBLICANS

WELL, boys and girls, the horrid truth is out.

According to statements of Republican leaders in up-State New York districts, the reason the Socialist vote was so heavy this year was because a lot of dumb Republicans came rushing in to the voting machines and pulled the wrong levers.

They voted for us instead of Al Ottinger and the rest.

And what's more these same Republican alibis say that this must be so because in districts where paper ballots were used the Socialist vote was not so heavy.

Well, of course, it's easier to throw a paper ballot down the sewer than an entire voting machine.

But we are greatly upset over this unfortunate turn of affairs and we have a few suggestions to offer the harassed Republicans.

They might rig up a row of cuckoo clocks above the names of the Republican candidates and then the voter could be sure he was all right because if the little birdie didn't come out and holler "cuckoo" after the lever was pulled, the voter could claim he had spoiled his ballot and had voted Socialist and begin all over again.

Or else they could have pictures of the Republican candidates with buttons in their noses and the voter could push the button and the picture, with a phonograph attachment, such as they have in the new cigarette slot machines, could say: "Thank you, you will receive your change from the Republican watcher outside."

Speaking of cigarettes we are glad to find that our old army boy friend, Lieutenant General Robert Lee Bullard, has come out with a little poem endorsing Lucky Strike Cigarettes on the ground that they keep you nice and thin.

Writes the General: "An Army man must keep fit—reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet."

For an army general this isn't so bad. It may be in the army they do pronounce fit, "swit" or vice versa.

And besides there is a swell picture of Bob all dressed up with enough medals on that he could probably get \$3.80 for at Feinberg's "Old Curiosity Shop" next door to us on Third Avenue.

It is, we confess, a bit of a surprise to us to learn that soldiers go in so heavy for candy.

Maybe a younger and more effete generation of soldiers go reeling in and out of the Happiness Stores these days, but it wasn't so when we won the Great War as a Sergeant in the U. S. Engineers.

Of course now and then we would get sort of wild and go off on a chocolate fudge sundae jag. But they pays put us in the guard-house for that and wrote me to our families saying that if that sort of thing opened again we would be withdrawn from the draft and sent right back in disgrace.

I'll never forget the time that Jake Mahoney and I got on a regular riot in Huyler's in Washington.

For three days we sat at the counter drinking nothing but pineapple sodas. One right after another.

It was a terrible scene. Our captain came in and at us and broke down and wept openly and was away by two soda jerkers and our little sister stood by her face against the pane, singing, "Don't no more of them pineapple sodas, Brother, don't no more today, for I'll have to go home and tell Popper and what will the old man say?"

Little did we care. We were young. The world was our feet. "If I man were drunk forever on sodas, and pop, I'd drink my blasted head off and never stop."

On the dawn of the third day I said to Jake: "All my boy, this is going a bit too far. As I used to say, 'temperance in all things,' or 'post hoc, propter hoc.' Let's remember that these are those who are looking for us to go over there to the right thing and put our bayonets into a lot of Germans, and try and brace up to be men."

I want to say right here and now that from that until the present I have never touched another apple soda.

What army training does for you. Teaches to be a man.

Now, to get back to this General Bullard. The poem seems somehow familiar to us. As we recall it, General and I have had considerable correspondence.

General, we believe, is in the patriotic society

and a bunch of other patriotic racketeers are in to defend the Constitution.

Guarantee protection for anyone who wants to defend the Constitution and they offer to

generous radicals" for a ride, for a price. General wrote me once would I like to get in racket, as it was quite profitable, but I wrote said that I was considering an offer to hitch Scar-Face Capone in the dry-cleaning game to see how I could take on both offers, unless time and a half. And then, of course, I would time.

It seems that in addition to endorsing the General is endorsing Lucky Strike

praising racket seems to be one of the best that's something I might consider seriously.

It has been over what I need and have decided to being to endorse the Hispano-Suiza auto-

written this one out: "I feel like Julius Caesar in my Hispano-Suiza."

Doesn't strike me as being so hot.

Frigitaria, too. So here's our endorsement: "What do I care? Now that I've got Frigate."

McALISTER COLEMAN

## Scanning The New Books

### Art Is Forever Young

By Joseph T. Shipley

WHY do we all love Art Young? What is there in the man that so engages us? What does his life-tale ("On My Way", Liveright, \$4), hold, this rambling, unburied eye-cast over the field outside the window as he writes, or over the field of a life-long activity, shifting casually from the consideration of the World's Fair of 1893 to discussion as to how the world fares in 1928—what is the secret of the certain charm? "On My Way" is, indeed, a spirit-portrait of Art Young.

Art is a country lad, unchanged by his sixty years. Eyes that found keenness in the open fields, that watched the habits of farmyard creatures, with an interest not too absorbed but kindly, turn the same clear gaze upon crowded ways and human occupations. There is a drawl in the soul of Art Young; such a drawl as may mark the Yankee tradesman building his best bargain, or the western badman drawing his victim to the shot; the deliberate withholding of a man who knows what impends, before he traces the final blow. A caricature or a cartoon is the final blow of Art Young.

This is hardly the place for a consideration of Art's technique as an artist, nor am I equal to that task. But it is pertinent to his life-journey to point out that, at three-score, the best work of his career is being done. His most effective series of cartoons is unquestionably that which he has, with high consistency, produced for The New Leader on the 1928 campaign. His best work outside of direct propaganda is probably in the grace and fancy of the recent "Trees at Night." But I am interrupting my quest of Art Young.

Perhaps the root of the man is his unpretentiousness. He is didactic, at times, in his volume, but with a frank kindness that holds no note of condescension. He is simple in attitude and taste; "I don't mind tinkling a little in this Bedlam called popularity, but my real desire is to ring true"—then modestly he adds "as nearly true as I can get." Why is he a radical? "A real artist is also a rebel. Tradition, for all its accepted truisms, is the enemy. The fact that a few accepted or basic facts reveal themselves in all art from the primitive to the classical is not more important than that the iconoclast shall have his day. Within the larger truths there are always a lot of other truths that are none at all the radical darts to investigate and bring them to light. Sir Joshua calls these the fluctuating, as distinguished from fixed, principles. There is in Art Young's vision, no line drawn between art and life; and the fluctuating principles he discerns are limited by sympathy. There is little righteous indignation in the work, or the character, of the man; he fires to no immediate flame of fury at life's wrongs; he seems rather to know that anger but raises no wrath and hatreds, that pity, even amusement, are more appropriate emotions than love. There is an all-embracing love, whether it be of the sweat-shop child he pictures, or the half dozen varieties of leaf he draws, the sunset or the executed anarchists he writes of, in his work. There is the mischief of love,

### Art Young—Not in Caricature



ART YOUNG, whose book of reminiscence, "On My Way," has just been issued by Horace Liveright.

whether it be the rhapsody on the human leg accompanied by the drawing of a ludicrous pair (is it accident, that a most graceful pair is print-pressed behind this?) or the cover drawing of an important—Art Young.

In the ramblings of this vital caricaturist through his years, whatever comes into his mind goes onto his pages. The building of his little art gallery at Bethel; such glimpses of men's ways as "When a woman criticizes a man for his faults, he smiles. When a man criticizes a woman for her faults, she cries"; quotations from Randolph Bourne; the capture of Emerson in the phrase "serene lightning"; brief criticisms of other artists; rapid sketches of prominent figures in the political life of the last forty years; many many specimens of his drawings; from the days when the lawyer of his home town threatened to beat him for a satiric portrait; through his trial for his work in The Masses, to the break of this year's spring in his Bethel home, the smiling observation of Art Young richly fills the pages. Those who would know his secret might not be far from the trail if they pronounce him, cockney-wise, Heart Young.

do not exist. In short, M. Romier is a Rotarian, though he is also a poet of commanding force and sympathy.

### Politics and Economics

THE recent political campaign was the occasion for publishing a number of books on American politics and political parties. Frank Kent is credited with two, one a history of the Democratic Party and the other a study of political behavior. Professor Myers provided a history of the Republican Party which provided that an educator can be dull without much effort. William Bennett Munroe junked a large cargo of hokum in a little book on the invisible government and William Allen White provided a delightful survey of politicians and presidents which the Daughters of the American Revolution will certainly place on the blacklist.

To the list may be added two more which appeared near the close of the campaign. In The American Party Betrayed (The Macmillan Co., \$1.50) Charles A. Beard has added a valuable little book to the series known as the "World Today" bookshelf. It is a sweeping review of the rise of political parties and of American political battles, certainly an excellent job of condensed statement within the compass of 150 pages. Like all his other work, Professor Beard displays a mastery of his subject and a courage that is rare in exploding some political fictions.

The leading chapter on the "Nature of Political Parties" amply disposes of some popular and academic notions regarding the origin of political parties, including the theories of Lord Macaulay, Brander Matthews, James Bryce and others. This chapter is devoted to the theme that political parties and party struggles issue out of the economic conflicts in society. This in turn is checked with certain necessary reservations and exceptions to account for variations of the fundamental principle as applied to individuals and the necessity of compromises by parties which are required to hold the allegiance of a number of economic groups whose interests do not always agree in important matters. The remaining chapters take the reader through the important

party struggles and party issues to the present period. It is an admirable introduction to American political and party history.

Henry Minor has attempted to write a history of the Democratic Party in his Story of the Democratic Party (The Macmillan Co., \$4.50) and as a narrative of the origin and varying fortunes of that party he has provided a serviceable book for those who may not have Frank Kent's work or the two volumes of Stanwood on the Presidency. The author has made special use of the published proceedings of party conventions but aside from this the volume has no special value. It does not approach the scholarship that is evident in the work of Beard and it is lacking in that deep insight into the economics that is the basis of American politics and political rivalries. Mr. Minor, for example, endeavors to explain Andrew Jackson and Jacksonian Democracy on the theory that Jackson may have been acquainted with the writings of Jeremy Bentham. Even if that were true it would not explain the mass movement of small farmers and the newly enfranchised mechanics of the cities who swept Jackson into office in 1828. They knew nothing of Bentham and their claims to power had been formulating for years because the Jeffersonians and Federalists had learned to sleep in the same bunk.

Here and there the author also indulges in an occasional spreadeagledism that reminds us of the writings of Bancroft. Thus he declares that in 1884 the Democratic Party placed Grover Cleveland "in the Presidency to be a light unto the nation and to all succeeding Presidents" and on page 448 that "The United States under Wilson followed the Shakespearean analogy; we were slow to enter the war, but in the nation so bore itself that forever after the world will beware our entrance into a quarrel." The righteousness and holy might of American sainthood are thus avowed in terms of the florid oratory of the days of Webster.

James Oneal.

### Schoolmaster Arnold

"WHY," says Charles Lamb, "are we never quite at our ease in the presence of a school-master? Because we are conscious that he is not quite at his ease in ours. He is awkward and out of place in the society of his equals. He comes to be Gulliver from among his little people, and he cannot fit the stature of his understanding to yours." Arnold was well aware of this difficulty and tried it in a variety of ways. "Dr. Arnold of Rugby" by Arnold Whitridge (Holt, \$2), is the great-grandson's tale of the influence of this educator on the school system of England. In its defense against the charge of Samuel Butler the book becomes special pleading rather than expository; but we must thank the man who introduced half-yearly examinations and monthly reports for recognizing that one function of the school is to teach—not information, but—how to learn. "Knowledge is power," and power is good when blended with character; it was for this blending that we come to feel, as we read Mr. Whitridge's smooth-flowing pages, that Dr. Arnold loomed.

William Lea.

### A Century Ago

IT WAS the Brock illustrations—for the period is more living in me because of his black and white sketches for this Essays of Elia—that drew me to the Duton reprints of Jane Austen's "Mansfield Park" and "Sense and Sensibility," in the English Idylls Series (\$2 a volume). In color, he is equally happy in his choice of subject and handling, and he gives Jane Austen's work precisely the setting it requires.

In this setting, and in the mood it evokes, these novels, read in much earlier days, renew the leisure spell of adolescence. The jazz page of our period will have none of them, but for those who care at times to saunter along poplar-lined tow-paths, thinking idly of the days when these canals were busiest highways, when even love could dally, nor seek only speedy goal—these volumes will awaken forgotten (or never known) memories, and bring an olden fragrance quietly to please.

Joseph T. Shipley.

## BOSTON

### A NOVEL BY UPTON SINCLAIR

AUTHOR OF "GIL"

This novel, inspired by the heat and fury of the Sacco and Vanzetti case, paints a vivid picture of present day New England civilization. So close to life has Mr. Sinclair kept, that all classes of Society from Italian laborers and anarchist agitators to bankers, judges and governors will imagine themselves portrayed on this great canvas.

"A tale of epic character and proportions. I doubt if we have seen anything like it since Voltaire. From the moment I opened it I was lost in the thrill and wonder of the story."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

2 volumes \$5.00

ALBERT AND CHARLES BONI—PUBLISHERS  
66-5th AVENUE, NEW YORK

## THE CHATTER BOX

FOR eight years we have been getting short bits of fact and long stretches of agony out of Massachusetts and her two Christs.

Most of the American Christians hardly know what it has all been about. Those who do, hardly give a shrug to the matter. All the drama, the tragedy, the outrage and the heartbreak of the two "wop anarchists" have torn at the souls of so few.

Which brings out the Judean legend, the fact that in all the old world of men and women, only twelve remained to remember and carry on for a faith that was nailed and hoisted against the night nineteen hundred years ago.

Prof. Felix Frankfurter gave us the first chapter of the gospel. A powerful thing then. It forced the alignment of prostituted learning against the threadbare battalion of the outraged. Then came the editorials of a few liberal newspaper and periodicals. These brought into the fray all the sullen strength of patriotic bulletins, orders and agencies. The barrage from their howitzers blinded and deafened the self-centered citizens.

Massachusetts asserted her stubborn rights as a sovereign state. A creature was found to pull the switch at two hundred and fifty dollars a throw-in; two thousand volts tore the quick out of Sacco's clay, out of Vanzetti's tormented flesh.

There was a choked snarl and a gulped sob, here and there, in such small corners of the earth, and the world was ready again to show these mealy little buttons to mind their own business or take the consequences.

It remained for some gatherer of fact and folio to tell the whole story without passion and without strained effect. By all the rules of human chemistry, this would be quite impossible. For such acids and gases as this horror brought forth, there can be neither mind, nor flesh, nor marrow strong enough to act as catalytic agent and instrument during the experiments of narrative.

"Boston," the latest novel of Upton Sinclair, and issued under the imprint of A. and C. Boni, is the nearest thing to an impartial history of the Sacco-Vanzetti case within human possibility.

How so inveterate a propagandist as Sinclair could have reached into the ether of untrammeled art is also within the range of wonder. Yet here it is, two volumes of history. And told with just enough pretense at invention to give it the glow of imaginative creation.

Sinclair crowds into his canvass an infinitude of detail, a legion of character and motive, and builds in all the colors and shades of the New England background. He works with such a mature sureness, that neither foe nor friend can deny to him his high place amongst the master novelists of our time. And the greatness of his work is all the more shot with brilliance because he had his own bias and philosophy to struggle with, while he planned and performed at his task.

It takes no too practised reader to discern how difficult it was for him to bring forth clearly the fact that his heroes were definitely established as "direct-action" terrorists prior to their arrest. Or to photograph with all its damnable damage the attempts of the defense to set up falsehoods of their own against the State's perjury. Or to portray with delicate accuracy all the cross-crossing, double crossing, and inhuman bickering among the defense interests.

It is through these revelations that the book becomes cruelly fascinating. Particularly to one who has pelted his emotions through the case for eight years and with only the intent of saving the class war victims from death.

He hardly ever stopped to consider that behind all the cloak of idealism and dream, the wheels and gears of human baseness and vanity, groaned and creaked with indecent discords.

One of the few regrets that Mr. Sinclair engenders in me by his book, is the hasty manner in which he passes over the palpable ghouliness of the Communists, who used the grief and horror stirred up by the outrage to collect large sums of money in the name of defense for the victims, and put the funds so collected to their own party uses.

The answer to this apparent slip might well be that he was writing the history of Sacco and Vanzetti against Massachusetts justice, and not a tirade against Communist tactics. Which might be valid for the novelist, but surely inadequate for the Socialists who sacrificed so much and received nothing but the wrench of pain when the switch was thrown in. I might also disagree violently with Mr. Sinclair over his praise for certain men and women who appear in the book as pure protestants and genuine geniuses. Nor would my differences be solely based upon opinion.

Let it just be said that in only a few moments through almost eight hundred pages of a two volume work does his judgment sag and his pen blur. For the rest of this work there is only wonder and adulation.

I suppose Upton Sinclair is by this time so hardened to blame or praise that nothing said here will rouse him to resentment or pleasure. And yet in my own joy over "Boston" as a thing of finished and balanced perfection, I can almost overcome the conventional notion that it is not just the thing to congratulate a personal friend with too loud or long a phrase over something he has in all honesty done surpassingly well.

"Oil," Sinclair's last novel revealed to the world of letters that the propagandist had evolved into an artist. The road from "The Jungle" on into these years has been one of exceeding trial and financial error for the prophet who had forsaken his gifts as a story teller in order to set the world aright. With the coming of "Oil" and "Boston" a new phase of the man comes forth; his arrival at age as an artist in literature.

Take it unto yourselves, dear readers, this work of mankind drawn and quartered and wracked by our own Inquisition. Set yourselves down for a story whose reality is haled with a romance of courageous living and still more courageous death. See the whole silly background of pride in family and station setting itself against the underdogs; go through a strike in New England with all its hell; live among "wops" whose humble deencies make you love and revere them; learn how great men are just rag dolls stuffed with shavings, and all their deeds less even than sound and furious bluster; get about the financial intriguers who brought us into the war, and then used the peace for a greater accumulation of wealth.

Read through the first trial, and let the patriotic passions drive you on into condemning the two lonely Italians on just the sort of flimsy evidence with which twelve men good and true, sent them down the corridor of seven years torture. Into the chair that burns death through the flesh.

Join in the first frail attempts at arousing public opinion, become a parader, and through the last agonizing hours sit with the two lost lives and forget their agony and your own, as they calmly converse on all things save their brutal fate.

By sheer storytelling magic the book carries you on until you hate to leave it for the nonce when dinner calls, or a visitor arrives. And long, long after, the tale and its telling linger in your being with all the tune and rhythm of a song you have forgotten to remember, and yet cannot quite ever forget. . . .

Adam Coaldigger.



## Thomas and Moskowitz to Discuss Politics

The next steps in American political alignments will be discussed at the coming luncheon of the New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy, Saturday, November 24th at 12:30. The speakers will be Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a prominent liberal Democrat, and Norman Thomas, the recent Socialist Candidate for President. Dr. Moskowitz is a well known publicist, a student of labor problems and the author of "Up from the City Streets," a biography of Al Smith. He is also the editor of a recent collection of speeches by Governor Smith entitled "Progressive Democracy." It is expected that there will also be a prominent progressive Republican speaker. The subject announced is "What Next?—A Political Symposium."

This luncheon which will be held at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd street, is the second of a series of Saturday noon luncheons which the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy is holding. At these monthly luncheons authoritative speakers will discuss pressing industrial, political and labor problems. Tickets at \$1.25 may be secured from the office of the league, 70 Fifth avenue. The charge for non-members is \$1.50.

## Union Health Center Enlarges Its Facilities

At the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Union Health Center came to the fore again. Under the heading of "Reports from Local Unions," the services of this institution to organized labor was discussed by delegates from various unions. Raula Cohen of the I. L. G. W. U. read extracts from two recently published circulars. Mr. Fred Gaa, of the painters, told of the benefits he derived by using the facilities of the Union Health Center—both the Medical as well as the Dental Dept. Locals were urged to affiliate with the health center, thereby making it labor's own health department.

The Dental Department has had to increase its facilities to accommodate the increasing number of clients. The high quality of work, the personal attention of Dr. Max Price to each and every patient makes this Dental Dept. the meeting place of all those who must have their teeth attended to.

The Electrocardiograph has been installed in the Medical Dept. of this institution. This machine is quite a recent invention. Only the highest heart specialists can afford to have it in their private clinics. And there, the charges are almost prohibitive for the average worker. As a rule, the charge for a cardiograph test runs from fifteen dollars up. In the health center however, the test cost only five dollars. It seems timely to suggest that those suffering from heart trouble had better take advantage of the Health Center's offer.

Among the additional unions that have recently affiliated with this institution are the Paper Handlers, and the Letter Carriers Association. The cost of medical care, when going to private dentists and physicians is tremendous. It can be reduced by using the Health Center facilities to its capacity. A big number of doctors and dentists with long experience are there to take care of those who need their advice and their aid. Come in and see for yourself what N. Y. labor has thus far accomplished in the field of health service.

## Tenants Harvest More Crop Land Than Do Owners

(F.P.)—Big increases in tenant farming in the states west of the Mississippi since 1910 are concealed under the general federal figure showing that for the country as a whole the proportion of tenant farms to all farms increased slightly from 37% to 38.6%. Detailed figures in the 1925 census of agriculture show that while the proportion of farms operated by tenants in the west north central, west south central and mountain states was climbing it remained stationary or even declined in other sections.

The west south central states with 59.2% of their farms operated by tenants in 1925 have the highest percentage of tenant farming. The 1925 figure is an advance from 52.8% operated by tenants in 1910. In other sections of the south the percentage of tenant farms is high amounting to 30.3% in the east south central and 44.3% in the south Atlantic states, but in both cases the figure is slightly under 1910.

In the west north central section the tenant farm increases from 30.9% in 1910 to 27.8% in 1925. In the mountain section it more than doubled increasing from 10.7% in 1910 to 22.3% in 1925. In New England tenant farms declined from 8.0% in 1910 to 5.6% in 1925, in the middle Atlantic states from 22.3% to 15.8%, in the east north central from 27% to 26% and on the Pacific coast from 17.2% to 15.6%.

Fire is the test of gold; adversity, of strong men.—Seneca.

## PERSONAL

INTERESTED IN LIFE'S FINER JOYS? Join aesthetic circle, men, women; refined, congenial, intelligent membership. Make worth-while friends. Weekly meeting. Musical. Send stamped envelope. Box 98, Station "D," New York.

## CENTENARY EDITION OF JOSEF DIETZGEN'S The Positive Outcome of Philosophy

Josef Dietzgen, born December 9, 1828, approached the problems of philosophy from the view-point of the revolutionary working class. This book, his greatest work, deals with the nature and substance of thinking. It discards mysticism, and shows brain work as a natural process.

In the twenty years since Dietzgen's works first appeared in English, the name and fame of the "workingman philosopher" have become familiar to an ever-widening circle of proletarian students, who find Dietzgen's logic a sharp and invincible theoretical weapon. This new translation will be welcomed for its added clearness and strength. Cloth, 450 pages, \$2.00 postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 345 East Ohio St., Chicago

## Murder On The High Seas

(Continued from page 1)

Negro, dived into the wreckage again and again, pulling out sixteen people. Mrs. Clara G. Ball, a stewardess, had been in the water 20 hours buoyed up only by a life belt, and when rescuers came she begged that passengers floating with her be rescued first. Ship's crews risked their lives in the turbulent waters to pull others from the waters. Joseph Pollard, another Barbadoes Negro, found himself in a lifeboat with 54 other men who knew nothing of navigation. He had been a sailor and he took command of the craft, saving all their lives.

Passengers and crew of rescue ships begged the survivors to accept clothing, staterooms, food and money. There was no complaint that the ships had gone out of their way for days to save the lives of strangers.

The moment the word was flashed through the air that lives were in danger all thought of profit was set aside and great ships raced to be first. Great battleships, built for destruction, vied with merchant ships to be there first. No one counted the cost. If a single life had been saved and it had cost millions in coal and deferred profits from trade no one would have cared.

Business is cruel, heartless and brutal. Dollars come first. Lives are pawns in the gamble for profits. Great companies neglect to invest a few dollars hoping that it won't matter. A new iron door in the coal compartments would have saved the ship. A complement of lifeboats in condition would have saved the lives of everyone. But the ship is lost and the lives are lost.

But then the human animal, who is supposed to be selfish and greedy and to have no incentive but the hope of gain, thinks first of human life and nothing at all of dollars or even medals.

"You should get a medal," a reporter told a sailor who risked his life in a cockle shell life boat.

"Naw; all we wanted was to get them people in," said the sailor.

Who dares say that in a decent society, where greed and cupidity does not get the greatest rewards, human beings will fail to act like decent people?

The negligence of the company is an object lesson in what business means.

The heroism of all human beings connected with the rescue is a forecast of what human beings would like to be.

## Grange Keynote Hostile To The Power Trust

WASHINGTON—(F.P.)—Antagonism to the power trust was a feature of the address delivered by National Master Lewis J. Taber at the opening of the convention of the National Grange in Washington, Nov. 14. His declaration was cautious, but it reflected the degree to which even this conservative organization of farmers had been aroused against the trust by Sen. Norris' campaign for public operation at Muscle Shoals, and by the revelations made by the Federal Trade Commission.

"We must see to it," said Taber, "that the power interests of this nation are not permitted to inaugurate a policy ignoring the public, and concerned only in dividends, in expansion and exploitation, comparable to the railroad expansion of half a century ago."

We should insist on a forward-looking policy that protects water and its God-given by-products, for the children of tomorrow. Such projects as Muscle Shoals, now owned by the people and built with their money, and such other projects as Boulder Dam, if completed, should be retained by the government and used as power experiment stations to demonstrate the possible manufacture of by-products and the reasonableness of water power rates.

"It is now recognized that the fertilizer value at Muscle Shoals has been over-estimated. This great investment of the public should be protected. If Congress, after years of delay, could not secure a proper lease that protected the public, the government should at once put this plant in operation as a fertilizer experiment station. The surplus power should be used in a manner protecting the interests of the tax payers. It is time to put this great white elephant at Muscle Shoals to work."

Taber declared the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill "dead," and offered a substitute export debenture plan of promoting the marketing of surplus farm products. He protested against the giving of encouragement to corporation farming on the one hand and to development of further reclamation and irrigation projects on the other, since the country had already too many acres of low-efficiency farms.

"Every dollar appropriated by the federal government for a new irrigation project," he said, "is a threat to land values. It has an actual and psychological depressing effect upon the nation's agriculture. Every farm organization should rally to the support of a program which additional irrigation and reclamation in any form until rural prosperity is restored."

## Claims Employment "Satisfactory"

WASHINGTON—(F.P.)—That the industrial employment situation throughout the country during October was "satisfactory" is the report of the U. S. Employment Service, notorious for its rosy view of the job market. That the situation was satisfactory to employers who want a surplus of unemployed at their instant call is seen in the details of the October survey.

For example, Biddford, Me., reported that the surplus of the textile workers and machinists reported during September continued during October. Many plants were running on part-time schedules. Lowell, Mass., noted that "Curtailed schedules continued in several plants," but that unemployment there had been reduced. North Adams found a surplus of textile mill labor during all of October with three mills closed. Rhode Island admitted part-time schedules in textile and jewelry plants.

New York and New Jersey reported employment conditions improving, and Chicago had more men at work in electrical equipment factories, packing plants and printing shops. Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Georgia reported a surplus of workers. Seasonal discharge of agricultural workers in California, Oregon and Washington increased the army of the unemployed in the Pacific coast cities.

## Hoan Denounces Labor Spies For Violence In Wis.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan has announced that he is conducting an investigation into the use of private detectives by the David Adler & Sons Co. in its lockout controversy with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

The mayor asserted he is confident that all the bombing, throwing of paint, slugging of workers and other labor troubles incident to the lockout, are the result of the activities of the private detectives employed by the Adler Co.

However, he does not believe the Adler Co. hired the detectives with the intention of promoting labor trouble but that the agency promoted the violence as a means of retaining their contract.

Are Trouble Makers  
"I am convinced, basing my convictions upon past labor difficulties throughout the country, that responsibility for all violence incident to any strike or labor trouble is directly promoted by the special police and private detectives employed by the company."

"In almost every case investigated it has been found all violence was promoted by the private detectives, who take this step to convince their employers their services are needed."

It is recalled that in the big steel strike in 1919 the Socialist Mayor played an important part in protecting the civil liberties of strikers. While the strikers were being beaten up by thugs of the steel companies in Pennsylvania and halls were closed to the strikers, in Milwaukee they were protected and the struggle proved a peaceful one.

An official of one of the steel companies in that strike came to the Mayor with a list of names he wanted the Mayor to appoint as deputies. Hoan rejected the list and went to the central labor body and had it recommend union men to serve as deputies. The appointments were made and the peace was kept. How Republican and Democratic mayors in other states acted is a sad story of that lost struggle.

## Children Must Work Laws Or No Laws

BOSTON—(F. P.)—Children are not protected even by such laws as are the boast of Massachusetts, the state Child Labor Committee finds. In a book, "The School and the Working Child" (published by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee) it is clearly shown that "laws on a statute book and laws adequately and humanely enforced may be two different things."

With 37,500 children between 14 and 16 and 125,000 young workers toiling in Massachusetts industries in 1927, the committee asserts that the laws are too weak or are not properly enforced.

Schools are apt to follow an easy-going policy of giving out educational certificates to children who have not finished the 6th grade. For this policy the committee blames "self interest on the part of parents or employers" who want the benefits of children's work. But it does not go back of the so-called self interest of parents to explain the pressure of circumstances when a father's earnings are too low for family support.

"Paper! Paper! Read all about it! Paper!" From four o'clock in the afternoon on through evenings and night, the chant of the newsboys rings through the larger cities. But street trades of boys 12 years old and younger, include not only newspaper selling, but also shoe blacking, fruit and vegetable selling, peddling and scavenging. The child labor committee finds that the age limit, required badge and papers are often disregarded.

"To prevent that yearly waste and tragedy of children who drift into industry," the committee recommends that factories and shops should not be allowed to distribute promise of employment cards, that schools should be more careful about certificates given out and that children not mentally able to finish 6th grade work should receive special instruction.

The book is an excellent study as far as it goes. But it includes no recommendation requiring a minimum wage for young workers or higher wages for adult workers who are responsible for family support.

Max Delson of Brooklyn is another one of the reliable reporters this week.

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### WITH RAPTURE FILLS

Design to cast the gracious glance of your honorable eyes upon this unworthy phrasing. Consider that I have bowed thrice to your august selves. Favor yourself with the requisite green-backed paper, adorned with the engraved bust of our honorable and thrice venerated first president, and buy your admission to the fellowship of the Pear Tree Garden, which is abasing itself before you, that for your pleasure may be unfolded the tale of "The Yellow Jacket," at the Coburn Theatre.

Mr. and Mrs. Coburn could have done no more delightful thing than to summon back for us, from the archives of a delighted memory, this play of Hazeltan and Benrimo. Few of the treasures of the theatre that are stored in the retentive mind of a constant playgoer are richer with a pleasant glow, with a flowery fragrance, than this exquisite and delicately drawn drama of old China. Of Arthur Shaw, returning in his original role of the Property Man, there are no denials, the nonchalant matter-of-fact words to convey the insouciant impudence. And of Schuyler Ladd as the Daft-foul, the impression that has gloved through the years seems now not a whit exaggerated by the pleasure of their retaining yield. So simple a fantasy as "The Yellow Jacket" only the most delicate handling, as of the pale blue shell of the tiniest bird's egg, could make us bear; so held, it is a fragile joy forever.

Mr. Coburn, as the Chorus, bows with just the right flicker of his downward hands, to start us on an evening that grows in delight, in the at once stimulating and restful pleasure that true beauty affords. Such beauty waits, in large measure, at "The Yellow Jacket."

### MASTER-MIND OR MADMAN?

Edward G. Robinson is the main reason for seeing "A Man With Red Hair," at the Garrick. The acting of the remainder of the cast, and excellent direction, provide further incentives; only the play itself fails to do justice to the weirdly interesting figure from whom the events evolve.

Mr. Crispin carries the theory of evil to its logical conclusion, its reduction to absurdity. Since God, he argues, has sent suffering on earth for man's good, since God himself came down as man to endure pain for man's sin, it is through pain that we improve ourselves, that we learn to God. Being a true philosopher, Mr. Crispin wishes to give those around him opportunities to rise through pain. Though the plot, after an effective first act, grows more poorly managed toward the end, the villain's maniac is caught in the hero's had twisted, while hero and heroine move beyond him. But Edward G. Robinson, one of our most intelligent actors, gives, in his first stellar role, an excellent performance.

### MERRY MARIONETTES

On Saturday mornings at 11, down at the Provincetown Playhouse, Remi Bufano, whose sensitive and deftly humorous work we have so often liked, is giving a puppet show all children of whatever age will enjoy. Last week we saw "Julius Caesar's Circus," "Two Slatterns and a King," and "Cinderella," and while the six-year-old assistant critic will have with us voted for the horse and carriage that once had been a pumpkin and this really excelled the lion who traded back the trainer's head for a bunch of bananas (it's lucky they had some, that day) or the black boy (was that really you, with that Mississippi Valley accent, Remi Bufano?) who made the announcements over the special light.

Unwary by this fresh and unbiased judgment—never having seen a show before, how could the youngster have preconceptions and prejudice?—this older critic nevertheless thinks that Bufano and his quick assistants do as much with puppets, in this direction, as can be done. He would like to see them employed, with equal lightness of touch, along the avenues of satire, which have seldom been trod by these dancing figures. He would like to see them, as once did the western coast, venturing a Hamlet or a Lear. But, in the merry modes of playfulness—and perhaps, if trial were made, even in these other modes—this critic likes to see them made and moved by Remi Bufano.

### UPS AND DOWNS

In "Ups-A-Daisy," Lewis E. Gensler's first production, at the Shubert, musical comedy justifies its title by emphasizing the aspect not mentioned in its name: dancing. Clifford Grey and Robert A. Simon have provided a book and lyrics sufficiently unobtrusive to permit the antics of an exceptionally effective cast to do more than justice to Mr. Gensler's music. Nell Kelly, new to musical comedy from the Paramount stage, will soon be much better known; her "Hot" song deserved its title, and warmed up an audience that was beginning to collect its programs for the night's subway. But William Kent, as a mountain climber by vivid imagination, stealing the record of a real high-spot man (who later confronts him) supplies good humor; Laella Gear, Marie Saxon, Buster West (particularly in his over-sized shoes) and a dozen more dance their way into a delighted spectator's mind, with speed, agility, grace, fun, originality. The scenery, too, is effective, and the costumes and chorus allure. "Ups-A-Daisy" blossoms on the heights.

### FOR FAITH

The Yiddish Art Theatre, with Sholom Aich's "Kiddush Hashem," again establishes—if that be necessary—the high quality and dignified sincerity of its performances.

This tragedy of the Jews of 1648, before the massacres when Ukrainians and Poles wiped out some three hundred to five hundred thousand Jews, is poignantly sustained, from the foreboding of its opening, through the somber scenes that hold their shadows over even the castle feasting, to the quiet resolution of the martyrs at the close, and the song of the "little tailor," the symbolic figure who carries on the message of faith and devotion.

It is always a surprise to one whose acquaintance with the Yiddish Theatre is limited, to see how these players can strike twelve at the very start, and then (instead of having, like us Americans, were to ring that height, to start from the beginning and work up again) go on (like a European clock) through thirteen and fourteen, to the very blackest hours of midnight tragedy. While it is surprising to discover that the community of Zlochow contains no youths save the young rabbi Sholem and his wife, the tragedy is truly one of age, of an age-old people, enduring despite age-long persecution or kindly contempt.

In execution, the performance sets a standard many a Broadway producer might well seek to attain. The revolving stage of the theatre still permits depth and height, and the use of various levels is effective, especially in the calm defiance of the faithful at the close. The Yiddish Art Theatre is a force reaching beyond the bounds of language, to the enrichment of the American theatre.

### "CLUB LIBIDO"

What is so aptly named in Channing Pollock's play is pictured in "Night Hostess," Philip Dunning's drama of Broadway night life, which has been running at the Martin Beck. With no great novelty, but with flashes of vivid scene and rapid action, the familiar story of liquor and lechery, of money and murder, unfolds once more before us. There are, even, several players brought over from similar roles: Norman Foster, Gail De Hart, John L. Kearney, whose work keeps comparison in mind. The play has, of course, the surface novelty of incident, and the death of the villain is quite spectacular; but its chief value would seem to be that it permits those who missed all the "racket" shows of last season, to see what they were like. From the point of view of such a virgin playgoer, "Night Hostess" amuses and thrills.

### BROADWAKERS

Another group of the folks who wake Broadway to the excitement that spurs our other-dreamy lives bursts upon us in Hugh Stanislaus Stange's "Tin Pan Alley," Lang and Forbes' first production, that ought to hold forth lengthily at the Biltmore. Less speedy than "Broadway," this melodrama has a flavor sufficiently individual, with deft lines carrying its story of a millionaire racketeer who finds there is one thing he cannot get, the love of a sweet girl, faithful to her husband. Despite appearances, Fred has not been false to Jill O'Dare; do we not know all along he has been drunken pawn in the hands of the arch-villain. He is no less the drunkard and the weakling when he escapes death at the end, leaving black Joe Prividi to go to jail for another murder; but we overlook his lack of desert in the general rush of the action, and through the good work of Norman Foster in the part; while any one Claude Colbert Colbert loves will have both our admiration and our envy.

The son of Stanislaus Stange might be expected to know the theatre, and "Tin Pan Alley" manages its effects very well, the scene at Grand Central being particularly good in both conception and staging. The many who pass through the foyer of the "Footlight Club" are caught in rapid miniatures that are frequently striking, and the detective work of the final scene gives a novel turn to the close of a good play in the traditional mode of night-club-and-gangster melodramas.

### LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. and Second Ave

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1929

3:00 p. m.—Dr. G. F. Beck: "The Twilight of the Gods" (Scandinavian).

7:15 p. m.—Address by C. C. Weber.

8:30 p. m.—Forum: Prof. Zecheriah Chatter. "Freedom of Speech in Various Aspects."

### INGERSOLL FORUM

115 WEST 57TH STREET

November 18th

DR. PAUL BAUERBERG

"WHAT PRICE BABIES?"

"BIRTH CONTROL"

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Leader."

# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

## 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 43rd Street. Matinees, Thursday and Saturday.

## GODS of the LIGHTNING

By Maxwell Anderson and Harold Rickerson

"This is an occasion—pitifully rare—when a playwright has so large a thing to say, here is the stuff of which big boudiers are made. And here is a strong, centrifugal force to stir the spirit. It is mighty well acted. It has in it Leo Bulgakov, Charles Bickford, Horace Braham and Sylvia Sydney.—Gilbert Gardner in The Sun."

Le Gallienne, Brecher, Leyssac, Cameron, Hutchinson.

Thurs. Eve.—"The World Be Gentleman."

Fri. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard."

Sat. Eve.—"The World Be Gentleman."

Premiere Mon. Eve., Nov. 26, "PETER PAN." Le Gallienne, Hutchinson, Brecher

Moore.

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# SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

**Build a Big Party Organization!**  
We must build a big party organization so that we can carry our message to the people. Organizers must be placed in the field. A big organization means revenue from the sale of machinery for carrying on our work the year around.

In the past campaigns we placed books and pamphlets in the homes of the voters. The party grew and became a power. There are many thousands of voters among the working class who are ready to join our party. We should reach them. The National Office is signing up comrades who are pledging a monthly sum for party work. If comrades who are able will line up the workers can be placed in the field at an early date. The National Office wishes to hear from every red-blooded Socialist willing to make a pledge, running through the year 1929. Do not wait another day. Let us have your cooperation.

## New Jersey

Slow methods of tabulating the vote in New Jersey make any estimate of the Socialist vote impossible. In Essex County the total for the Socialist Party is 1,085, the Communists 237, and the S. L. P. 73. Only a few of the polling places were counted by the judges but the results were very many split votes scattered over too fast to warrant a correct tabulation and the election officials certainly were not interested in a correct report of the Socialist vote.

That is one kind of result of the election. There is another result and a more encouraging one. There have been numerous telephone and written inquiries and several people at headquarters for further information about Socialism. Most of these came from people who had heard Norman Thomas on the radio or at meetings. The following Sunday the players will appear in the South Side Armory, 1st Ave., between Lapham and Madison Sts. The third Sunday they will be back at the B'nai B'rith Hall. The ticket sale is already large.

## Illinois

The Socialist vote in Chicago this election was 8,003, as compared to 3,317 in the entire state in 1926. A new branch has been organized on the south side and a second meeting is to be held at 10 a. m. Sunday, Nov. 18, to strengthen the membership and map out party work for the winter. Local Cook County will hold a general membership meeting on Sunday, Dec. 2, 2 p. m. The Socialists of Chicago are planning to place as many nominees in the field as seems advisable for the spring aldermanic election.

## California

**San Francisco**  
John Kenneth Turner, editor of the party weekly, The Labor World, has signed and is succeeded by Cameron H. King. During the campaign the paper subscribed to the paper in order to get about four fold but the income is not yet sufficient to enable it to employ a paid editor.

## Palo Alto

The members of the Thomas-Maurer Club at Pacific College intend to form a permanent organization for educational work.

## Wisconsin

**Milwaukee**  
Edmund T. Melius is in charge of the Socialist Winter Shows which will be presented for three successive Sundays. Mr. Melius has also written a short play in verse in the need of such services. He may be reached by addressing him at 1540 Poplar Grove St., Baltimore.

## Maryland

Clarence Taylor, who served the National Campaign Committee in the field, is available for permanent work as state secretary or organizer or both in any of the counties. He may be reached by addressing him at 1540 Poplar Grove St., Baltimore.

## Connecticut

The 1929 Commonwealth calendar, gotten out by the Socialist Party of Connecticut, will be ready in one week. Send your money to the party at the Executive Committee, 23 Church St., New Haven, Conn. Send one of these calendars to your friends for a Christmas or New Year's present.

## New York City

**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 December 15. Branch secretaries must file their tabulated reports with their Secretary, August 15, or before December 18th.

## Theatre Parties

The first of a number of theatre parties under joint auspices of the City Office, Party Branches and other organizations, will be held Monday, Nov. 26th. The play will be "Sun Up" at the Lucille Laverne Theatre, 39th St. Tickets are now on sale at the City Office and Party Branches. Prices range from one to three dollars. The second of these ventures will be on December 19, 20, 21. The play on this occasion is "Singing Jailbirds" at Upton Sinclair under the auspices of the New York Theatre.

## Women's Committee

A meeting of the Women's Committee will take place at 8:30 p. m. Monday evening, Nov. 19th, Room 505, Peoples House. All members of the committee are urged to be present.

## Manhattan

**6-8-12th A. D.**  
At a meeting of this campaign held last Monday, the results of the campaign were discussed and analyzed and plans were made for educational work of the season. It was decided to run a Sunday morning course for the series of lectures during some week-day evening and a dance, entertainment and social evening on Nov. 22-23-24 A. D.

## Russian Branch

The Russian Branch will meet on Wednesday, Nov. 21st, at 8:30 p. m. in the Rand School, Room 505. Comrade August Klassen will speak on the subject "The Socialist Party and the Recent Elections." After the lecture questions and discussion. Admission free.

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died their fight like veterans. They never allowed a knock to throw out an answer which carried a Socialist message.

**Bronx**  
A general party meeting of the membership of the Bronx Branch will be held this Friday evening, Nov. 16th, at the County Headquarters, 1187 Boston Road. Reports of the campaign Committee will be rendered. Discussion will be held as to the work and results of the campaign and recommendations will be offered for the winter work and the arrangements for the annual ball in January.

**Central Branch**  
A regular meeting of the Branch will be held on Tuesday, Nov. 20th, at 8:30 p. m., at the headquarters. The purpose of this meeting is to vote on the National Referendum ballots for our new constitution.

**Brooklyn**  
Under the auspices of this branch an educational forum will be established at the Williamsburg Mansion, 297 South 5th St., Brooklyn. Lectures by well known speakers will be given every Friday night at 8:30 o'clock sharp.

**3-5-10 A. D.**  
"Ballads of the Revolution" will be the subject of an address to be delivered by Sarah Cleghorn, author of the volume of verse, "Portraits and Profiles," at the Co-operative League House, 167 West 12th St., Friday, Nov. 16th, at 8:15 p. m. The meeting is under the auspices of the 3rd, 5th and 10th A. D. of the Socialist Party.

**Program for the next four weeks**  
includes the following:  
Nov. 16-Speakers: August Claessens, Subject: "These United States." Nov. 23, August Claessens, subject: "The Restrictions of Immigration." Nov. 30-B. C. V. Viadect, subject: "The Outlook for a Labor Party in America." Dec. 7, August Claessens, subject: "The Socialism of George Bernard Shaw."

**Bensonhurst Open Forum**  
The Bensonhurst open forum will commence on Sunday, Nov. 18, at 11:30 a. m. sharp. The open forum will be held weekly every Sunday at the Savoy Mansion, 63rd St. and 20th Ave.

**Prominent speakers of the Socialist and Labor Movement** will deliver lectures. The forum is under the auspices of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th A. D. of the Socialist Party.

**The first lecturer on Sunday, Nov. 18th,** at 11:30 a. m. sharp, will be Comrade August Claessens. The theme of the lecture will be, "These United States."

**The Socialist Party Branch of the 22nd A. D., Brooklyn,** have decided to keep their headquarters open during the winter months in order to run an Open Forum. They have organized a youth and sports group, and are now working on a Young Women's League of East New York. These organizations will work together for the success of the forum, and intend running affairs for its support.

**The local branch has elected an executive committee** for the supervision of all the work in the district. It is composed of Sol Tarkack, S. Kantor, I. Kantor, Louis Epstein and Samuel Block. The chairman of the committee is Maurice Miller.

**The Youth Organizations** have one representative each on this committee to work harmoniously. All this is the beginning of the 1929 campaign and the incentive is an increased vote in the district. It is reported that the Socialist vote has been increased about 33 1-2.

**23rd A. D.**  
A well attended meeting of this branch was held last Monday night. The work of the campaign was reviewed and the results of the election analyzed. The regular Friday night forum, held under the auspices of this branch, will begin in December. The Sunday school has begun its season's work with the enrollment of a large number of youngsters. Committees have been formed to deal with various kinds of work in connection with the welfare of our Brownsville organization.

**18th A. D.**  
Two days after election, on Thursday evening, Nov. 8th, the 18th A. D. called a meeting of the comrades in the Brownsville District to discuss the question entitled, "What Are the Lessons of the Campaign." The meeting room in the Rockaway Mansion was crowded to the doors and the discussion by the local candidates and the members of the branch brought out some excellent points for future methods of carrying on Socialist propaganda.

**The members of the branch** can well afford to throw out their chests these days. The vote in the 1928 election in our district was approximately 4,300, a gain of 1,000 over 1927. With a better organization and increased activity, there is a possibility of doubling the vote the next year.

**There was quite a sprinkling** of old timers who made it their business to be present at this meeting to discuss past mortems. Simon Wolfe, our old organizer and one of the charter members of the branch, who has recovered from a recent throat affection, wants to tell the world that he is back on the job and will be heard from, from now on. This is just another way of getting your name in type is to do some work-while Socialist work. All members of the 18th are urged to take the hint.

**Lecture Calendar**  
New York  
Friday, Nov. 16, 8:15 p. m.—Sarah Cleghorn. Subject: "Ballads of the Revolution." Cooperative League, 167 West 12th St., city. A. D. D. Branch.  
3-5-10th A. D. Branch.

Friday, Nov. 16, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers: August Claessens, Subject: "These United States." Williamsburg Mansion, 297 South 5th St., Brooklyn. Auspices: Socialist Party, 4-14th A. D. Branch.

Sunday, Nov. 18, 11:30 a. m.—Speakers: August Claessens, Subject: "These United States." Savoy Mansion, 63rd St. and 20th Ave., Brooklyn. Auspices of Joint Committee: Workers' Circle, Branch 402, Workers' Circle School, Socialist Party Branch, Jewish Socialist Party, 18th St. and 10th Ave., Brooklyn.

Sunday, Nov. 18, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, August Claessens. Subject: "The Results of the Recent Election." Workers' Cooperative Center, 2318 Mermald Ave., Brooklyn. Auspices: Culture Center of Coney Island.

Friday, Nov. 23, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, August Claessens. Subject: "The Restrictions of Immigration." Williamsburg Mansion, 297 South 5th St., Brooklyn. Auspices, Socialist Party, 4-14th A. D. Branch.

**Yonkers**  
Sunday, Nov. 18, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, August Claessens. Subject: "The Results of the Recent Election." Workers' Cooperative Center, 2318 Mermald Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. Auspices, Socialist Party, Yonkers, N. Y.

**Public Forums**  
The Bronx Free Fellowship, which is a creative religious and educational organization welcoming people of every race, nationality and creed, holds its meetings regularly at the Acacia Masonic Temple, 1561 Boston Road, Bronx, two blocks south of the 174th St. station of the subway. Trains are marked "Bronx Free" or "160th Street."

**Our program for the remainder of November** follows:  
Saturday, Nov. 17th, 8 p. m.—Poetry Symposium, arranged by Anton Romanoff. Nov. 25th, "The New Economic Admission free. Refreshments if desired at cost. Sunday evening, November 18th—Nov. 18th, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, Rev. Leon Rosser Land. Prof. William Bradley Oles of City College, on: "American Life in American Literature." Sunday evening, Nov. 25th, "The New Economic Admission free. Refreshments if desired at cost. Sunday evening, November 18th—Nov. 18th, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, Rev. Leon Rosser Land. Prof. William Bradley Oles of City College, on: "American Life in American Literature." Sunday evening, Nov. 25th, "The New Economic Admission free. Refreshments if desired at cost. Sunday evening, November 18th—Nov. 18th, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker, Rev. Leon Rosser Land. Prof. William Bradley Oles of City College, on: "American Life in American Literature." Sunday evening, Nov. 25th, "The New Economic Admission free. Refreshments if desired at cost. 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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1928

### Old Cries and New Banners

SOCIALISTS and their friends should not wait for returns of the Socialist vote in planning for organization and education. Whatever the vote may be the Socialist movement recovered its vitality in the recent campaign. It raised one of the largest campaign funds in its history. It brought to its standard thousands of young men in our educational institutions. It revived interest in many states, inspired doubters to action, and brought hope in many centers where pessimism had reigned for years.

All this occurred at one of the turning points in political history. The Democratic generals led their party into the General Motors Building to the cheers of Tammany squads. The last trace of difference with the Republican generals disappeared. It is the Indian Summer of the two-party alliance of capitalist politics. It provides all the conditions for another party with ideas, principles and banners that recruit masses into a powerful army.

But this turn in party history also means new problems for the Socialist Party. Old methods of campaigning and education are dead. The radio itself has brought a revolution in American political methods. High-powered publicity has also become an art and the movement that expects to make headway must consider this fact. Society since the end of the World War has also witnessed marked changes that require a reinterpretation of economic forces. The very best men and women we can get will have to be placed in responsible positions. They must have imagination and initiative, be quick to recognize opportunities as they arise, be fertile in plans and ideas, and have the capacity to inspire team work in all that they do.

Perhaps a national organization conference next year would best contribute to the realization of these aims. The National Campaign Committee will make its report which will provide data of importance to the party. In the meantime local organizations cannot do better than devote some time to considering every suggestion for a powerful political organization that will take full advantage of its opportunities.

### The Democratic Party

THE address broadcasted by Governor Smith Tuesday night was a pathetic performance. It reminded us of a scattered army called to meet in a cemetery to listen to an address by its defeated commander.

The speaker believed that the principles of the party are "well defined," that it is "live and vigorous" and "liberal," with "fine traditions," "breadth of vision" and "high idealism." If it can only "offer a program" and present it to Congress it would be regarded as a "constructive achievement." The defeat of the party is decisive but it is not hopeless. "It survives not on the basis of the rewards it secures for its followers."

That is the substance of the Smith message. To speak of the fine traditions, breadth of vision and high idealism of the party is like laying a wreath on an ash heap. It simply does not square with the facts. Is its history of protection of human bondage included? Does it include Tammany Hall of the Tweeds, Crokers, Kelleys and Murphys? And the "liberalism" of William Jennings Bryan? The "high idealism" of the Arkansas Democrats who have just voted for Smith and by a referendum have prohibited the teaching of evolution in the public schools?

The questions could be multiplied but it isn't necessary. On the other hand as the Democratic Party no longer raises any important issue with its successful brother, if it survives it will be merely for the "rewards it secures for its followers." That is all that is at stake and it is the loss of the "rewards" that makes its leaders gloomy and nothing else.

### The Hoover Wheeze

ONE of the most important wheezes of Republican orators in the recent campaign was assertion of the profound fitness of Hoover for President. Senator Borah used this with great effect in every speech and he always stirred his audience with it. Hoover's ability as an engineer, his travels abroad, his relief work in Belgium and as food administrator here were all cited as marvels and as evidence of his fitness for the job.

All this was bunk, of course. It did not occur to one in a thousand who heard the wheeze to inquire why, if this was true, the Republican Party nominated a small town Bellitt in 1920 and a small town bill collector in 1924. If Hoover wheeze

is justified it utterly condemns the Republican nominations of the previous years.

On the other hand the assertion that the presidency requires an extraordinary man is also largely bunk. The occupation of the office by mediocre men of the type of Cleveland, Harding and Coolidge is evidence of that fact. It is a popular belief that a President is the engineer of the whole federal machine and that his time is taken up with keeping it running smoothly.

This is fiction. Thousands of men who have served for many years in bureaus and departments and who have intimate knowledge of the routine do the real work. The higher salaried positions go to the politicians. When they assume office the departments and bureaus are running according to schedule and routine, no matter what politicians go out and who come in as bureau and department heads.

And the President? Frank Kent, who ought to know, declares that three-fourths of the time of the executive is occupied with building up and strengthening the party machine of which he is the head. How is it that he can do this? Because of the automatic working of the government machine no matter who comes in and who goes out. This is the reason why the mediocre man does not fall down on his job. He is more the head of a party machine than the responsible director of a complicated government mechanism. Borah knows all this. So do all the other politicians at Washington and their Hoover wheeze was simply a part of the national political gamble for office.

### The Coolidge Speech

THE Armistice Day speech by President Coolidge is a sinister performance, as it indicates another race in armament building between the powers that were victorious in the World War. If brothers in making the "world safe for democracy" cannot scale down their armaments it is an admission that their statesmen are either helpless or too stupid to avert another disaster.

And for what are the guns and ships needed? Coolidge mentions our long coast line, distant outlying possessions, "a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance, and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount" and defense of the Panama Canal. This is only one way of saying that guns and ships must be provided at public expense for American traders, American investors, loans of American bankers and upper class magnates in general. The Panama Canal itself had its origin in commercial and investing motives with naval strategy as part of these aims.

It is significant that this address was delivered on the tenth anniversary of the end of the greatest war in history. No day could have been more appropriate if the speaker desired to indulge in mockery of the young men who sleep beneath heaps of earth in Europe. They were told that they were engaged in a struggle to end all war, that Allied victory would guarantee this dream of mankind. If the statesmen who made these promises did not believe in them they were guilty of hideous deception and their successors now share in this guilt.

Mr. Coolidge at least is candid in stating that commerce, trade, loans and investments are back of this policy and that of slave owners who urged the expansion of slave-owning capital into the territories and Latin-America? None whatever.

### A Carnival of Death

AS the political campaign came to a close a cable to the New York Times from Paris reported that American delegates to the recent International Red Cross Conference at The Hague were "profoundly discouraged by the failure of agreement upon adequate measures for protecting civilian populations from annihilation in attacks with chemicals and bacteria." The only hope now lies in an international agreement outlawing the use of poison gas. How promising that is may be surmised from the fact that the gas protocol signed at Geneva in June, 1925, has not been ratified by many nations because, the cable adds, "poison gas offers the cheapest and most effective weapon now known and strongly appeals to the military staffs of all powers."

In other words, the leaders of the powers are unable to prevent the expansion of the next general war to the wholesale murder of men, women and children behind the military lines. One may speculate on what may be the attitude of the civilian population once they face the peril of being exterminated. Will they die without making an effort to avert their fate? We hardly think so. Human beings may think it better to die in a rising against the lunatics who stage such a carnival of death than to quietly lie down and be poisoned.

In short, this prospect of hideous slaughter of the innocents in all countries is likely to cause social revolutions that will bring an end to capitalism and the idiot leaders who bring on such a catastrophe. Yet here is this death skull grinning at us in the closing hours of a political campaign that has ignored such issues that mean life or death for hundreds of millions of people. What a commentary upon the folly of the fools who rule the world!

### German Socialists Celebrate

GERMAN Socialists in October were celebrating their victory over the Anti-Socialist Law which was enacted fifty years ago to destroy the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. For a few years the labor movement was a secret and outlawed movement. Its leaders were in hiding or in exile abroad. Literature had to be smuggled into Germany or be printed by an underground press. Hot heads urged insurrection and violence but the movement was in capable hands and could not be led astray by romantic amateurs.

In 1890 the working class of Germany had the satisfaction of witnessing the defeat of Bismarck and the monarchy. The Anti-Socialist Law was repealed and the movement continued its steady advance from year to year. In 1918, just forty years, after the enactment of the law, the monarchy was no more. Bismarck was in his grave, a forgotten statesman who had failed in the greatest task he ever undertook.

Fifty years is a short time in the life of nations and even gentlemen of the mailed fist cannot shape society as though it were putty in their hands. We congratulate our German comrades and hope that after another half century an American Socialist nation will send its representative to a Germany whose workers have made the last conquest of power that is necessary for complete industrial democracy.

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

Communists and La Follette

Editor, The New Leader:

I am engaged in a discussion on "Politics of the Labor Movement in the United States." You will assist me greatly if you will furnish me, through the columns of the New Leader if you wish, the following information:

1. Were the Communists willing to stand by the La Follette Movement in 1924 before La Follette repudiated them? I claim they were. Inform me if I am correct and give evidence.

2. How many back steps did the Communists take since they gained control of power in Russia? State also how many back steps they took elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,  
A STUDENT,  
Hamilton, Ontario.

The answer to the first question is, Yes. The American Communists adopted a "Thesis" before the nomination of La Follette which appeared in their organ, The Worker, December 1, 1923, which declared that "Where the Farmer-Labor party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support, we will vote for the third party candidates." In the issue of December 22 the representative of the Third International in the United States declared that Communists "can and must vote for La Follette if the mighty masses of workers and exploited farmers, who are not yet class conscious, put him up as a candidate." C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the party, also supported this view in The Worker of April 10, 1924.

Opinions outside the Communist movement differ regarding the retreat in Russia from the pure Communist program, but its beginning may be dated from the adoption of the "New Economic Policy" about seven years ago. How many "back steps" have been taken is also a matter of differing opinion.—Editor.

To Flatbush Socialists

Editor, The New Leader:

The campaign has demonstrated that with proper organization the party can grow by leaps and bounds. With the help of Bill Feigenbaum and Carl Cummings, we have been holding some beautiful outdoor meetings in the Flatbush Section of Brooklyn.

This section is one that has been very seldom touched by us and if the response to our message can be crystallized it will mean a strong branch of the Socialist Party in that section. With this in view I am writing this message to the comrades who live in the vicinity mentioned above, and also to those who would like to see a drive made.

My idea is to first organize a branch, but, in order to do this, we must have headquarters. There are some beautiful rooms that can be rented at a very nominal charge, yet if I could get about ten comrades who would subscribe the sum of \$5 per month for one year we would have no trouble getting results.

Last week we held a meeting at the James Madison High School and about three hundred people attended, of which, I can honestly say, were about ten or fifteen people who were seen at one time or other at party activities. The others were people who, I believe, attended a Socialist meeting for the first time. When an appeal was made for membership, 21 signified their intentions of joining. Now where can we have these people meet? My experience in party work has taught me that the home of some comrades as a meeting place will not solve the problem.

To merely organize a branch without any educational and social activities would spell defeat. Without getting a group of youngsters together in a Yipsie circle would also react upon our future work, so you can see what I am thinking about.

The result of the election has not in any way dampened my desire to do work for the party, but help must come from those who have the party at heart. Just a few months ago I helped some comrades organize a branch in the Brighton Beach section. We started with five comrades. Today we have over thirty and all active in party affairs.

Now why can't we do likewise in this section?

JOSEPH TUVIM

An issue of the N. L. without the name of Alfred Baker Lewis, Secy. of the New England district, would be a novelty. Here he is again. This time with a check for \$35.58 for subs.

It is useless to go on rearing children in wretched homes and giving them a half-baked education; yet that is what the working classes have had to put up with for centuries.—Lady Warwick.

What you leave at your death, let it be without controversy, else the lawyers will be your heirs.—F. Osborne.

The underlying cause of 9 per cent of disease is due to the conditions in which the people live.—Dr. Ellis Morgan, England.

### "I Saw Your Ad in The New Leader"

The New Leader is your paper. You are interested in making it more effective and making it a greater power. It is impossible for a newspaper to be published without advertising and our paper is no exception to the rule. We can obtain results only by securing the co-operation of our readers.

In making your purchases, keep in mind our advertisers. Patronize them whenever you can. Let them know that you saw their ad in the New Leader. This is a practical and easy way to build up your press.

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

### SMITH'S PARTING WORDS

IN defeat Governor Smith shows to fine advantage his admirable personal qualities. He is a good loser and his radio farewell after the election ought to do much to mitigate such religious and other bitterness as may still persist. Moreover Gov. Smith is right in insisting on the importance of a minority party.

What I cannot understand is how he expects the Democratic Party to give that effective opposition which he desired. For years all important legislation in Congress has been passed or defeated by blocs which crossed party lines. Those "liberal" principles in the Democratic Party to which Gov. Smith kept referring simply do not exist. Certainly he never defined them in the campaign either in the matter of labor legislation, foreign affairs or any other important issue. The Democratic platform, as everybody knows, was a national joke. One of the eight "liberal" states which went Democratic was Arkansas which at the same election by popular initiative adopted an anti-evolution law which will bar even Webster's dictionary from the public schools.

In the face of facts like these Gov. Smith's big popular vote doesn't mean much. Some of it was a personal tribute to him, some of it was cast for the Democratic name in spite of him. There is now no cohesive power at all, except a traditional name, to hold it together, no philosophy, no outstanding personality, no concrete program, no federal patronage or hope of federal patronage.

Mr. Raabok and his friends will probably pay the deficit but will scarcely want to send good money after bad to finance an organization campaign. Of course, party names and traditions are so tenacious that the Democratic Party will not formally disappear. It will be impotent to offer effective opposition. The best we can hope is that some real opposition to Hoover will develop from inter-party blocs of one sort or another.

That, at least, is the best we can hope until we bring about a genuine political realignment in which a conservative party representing the interests of a comparatively small class of owners will face a radical party representing the interests of the producing masses both as workers and consumers. No inter party blocs can do this job. There is no organization in sight but the Socialist Party to bring about this alignment. Ours is the duty and ours the opportunity. We welcome as allies all interested individuals and groups.

The Hoover landslide by its very size ought somewhat to allay the religious discussion which at one time threatened us with the immense disaster of parties formed, or at any rate, political action taken, along ecclesiastical lines. Smith's electoral vote might have been larger if he had been a Protestant. It is idle to think it would have been a majority. The total popular vote for both candidates would have probably been smaller. There was a shocking display of Protestant bigotry which fortunately was repudiated by the most responsible Protestant leaders. Thousands upon thousands of Jews and Protestants voted for Smith to rebuke bigotry. This fact, the self restraint of Catholic leaders in their public utterances, and Gov. Smith's own fine stand ought to do much to lay the evil ghost of religious bigotry. We shall not, however, be free from the twin evils of religious and racial bigotry until we have united in a large loyalty to the general good and learn to work together and vote together irrespective of anything except our reasoned conviction of the way to bring plenty, peace and freedom to earth.

### LABOR IN THE ELECTION

About the saddest thing in the aftermath of the election campaign is the plight of labor. Its leaders bartered their support to the old parties without getting from either of them one decent promise on any first rate issue of importance. In spite of the non partisan action of the A. F. of L. as a whole, most state federations declared for the Democrats and went down in the general defeat. In the atmosphere of huckstering which attends this unsuccessful political bargaining labor inevitably loses its own ideals and its driving force. For the steady and honest decline of the American Federation of Labor in numbers, strength and spirit its political program or lack of program is only one factor, but it is a factor of deep concern to all who love the labor movement and know its vital importance to the wellbeing of mankind.

### COOLIDGE'S DISERVICE TO PEACE

President Coolidge celebrated Armistice Day by a speech which by its tone exasperated Europe and by its substance raises doubt of America's clear headed sincerity in seeking the outlawry of war. The President touched on various themes but the most important part of his speech had to do with the navy. So far as Mr. Coolidge's remarks on loans are concerned, he needn't worry. The minute American investors find they can only get four or five per cent abroad—which he says is now the case—while they can get more at home, there will automatically be an end of extensive loans to Europe. The navy problem is not so simple. Mr. Coolidge himself says: "We do not know of any nation which has ever been able to provide arms enough so as always to be at peace." He praises the outlawry treaty as a new way of dealing with the problem of war. Then he turns right around and de-

lights the admirals by arguing for a bigger navy. To make his case he uses some disingenuous arguments. Thus, he cites the Anglo-French naval and military agreement of last summer which might, indeed, have given some shadow of excuse to our building program. He does not bring out the fact that that agreement was definitely scrapped, partly as a result of our protest and more largely as a result of the active criticism of the Labor and Liberal parties in England. England is on the eve of a general election. If as now seems likely Labor wins it will be far easier to get a naval agreement than it has been in the past. It will be harder to get a naval agreement even with a Labor government if in the meanwhile we have begun a big navy program.

Moreover Mr. Coolidge's figures on the relative naval strength in cruisers of England and America are somewhat misleading. American naval experts themselves say that what counts is not the total number of cruisers but of modern cruisers of 6,500 to 10,000 tons. If we should build the cruisers called for in the House Naval Bill which Mr. Coolidge by inference commended and the British should not authorize new cruisers we should by the year 1931 have 33 of these modern cruisers built, building, or authorized, as against the maximum of 26 British cruisers of the same class.

Under these circumstances Mr. Coolidge certainly did not make his case for the big navy bill. Altogether Mr. Coolidge's speech was a melancholy way to celebrate Armistice Day in a nation supposedly devoted to the outlawry of war.

### BORAH SWAPS AGAIN

Senator Borah announces that he is going to swap ratification of his pet outlawry of war treaty for a favorable Senate vote on the House Naval Bill. Granting that the present House bill calling for an expenditure of \$274,000,000 is an immense improvement on the Navy Department's \$800,000,000 bill, the appropriation is unnecessarily large and dangerously timed to promote a new race in armaments. The annual German naval race which was a contributory cause to the World War was accompanied by the same pacific assurances that Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Borah now offer. It is an open question whether the outlawry treaties are worth a big navy bill. Anyway I refuse to believe that the Senate will require us to occupy the dangerous and ridiculous position of purchasing a paper outlawry of war by building a real navy. Senator Borah's attitude in this matter is just another proof that he cannot be depended on for progressive leadership. Occasionally he may use his brilliant powers in the service of some noble cause. But by this time progressives who trust him should know that it is at their own peril.

### NO MANDATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It is almost certain that various labor and peace organizations and thousands of individuals will get in line to fight the race in armament that now seems all too likely from President Coolidge's speech and Mr. Hoover's previous speech at Elizabeth in which he went even beyond Mr. Coolidge and talked of "armaments big enough to prevent even the fear of invasion." Yet these same opponents of a race in armament showed no capacity and little desire to use the presidential campaign even as a forum for the discussion of the policies that lead to peace. Neither peace societies, individuals nor the liberal journals brought these issues into the campaign. They were as impotent as the labor organizations under their non partisan policy. Jane Addams and other liberals and peace lovers who supported Hoover and the various liberal editors and others who supported Smith might have been very uncomfortable in persisting in their political alliances if they had succeeded in themselves facing the fact or forcing others to face the fact that their beloved candidates had no real program on foreign affairs. So the election went by without any single important declaration at length on foreign policy from either old party candidate. Only we Socialists devoted time and attention to this subject. The failure of a democracy to deal with the things that matter is a challenge to our time. It can only be met by a new political alignment and a willingness of progressives to fight for the things they believe. Until then we shall continue to sign for our officials blank checks that may be paid in blood and tears.

### LIVES GIVEN AND MONEY LOANED

Mr. Coolidge in his Armistice Day speech gave us the interesting information that "to retire the balance of our public debt will require about \$7,000,000,000 in interest." That is to say, men and women now at work must pay that enormous sum in addition to repayment of principal to cover the costs of the war. Let us make it clear; we are not paying for the war in any proper sense. We paid for that in men and supplies as we went. These billions of dollars in interest, to say nothing of other billions in principal, are nothing in the world but a transfer of claims of the less fortunate of us to the more fortunate. Nobody today is supplying the soldiers of ten years ago with food, clothing and supplies. All of us today are paying through the nose to those lucky classes which should have been taxed to pay for the war instead of getting a claim on the future. What a world it is in which

## Campaign Is On Again

THE folio of sixteen cartoons by Art Young will constitute a memorable souvenir of the presidential campaign of 1928. These cartoons are packed with powerful arguments for socialism. The New Leader has a few of the folios left. The set of sixteen sells for 35 cents. By mail, 30 cents.

Four dollars for subs from Wm. Kendall, Marion, O.

### THE SPIRIT OF SOCIALISM

Dear Comrades:  
Enclosed is \$2 for renewal to our dear and most useful publication, The New Leader. I cannot but express my gratitude to the comrades in action who are bearing the brunt of the daily struggle. May we have the strength to help them in their work. You will also find \$1 enclosed for the campaign fund. Little as it is, it means an effort, as other necessities are pressing.  
A. Baum,  
Monticello, N. Y.

Yes, the South is on the N. L. map. Two more from W. F. Dietz, Lake Charles, La.

J. Tormick of Vineland, N. J., sends in another.

That friend who voted in order to get something "now" and did not get it, is now ready to cast his lot for sense and reason with a surety of getting it through the columns of The New Leader.

From Vassar College comes a subscription by Margaret Swan.

### YES, THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEGUN

"Enclosing check for sub to N. L. to open the next campaign. Best wishes for the greatest of all papers. It spreading the light. Karl Zeilner, Allentown, Pa.

Says Chas. Develin, Philadelphia. "Jim O'Neil, Coleman, DeWitt, Thomas, Art Young and the others on the staff of the N. L., are doing wonderful work. Here's a fellow who is getting a big kick—and more, out of the paper."

C. H. Owen, Crown Point, Ind., is one of the old guard who never misses. Four more this week.

50, COUNT 'EM, 50  
Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston, is another one who is preparing for the campaign that is on until victory is achieved. He sends in 50 subs this week.

Socialists who have been giving all their energies to the campaign, can now get back on the firing line of subs. Never has there been so good a time to harvest the seed that has been planted in the past few months.

Alfred Baker Lewis, Secy. of the Socialist Party, New England District, sends \$5.50 for subs and the Art Young tokens.

"Here's \$2 for a sub to your paper," writes Pauline Bookout of W. side, L. I.

Sara Limbach, State Secy., Pennsylvania, sends in for \$25 worth of cards. Watch Tim Murphy, the Organizer, dispose of them on his through Mellon's empire.

### Dear New Leader Comrades:

Last year I pledged at least one month's sub each month or its valent in money. Enclosed you find \$9 to redeem my pledge, amount over the subscription end is for the New Leader fund.

Gordon Long, Jeffersonville, Ind.

"I cannot do without the N. L. look forward to its coming each week. How would I get the important news without it." The correspondents Duncan Campbell, of Jersey City, that the socialists challenged the crats to debate the subject of unemployment and that after the latter they ran true to form by put in an appearance.

Says Ed. Greenwood, Terre Haute, Ind. "Send your paper. It is the only prints the plain facts."

"Send the N. L. right away. I want to miss a copy." Victor J. Rutherford, N. J.

O. H. Scarborough, Wingate, N. C., writes that he misses the comrades but he cannot get along without the N. L. He renews, of course.

Olin Swenson of Jim Falls, W. Minn., another reader who says he would without the paper.

men give their sons to the war, but, if they are rich, their money!

### 52 NEW MILLIONAIRES

Those optimists who profess to believe that under our present system the problem of a distribution of wealth is easily being solved will find a foreboding in the figures of 1927. We have fifty Americans with the income of a million dollars a year. This makes a total of such wealthy individuals, each year about 1,000 times as the average wage earner. In the incomes up to ten thousand was a decrease in the income as compared with what was a slight increase in who reported income. Tives in New Bedford with out of 5 per cent, the paid mill hands of South who average about \$14 coal miners and the farm tainly be cheered to know of their fellow citizens in 1914 have individual million dollars or more says we don't live in country?