

# The South's Challenge To Progress

## Industrialized Workers Of Dixie Must Be Mobilized In Unions And In Own Party

THE rapid and amazing transformation of American industry in the past decade has remade our industrial life. It has brought trade union organization to a crisis in its career. The great masters of capital have adjusted their programs and policies in handling the human material they use in their plants. The trade unions still maintain the policies of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. American society has gone through profound changes since the dawn of this century and instead of the labor organization changing with the new world that has been created it vegetates in the ideas and policies of the last century.

We are not Jeremiahs who enjoy the task of pointing to defects and defeats. We wish that we could say that in this the most advanced industrial country in the world we have more workers in industry organized than any other nation. We cannot. On the contrary our percentage of the number organized is smaller than in any other modern nation. The leading and basic industries, chiefly in the North, are not organized at all. Moreover, they are fortresses of industrial feudalism, of "company unionism."

It is a striking thing that the trades related to and descended from colonial handicrafts, the building trades, are the best organized in the United States today. Handicraft industry is centuries old and in this machine age handicrafts more and more belong to the past. Machine production in great plants is the typical industry of today. Yet it is the past that shows something of trade union organization while the modern industry of the North is feudalistic and its masters have made labor democracy almost an impossibility.

### THE SOUTHERN FEUDALISM

The trade unions now turn to the South in a flank movement and in the hope of getting workers organized in that section. Here modern industry is developing like a flower in a hothouse. The whole southern region from the Atlantic coast to Texas is undergoing a profound industrial revolution. With it has come many of the worst features of the New England factory system of a hundred years ago and native labor again is being crucified at the machine.

But this new industrial system of the South presents one striking difference with that of early New England. The factory masters of New England, who fattened on the misery of men, women, and children, established much smaller plants than those rising in the South. In fact, the latter region is witnessing the rise of a mammoth factory industry

through the migration of northern capital. The smaller industry of the earlier period had appeared in the South before the Civil War but it could not develop because the slave system provided unfavorable conditions for its growth. The southern industrial revolution has in many ways avoided the intermediate stages of development. The trade union faces modern giants at the outset in the South, giants similar to the great industries that have established "company unionism" in the North.

The November issue of the *American Federationist* carries a remarkable series of articles surveying the new capitalism of the South. It is the most valuable and informing number of this publication that has appeared in a quarter-century. These surveys show that the great industries rising in the South have all the features of the early feudalism of New England together with the "welfare features" of the "company unionism" of the North. Professor Mercer G. Evans shows that five features of the old feudal system of Europe are present in the new southern capitalism. These include (1) birth of workers in an economic status difficult to escape; (2) economic binding of workers to the factory overlords; (3) lack of contractual freedom between masters and workers; (4) social and home life of the workers under the dictation of the lords; (5) restriction of freedom to think, discuss and act.

### SLAVE-HOLDING MINDS CONTROL

These conditions of feudal service are not a matter of statute law. From the standpoint of law the workers enjoy that abstract "freedom" that is too often a mockery in the United States. The conditions are the result of the economic mastery of the overlords. Professor Evans says that "Their policy is to have and to hold, and one thoughtful economist of the South has said that this philosophy is as definitely embedded in their minds as was the policy of slave-holding in the minds of antebellum southerners, and that it would take a struggle to change their policy."

What is to be done? Organize these big industries, you reply. To be sure, but consider what the task is. The whole economic, social, recreational, educational and political life of these mill towns is controlled by the overlords. Labor organizers have been known to enter them and then to disappear. One leader of the Chamber of Commerce recommends this treatment for those who agitate unionism. At the same time the factory lords and their business and financial allies are thoroughly organized in a unionism of their own. The one cotton mill in Georgia is today a secret organization. It could not survive if it were known. Then, to quote Professor Evans again, "Through the ownership

of all meeting places, of all residences, of all stores which might lend credit, etc., the owners are able to dominate the situation and to prevent unionization."

Another factor in the situation is the Negro workers. They are organized in quite a number of occupations. Dr. Thomas E. Jones of Fisk University writes: "The unusual fact, however, is the degree of loyalty manifested by the Negro workers for white employees. In some towns Negroes have refused to break a strike when it would benefit them economically to do so." This is a spirit of solidarity which should be encouraged as Negro labor is a huge factor in the South and any program that does not consider the Negro is likely to be wrecked. The factory overlords have inherited the spirit of the old slave mastery; the workers cannot afford to harbor the old spirit of race prejudice without sacrificing the aim of trade union organization. It is a prejudice which pays the overlords, not the underlings of both races.

Unlike the workers of the company feudalism of the North, large masses of the workers drawn into the southern factory mill towns have little education. Quite a percentage of them are illiterate and they are drawn from the pocketed communities of the hills. They are of the purest native American stock and generations of hardships have inured them to a very low standard of living. Even the mill towns with their servitude probably represent an improvement over the drab conditions which they and their ancestors have endured for two hundred years. They are splendid fighters for a good cause but their poor education makes it difficult for them to learn.

### A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN LABOR

Here is the new capitalism whose underlying population the American Federation of Labor proposes to organize. Can it be done by the old type of organization, old policies, and general conservative approach which has failed in the basic industries of the North? We doubt it. As will be observed above the South presents some difficulties that are not found in the North. It is notorious that the overlords in the South exercise a tremendous power in shaping the legislation of this region. They fight every attempt to modernize the labor codes of the southern states. They are conscious of their class supremacy. They are class conscious, if you will.

Here is as big a challenge to the organized workers of the nation as the basic "company union" industries of the North. What they face now after one hundred years of labor organization is the "company union" mastery of many basic industries of the North and the industrial feudalism

of the new capitalism of the South. Unionism is an out-cast in both types of industry. The masters of Yankeeedom and Dixieland have reached the same philosophy although by different routes. They are real rulers of industry and government in this country. They now meet in national conferences and represent an aristocracy of capital and finance that seeks to make this nation a paradise of feudal aristocrats with a laboring class submissive to their domination.

Make no mistake about it; gentlemen of the trade unions. This country is being rapidly divided into the ruling and the ruled, the exploiting and the exploited, the masters and the mastered. To conquer freedom in these great industrial kingdoms means not paper resolutions or a timid approach to the oligarchs or assuring them that the mass below and the class above are brothers. They are not. They can never be so long as this industrial feudalism persists. To win the right of organization requires something like a religious crusade, an inspiring call to a determined struggle and a facing of facts that will induce the masses to do and dare.

### A CLARION CALL NEEDED

In the North the steel industry was lost in 1919. This year after many months of bitter privation the miners, the bravest fighters in America today, staggered on to undeserved defeat. The magnificent fight of the textile workers at New Bedford dragged out to a miserable stalemate. So it goes from year to year and from industry to industry. The old type of organization does not square with the organization of the masters. They do not mobilize by crafts and trades but by whole industries and then link up with other industries in a fraternal alliance to fight labor organization and labor democracy.

How are we to wrench from the southern masters their power over legislation in that region without building our political power into a party of our own? How are we to inspire the workers under the northern "company union" or those in the southern feudal baronies unless we scrap old policies, old methods, old views, and release the latent idealism of the mass to save this nation from autocracy and the masses themselves from the servility of a robot life? Vain trying to be as conservative as the masters themselves? Vain hope. That way leads to complete disintegration of the labor forces still organized in the labor army.

Labor's morale was never lower than it is now. It is a symptom of decay. We have reached a crisis in labor history. Only a clarion call based upon a new idealism and statesmanship will avert disaster and lead to the heights of power.

## How To Get Money: Don't Work For It

THE sharp contrast between those who must work for a living and those who get their living by the work of others is suggested in the preliminary report of the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue on individual incomes in 1927. The report shows that 44% of the incomes of the 33,527 millionaires was derived from dividend and interest payments, while 66% of their incomes came from property or from speculation in stocks, bonds and real estate. Only about 17% of the income of these individuals receiving annually more than \$50,000 falls in the wages and salaries column, the remaining 17% being business and partnership income.

These 33,527 individuals whose net incomes subject to the tax collector ranged above \$50,000 received a total of \$1,805,978,000 in dividends alone in 1927. This is about 43% of the \$4,156,167,000 in dividends received by all the 4,122,242 persons included in the returns. It means that the average dividend income of these millionaires was \$54,000. In addition they received \$335,414,000 in interest and about \$1,589,769,000 in profits made on the sale of stocks, bonds and real estate. Here is a total of \$3,751,151,000 or about \$111,000 apiece received by these millionaires not on account of what they did but on account of what they owned.

The percentage of property income scales down from over 90% in the case of incomes of more than \$1,000 to about 21% for net incomes of less than \$5,000 reported to the tax collectors. The percentage from wages and salaries correspondingly rises from \$2.6% in the case of the largest incomes to 55.9% for the incomes under \$5,000. Wages, salaries, business and partnership together provide 5.6% of the largest incomes against 79.1% of the incomes in the lowest class.

### NOW OUR MILLIONAIRES GET THEIRS

The largest source of income for individuals who received over \$1,000,000 in 1927 was profit on the sale of assets held more than two years. This is a direct reflection of the extraordinary rise in recent years in the market values of industrial securities. It brought these 283 multimillionaires \$284,999,287, representing 43.2% of their total income and giving them an average of more than \$1,000,000 apiece from this source alone. Dividends ranked next, providing this group with a total of \$240,559,726, amounting to 36.5% of their income and giving them an average of about \$850,000 apiece.

Here are 283 individuals whose incomes from dividends and from appreciation in the market value of securities alone averaged about \$1,250,000 apiece. To them prosperity has been a constantly increasing reality.

The percentage distribution of 1927 incomes by sources of income for the various net income classes was:

Percentage distribution of incomes by classes	Wages & salaries	Dividend & interest	Speculative profits	Other sources
Under \$5,000	55.0%	11.4%	2.4%	30.3%
\$5,000-\$10,000	42.6%	17.3%	5.9%	34.2%
\$10,000-\$25,000	33.2%	28.5%	10.6%	27.7%
\$25,000-\$50,000	23.7%	38.2%	15.3%	22.8%
\$50,000-\$100,000	17.2%	45.8%	19.6%	17.4%
\$100,000-\$250,000	12.5%	45.5%	24.9%	16.5%
\$250,000-\$500,000	10.2%	45.9%	31.2%	12.6%
\$500,000-\$1,000,000	7.4%	41.3%	36.9%	14.4%
\$1,000,000 and over	4.8%	42.9%	40.9%	11.4%
Total	38.5%	23.7%	10.8%	27.0%

Income from other sources includes incomes from private business, from partnerships, rents, royalties and trust funds.

The total income reported by all individuals making income tax returns was \$26,573,517,907. This was derived as follows: \$10,046,866,885 from wages and salaries, \$3,528,702,060 from business, \$1,748,105,517 from partnerships, \$2,811,488,600 from profits on the sale of stocks, bonds, real estate, etc., \$1,597,890,949 from rents and royalties, \$2,029,231,157 from interest, \$4,156,167,371 from dividends, and \$380,024,121 from trust funds.

Wages and salaries represent less than half of all the incomes reported, falling considerably short of the total income derived from property and profits.

## THE TAMMANY JIG IS UP

A Bit of Advice to New York's Mayor

NOW they are beginning to make arrests in the Arnold Rothstein case.

Twenty-two days after the shooting of the gambler-fixer-racketeer, fat men are running in and out of the Grand Jury room in New York City, giving out ridiculous statements, making mysterious references to "the woman in the case."

Great work, boys. You may get something out of the stench by Christmas.

For most people in New York, we mean decent, honest, working class people, the whole affair is one long earache.

For most people in New York the responsible heads of this Tammany administration of ours are no better than a bunch of dressed up bums. Things are getting so bad that the squirrels in Central Park are hiding their nuts from the cops up there.

And when this mob comes around for votes next Autumn, there's a whole lot of these same people who aren't going to forget about the hokus-pokus going on behind the scenes of the Rothstein case. Nor the Queens sewers. Nor the dummies on the Street Cleaning Department pay-roll. Nor the Equitable bus franchise. Nor any of the rest of the

grafting that has been going on ever since Jimmy danced into the City Hall.

And if there's any chance that these things be forgotten, the Socialists will be right on the job to jog up the public's memory.

You steal our votes, you and your gang, Jimmy.

You affect to despise our strength. But your jig will be up next Autumn.

You better start writing some more love songs.

For the royalties will come in handy through the rainy days ahead.

One more winter of wise-cracks at public dinners for you, Jimmy, and then—exit.

God knows you've had all the breaks. You've had a public that were beggars for punishment and might have stuck by you for another term if you'd given them half a chance.

But you and your crowd pigged the works. You put both feet in the public trough and snuffled up everything in sight.

And now you're done. Bad cess to you. No one will love you next November as once they did in May.

### Speed Up In Prison On Auto Plates

OSSENING, N. Y.—(FP)—Convicts of the Auburn State Prison turning out automobile license plates for 1929 have been so speeded up that the work is four months ahead of last year's record, according to the Commissioner of Correction. The task of manufacturing 2,000,000 plates is now 90 per cent completed. Among organized crafts affected by this convict labor are blacksmiths, foundry employees, iron, steel and tin workers, painters, printers and dye-stampers, pattern-makers, machinists, metal engravers, moulders, metal polishers, steel and copper plate engravers and sheet metal workers.

### Newspaper Consolidations Strands 300 Workers

DENVER—(FP)—Three hundred skilled workers and their families joined the unemployed army when the Denver Morning Post and the Denver Evening News suddenly suspended publication by agreement between G. F. Bonfils of the Post and Roy Howard of the Scripps Howard interests. The workers came to work as usual Monday morning and were told it was their last day. They were let out without any further notice or pay than that one day. It is entirely impossible for them to find positions in Denver because Bonfils and Howard control the daily newspaper field. There were 103 jobs affected in the typographical union alone.

### Albany Printers Strike: Papers Cut In Size

ALBANY—(FP)—Union printers walked out of four newspaper composing rooms in Albany after five months of fruitless negotiations for a wage increase. Limited editions are being published with typewritten pages photographed. A force of "open shop" printers is being assembled but the publishers do not expect to resume normal publication for several weeks. Other union printing trades, including pressmen, photoengravers and stereotypers stayed on the job.

## !!Reserved!!

TUESDAY

12

FEBRUARY  
1929

(Lincoln's Birthday)

Socialist organizations and friendly groups are asked not to arrange any events for Lincoln's Birthday evening, Feb. 12th. Watch The New Leader for further announcements.

### Norris Challenges Hoover On Big Navy

WASHINGTON—(FP)—As forecast by The Federated Press after the election, Sen. Norris, progressive leader of the nation, has begun a series of challenges to President-elect Herbert Hoover that will furnish to the American people, in the coming months, abundant evidence of Hoover's imperialist sympathies. Norris has told the churches that if they want to have the Kellogg anti-war pact ratified and the \$274,000,000 naval construction bill killed, they must talk to Hoover, who favors the navy bill.

In a letter to the Methodist and Friends church congregations at Alda, Neb., who had met in joint congregation and petitioned him to do all in his power to defeat the navy bill and secure prompt ratification of the Kellogg anti-war pact, Norris replied that he would gladly cooperate with them in both matters. But, he said, "The argument is being made that both President Coolidge and President-elect Hoover are publicly in favor of the 'big navy' bill—that they both believe we should have the biggest navy in civilization and that we ought to pass the present bill as a step in that direction."

### Conductors and Trainmen Accept Rail Wage Award

CHICAGO—(FP)—Unwilling to be a party to any step which would endanger the normal movement of traffic in the western territory the train service employees of 55 western carriers have accepted an increase of 6 1/2% in wages. This brings to an end a controversy which started with requests for wage increases ranging from 12% to 18% initiated by the conductors and trainmen early in 1926. The increase in pay will be retroactive to May 1, 1928 which will give the 42,000 employees a fairly sizeable Christmas present in the way of back pay.

The train service men, in accepting the 6 1/2% wage increase without any change of rules are accepting the first of 2 propositions offered them in the report of the emergency board appointed by Pres. Coolidge under the railway labor act after negotiations presided over by the U. S. board of mediation had broken down. A 90% vote of the membership of the conductors and trainmen's organizations had given their officers power to call a strike if they saw fit.



# Florida Casts 4,036 Votes For Thomas

Nebraska Turns In 3,434 Votes—6,774 In Minnesota—11 States Heard From

Returns on the vote for the Socialist candidate for President have been received from six more states this week, making eleven states heard from thus far.

Florida proved itself a welcome surprise. Thomas received 4,036 votes in that State, according to the Socialist National Campaign headquarters. In 1924 and 1928 the party was so near non-existent in that State that it had no State-wide candidates. In 1920 Debs secured 5,189 votes in Florida.

Minnesota gave Thomas 6,774 votes. As in about 35 other States, Minnesota, also had no Socialist candidates for almost eight years. Nebraska came through with a good vote—3,434 for Thomas. Nebraska, like Minnesota, has had no party ticket or organization in years. Oregon gave Thomas 2,720 votes. Utah gave 554 votes to Thomas, while Virginia gave the Socialist candidate 250. Vermont gave Thomas 5 votes. The party never appeared on the ballot there before.

Here are the States heard from thus far. The vote given the party in 1920 and 1924 is also given.

	1928	1926	1924
Delaware .....	299	..	..
Florida .....	4,036	..	..
Minnesota .....	6,774	..	..
Nebraska .....	3,434	..	..
New Hampshire .....	455	..	..
Oklahoma .....	3,926	1,345	..
Oregon .....	2,720	..	4,412
South Dakota .....	428	..	..
Utah .....	554	1,310	..
Vermont .....	5	..	..
Virginia .....	250	..	..
Wisconsin .....	18,213	40,283	45,268

## Portland Plunges Into New Campaign

Portland, Oregon.—Complete official returns from all counties in Oregon have been filed with the secretary of state. Official count gives Thomas 2,720 votes; more than the combined votes of Reynolds and Foster. The totals are as follows:

Hoover 295,341; Smith 109,233; Thomas 2,720; Reynolds 1,564; Foster 1,094.

Local Socialists are of the opinion that the Socialist-Labor Party received several votes that would have gone to us if we could have gone in the ballot as the Socialist Party. Due to a ruling by the Attorney-General we could not file a ticket as a party and were under the heading of "Socialist Principles, Independent."

A special meeting is planned for Dec. 7 for the purpose of electing officers and reorganizing the local. New members are coming in and several applications for membership have been received. Many of the "old timers" are coming back and we hope to have a real local established in Portland. A congressional election takes place in two years and we expect to be able to put up a good fight by that time.

If the 2,700 people who voted for Thomas would only realize the need for organization we would soon accomplish a change in Oregon. And a change is needed. We can do but little without cooperation and if all the readers of the New Leader in Oregon would join the party we too, could do what Milwaukee and Reading have already done.

S. R. McALPINE,  
307 Graphic Arts Bldg.,  
Portland, Oregon

## Karolyi Is Again Denied A Visa

Count Michael Karolyi, first president of the Hungarian Republic, who has been banned from the United States since 1925 because of alleged radicalism, will again be denied entry, according to advices received by the American Civil Liberties Union from the Department of State. Karolyi recently applied to the American consul at Paris for a visa. His application was supported by a committee of liberals who sent a petition to Secretary of State Kellogg urging visas for Count Karolyi and his wife "subject to only such restrictions as are ordinarily imposed on other friendly foreigners."

In reply to the petition the Department stated that "after very careful consideration, the Department has informed the American Consul General in Paris that, in its opinion, the application should be refused since the Department has found no reason to alter the decision reached when the matter was previously before it."

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**WANTED**  
Several first edition copies of "THE JUNGLE" by Upton Sinclair. The book was known as the "Babylonian edition" and was published by the author in 1909. Readers desiring to dispose of their copies will kindly communicate with THE NEW LEADER.

# Socialist Executive Committee Maps Plans For Organization Work To Mobilize Support Attracted During the Campaign

Two Day Session in New York Sets Up Special Committees to Tackle Organization, Literature, Publicity and Other Avenues of Party Work—Campaign Finances Reported On

THE real campaign of the Socialist party has just begun. The presidential campaign just ended was but a test to determine what we had to build on. The test had revealed a latent support of Socialism and appreciation of its meaning that gave promise of a powerful party to come. The task now is intelligent planning and energetic execution of such plans.

That was the spirit of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party which met in New York City Saturday and Sunday, November 24th and 25th. The full committee was in attendance: Victor L. Berger and Mayor Hoan of Wisconsin, Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal of New York, James H. Maurer and Lillith Wilson of Pennsylvania, Joseph W. Sharps of Ohio, and Jasper McLevy of Connecticut. National Secretary William H. Henry, Campaign Manager G. A. Gerber, Norman Thomas and members of the national campaign committee, among them Algeron Lee, Meyer Gillis, Louis Waldman and George H. Goebel were in continuous attendance and took part in the discussions.

The discussion on the reports of the campaign committee and the campaign manager, and on the plans for the future, were intensely sincere and frank. The situation facing the party, its opportunities as well as its responsibilities, were thoroughly canvassed. After reading of a report by Henry, the committee heard a report from Gerber, which dealt largely with the financing of the campaign.

The financial report of Campaign Manager Gerber, which is preliminary, showed a total income of \$90,523.90 and the expense, \$98,121.04, with a deficit of \$7,597.14. As there are still some items of income to be realized these figures are not final.

A table of income by states shows a total of \$78,551.08 of which \$63,866.89 is credited to New York State. All of it did not come from within the borders of the state but it is due to the initiative, plans and work within the state. If to New York State is added the nearly states of New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts which contributed \$3,758.60, the total contributions credited to these four states is \$67,625.49 while all the other states combined are credited with \$11,925.19 in contributions.

Pennsylvania and California are the only other states outside of the above named four states that are credited with more than a thousand dollars. Pennsylvania did fine with a credit of \$3,451.16, while California, with a smaller membership, measured up well with \$1,504.45.

Expenditures are itemized.

Another table shows the amount spent in each state for petition expense; organization, which includes meetings, halls and advertising literature, and carrying charges on merchandise. The table shows that the weak states received the most favorable attention. For example, nearly \$2,000 was spent in Minnesota while Ohio, where it is extremely difficult for an unofficial party to nominate, received attention to the extent of \$3,252.55. Other typical states are, Idaho, \$233.97; Washington, \$778.56; Arkansas, \$1,148.93; Missouri, \$1,219.24; Kansas, \$1,094.19.

In New York State where the bulk of the funds was raised the total expenditures were \$3,426.74. A special sacrifice made by the party in New York City to the rest of the country was in refraining from any drive for funds for its own campaign with the result that it has accumulated a local debt of about \$7,000. When this is considered with the above expenditure in the state our readers will see that the New York organization received nothing but went into debt to help other states.

Hillquit supplemented the report of Gerber filling in the details of the campaign which Gerber had modestly failed to include in his report. The National Committee, Hillquit said, had tried its best to live up to the responsibility placed on it by the N.E.C. It had met, during the campaign, weekly in regular session while all of its members had partaken in numberless sub-committee meetings. A very ambitious program confronted the committee after the ticket had been filed in 44 states—a record for the party. The work of carrying on the campaign was in line. Here enormous difficulties arose. Primary among these was the lack of local organizations throughout the nation. Meetings for Thomas and Maurer in many cases had to be organized from national headquarters which had to finance all the arrangements, hiring of halls, placing of posters and advertising, as well as paying traveling expenses of the speakers.

Unions Fell Down.

It was found, Hillquit continued, that the program was by far too ambitious one. A finance control committee had to be appointed, on which Comrades Gillis and Morris Berman served, which daily strived to shave down expenses and provide every available cent possible. There was no income to speak of from party organizations as such. Better luck was had by appealing to individuals, a job at which Comrade E. C. Vlasek proved himself a genius. The trade unions supposed to be sympathetic to the party had proved somewhat of a disappointment. Only \$6,000 was raised from the unions directly. This was due to a number of reasons. The unions are weakened materially. They lack the spirit of other years. "We have sort of lost hold of them. They have to a large extent lost control of themselves." In cutting down expenses drastic steps were taken. The field organizers were called in. All but two insisted on remaining in the field without pay.

The work of the office in handling affairs was very successful. Thomas' tour was a great success. Two radio-looks had been arranged.

The quality and quantity of literature issued was gratifying. Gerber had previously reported that 1,800,500 pieces of literature had been put into circulation. A valuable result of the campaign was the contacts made by the campaign headquarters and the building up of a huge

list of sympathizers and supporters who are not as yet in the party. Organizations slowly sprang up in various parts of the country. Thomas for President Clubs in the colleges and elsewhere.

"The campaign revealed the weakness of our movement and revealed its potential strength in that we have made contacts in a great many parts of the country and left nuclei of organizations everywhere. If the party knows how to take advantage of these new contacts we will have an opportunity of building on more or less new ground. If we succeed, that will be the most important result and achievement of our party."

**Vote of Thanks Given.**  
Comrades Hoan and Roever said they felt the committee had done excellent work. Berger said he was particularly satisfied with the publicity work, but was inclined to be critical of other parts of the work. This view he changed completely on Sunday after listening to a detailed report from Gerber on the concrete steps taken in pushing the campaign.

Sunday afternoon the committee joined unanimously in the following motion:

"That the National Executive Committee herewith expresses its approval and appreciation of the splendid work of the National Campaign Committee in the recent campaign and the able management of the Campaign Manager, G. August Gerber. Faced with tremendous difficulties in many unorganized states, a poor organization in the organized states, lack of funds, the Campaign Committee raised a large campaign fund, won the support of many new recruits, inspired Socialists with renewed hope and enthusiasm, and laid the basis for a fruitful campaign of party organization and party building."

"The National Executive Committee also expresses its appreciation for the helpful cooperation of party members all over the country and of the many sympathizers who came to the aid of our campaign when it was of vital importance. The committee also records its special gratitude for the cooperation and aid which the Campaign Committee received from the Workmen's Circle and many trade unions in raising campaign funds; to the Jewish Daily Forward, the Milwaukee Leader, The New Leader, the Labor Advocate of Reading, the Virginia Appeal, the Labor World of California and other publications which gave invaluable support to the campaign."

**New Headquarters Considered.**  
A committee consisting of Thomas, Lee and Goebel had been delegated by the Campaign Committee to report to the N.E.C. on recommendations arrived at by the full committee as a result of its experiences in running the campaign. Thomas first reported for this committee. He opened his report by thanking the party and its members for the excellent support given him in the campaign. He then proceeded to suggestions. He said he found an eager desire on the part of thousands whom he had met all over the country to serve the movement. He said plans should be made for concentration of efforts in next year's election in some of the more promising cities. Among these he included Buffalo and Rochester, New York, Portland, Oregon, and Los Angeles. He urged the committee to consider the advisability of moving the national headquarters from Chicago to New York and to consider the improvement of party personnel as well as party machinery. The campaign committee felt that temporarily the headquarters might be moved to New York until the condition of the party in the central part of the country made a change advisable. Goebel and Lee supported this suggestion.

Waldman, in the course of discussion which followed, said he spoke for many New York members in saying that he did not wish the national headquarters here since it would place too great a burden on New York which needs all its resources and finances to take advantage of unusual opportunities for the party here.

Members of the National Committee, particularly Berger, expressed doubt and opposition to the suggestion. Henry read a number of letters which he said were unsolicited from comrades in the middle west and northwest who opposed moving the headquarters. Those opposed to the idea argued that New York was geographically too far from the center of the country, that some comrades out west "feared domination of the party by New York." Mrs. Wilson said, though she regretted such an attitude, that many who opposed moving the headquarters to New York were anti-Semitic.

Hillquit Withdrew Proposal.

Toward the close of the Saturday afternoon session, Hillquit explained the position of the New York Socialists. It

would serve their local movement better if the headquarters were not brought to New York City, he said. Nevertheless, he said, there were many advantages to be gained by the movement for the entire country if a more energetic national headquarters was placed in operation. He said that some among the New York Socialists do not want the headquarters here, but went on to say that a majority of the campaign committee felt otherwise. Hillquit then declared that the New York Socialists would not accept responsibility of the national headquarters unless such responsibility was voted by the N. E. C. by a unanimous or practically unanimous vote.

Upon re-convening Sunday morning, Roever took the floor for the first time. He urged the "scrapping of the old jargon" and talking concretely on concrete issues, local, state and national. Norman Thomas had done this extremely well, he said, and his radio speeches were masterpieces in this respect. He favored moving the national headquarters to New York. It would make possible valuable close cooperation with the League for Industrial Democracy, he said. He wanted a department in the national office to educate and equip our organizers along modern lines. He also endorsed the idea of concentrating on a few cities in the municipal campaign of next year.

Hillquit then received the floor for a statement. He declared he had thought the matter over during the night, and had reached the conclusion that the national headquarters should not be moved to New York City. The original reaction of some members of the committee had led him to change his views in the matter. He felt he could speak for the New York comrades in saying that, under the circumstances, they could not accept the national office here even though the N. E. C. voted unanimously to move to their city. Hillquit went on to express approval of a recommendation that had been made earlier in the morning by Thomas. This was that an organization similar to the one which conducted the national campaign be set up to carry on the post-election party work, the mobilization of the spirit that had been engendered for the party by Thomas' and Maurer's campaign. He proposed the creation of a series of special committees which would be bound together by a joint executive committee.

**Berger For Moving 'Quarters.'**  
This plan received the approval of the committee. While setting up the committees the question of moving the headquarters came up again. Gerber reported extensively on the method and accomplishments of the campaign. His report won the ready approval of Berger who had been critical on Saturday. A short time later, Berger declared that he had undergone a change of mind on the question of moving the headquarters of the party to New York. He was now inclined to support such a change as being advisable. Nevertheless, Hillquit declared he still felt that the headquarters should not be moved.

The proposal for the setting up of the special organizing machinery was formulated in the following motion which was unanimously approved:

**"MOTION:**—That this Committee appoint the following sub-committees:—  
"1. A Committee on Labor and Labor Organizations, whose function it shall be to establish friendly relations between the Socialist Party and organized labor; to encourage and assist in all efforts to organize the unorganized; to aid in labor struggles and to state the Party position on all matters pertaining to Labor Policy and Labor needs."

"2. A Committee on Publicity, Research and Literature whose duties it shall be to study questions of public importance and publish the results of such studies and also to issue statements from time to time as occasion may require, in the name of the Socialist Party, setting forth the position and views of the Party on matters of public interest."

"3. Committee on Cooperation with Farmers, whose duty it shall be to establish friendly relations with progressive organizations of farmers and to work out, for submission to the National Executive Committee, appropriate Socialist programs and policies on agricultural problems."

"4. A Committee on Organizations, whose function it shall be to increase the number of local organizations of the Party and the Party membership."

"5. A Committee on Finance, whose function shall be to raise all funds required for Party work."

"6. A Committee on Young People's Organizations, whose function it shall be to disseminate Socialist education among the young people and to develop an effective organization, affiliated with the Socialist Party, among such young people."

"7. A Committee on Outside Contacts, whose purpose shall be to establish a basis of cooperation with various movements and organizations, sympathetic to the Socialist Movement."

"8. The Women's Committee, as at present constituted, shall continue as one of such sub-committees of this National Executive Committee."

"Each of such committees shall have a chairman, appointed by the N. E. C."

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## More Up-State N. Y. Counties Raise Party Vote

Additional official election returns received from up-state New York counties continue to show striking increases in the Socialist vote. A healthy thing about the vote is the fact that it is more of a "straight vote" than has been the rule in many years. Thus Thomas for president and Waldman for governor are running about even, with Thomas but slightly ahead.

The official canvass of the Bronx County vote, completed this week, gave Thomas 6,914 votes as compared to 8,678 previously reported. Here are the up-state counties heard from this week.

**Official Vote Counties Reporting Since New Leader Publication of Nov. 24 Issue**

	Thomas	Waldman	Panken	Comm.
Broome .....	1,551	1,497	894	97
Erle (official) 10,118	9,849	5,731	252	
Otsego .....	296	262	190	5
Suffolk .....	2,544	2,298	858	45
Westchester .....	4,408	3,997	1,905	152
Onondaga .....	2,502	1,560	91	

The Election Board of Chautauque County, not reported to S. P. State Office, but newspaper clipping from Jamestown, Chautauque County, says that Thomas got 1,002 and Foster 69 in that county compared with 969 for Panken in 1926. However the stationary condition of counties like Chautauque is being far more than offset by counties like Suffolk, so that a 70 or 80 percent increase of Socialist vote upstate is altogether reasonable.

The official count of Onondaga County, which county includes the City of Syracuse, shows that Waldman received 2,802 votes in the recent election compared with 1,860 polled by Panken in 1926. Hahn for Lieut.-Governor received 2,618 votes, Mrs. Roth for Comptroller, 2,643, Karlin for Attorney General, 2,603, Wilcox for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, 2,610, and Coleman for U. S. Senator, 2,596.

The S.L.P. candidate for Governor got 111 votes in Onondaga County this year, and the Communist candidate 91.

Herbert Merrill, state sec'y, predicted 110,000 votes for Waldman and many more for Thomas. Upstate has tremendously outvoted New York City this year. Its increase is indicated from 70 to 80 percent, which means that its 39,000 of 1926 should have been multiplied by 1.70 or 1.80, and the figure 66,000 or 70,000 added to the 50,000 of New York City to get the state total. There is no reason to believe that the upstate counties still to report will not show up just as well as those already heard from.

**3-5-10 A. D. First in Field To Begin 1929 Campaign**  
As far as one New York Socialist branch is concerned, the campaign has just started. We refer to the 3-5-10 assembly district branch which met Tuesday night of this week at the home of Jessie Wallace Hughan. The branch discussed plans for the New York City campaign of 1929, and showed that it means business by electing a campaign committee to begin work immediately. McAllister Coleman is chairman of the committee. The committee is now looking for suitable campaign headquarters.

**Polish Alliance Joins.**  
During the Saturday afternoon session the committee received the application of the Polish Socialist Alliance for affiliation with the Socialist party as a federation. The Alliance had previously belonged to the party but had become severed. The committee smiled when it was recalled that the Alliance had been suspended on motion of the late John Spargo who considered the alliance not Socialist enough. The committee voted to receive the alliance as a federation. Berger welcomed the Alliance back in the fold. The Alliance, which gave much assistance to the campaign just ended, has a membership of between 400 and 600 and publishes a weekly with a large circulation.

The affiliation of the Alliance was one of the results of Gerber's work. During the campaign he had addressed a national convention of the alliance in Detroit and had made negotiations for affiliation with the party which materialized at the N.E.C. meeting.

The session was one of the most trying ever held by the national executive committee. The situation was difficult and fraught with great danger as well as possibilities. The party had just spent all its energy and raised every available cent for a campaign that might have taxed any organization four or five times the size of the Socialist party. In reply to inquiries concerning the national vote, Gerber said that insufficient returns had been received thus far. He felt confident that the vote would better many times the ratio of the vote to party membership set in the memorable 1912 campaign when the party, with a membership of 125,000 polled 900,000 votes.

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# Socialists Win Power In Porto Rico

Coalition Headed By Santiago Iglesias Captures Half of Seats and Cities

WASHINGTON.—Porto Rican workers, half starved, police-budged and miserably housed, have risen in a political revolt against the propertied native ruling class and the American corporation agents in their island. At the election of November 8th, the coalition formed by the Socialist Party, led by Santiago Iglesias, and the left wing of the old Republican Party, captured almost half of each branch of the Legislature, and nearly half of the municipalities.

Antonio Barcelo, president of the Senate and leader of the reactionary majority for more than 20 years, received fewer votes than did Iglesias, head of the Free Federation of Workmen and of the Socialist organization. A recount is now under way to determine whether Iglesias, in fact, will not have a majority in the Senate, and hence become leader of the upper branch of the Legislature.

A cablegram received by the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department claims the election of 11 Senators and 21 members of the lower house by Barcelo's Alliance party, against 8 Senators and 18 Assemblymen for Iglesias' Coalition, on the face of the returns. However, the recount in Mayaguez, where two Senators are involved, may throw the balance to the Coalition, giving it 10 Senators and Barcelo's 9. The Coalition had won 32 municipal elections—thereby assuring serious opposition to the dictatorial policies of big sugar companies.

As the Porto Rican legislature is in session only three months in each year, Iglesias will retain his post as secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with offices in Washington. His Socialist party in the island is a labor party, and his program is one of higher salaries, freedom to organize, social insurance, civil liberties, rural credit, better schools, roads and public health and sanitary measures, and adequate taxation of the big corporation-owned enterprises that draw from the island two-thirds of the wealth it produces.

Iglesias' victory in nearly half the districts in Porto Rico this year has apparently put an end to police intimidation of organized workers for a while. More than 120,000 voters out of 252,000 declared for the Socialist-Progressive program.

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# Last of Old Wall Street Pirates Gone

Ryan Was Part Owner of Democratic Party As Well As Public Utility Operator

DRIVER of a hundred thousand slaves in the Congo, heavy owner in Carolina's \$10 a week cigarette factory, speculator in the rapid transit needs of New York's millions, Thomas Fortune Ryan is dead at last. None of the thousands who tolled to build up his fortune will shed a tear.

Ryan was not only a giant among the older generation of financial pirates—August Belmont, William C. Whitney, J. P. Morgan, Schiff, Harriman and Stillman—he was part owner of the Democratic party, financial adviser of President Cleveland and backer of Alton B. Parker, 1904 presidential candidate. He poured \$450,000 into Parker's campaign fund and is listed as a \$50,000 giver to Al Smith's race. The former cabinet official—including Ethel Root—were Ryan's employees. He was also a heavy gift to the Roman Catholic church. He was buried from a church which he had built with \$1,000,000 of his own money.

Ryan roamed over the vast field of unexploited regions and resources. With the Guggenheims, he entered into a partnership with the notorious Leopold II of Belgium to exploit the diamond and mineral wealth of the Congo. Black workers got as little as 25 cents a year and as much as 5 cents a day in the Ryan-Guggenheim mines.

## Interested In Utilities.

Ryan saw possibilities of squeezing millions out of New York straphangers. He merged 20 horsecar lines in the 80s, electrified them and threw them into bankruptcy after cleaning up a fortune for himself. Later he bled the first subway company to the tune of \$15,000,000 by one brilliant coup. By 1901 he had formed the tobacco trust. He then invaded England and wrung from the British tobacco interests 23 control in the new British-American Tobacco Co., a joint international concern to exploit the cigarette markets of China and other lands.

A native Virginian, the master financier led in the consolidation of railroad lines into the present Southern Railway. Through shrewd manipulation he got control of the Seaboard Air Line. He merged New York banks and trust companies into the National Bank of Commerce and the Guaranty Trust Co., both titans in the financial world.

When he retired from business about 20 years ago, Ryan had control or influence in American Tobacco, Bethlehem Steel, Consolidated Gas, Cuba Co., Havana Tobacco, Hocking Valley, National Bank of Commerce, Seaboard Air Line, New York City Railroad, Union Elevated of Chicago, Union Lead, U. V. Carbide and Acetylene, Intl. Cigar Machinery, Industrial Trust and Morton Trust.

Social honors came to the Ryans. The Pope made Mrs. Ryan a countess of the Holy Roman Empire and Ryan a marquis in the papal court. In their Fifth Ave. winter home was one of the magnificent art collections of America. They maintained one country home at Suffern, N. Y., and another in Virginia.

## Ryan's Southern Holdings.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(FP)—That the industrial south is largely an investment colony for absentee Wall street financiers is again shown in the obituary of Thomas Fortune Ryan and the will of Payne Whitney. Both men were powerful figures in the great tobacco companies that are fighting the unions in Dixie and Ryan was a promoter of southern railroads.

Nearly \$40,000,000 of Whitney's \$194,324,514 gross estate was in tobacco stocks inherited in part from his uncle Col. Oliver H. Payne, Standard Oil magnate. Payne helped Ryan and James B. Duke to organize the tobacco trust.

About \$12,000,000 of the Whitney tobacco money was in the R. J. Reynolds company, manufacturers of Camel cigarettes, which the North Carolina labor movement put on the scab list this summer. There are 12,000 Reynolds employees in Winston-Salem, N. C. If they read the will and are good at figures they will find this one New York sportsman had a \$1,000 investment in each one of them.

Whitney mentions none of the Camel City workers in his will. No slum home of an \$11-a-week tobacco worker is the beneficiary of any of his Gothic hunting tapestries or Egyptian rugs.

The extent of Ryan's immense tobacco holdings will not be known till the will disposing of his 100 to 500 million dollar estate is published. If then his tobacco interests were but a minority of his total wealth. Yet some observers think he owned more tobacco securities than J. B. Duke himself.

Southern railroads paid heavy tribute to Ryan. He fathered the expansion of the Richmond & Danville system 40 years ago into the Southern R. R. which now dominates traffic between New York and New Orleans thru the rich Piedmont plateau. His group got control of the Seaboard Airline in a successful stock raid. He reorganized Central of Georgia and was one of the controlling forces in the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio R. R., which owns the planned industrial city of Kingsport, Tenn.

## Piet Vlag Passes Away In Florida

Piet Vlag, who was at one time well known in the Socialist movement in and near New York, died at the age of fifty years in Tampa, Fla., on November 22nd. The New Leader is informed. Vlag ran the restaurant of the old Rand School when it was located at 112 East 19th Street. It was Vlag who started "The Masses" which came to fame as a magazine of literary, social and political revolt. He also gave frequent art exhibitions at the Rand School. When Vlag died he was engaged in the real estate business. He leaves a wife and son.

# Ghost of "Trotzkyism," Turns Up In America But is Promptly Squelched

American Polcom Drop Deviations Away From Stolen Pie-Counter

By Louis Stanley

TROTSKY may be pining away in a Turkish exile for want of a revolution but his ghost has bobbed up here in the United States vigorous and impish as the original. As a consequence, two members of the Political Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America and one alternate, all excellent comrades, find themselves expelled from the Party by action of the other members of the Polcom. The unfortunate revolutionists are James P. Cannon and Martin Abern, members, and Max Schachtman, alternate.

It seems that Cannon, Abern and Schachtman have discovered that Trotsky is right after all, that the poor man has never had a decent chance at the hands of the politicians in Moscow, that in fact he has been lied about shamelessly. The Three American Trotskyites accuse Stalin and his pensioners in this country of right deviations. The Stalin bureaucracy turns around and hurls the same accusation against its opponents. The insurgents, say the Stalinists, are masquerading as Leftists but actually they are dangerous Rightists. These fraudulent revolutionists, these enemies of the Communist International and Soviet Russia, in other words, these foes of Stalin—must go. Hence, the expulsions.

## The Opposition's Tardy Loyalty

The action taken by the Polcom against the Trotskyites had been an open secret before the information was made public in the Communist Press on November 16. The delay in making the announcement was meant to prevent distraction from the staged kidnapping of Ollow, the Communist invasion of the South and other antics of the election campaign. Cannon, Abern and Schachtman had actually been expelled on October 27. The plot of the Trotskyites had been uncovered on October 16, when Aronberg, Bittelman and Foster reported to the Political Committee that their comrades of the American Opposition, Cannon, Abern and Schachtman, had for several weeks been "carrying on activities, leading to the crystallization of a Trotskyist faction in the Party." The Polcom praised the loyal Opposition leaders for passing on this information but censured them for not doing so fast enough. In retrospect it did appear that Cannon had not really been exerting himself in Party work. He had shown pessimism, skepticism and cynicism. Ever since his return from the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow this year, he had already been working to open up the question of Trotskyism when, as a matter of fact, it had already been settled by the Communist Party. Every Communist who knew his bread was buttered realized how foolhardy that was. It was Stalin, not Trotsky who possessed the cupboard.

## The Case for Trotskyism.

Cannon and his followers take up their position squarely on the side of Trotsky in their statement of October 27 to the Polcom. They claim they are the only true Leninists. Stalin and his crowd are only opportunists. On the basis of Leninism they say with Trotsky:

1. Democracy should be maintained within the Party instead of its giving way to bureaucratic rule.
2. A relentless struggle should be waged against the Kulak (the rich peasant), and the Nepman (the private businessman) for the benefit of the poor peasant and the industrial proletariat.
3. The theory of "socialism in one country" is all wrong. The revolution is world-wide and must be extended on all fronts. The stabilization of capitalism will be less "temporary" than the Stalinists imagine.
4. The Russians should have immediately withdrawn from the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee after the general strike and opened fire on "Purcell, Hicks and Co." instead of dilly-dallying.
5. Stalin, Bukharin and their outfit betrayed the Chinese Revolution by supporting the bourgeois in the Kuomintang instead of cutting loose from them and establishing Soviets.

What has all this to do with American conditions? It is hard to see. The American Trotskyites declare that:

"The problems of the American Party are organically bound up with the fundamental questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and cannot be solved separately from them. The left wing of the American Party, taking shape in the principle struggle against the right wing 'leadership' of the Party (Lovestone-Pepper group) will go forward only insofar as it recognizes the necessity of a struggle against the right danger on an international scale and links up its fight in the American Party with the Bolshevik fight for the fundamental tenets of Leninism in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern."

## Is This Gangsterism?

The expelled comrades reveal a White Terror in their beloved party and the dual virtuous unions it has created:

"... The attempts to exclude us from responsible Party work, and even from the Party itself, along with the proletarian Communists who support us, while at the same time the control of the Party apparatus and the Party leadership in such unions as the needy trade consolidations more firmly in the hands of the opportunists, who fight their Communist worker critics with expulsion and physical violence—all this can only accelerate the rapprochement between the right wing leadership of the Party and right wing and petty bourgeois elements now outside the Party."

As for the abandonment of the Oppositionists' fight in order that they may preserve their jobs, the Trotskyites speak these withering words:

"By its whole character the Lovestone leadership is the 'logical' American banner-bearer of the demagogic and unscrupulous international campaign against the leaders of the Russian Opposition. The aspirations of certain former leaders of the Opposition in the American Party to

asp this banner for themselves are patently futile. The hopes of the Foster group to escape thereby the factional execution of the Lovestone group and to secure their organizational positions can succeed only insofar as they surrender their former opposition standpoint. The whole course of the Lovestone group, which has no roots in the labor movement, is toward a monopoly of the Party apparatus and cannot be otherwise."

## The Corner Revolution

There is no doubt that the American Trotskyites are Left Communists like their fellow-rebels in Russia and other parts of the world who have been mercilessly expelled. In the United States they retain allegiance to the Opposition platform submitted to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International last July by William Z. Foster, James P. Cannon, William F. Dunne, Albert Bittelman, J. W. Johnstone, Manuel Gomez, and George Siskin which was made short shrift of by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This platform sees a weakening of American imperialism and capitalism and a leftward drift of the masses. It denies that the Opposition believes there is a "deep-going revolutionary radicalization of the entire American working class" but that there is only the development of a leftward mood." In other words, while the Trotskyites now have abandoned the theory that the revolution is right around the corner, the Lovestone followers see it three corners away and the Oppositionists only two. This is similar to the approach of Trotsky towards Russian and international problems.

Nevertheless, the Stalinists in Russia as well as in the United States have turned the tables. Having complete control of the Party machinery they have silenced the voice of the Left wing and with expertness have built up a propaganda, which now makes it appear that it is the Opposition that is Right. The cry of "Right Danger" has been raised against the Trotskyites. Thus the American Polcom in its statement on the expulsion of Cannon, Abern and Schachtman enumerates all the Right deviations for which the dominant faction has been responsible, if anything, and adds:

"Trotskyism is the most comprehensive developed system of opportunism with an international basis still seeking to hide its Social Democratic character by covering itself with phrases. 'Trotskyism, in its last stage of development, is the summing up, the unifying force of all these opportunistic, Right dangers. (Bold faced type in original.) Trotskyism, the crassest, the most complete example of opportunism, is coming to a head in an open attack on the Party, on the Comintern and on the Soviet Union."

The Amerci Trotskyites were expelled before the meeting of the Party convention and while they have the right of appeal their position, since they are on the outside of the Party, has, of course, been weakened. Just as in Soviet Russia documents have been suppressed supporting Trotsky's position, so here, the Trotskyites in the United States have undertaken to make these public. They have begun the publication of a semi-monthly organ "The Militant," which will state their side of the case, as a secret opposition press in Soviet Russia has had to do.

## The Doom of Trotskyism

What will be the outcome of this internal struggle? The probability is that the Stalinists will win. It is not merely because they have the wherewithal to wage the fight against their former comrades. That is important, of course. It is because conditions are with them. The gradual retreat of Communism calls for a policy of opportunism. The Trotskyites are correct logically but wrong practically. That interpretation of Leninism represented by Stalin, which the Trotskyites have dubbed "Revisionism," will win out because a materialist interpretation of history indicates that in the present stage of capitalism revolution, if it comes, must wait its turn.

## Coolidge Petitioned To Restore Rights of Espionage Act Victims

A petition urging President Coolidge to issue a proclamation restoring full rights of citizenship to the 1,500 men and women who were convicted under the Espionage Act for their utterances during the World War has been sent to the President by the American Civil Liberties Union. The men and women involved are without the rights to vote, hold office or serve on juries.

The union's petition states "that such continuing punishment for offenses in an emergency long since passed is unjust and 'not in accord with the traditions of our government, particularly as expressed in the amnesties following the Civil War, which restored citizenship to all persons engaged in the rebellion.'"

## Committee Formed For Mooney-Billings

Norman Hapgood, Lemuel Parton, Henry T. Hunt and Morris L. Ernst have been named by Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, to serve on a committee which will recommend members for the national and executive committees formed to organize the country-wide campaign to free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings from California prisons. One member of this special committee is still to be appointed.

Dr. Ward's action in forming the committee followed upon the recent meeting in New York City of liberal forces that are seeking the release of the two men who have been in prison twelve years for their alleged participation in the Preparedness Day bomb explosion in San Francisco in 1916.

Rochdale Cooperative Story Told  
The Story of Toad Lane is the title of an attractively printed booklet by Stuart Chase on the founding of the cooperative movement by the Rochdale weavers in England. The booklet is distributed by Consumers' Cooperative Services, 54 Irving Place, N. Y.

# New Committee Runs Strike In Paterson

Thomas Addresses Meeting of Silk Workers In Jersey Town—Urges Solidarity

By a vote of more than 2 to 1, the entire membership of the Associated Silk Workers at a general membership meeting Monday night upheld the organization's Joint Executive Board in their action dissolving the old strike committee and appointing a new committee to conduct the strike.

This action of the membership is a virtual vote of confidence in the Joint Board and the officers of the union, who have been constantly attacked during the past six weeks by a minority opposition group in the union. Supporters of the administration charge this opposition group with attempting to disrupt the Associated and advance the newly-formed National Textile Workers' Union, a Communist organization.

Norman Thomas, was the speaker at Tuesday's daily strike mass meeting telling silk strikers that America's prosperity is "a millionaire's prosperity—not a textile workers' prosperity," he urged them to put workers was necessary to make the Paterson bosses yield.

Sympathetic speakers who came to town to talk to strikers, said Thomas, win few strikers. "Strikes are won," he said, "by the men and women who stand the gaff of the picket lines, of jobless weeks, of empty bread-boxes at home." Strike sympathizers who wish to back up the strikers effectively, he explained, must help now with relief. Thomas will do his share through the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, of which he is chairman, and which will aid the Paterson silk strikers.

Differences of opinion between strikers must stop short at the picket line, warned Thomas, stressing the fact that a united front of workers was necessary to make the Paterson bosses yield.

Merely going ahead and clinching their victory in the present strike, he said, would not make the position of Paterson silk workers secure. In the long run they must compete with unorganized, underpaid textile workers all over the country, some of whom have not even learned to be dissatisfied with their miserable condition.

To illustrate this fact Thomas told of Southern textile mill villages where he had spoken in the election campaign just closed. In one of these small towns, he remembered, the workers lived in miserable company shacks of unpainted boards, overrun with vermin. For these they paid their bosses the exorbitant rental of \$14 a month. Asked about their village, they replied that it was "a good town—work was pretty steady" most all the time."

They had never figured out just how long they did work, but when they came to think about it, it doped out to a day shift of 10 hours and a night shift of 11 hours. With some difficulty they calculated that their average week's pay envelope must be about \$14.

This is not the first time Norman Thomas has berated New Jersey textile strikers. In 1926 his open challenge to the lawlessness of the Bergen County authorities caused him to spend 24 hours in jail, but re-established rights of free speech and assembly for Passaic strikers.

## Tennessee Paper Harries Labor-Haters

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—(FP)—The only southern labor paper owned and managed by a local labor movement, the Chattanooga Labor World, will play an important role in any organizing campaign the American Federation of Labor undertakes in Dixie as a result of its New Orleans convention R. M. Cooke, the editor, a former president of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, runs a militant journal that has scored more than one victory against labor's foes.

Hanging at the scalp belt of the Labor World is the job of the recent industrial secretary of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce. This disturber of industrial peace, one C. W. Howard, was fired at the close of the World's campaign. Howard angered the unions by taking an additional job some years ago with an open shop employers' organization. When that collapsed he continued his unfriendly activities through the Chamber of Commerce.

Cooke took the war into Howard's own organization. The Labor World got evidence that he and a clique in the chamber were opposing the entrance of new industries that would pay higher wages and thus bring more trade to the merchants. The Ford Motor Co., a big armor plate concern and several others had been kept out by these dogs in the manger who feared the new wage standards would raise labor prices in Chattanooga's older metal shops and textile mills.

The Labor World ran a 3-column editorial "Turn on the Light," which was distributed to every merchant in town. Mr. Howard was soon looking for another job. Since then the Chamber of Commerce cultivates friendly relations with the unions.

## Workers Killed Building Castles in the Air

ALBANY—(FP)—With 21,891 workers injured in construction work during the year ending June 30, 1928, New York State breaks its own record for number and cost of building accidents. Cost of compensation for these deaths and injuries was \$8,115,469, or \$371 for each case, reports the bureau of statistics and information of the state labor department.

For every one hundred building workers injured in the year ending June 30, 1924, 164 were injured in this past year. This is a 64 per cent increase in four years. Accidents in all other industries combined increased only 28 per cent.

# Promising Labor Party Killed In New Bedford By Personal Ambitions

Trading With Old Line Candidate Destroys Hope of Immediate Campaign By Unions

By Frank Manning

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—The five per cent compromise settlement of the New Bedford strike was to my mind a miserable climax of a noble struggle. In the many weeks of battle 30,000 strikers proved they had fighting hearts and it was inspiring to work with them and easy to sacrifice for their cause. Those of us who were privileged to fight shoulder to shoulder with this militant army of workers shall always remember them with pride and love. But my heart was not the only one loaded with grief when the workers returned to their looms, back to the mills with a five per cent decrease in their earnings and under conditions much worse than before the strike.

Thousands are now unemployed in New Bedford. Those working have in many instances been subjected to a cruel speed-up system and indirect wage cuts. The outlook for the workers of this city is not at all bright. Indeed, what does the future hold for all of the textile workers of this country? Unless a national forty-hour law can be enacted and enforced in this industry its workers must continue to suffer from unemployment and long hours. What hope is there for such a radical step from the powers that be?

For six months I advised the strikers of New Bedford at their weekly mass meetings to turn on the old parties. Let us hope that they will soon be impressed with the soundness of this advice. Indeed, many of them felt that the most hopeful development of the strike was the formation of the New Bedford and District Labor Party. A few of us who came to aid in the strike remained to carefully watch the growth of this movement and to put a full ticket in the field for the municipal election to be held on December 4.

A small band of men and women worked night and day to give the workers of New Bedford an opportunity to vote for labor candidates for Mayor and City Councilmen. We received no cooperation from the officials of the local unions. As a matter of fact, they did everything in their power to discourage the movement and openly frowned upon it. Without their cooperation we could not go far. A general meeting of the Labor Party was called to plan for the future. Then

# Ludwig And Maurer Win Fight In Ohio

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
ATHENS, Ohio.—Happy endings to at least one free speech fight in the coal fields can be reported of the case at Ohio university of Walter Ludwig and Wesley Maurer, which occupied New Leader columns early last summer.

No indictment against Ludwig who has been under bond since May was returned by the Athens county grand jury meeting recently. Ludwig who in March lost his job at the university because of efforts in behalf of the striking miners was arrested and lodged in jail in May after he and Maurer had protested at a mass meeting of business men and operators an attempt to get public support behind strike-breaking activities in southern Ohio. He is now in New York City working as co-director with Joshua Lieberman of Pioneer Youth in America.

Maurer, who was dismissed from his position as assistant professor of journalism after operators and business men had complained to university officials about his methods of reporting the strike, is now teaching in the department of journalism at the University of Michigan. Friends construe Maurer's return to the university of Michigan where he taught before going to the Ohio institution, three years ago as a complete vindication of Maurer's ability as a journalist and teacher and a direct slap at coal operator control and lack of academic freedom at Ohio university.

Widespread protests in labor and educational circles against Maurer's dismissal include a petition to the governor of Ohio from the union representatives of 2300 striking miners, resolutions by the American Federation of Teachers and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and an investigation by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Cooke took the war into Howard's own organization. The Labor World got evidence that he and a clique in the chamber were opposing the entrance of new industries that would pay higher wages and thus bring more trade to the merchants. The Ford Motor Co., a big armor plate concern and several others had been kept out by these dogs in the manger who feared the new wage standards would raise labor prices in Chattanooga's older metal shops and textile mills.

## Printers Balance Many Raises Against 19 Cuts

INDIANAPOLIS—(FP)—Employing printers will get very little satisfaction out of the cuts in the newspaper scale agreed to by ten locals of the International Union the past year. Offsetting all these cuts are several hundred gains by other locals.

The cuts were confined almost entirely to Florida, where eight locals agreed to a temporarily reduced scale because of the general hard times caused by the collapse of the land boom and by the several hurricanes that have destroyed much property and scared people away from the state. The other two locals had contracts with small publications, one of which cut the scale from \$48 to \$47 and the other lowered the length of the week and made other concessions at the same time.

## Power Trust Probe Will Not Be Stopped

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Heartened by assurances of support from the progressives in the Senate, the Federal Trade Commission will proceed with its inquiry into the misuse of their privileges and the misleading of public opinion as to public ownership by the public utility corporations. While papers are being drawn for court action to meet the Electric Bond & Share Co.'s refusal to open its books as to operating expenses, rest of the inquiry will move on.

# Labor Spy Is Seized In Kenosha

Zales Believed Responsible For Much of Disorder And Violence

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

KENOSHA, Wis.—The arrest here by the police of a Chicago man calling himself Leslie Zales, who confessed he was working in Kenosha for the Railway Bureau of Audit and Control, one of the most clumsy private detective agencies in America, may clear up the mystery of many of the bombings and other outrages which have occurred here during the nine months' strike lockout of the full-fashioned hosiery workers at the Allen-A plant.

Zales is believed by the police here to be responsible for the stink-bombing of the room in the Dayton Hotel occupied by Louis F. Budenz of New York, who is directing this strike on behalf of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. The Allen-A company has declared itself publicly as believing Budenz is responsible for the wonderful strike carried on here by the young workers of Kenosha. There has been a number of abortive efforts in past months to force Budenz to quit the Dayton Hotel. On this occasion not only were stink bombs thrown but his carpet was ruined by the application of strong acids which has probably been designed to burn Budenz in some fiendish manner.

The Railway Bureau of Audit and Control has been active in the country-wide under cover war that has been carried on against the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers for the past several years. In Reading, Pa., H. C. Cummings, the local agent for that despicable spy agency, has been indicted for perjury as a result of testimony he swore to against strikers at the Noe-Equil mill of that city. In Philadelphia the same crew of stool pigeons has had various men at work in the Union for the last three years.

In Zales' pockets the police found copies of letters which were being sent out through the mails in an effort to sow dissension and suspicion in the ranks of the Kenosha strikers. Some of the letters were even being sent to the courageous strikers who are serving jail terms in the Milwaukee House of Correction as a protest against the injunction handed down by the Federal courts at the instance of the Allen-A Company. These messages in some cases purported to come from Organizer Budenz, who was depicted as gloating over the luxurious life he was supposed to be leading at the expense of the locked-out workers. The strikers in Kenosha are all well aware of the fact that Budenz has remained in charge of this situation for nine months at great personal sacrifice to himself.

Zales registered at the Hotel Dayton under an assumed name but was arrested as a result of some quick work on the part of one of the bell-boys who insists he can prove that this creature was responsible for the bombing of Budenz' room. Though admitting he was hired by the Railway Bureau of Audit and Control Zales cannot remember, when questioned, just who it was that is paying the bill for his dirty work. The Webster Building in Chicago is the Mid-Western headquarters of this spy agency.

The locked-out workers have continually insisted that the disorders that have taken place in Kenosha during this strike were clearly perpetrated by stool pigeons and provocateurs in most cases not only as a means of discrediting the strikers but also to scare the employer into keeping these parasites on the payroll. If the police will make a real investigation of Zales much of interest to the whole labor movement will undoubtedly be revealed.

## Nicaraguan Finance Control Disavowed

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Anti-imperialist forces in the United States and throughout Latin America have won a signal victory by killing the Cumberland plan for establishing complete control by the State Department over the revenues, expenditures and government of Nicaragua. Secretary Kellogg disavowed the colonial scheme at noon on Nov. 23, and the White House spokesman declared a few hours later that President Coolidge would have none of it.

Sen. Norris, progressive leader, when informed of the sudden break in the imperialist front of the administration, said he hoped the disavowal was genuine and permanent. Such a victory of common sense over the greed of the bankers, he declared, would justify the efforts the anti-imperialist Americans had made against the administration policy thus far.

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# British Labor Speaks to the American Federation

## Fraternal Delegates At New Orleans Convention Make Appeal For Joint Resistance to War Danger

**THE** address by James Marchbank of the British Trade Union Congress to the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans was a forceful and inspiring utterance. It presents a contrast to the address of the average conservative American trade unionist who lacks the spirit and the crusading fervor that inspire masses of men and women and organizes them into victorious movements. One can understand why the British labor movement has a much larger percentage of their workers organized than we do here when reading the inspiring address. It should also be remembered that the British movement has faced disadvantages since the end of the World War, disadvantages which have not served as barriers to organization here, and yet they have held their own and are now looking forward with confident hope of being the governing party in their country. In this country where the large majority of the trade unions follow a "non-partisan" policy they do not ever anticipate such an inspiring event through this policy. They can never hope to rise to the leadership in the states and the nation. What ever claims have been made for the "non-partisan" policy it has never envisioned its culmination in labor control of the governing powers of the United States. That of itself shows its limitations to say nothing of the fact that it has never created a fighting labor group in Congress or any state legislature which the workers could point to and say, "This is the group that represents us and which carries out our mandates." Herein are some important sections of this address.

### Address of James Marchbank

... Now as to the problems and difficulties confronting the British trade union movement—from a membership point of view I have been particularly interested in the reports that have been submitted to you, particularly with regard to membership, as an indication of the movement in the two great countries. Needless for me to say, we have suffered materially since the high water mark was reached in 1920, which gave us then a total membership of 6,505,462, but which was brought about largely by the tide of artificial war prosperity.

Then followed the post-war reaction, the chill and bitter blasts of unemployment, the attack on our wages and conditions by employers, fanatical planned and most calously executed, in some instances, notably the attack on the miners in 1926, with which my colleague, Edwards, will deal more fully—these, and other causes have left us with a membership of 3,874,842 at the end of 1927. Notwithstanding the large decrease we have still 1,642,396 more members than in the pre-war year 1913. The figures I have given you, however, do not represent the total membership of the trade union movement of Great Britain, one important section having been forced to withdraw as a consequence of the infamous Trades Disputes and Trade Union Bill of 1927, namely, the postal workers and civil service organization. These very important sections have been compelled to disaffiliate, both from the trade union movement and the Labor Party movement of Great Britain. There are in addition a number of organizations which Congress refuses to recognize. There is also an important cause of their assistance toward the establishment of company organizations—what is known in Britain as non-political associations. They are entirely different efforts from the movement on this side, and I hope that no one will look upon these remarks as being a disparagement of your organization here, because the movement is entirely different on the other side from a structure and organic point of view.

### The Slump In Trade

Congress has set its face against disruptive elements and destructive tactics, whether they are the agents of the employers or the hirelings from Moscow we refuse to have anything to do with them. The railway men in particular, of whom I have the honor to be an official, representing a great majority of the organized railway workers in Great Britain have just emerged from an attack, and although having to give ground—and we do not apologize for having to give ground, it is our misfortune that the conditions were such as to preclude industrial action being used in a form calculated to bring about success—we consider it is wise generalship, when confronted with an attack, knowing that the forces that are arrayed against you are such as to make it impossible to succeed, to recede and recede only so far as it is necessary to stem the tide, keeping your army intact, as a good general would do on a battle field.

What the trade slump has cost the wage earners in reductions will be appreciated when I inform you that the Wages Bill has been reduced by approximately 600,000,000 pounds per annum as compared with 1920. Anyone, therefore, with an elementary knowledge of economics, will readily appreciate the effect of this great reduction in wages upon the purchasing power of the great mass of the people and the consuming public in relation to trade and employment.

### The Unemployment Problem

Unemployment is another problem confronting the trade union movement of Great Britain, and among the working people numbering approximately 11,800,000, who are insured against unemployment by State insurance schemes, which of course the workers pay for all the time, and working practically in every industry with the exception of agriculture and private domestic service there were, according to the last returns available before I left England, registered at the Employment Exchanges 1,384,000 unemployed men and women. But this number falls far short of the total number of unemployed people, due to the action of the British government, which, by regu-

lations and acts of Parliament, have deprived thousands of genuinely unemployed men and women of unemployment benefits. Taking the same period there were also 663,502 persons in receipt of Poor Law relief. The method adopted by our government has been that in order to reduce the number registered by registration and regulations, the liability of unemployment has been now transferred from the proper funds of State Unemployment Insurance on to the local relief. Those people have now to be protected by Poor Law relief. If we were to take the total number of unemployed men and women, taking the two sections together as I have referred to and taking their dependents with them, the number of people who are unemployed in Great Britain, with their dependents, will be in the region of 5,000,000 people.

In addition I would remind you that there are thousands working on a system of short time and who are always on the border line of poverty. This, you will appreciate, has its effect not only on the numerical and financial positions of the trade union movement, but on the moral aspect as well. Unemployment is a necessary corollary to capitalism, and until we free ourselves from capitalism the unemployed will be with us, and with the advance in science and the development of machinery under the present system, is almost certain to increase.

### "Work or Maintenance"

The demand, therefore, is work or full maintenance. Our conception, friends, of life and industry is industry for humanity, and not humanity for industry. In order to equip ourselves and the rising generation for the struggles that lie ahead, the Educational Committee of the

Council have been untiring in their efforts in the development of working class education. This is very gratifying to me personally and to the organization which I represent. For many years the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation have maintained and supported a college for workers' education. Recognizing that the movement was greater than a section we decided to make a free gift of the college and to continue financial support for a given period, handing it over to the trade union movement of Great Britain in order that it could be utilized and developed for the benefit of the trade union movement as a whole.

Owing to the serious financial position of a number of organizations at the last Congress, on which no doubt your own delegates will probably be reporting, this was not proceeded with, but during the coming year, with increased financial position of the trade union movement generally, I am hopeful that at the next Congress the movement will take over the educational activities of the various sections of the trade union movement of Great Britain in order that they may be developed in the interest of the trade union movement as a whole and that the students who come there will be taught the things that do matter from a working class point of view. We can certainly leave astronomy and many other subjects to the tutors at the various universities of the orthodox type, but if your experience has been similar to mine you have found that in your elementary schools, only very few are taught to read about the glories of your various countries or empires, the wars that have been fought and the victories that have been won, the pictures

depicting kings, queens and princes riding about in chariots of gold. But you have never in any of them been taught of the struggle to live on the part of the toiling masses of your country, nor have you been taught to understand the various economic problems from a working class point of view.

### Trade Union Education

The younger generation of trade unionists in Britain are taking an intelligent interest in this phase of our work, and great advancements have been made in recent years in the number of classes which have been established up and down the country. Today we have thousands of classes and tens of thousands of students being trained for the working class movement. Our young men and our young women are being taught to understand the rights of society in which they live, to comprehend the forces that bring about unemployment, enforced emigration, poverty and wars, and are encouraged to take their place in the struggle for working class emancipation armed with knowledge—for knowledge is power. We have great faith in our young people to carry on the good work, for the future leaders of our movement must come from the young men and young women of today.

During the transition period from individual capitalism to Collectivism and Socialism, trade unionism stands at the present time for the voice of the workers in the administration and control of industry to be heard in the councils of the employers. We cannot wait the advent of the breakdown of capitalism before we start marching towards control. That being one of our specific objects, we are missing no opportunity of making our

voices heard, and we feel that, given a chance, we can contribute a great deal toward the reorganization of industry on a more sound economic basis.

We refuse to accept the idea that brains is a monopoly possessed by the employing classes. We believe that amongst the ranks of the working class community there are men and women that, given equal opportunity, possess greater mental outlook, who can fill the bill, who can show the road from darkness to light, who can, if given a fair chance, contribute a great deal to the reorganization of industry.

In saying that I want to convey to you that it is equally important to the workers in all countries, as well as to the workers in Great Britain. While I recognize that the methods in the various countries must differ, even as the problems differ, that the economic conditions, the traditions and the inherited genius of the people all play their part in the determination of methods and tactics, yet we are all struggling in our several ways to achieve those things which are akin to the common sympathy of men the world over.

### Sees Electoral Victory

We in Great Britain, believe in political as well as industrial action, and we firmly believe that a Labor government will be a sure means, not only towards emancipation of the workers in Great Britain, but will contribute towards the international peace which is so essential for workers in all countries.

We on the other side are fast approaching another General Election, when the Government which succeeded to power in 1924 will have to explain to the electorate its management of the country's

affairs. They replaced the first Labor Government in our country, and did so only after a stupendous effort, based on misstatements and trickery. Their record is one that the working class of Britain can never forget. At least they have nothing to thank them for. They are undoubtedly the most reactionary government that has been in office and in power for the past one hundred years.

As already indicated, unemployment has increased by tens of thousands. Wages have been lowered by nearly 500,000 pounds per week during their regime. The hours of nearly a million workers of the mines, represented by my colleague, Edwards, have been increased. Thousands have been deprived of unemployment benefits. Grants for milk for mothers and children have been reduced and as we in Great Britain rightly term them, they are the baby murderers of our country, and we are determined that they shall be removed from power at the first available opportunity.

We have won the great majority of the by-elections, and just before leaving England, A. Bellamy, a past president of my own union and one known to a number in your country, having attended one of your conventions as a fraternal delegate some years ago, succeeded in winning for Labor a seat in what had always been an anti-Labor constituency, Ashton-Under-Lyne. In addition to that we have taken an active and intelligent interest in local administrations, and in the elections which were fought and concluded just prior to our leaving England. We succeeded in having a net gain of 188 cities in the municipalities of England and Wales, and the metropolitan borough of London. That has enabled us to have

now a majority and in complete control of a number of the principal cities in England and a number of the various boroughs in London.

### "All Wars Capitalistic"

Among the number who have been returned are many women, who are now playing an important part, and we look to them in the future to assist us in our struggles and in our emancipation. They are not only active workers, but they are active and intelligent administrators and have now taken their places in local Councils and in representation in the British House of Commons.

This is only another indication, friends, and a very certain one, of how the tide is flowing in our country. The country is giving more and more to Labor. It is showing an increasing confidence in the work of the Party and a desire to give it further opportunity and a position of responsibility.

I have already referred earlier to international peace and I feel that we are united in our hatred of war. I believe we all want to advance to that stage of civilization when war will be impossible. It is now ten years since the Armistice was agreed to and the greatest Armageddon ever witnessed by the peoples of the world, but I am sorry to relate that there are still a number of people in the various countries who yet possess a war mentality and can only comprehend peace by having the nations armed to the teeth. Their cry for more battle ships and armaments is still being propagated, and on the horizon there are all the elements of another bloody upheaval.

All wars, friends, are capitalistic wars, whether it is in the country of the victor or the vanquished. The workers suffer on every occasion and have to pay the debts. Therefore, I hope that when I utter those words we are united in our hatred against war. We mean something more than lip service as to the cause of peace. You cannot get limitation of armaments by people sitting around a table who are possessed of a war mentality and a war outlook. You can only get peace when you inculcate in the minds and hearts of the peoples of all lands the absolute necessity for peace—peace the world over—and instilling in their minds the causes that bring about war, the envy, the greed and the lust for power which is the religion of the owning and controlling classes. Their godly worship is the Golden Calf.

War must be frustrated, and it can only be frustrated by a united working class solidarity, by the workers refusing to obey the war lords of any country and marching behind the banner which represents the bloodshed and suffering of the toiling masses of our land. Is there a man or a woman in this assembly who reflects in their calmer moments, who has probably some dear relative, a father, a husband or a brother, whose bones today lie branching on the various battlefields of France, of Flanders, or of Italy, who wants to see their children brought up to be cannon fodder, in the interests of the capitalist class of any country of the world? I say emphatically we in Britain refuse to accept that doctrine, and we are propagating the idea that wars must be frustrated in the future by the working classes acting unitedly in all lands. Let the people who want the war go and fight the war, because you have never gotten anything out of any of them that has been fought up to the present time.

### Grange Denounces Power Propaganda

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Among the resolutions adopted by the annual meeting of the National Grange before final adjournment in Washington was one which condemned "the despicable policy of the power trust in making use of our institutions of public education to carry on propaganda designed to further its interests."

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## THOUGHTS AFTER READING "BOSTON"

By Joseph T. Shipley

I HAVE just torn up the pages I had started to write, on the long way to a review of Upton Sinclair's "Boston" (A. & C. Boni, \$5). With stinging eyes I had laid down the second volume, reluctant to turn from its pages. I needed the crisp evening air, and the sight of stars and water. As I walked down West Street, with long steps, rooted for a moment, blocking view of the river until I reached the Battery, my mind went adreaming of what this world might be. Four hours of work, experts in the field tell us, would suffice to equip every human being with all the necessities of life, and all the comforts—if all who were able worked, and all shared equally. The beauties of nature, the growth from these in the knowledge and culture of man, the glories of poetry and music, the urge of the healthy body in exercise, the questing of the eager mind and the myriad ways of its journey; these made the pattern of my thoughts. I left the invigorating air, warm with the stir of swift walking, and came to the warmth of my room, to write. I began: "The gifts of nature to man are beyond the anare of words" ... and after a time, I tore the pages. No pen can picture what every mind can feel, the happiness of a vigorous freedom, of an alert mind and a willing body, in a glad world.

What withholds from man the wide happiness that is within reach of his hand, if he but reach in union with all his fellows? Greed, is the common answer, or ignorance, or fear. The first of these is the bastion of the tyrant. Primordial man was afraid of the dark. He knew, he felt with the reassuring vitality of his young body, the safety of the day; light; but when sleep came upon him like a forest, a warning of death, leaving him meanwhile helpless to avert what it taught him to recoil from, man felt the need of power, to win security. Knowledge of the many ways death comes—famine, fire, tusk or fencer sword, disease—made man recognize the need of ever greater power. "Knowledge is power"; and one path of man's imperious urge bore him to an ever increasing understanding of nature, an ever greater command of her resources, unceasing defiance of her terrors. But also there is power in brain; too early in man's history to trace its rise; the notion grew out of fear that power could be stored, could be expressed in terms of coin and soldiers, could be gathered and held for later need. And—Veblen and others have pointed the way—power that might have served as well, was drawn to single service, was hoarded beyond the possibility of service, for display, for its own sake for the ritual of power. All quests have their joy: there is perhaps no more intrinsic happiness in the pursuit of an electron along its path through matter, or in the following of the Nile to its source or a tiger to his lair, than in the headhunter's pursuit of an outlander, an aeroplane's swoop before the bomb-drop, or a financier's manoeuvring a panic or a war.

### A Full Picture of Life.

The result of this psychological accumulation is modern civilized life, which means (Latin civis, citizen) not, as many think, life of a high cultural order, but merely life in cities. And I know no fuller picture of this life in cities than Upton Sinclair's story of "Boston." The book tells, as I need hardly announce, the story of Sacco and Vanzetti; but by building into the history of that case a thread of action, in the form of a rebel grandmother, one of the Bostonians of old American lineage, such as do appear in cries to disturb their family by remembering the ideals of their forebears (so that their own generation mope them, and later ages erect statues in their name), Sinclair contrives to draw into the tale the other side of life, and reveals how the hand that deals blows to the worker in the name of justice knows other ways of perverting honor for the rich.

I suppose one ought to write two reviews of this book, considering it first as a picture of society, then as a novel. I wanted to divide my comment, but was

## A Novel That Is "Enough to Overturn Our Social System"

told to say my say at once. I therefore say at once that "Boston" is enough to overturn our social system—if men acted as it clearly bids. The single story of the Sacco and Vanzetti case is told with a wealth of detail and a gathering force that are wholly convincing. I disregard for the moment the emotional depths they stir; if any reader of this book can question the innocence of these two martyred anarchists, he is as blinded by prejudice as Judge Thayer. But that is but the beginning of the tale. With an overwhelming totality of impression, Sinclair draws facts, of political corruption, of financial double-dealing, of favors done for cash, and justice trampled from every state in the union, from every station in life. The documented power of his direct studies of our times, "The Brass Check," "The Goose-Step," and the rest, plays through this novel. When the polished attorney asks his rebel mother-in-law if he has ever admitted that justice in Boston have accepted bribes, she does not merely point out the gentler ways of influencing decisions; she reminds him of several in other states who have been convicted of the crime. Nor is it the hirelings, or merely the lower officials, who are flayed by the scourge of truth. Of our next president, Betty writes home: "At present the Interrelated Food Commission is refusing all aid to the starving children of Red Hingary. That is Mr. Herbert Hoover's admirable method of bringing back the Whites, and it should earn him everlasting infamy in American and Hungarian history." Of the present occupant of the White House, speaking of the days of the Boston police strike: "The representative of Anglo-Saxon superiority in the State House happened to be a gentleman by the name of Calvin Coolidge, whose story is one of the oddest ever invented by that Great Novelist who makes up history. A thin-lipped, tight little man, a petty lawyer and bill-collector from the western part of the state, Cal had got elected to the legislature, and attracted the attention of the Republican boss because he always did exactly what he was told, and never said a word that could be left unsaid. If a politician has an opinion he is bound to offend somebody; so, obviously, the wise course is to have no opinion on any subject. Strange, that no one ever thought of it before Cal's Cal."

### Massachusetts Statesmen.

"The man who ran the Republican state machine through this period was a multimillionaire senator by the name of Murray Crane. He had established for his good political boys what was known as the 'Boston Trust' or the 'Massachusetts ladder.' So long as they took orders, and kept themselves respectable to the voters, he would promote them regularly, step by step. It was a slow process, and you were old when you got to the top, but Massachusetts liked that, it is old itself. In this case, however, there developed a phenomenon known as 'Coolidge luck'; as if the fates were amusing themselves by boosting this feebler man in the state machine. Among the legislators aspiring to the state senate there existed a 'rotation agreement'; there was never any competition at the primaries, each man took his turn. But the man ahead of Coolidge died, and he jumped into the place. Then, as a state senator who had never made a speech, he learned that the man in line for president of the senate had attacked woman suffrage. When the suffragists asked the voters, he but the tightest and thinnest pair of lips in Massachusetts. The women attacked the other man and beat him at the polls, and Calvin presented his claims to the boss, and became president of the senate. Clear the way!"

"Next it happened that the man who was scheduled to become Lieutenant-governor, made the mistake of speaking in favor of prohibition. Again Calvin kept his mastery silent, and the liquor interests switched to him, and he was nominated. He served two terms as Lieutenant-governor, at a time when everybody was sick of politics, and was pleased with a man who said nothing and did nothing. As a reward, they made him governor; and now here was a crisis, and two big groups of bankers pulling him this way and that! There was nothing for him but physical

flight, and for twenty-four hours no one connected with the government knew where the governor was to be found.

"At last Rupert dug him out, on the farm of Murray Crane, who had pushed him up the escalator. They had a night session, and Calvin heard such things as never will be printed in any history-book. When the time came to call out the state guard, he did what he was told; and the machine-guns went into action on Boston Common, and fired a whole volley of shots heard round the world."

"As for Calvin, he waited several days, until it was evident that Rupert's strategy had been successful; public sentiment had turned against the strikers. Then Calvin rushed forward, waving in his hand a telegram to Samuel Compers, proclaiming in clarion tones: 'There is no right of a boss-up man was a public safety, by anybody, anywhere, at any time!' That was, of course, what the capitalist press wanted at the time; the governor's proclamation took the front page all the way from Boston to Seattle—where there had been a rival strike and a rival hero. One of these two masterful men was destined to become vice-president and then president of the United States; while the other was destined to become a superman of real estate, unload ten thousand subdivisions lots upon admiring 'come-ons.' Which hero was to be which was a matter of a toss-up in a hotel-room, at the tail end of long-drawn-out political convention. It may have been 'Coolidge luck'—and again, it may have been the fact that the Massachusetts leaders were able to certify that here was a man who had never once expressed an opinion in twenty years of public life, and had never once questioned an order from Murray Crane, who had pushed him up the escalator."

Mr. Harding of Ohio. And of the president before him, with another dash of our present chief servant of the people: "Lies! Lies! It was the autumn of the year 1920, and a great political campaign was at its climax; America had ceased to be a republic, it was an absolute monarchy, its ruler the Prince of Lies! That little man, 'Silent Cal', whom Cornelia knew so well as governor of the Commonwealth, was being elected vice-president of the United States by a lie. He who had run away from the police-strike was being rewarded for

breaking the police-strike! His backers had managed to suppress the report of the citizens' committee, which had worked so hard to avoid a strike, and had told the whole truth; instead, they made a nursery-legend, such as the pious Parson Weems had invented about George Washington and the cherry-tree!"

"And worse yet, look at the man they were making president! Cornelia's mind was a witch's caldron, with the tales Joe Randall brought home; for Joe knew the newspaper men, and picked up the gossip that could not be printed, and used it to spice the meals he ate in the little apartment. Joe's mind had turned rancid, after four months' contact with American morals and American justice; he found his pleasure in believing the most shocking things about the great and noble persons of the land. This Senator Harding, who was to be the next president, had been picked out by the oil-men, who were planning to loot the oil-reserves of the nation; he was handsome and dignified, a magnified statesman, when you read about him in the capitalist newspapers—but Joe called him an old booze-fighter, a small-town rick, whose idea of entertainment was to sit in his shirt-sleeves and chew tobacco and play poker all night with his cronies, 'the Ohio gang.' His managers had had to get a newspaper man to write his speeches for him, because, when he was turned loose for himself, he used polysyllables like a negro preacher, with no idea what they meant."

"And worse yet, he traveled around the country with a young girl who was his mistress! He stayed in rooms in various cheap hotels with her, and when the house-detectives ventured to object, he would present them with his card! It was something entirely new in American history, and Joe Randall turned his fancy loose to play with the theme; some day, he said, the American people would build a memorial to this oil-statesman, and when the radicals came into power they would carve an inscription across the front of it, and set it with flaming red rubies: 'Nan Britton's Boy!'"

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## New England Boosters Rival Southern Industries

### "Not A Union Label" Is Slogan of Manufacturing Interests — Tie-Up With Utility Gang

BOSTON.—(FP)—While southern chambers of commerce are boosting communities of cheap, union-less labor as a paradise for employers, New England manufacturers are not to be outdone. Meeting at Portland, Me., the New England Council adopted a 3-year sales plan to cost \$900,000, to put the six northern states once more on the map.

They cannot boast as southern open-shoppers do, "Not a union label" is the slogan of the six states, organizing an agricultural league and adopting a New England label—not a union label—for all products, the super-boosters are on the mark, ready set for the race.

Learning from southern advertisers who have enticed industries to the south by promising cheaper power service, the Council first lined up the General Electric, the New England Power and other utility companies operating in New England.

"Avoiding the intervention of the federal government which would necessarily have operated from Washington," the power companies "offered" to accept state regulation, the Council explains. Interstate purchases or sales of electricity can thus be regulated by the states immediately interested, but no authority outside of New England can interfere.

**Recreation Encouraged**

"Close alliance between power producing companies may confidently be expected," the report indicates. "For electrical companies are in the early stages of the same form of development which has characterized the growth of railroads from many minor companies into large systems."

The recreation industry of New England must be especially encouraged, the Council asserts. This play business alone brought over \$400,000,000 into New England treasuries last year, and by judicious promotion can easily be expanded to pay over \$500,000,000.

One of the big open-shop manufacturers interested in the sales-plan is Charles Cheney of Cheney Bros., silk manufacturers, So. Manchester, Conn. Meeting in his own Cheney-town with 20 others of the Conn. Manufacturers' Association, Cheney told them how he resisted the "attractive and very tempting offers" of southern communities if he would move his entire plant to the south. He pledged himself not to move, but to build up in New England the same favorable conditions now existing south of the Potomac.

**The Cheney Brothers**

Cheney Bros. is one of the largest anti-union textile mills in New England. No union organizer has ever yet succeeded in getting a toe-hold in the town of So. Manchester, which is entirely owned by the silk company. It is said that the corporation even owns the district high school and rents it to the town for \$1 a year.

But Charles Cheney does not limit his financial investments to his home town. He is director of one of the biggest New York banks. He has interests in the powerful General Silk Corp., alias Klotz Throwing Co. which owns mills in 6 states, including several in Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia.

So also the Pacific Mills of Lawrence, Mass., will not suffer even if New England industries die. It owns big mills in Columbia and Lyman, S. C. Its former treasurer, Edwin Farnham Greene, still a director of the company, is now devoting all his time to his own engineering corporation, Lockwood, Greene and Co. This company is profiting from the erection of giant rayon plants in the south.

New England may succeed in selling itself. But New England manufacturers will not keep their financial interests within the boundaries of six states.

### Thomas Polls 10,118 Votes in Erie County

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Erie County Board of Elections has completed the canvass of the votes cast at the last election. Norman Thomas is credited with polling 10,118 votes as compared with the Panker vote for governor in 1926 of 5,741. While the Socialist vote practically doubled as compared to two years ago, the Social-Labor and Workers Communist Parties polled about the same and in some cases less votes than two years ago. The Socialist-Labor Party conducted no local campaign and so far as it is known has no local organization; the Workers Communist Party conducted an active campaign, mostly directed against the Socialist Party; held several hall meetings with their candidates and other speakers, passed out thousands of leaflets, had a downtown headquarters and yet for every office contested the Communist polled less votes than the Social-Labor candidates. Both of these sects combined polled less than 500 votes in the County.

The official canvass of the three radical parties totals as follows:

President: Thomas, Soc., 10,118; Reynolds, SLP, 265; Foster, WP, 231. U. S. Senator: General, Soc., 9,764; Kuhn, SLP, 346; Minor, WP, 258. Governor: Waldman, Soc., 9,849; Corrigan, SLP, 291; Dunne, WP, 252. Lieut.-Gov.: Hahn, Soc., 10,270; De Lee, SLP, 333; Brill, WP, 317.

Comptroller: Roth, Soc., 10,087; Silver, SLP, 341; Fort-Whiteman, WP, 283; Attorney General: Kuhn, Soc., 10,312; Bickel, SLP, 320; Poyntas, WP, 255. Assoc. Judge, Court of Appeals: Wilcox, Soc., 10,083; Supreme Court Judges, 8th Judicial Dist.: Meyer, Soc., 10,713; Reslin, Soc., 10,003.

For local offices the Socialist vote was as follows: District Attorney, Taylor, 10,074; Congress, 40th dist. (Erie County portion only)—Niagara County vote not included, Battistoni, 3,798; 41st, Heiler, 3,075; 42nd, Roth, 2,920; State Senators, 48th dist., De Sto, 3,192; 49th, Schnabel, 2,669; 50th, Gregorczyk, 4,347; Members of Assembly, 1st dist., Cardaro, 858; 2nd, Salzman, 3rd, 3rd, Webb, 1,035; 4th, Russo, 1,324; 5th, Powers, 1,478; 6th, Klein, 251; 7th, Dawson, 2,666 and 8th, Joyce, 1,517.

**Hamilton At Albany Forum**

ALBANY, N. Y.—The Albany Peoples Forum has been organized on a strictly non-sectarian basis. Its first meeting was held at Van Vechten Hall, Albany, last Sunday afternoon. Herman Kobbe of Nassau was the speaker. Next Sunday Dr. James H. Hamilton, State Industrial Commissioner, will talk on the "Department of Labor and the Industrial Life of the State." The Mayor of Albany is included among speakers already scheduled for the Forum.

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will lecture on Thursday Evening, December 6 and 13 on  
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### THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union  
Eight St. & Astor Pl.  
At 8 o'clock  
Sunday, December 3  
DR. JOSEPH JASTROW  
"The Psychology of Prejudice and Fanaticism"  
Tuesday, December 4  
DR. SAUL DUSHMAN  
Research Laboratory, General Electric Company  
"Atom Models"  
Friday, December 7  
MR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
"Freedom and the Renaissance"  
ADMISSION FREE  
Open Forum Discussion

At Mulenberg Branch Library  
209 West 23rd St. (near 7th Ave.)  
At 8:30 o'clock  
Monday, December 3  
DR. MARK VAN DOREN  
"Cervantes"  
Wednesday, December 5  
MR. NORMAN HILBERRY  
"Line Spectra and the Atom"  
Thursday, December 6  
DR. F. G. SPAULDING  
"Recent Developments of the Mechanistic View: Bohr, Einstein"  
Saturday, December 8  
DR. E. BOYD BARRETT  
"Modernism or Orthodoxy?"

## On WEVD

245.8M—WEVD New York City—1220 KC

Sunday, December 2, 1933.  
230.6—WEVD—New York City—1300 KC  
3:00 Paul Lowenkrou, Violin  
3:15 Swami Yogananda, "Lola Lalput Rai"

3:45 Paul Lowenkrou, Viola  
4:00 Harriet Stanton Blatch, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lueria Mott"  
4:30 Maude A. Tolleson, Contralto  
4:45 Charles A. Wagner, Poet

Monday, December 3, 1933.  
12:00 Elsie Schuman, Contralto  
12:30 Gervase Thomas, Beard's "American Party Battle"

12:40 Adelaide Olsen, Mezzo  
1:00 Betty Farr, Contralto  
1:20 Abraham Haiduck, Violin  
1:40 S. Pearl Tinsler, Thinking Thru  
1:50 Lydia Mason, Piano

2:00 Anton Romualdo, Labor Temple Poetry Forum  
4:40 Lillian Dwight, Contralto  
5:00 Gertrude Well Klein, Rebel Poet  
5:20 Galen Cough, World's Champion  
5:40 Bashka Scherer, Contralto

Tuesday, December 4, 1933.  
2:00 Colony Belmont Coal Company  
2:15 Bellaine Community House  
2:45 Paul's Radio Shop  
3:00 Hollis & Bellaine Community House

3:15 Jack's Clothes Shop  
3:30 Queens Awning Company  
4:45 Community Theatre Notes  
5:00 Community Men's Shop  
5:15 Galen Cough, Champion Strong Man

4:30 Studio Program  
5:00 Betty Goldstein, Piano  
5:20 Caspar Fishbach, Violin  
5:40 New Leader Clippings  
8:00 Lucille Marsh, Xmas Dancing Party

8:20 Cantor S. Belhorn  
9:00 James Oneal, Early American Politics  
9:20 Brookwood Labor College  
9:40 Minneville Trio  
10:00 McAllister Coleman, Talking It

10:20 Joe Murray, Sr., Hits and Bits of Scotch  
10:40 Winifred Harper Cooley, Books and Plays  
11:00 Casse's Restaurant

Wednesday, December 5, 1933.  
12:00 Mary Linden, Violin  
12:20 Elydia Shilman, Curious Facts From The Sea  
12:40 Maude A. Tolleson, Contralto  
1:00 As a Poet See It  
1:15 Music

1:30 Constance Holland, Have You A Minute?  
1:40 Vivian Gustafson, Mezzo  
2:00 Esther Jaffe, Cello  
2:20 Elizabeth Bacon Walling, "The New Tyranny"

3:00 Johanna Karleboch, Soprano  
3:20 Galen Cough, Champion Strong Man  
3:40 Herbert Lebovici, Violin  
4:10 Gordon Rind, Modern Art  
4:30 Woodhaven Studio  
5:00 Hints From Suzanne

Thursday, December 6, 1933.  
3:30 Dr. Wm. Hayes, Health For All  
3:40 Jeanette Flann  
3:50 Woman in Soviet Russia, Smith  
4:00 Women's Peace Society  
4:00 Hints From Suzanne  
4:30 Galen Cough, Physical Culture  
5:00 Grub Street Poets  
5:20 Moscora Studio  
5:40 Lowenkrou Musicale  
6:00 Marcello Sarojini Haidu, Hindoo Feminist

6:20 Suzanne's House Party  
11:00 Casse's Restaurant

Friday, December 7, 1933.  
4:00 Schull Hour  
5:00 Woodhaven Studio  
5:30 Tea Time Times

Saturday, December 8, 1933.  
1:00 Current Period  
1:30 Speech Period  
2:00 Popular Surprises: Al Page, Edith Radkin, Harold Greenspan, Galen Cough, Strong Man

3:00 A. Basil Wheeler, Conflicts  
3:20 Violet Swale, Reader  
3:40 Louise Horowitz, Piano  
4:00 Youth Peace Period  
4:20 Young Musicians: Rose Witebsky, Violin; Hilda Gluck, Piano; Joseph Loeb, Music Talk

5:00 Cousin Betty, Children's Stories  
5:20 Norman Randazzo, Violin  
5:40 John P. Murphy, Dramatic Reader  
6:00 Bernard Corp, Baritone  
6:20 Ampersand  
7:00 Negro Art Group out: Dean Dixon, 13 years, Violin; Addie W. Hinton, Edward Margeson, Piano

8:00 Galen Cough, World's Champion  
11:00 Casse's Restaurant

**ELECTION ENDS FARMER-LABOR CONTROL OF MONTANA COUNTY**  
PLENTYWOOD, Mont.—(FP)—The Farmer-Labor control of Sheridan County, dating from 1920, was wiped out in the Nov. 6 election by a fusion of Republican and Democratic votes. The Farmer-Labor sheriff, county attorney, treasurer and all other officials were defeated except the recorder who had no opposition and the public administrator. The hostile majorities were about 500 out of 3,000 votes cast. State Senator Charles E. Taylor of the Farmer-Labor group calls it a clean defeat, attributing it to the long tenure of office which gradually crystallized all opposition groups into the fusion ticket.

**Pioneer Youth Benefit.**  
A theatre benefit performance of Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds" at the New Playwrights Theatre will be sponsored by the Brooklyn Parents Group of Pioneer Youth, Friday night, December 7th. Tickets may be had from Samuel Abramsky, 1628—50th St., Brooklyn, or from the office of Pioneer Youth, 45 Astor place, phone Stuyvesant 7865.

**Bronx Free Fellowship**  
Azure Masonic Temple  
1591 Boston Road  
(Near East 172nd Street)  
"A. N."  
Sunday, Dec. 2nd  
8 P.M.—"America and Freedom"  
Rev. Leon Rossier Land  
9 P.M.—Open Forum  
"Inside the British Labor Party"

DR. JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY  
(Editor of Socialist Review and Candidate for Parliament)  
Admission Free.

**Saturday Forum on Current Events**  
RAND SCHOOL  
7 East 13th Street Algonquin 3094  
SATURDAY 2 P. M.  
December 1  
NORMAN THOMAS  
"What Is Before Us?"

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL  
"Farm Relief and Political Bank"  
MORRIS HILGUTH  
"The Future of Democratic Socialism"  
(December 22—No Lecture)  
HARRY WARD  
"Recent Changes in the Nature of the State"  
CHARLES SOLOMON, Chairman  
Admission Twenty-five Cents

# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### IBSEN

The Actors' Theatre revival of Ibsen's "The Wild Duck," at the 49th Street, is a quietly sincere presentation that recaptures all the power of the piece. Blanche Yurka, as Gina, again shows her ability to sink her personality wholly in her part, so that something deeper than mere action and voice of her becomes the servant-wife. While memory of Helen Chandler will not fade, Linda Watkins' interpretation of Hedvig conveys the love and the wondering of the child. Of the men, whose work was all competent, the group of Act I being well individualized. Ralph Roeder as Gregers Werle seemed most natural.

The play itself, as time passes, discloses that the slight overemphasis of the boldness of his theme (in its time) imposed upon Ibsen, made his figures less individuals than types, symbols of an attitude. Gina is just a little too tolerant in her love, Werle a polite villain, but too unrelievedly black despite his polish; Gregers too unintelligently caught by "the claims of the ideal"; young Ekdal too complicated a self-deceiver. Perhaps it would be kinder to suggest that, while these characters have cloaks of individuality, Ibsen insists on their holding these cloaks wide open, to display the heart, the core-quality beneath. Overstressing one aspect of a figure is the method of caricature; as we grow better acquainted with these persons, more accustomed to the subtleties of the "new" psychology, we find that they lack the rounded development we expect in the full-bodied figures of highest art. In "The Wild Duck," however, there remains the power of present application, of Ibsen's questioning of his own ideals, of the picture of the shallow hypocrisies of self-delusion, and the tragic consequences of shallow-minded imposition of even the highest ideals. The golden rule: "Do unto others as ye would that they do unto you," seems to be a new generation an inadequate guide to conduct. Mr. Do-as-you-would-be-done-by is too much the self-righteous done-by. To suggest "Do unto every man as he desires," or "Leave every man free to do for himself" would be to substitute Channing Pollock, let us say, for Ibsen; the dramatist whose works linger do not preach, he presents. . . . And the Actors' Theatre presents a most stimulating performance of this Ibsen play.

**SHAKESPEARE—CRAIG.**

The George C. Tyler season of "Famous Masterpieces" opens this year, at the Knickerbocker, with Shakespeare's "Macbeth," and Gordon Craig designs. Despite the pretentious designation, there is no startling surprise in the settings but the surprise of beauty, which is always recognition as well. For long familiar in plate and printed word, the sketches of Gordon Craig grow full

bodied on the large stage; against a deep sky the slight arch of a roadway toward the audience, down upon the witch-written heath; two pairs of central stairways circle up around the apron of a palace chamber, or the battlements; simple lines mark the courtyard of the murderous deed; or a few angles and dull colors build the mood of Lady Macbeth.

It is unfortunate that the excellent settings and costumes clothe so fleshless a performance. Florence Reed cannot forget her days in melodrama; the lines of Shakespeare come forth with loud emphasis upon the adjectives, significant pauses before the vital nouns; save in the necessarily subdued sleepwalking scene, Miss Reed declaims her part as though she had learned about Lady Macbeth from the heroine of "Nellie, the Beautiful Cloak Model." Toward Macbeth, moreover, she acts with tugs at the sleeve, admonitory glances, prohibitory frowns, like an ambitious mother who had had to take her difficult child into society. Lyn Harding makes a bulky Macbeth, but also overplays his part, though beside Florence Reed he seems moderate enough. And what quirk of the tongue makes William Farnum (out of thirteen years of the silent cinema) pronounce "indiscoverably" with a heavy stress on a long "i"! In spite of the players, however, "Macbeth" retains much of its power; and the directing, especially of the witch scenes and the Macduff-Macbeth combat, makes lively and effective stir.

### MOTHERHOOD.

"Courage," as Tom Barry calls his play at the Ritz, seems to be what a person would require to enter upon parenthood, after beholding the play. Except possibly outside of marriage. For of the six youngsters whom Mary mothers, the only decent one, the only one with true love for her, with thoughtfulness and consideration, is the seventh, born out of wedlock (though legitimately, of course, at the curtain's falling). This seventh, incidentally, is played by Junior Durkin, with some of the best juvenile histrionic detail and natural recent years have granted to the theatre. Otherwise, the villain so swiftly pursues Janet Beecher, changing his aspect in every act, that her brood is driven from mother to aunt, and back to mother when neighbor millionaire falls in love with young Junior, dying just in time to leave him funds to pay the mortgage. . . . Strangely enough, the treacle—no, it is wrong to call strange the success of something that has so often pleased—the combination of humor and sentimentality proves once more moving to the audience, and "Courage" evidently amply entertains.

## Fire Fighters' Union Jacks Up Wages in Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(FP)—Birmingham city firemen have almost doubled their wages since they joined the Int'l. Fire Fighters union in 1918. At a fire house meeting in honor of Intl. Pres. Baer, local speakers proudly told of their gains.

First class firemen get \$180 a month; they were paid only \$95 in 1918. Civil service has been strengthened, pensions improved. The city carries every fireman on a \$1,000 life insurance policy with an additional \$1,000 for death by accident on the job.

"Young firemen of today with the 2-platoon system have little idea of the wretched conditions of a few years ago when firemen put in 24 hours a day," said President Baer. "When I joined the Kansas City, Mo. department as a substitute fireman I got only \$2 for a 24-hour day. Promotion was by political pull. Incompetent men with the right political backing became captains in a year. Competent firemen with no political friends might remain in the ranks all their lives. There was no civil service. When a Republican city administration was elected the Democratic fire fighters went out and the Republican firemen took their jobs if a Democratic crowd came in."

This is the international president's first visit to the southern fire houses. He said that Birmingham conditions are far in advance of those in Cincinnati which he described as one of the worst cities in the United States, as far as the treatment of its employees is concerned.

The Intl. Fire Fighters' union is the chief force in improving the conditions of the heroes of the smoke; declared Baer. He described the active lobby it maintains in legislatures over the land. The individual department is helpless in attempting to improve conditions by itself. The fire house band played as Baer finished, and the crowd ended a hand-shaking bee, with sandwiches and popcorn on the side. President Rose of the city commission, who carries a card in the brotherhood of railway trainmen, and another commissioner took part in the speaking, the local firemen kidding them about the tussles for wages increases that would come up again.

**Persecution in Poland**

WARSAW.—The local court of Bromberg has condemned the independent socialist Zachariasiewicz to two years imprisonment because the Public Prosecutor found that his speeches showed communist tendencies. This sentence was passed in spite of the fact that the accused, as a Socialist, protested strongly against the suggestion that he was disseminating communist views.

**POT OF GOLD.**

Among the long list of names "credited" for "Rainbow," now at the Gallo Theatre, is that of Laurence Stallings. Lengthy consideration leads us to conclude that the remnant of the old Stallings in the show is the remark that one likes to be a soldier because of the pride and the protection the uniform confers.

"Rainbow" is another elaborate musical comedy, of eighty years ago; it passes its acts along the road to California, in the gold rush. Such a person as Charles Ruggles ensures laughter; the lyrics are lively and the chorus colorful. In fact, the title phrases just fit the play, for it is a good musical comedy of its usual sort—which means that many better have recently been seen. But if it be not contrasted with the several unusual "strokes" of the past two seasons, "Rainbow" will suffice for an evening's stir.

## THEATRES

### CIVIC REPERTORY

THEATRE, 14th St. at 6th Ave.  
50c. \$1, \$1.50. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30  
Eve., 8:30

EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director  
Repertory for Week of Dec. 3

Mon. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Nazimova, Le Gallienne, Cameron, Hutchinson.

Tues. Eve.—"Peter Pan"  
Le Gallienne, Brecher, Hutchinson.

Wed. Mat.—"Hedda Gaby"  
Le Gallienne, Crawley, Lysace, Cameron, Hutchinson.

Wed. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Le Gallienne, Brecher, Hutchinson.

Thurs. Eve.—"Peter Pan"  
Le Gallienne, Brecher, Hutchinson.

Fri. Mat.—"The Would-Be Gentleman"  
Brecher, Roberts, Cameron, Kruger.

Sat. Mat.—"The Cradle Song"  
Le Gallienne, Brecher, Hutchinson, Kruger.

Sat. Eve.—"The Would-Be Gentleman"

### THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

MAJOR BARBARA

GUILD THEATRE  
West 52nd Street

Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

EUGENE O'NEILL'S

STRANGE INTERLUDE

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE  
58th Street, East of Broadway

Evenings only at 8:30

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

MENDELBERG, Conductor

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. At 3:00  
CHERUBINI—BELLIOZ

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. At 8:30  
FRI. EVE., Dec. 7, at 8:30

Solely Mendelssohn, Horowitz, Pianist  
BEREZOWSKY—BRAHMS—BETHOVEN

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
Sunday, At 3:00  
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHORUS

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway)

IN BRIEF

With Owen Davis' new comedy "Tonight at 12," established at the Hudson Theatre, Herman Shulman now announces that Donald Davis, son of the author, will become associated with him in his presentation, as well as in the production of future plays. This brings another member of the Davis family into active participation with the veteran playwright's new hit, for Owen Davis, Jr., a younger son, is playing the juvenile leading role in "Tonight at 12."

Guy Robertson, co-star of "White Lies," has been selected by the Metropolitan to star next season in a musical version of Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrew." This will interfere in no way with Mr. Robertson's remaining with "White Lies," which is to stay at Johnson's Theatre for the balance of this season. He will sing the role of Petruchio. It is the first time in the history of the theatre that a Shakespearean play is planned with music, lyrics, modern costumes and dances. A composer and lyricist have been commissioned to make the adaptation. Settings in the modern manner will be designed by Watson Barratt.

Eddie Cantor in "Whoopee" opened at the National Theatre, Washington, last night, to a record-breaking attendance. The advance sale totalled over \$40,000. Last week at Newark "Whoopee" grossed \$47,000, which is \$7,000 more than ever before taken in across the river. For the first time in Newark tickets were priced at a \$4.40 scale. Mr. Ziegfeld's grossed \$47,000, which is \$7,000 more than ever before taken in across the river. For the first time in Newark tickets were priced at a \$4.40 scale. Mr. Ziegfeld's grossed \$47,000, which is \$7,000 more than ever before taken in across the river. For the first time in Newark tickets were priced at a \$4.40 scale. Mr. Ziegfeld's grossed \$47,000, which is \$7,000 more than ever before taken in across the river.

Bernard Steele, producer, yesterday placed in rehearsal "The Right Angle," a play by Len D. Hollander and Lester Lonergan, which opens out of town in New Rochelle, December 13th.

Already engaged for the cast are Clark Gable, who gave an outstanding performance in "Machinal"; Lester Lonergan, who directed "The Road to Rome," "The Command to Love" and the current "Tin Pan Alibi"; Philip Wood, late of "The American Tragedy" and Raymond Bramley, recently seen in "The Barker." The locale of "The Right Angle" is an army post in the Panama Canal Zone.

Kathryn March will be seen in support of Elsie Ferguson, star of "The Last Lover." Those, in addition to Hubert Druce and Beryl Morcor, previously announced, comprise the cast of this romantic comedy which has its locale in the Swiss Alps and comes to New York the week of Christmas.

"Theatre 1929," a new theatrical magazine, will make its first appearance on December 1st, according to an announcement issued by Len D. Hollander and Lester Lonergan, the publishers. It will be devoted mainly to discussions of the "experimental and revolutionary theatre" and the nature of current dramatic criticism. The magazine will be edited by Bernard Smith. The contributors to the first issue will be Alexander Bakshy, V. F. Calverton, Barrett H. Clark, H. Glitsen, Kamp, William Gropper, Louis Lomax and others.

## 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.

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 Headquarters and the New Leader Office.

### 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 clarity and strength. Cloth, 490 pages, \$2.00 postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 343 East Ohio St., Chicago



# SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

**Monthly Contributors**  
The list of monthly contributors to the National Office Organization Fund to help in getting the new work of the organization started is being enlarged daily. No Socialist can afford to neglect his or her duty in this respect. This is our important work. Organization means power, and power means progress. Send your name and address and the amount you will give monthly to this fund to William H. Henry, 2853 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

**Financial Federation**  
Comrade Revo, secretary of the Financial Socialist Federation, reports that his committee is planning extensive propaganda work for the spring months.

## Pennsylvania

State Secretary Linch reports a new local at Erie; that their state organization now goes to New Castle, Butler and Pittsburgh, using Pittsburgh as a center for organization. Requests for information on organization are coming in from the mining fields and these will be taken care of properly as rapidly as possible.

## California

The Socialists of Los Angeles held a big banquet on Nov. 18, and the occasion was taken advantage of by making a survey of the field and plans for the continuation of the work—making it a real perpetual campaign. The slogan at the banquet was: "Our campaign never stops." That's the stuff! And wherever there is to be a city campaign this coming spring our comrades should be on the job right now.

## Michigan

A new local has been organized at Grand Rapids and the comrades are good for other locals in other cities in the state. Comrade Conner is the secretary of Local Grand Rapids and has a good experience, once having been state organizer of the Party in Indiana.

## Louisiana

State Secretary Dietz is one of the perpetual Socialists. He is reaching out for new members and giving us to understand that this is one state in the Southern group that will have a Socialist Party organization to carry on the work of education and preparation for future battles.

## Virginia

Virginia Socialists have their faces toward the future. They will issue their first monthly publication in December. It will be called The Dixie Appeal. These comrades understand the Southern folk and intend to extend their circulation throughout the South. More power to them!

## Wisconsin

Wisconsin Socialists are not going to sleep. They are holding all kinds of social and educational affairs, especially in Milwaukee to put the Party in good financial shape. Wisconsin increased the Party membership during the first ten months of 1928, as compared with the same period of 1927. One good Socialist in Milwaukee (and he is out of work) has 250 copies of the little book, "Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam," and will give them away free to members of his union. That is the stuff that counts and that is the spirit that wins!

## Illinois

More and more live ones are showing up in Illinois since the election. The National Office is hearing from them every day with requests for literature. Chicago Socialists are planning for a bigger and more effective party organization in preparation for the spring election. The daily papers of Chicago are telling of the big graft in city affairs, and that will help the Socialists show the masses the way out.

## Massachusetts

The vote for the Socialists and Communists in the City of Boston, was as follows:  
For Thomas, 588; Foster, 614.  
For Governor—Socialist Party, 1928, 1158; 1926, 660. Workers Party—1928, 682; 1926, 412.  
For Secretary—Socialist Party, 1928, 2327; 1926, 1385. Workers Party—1928, 2688; 1926, 4837.  
For Treasurer—Socialist Party, 1928, 2202; 1926, 2223. Workers Party—1928, 1095; 1926, 4410.  
For Senator—Socialist Party, 1928,

## "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.

## WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884  
60,000 MEMBERS IN 344 BRANCHES IN THE U. S. A.

Assets on December 31, 1927, over \$3,850,000  
Paid for Sick and Death Benefits, over \$12,440,000  
Benefits in case of Sickness or Accident \$6, 89, or \$18 per week for first 40 weeks, one-half thereof for an additional 40 weeks, or altogether \$500 to \$900.  
Sick Benefits for Women—\$3 for first 40 weeks, \$4.50 for another 40 weeks, or altogether \$540.  
Death Benefits—in proportion to the age at initiation (Class A and B), \$683 at the age of 16 to \$405 at the age of 44.  
Parents can insure their children up to the age of 18 years against death.  
Workers! Protect Yourself and Your Families!  
For further information write to the Main Office: 9 Seventh St., cor. Third Ave., New York City, or to the Branch Financial Secretary of your District.

## Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1873  
Main Office: 327 EAST 94TH STREET (Bet. 2nd and 3rd Ave.)  
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927—49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$61,000,000. No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!  
A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$1000 insurance covers all expenses.  
A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$1000 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal.  
Workingmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.  
No members at large admitted. Business is transacted only through branches.  
For Further Information apply at 327 East 94th Street

1234; 1926, 755. Workers Party, 1928, 840; 1926, 771.  
The Socialist Party had the larger vote for only three out of seven of the state-wide candidates two years ago. This year the Socialists had a larger vote than the Communists for seven out of eight state-wide candidates. The average vote for all the Communist candidates declined compared with two years ago, while the average vote of the Socialist Party increased. This indicates that the Communist policy of spending three-fourths of their energy in attacking the Socialists, undoubtedly slowed up the Socialist Party vote, has hurt the Communists themselves far more than the Socialists.

## Ohio

A new Socialist local has just been organized in Cincinnati. This newly organized group is determined to build up a good Party organization and are getting busy with some of the old time educational work. Now let us hear from other cities. More locals in Ohio is the slogan for Ohio. If the National Office can help, write us. We will do the rest.

## Maine

The capitalist press saw fit not to give returns of the Socialist vote in our best counties, Cumberland, Somerset and Knox Counties. However, 321 votes are reported from five towns, are: Androscoggin, 112; Penobscot, 78; Piscataquis, 19; Hancock, 3; York, 106. It is probable that many Socialist votes were not counted.

## Montana

The official vote of Sanders County has just been made public. The presidential electors of the Socialist Party received 10 votes. The rest of the Socialist vote is: For State Representative, 460; County Commissioner, 347; Clerk, 217; Treasurer, 124; Sheriff, 431; Public Advocate, 215. The vote provided a good base for party organization in the county.

## Washington

In Bellingham the voters had a very complicated arrangement of candidates on the voting machine which did not help intelligent voting. Socialist Party electors received 120 votes in the town. Votes for other candidates of the party are: For Governor, 65; Lieut.-Governor, 55. This state charges excessive filing fees for the nomination of candidates which makes it difficult for a labor party to nominate.

## Texas

State Organizer Curran reports that he is organizing a local in Oak Cliff, one of the largest of the Dallas suburbs. He also reports preparations for sending out a large number of letters and pieces of literature—five thousand in all. The City of Dallas will also have full Socialist tickets for the spring election.

## Connecticut

The State Executive Committee met at the State Headquarters, Poli Building, in Hartford, on Sunday, Nov. 25. Campaign Treasurer William J. Morgan made his report. About \$1,000 was raised for the campaign in the state. State Secretary Dietz reported that the Socialist vote in the state was with a few more towns to be heard from 2,975. We expect that the final report will show over 3,000. The vote for the state and Congressional election in 1926 was 3,150.

**Legislative Committee**  
A Legislative Committee was appointed by the State Executive Committee. The committee consists of Jasper McLevy, Bridgeport; Edward Brink, Hartford; Joseph F. DeLoach, New Britain; and Martin P. Plunkett, of Wallingford. The committee was instructed to draw up an unemployment insurance bill, old age pension bill, also state insurance and present them at the State Legislature at the January session.

**Banquet**  
Plans were made to hold a banquet in New Haven, the last Sunday in February for the benefit of the state organization and the state paper, "The Commonwealth." The banquet committee elected was Mrs. Cederholm of Bridgeport, Davis of Hamden, McLevy of Bridgeport, Joseph F. DeLoach, of New Britain and Knoff of New Haven; Edward Brink of Hartford, William J. Morgan of New London, Louis O. Wahl of Middletown. It is expected that the report of the National Executive will attend and address the banquet.

State Secretary Dietz reported that they would hold a banquet New Year's Eve. The Socialists throughout the state are invited to attend.

## Kansas

State Secretary Ross Magill reports 38 new members enrolled for the Party in Kansas. There is nothing the matter with the West. We need to give a little more attention to that section.

## Washington, D. C.

N. F. Matteson, District Secretary, sends in a good order for dues stamps and supplies and among other things says: "There are signs in plenty of an awakened interest in the D. C. and our local comrades are planning to hold two or three good public meetings here during the winter months, and I will appreciate it if you will advise me who, when, how and under what conditions we may secure two or three good speakers through the National Office. I believe the outlook for our Party to be brighter than ever and assure you that we wish to cooperate with you in any way possible."

## 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 for Tuesday, will close on Dec. 15. Branch secretaries must file their tabulated report with the Secretary, August Claassen, on or before Dec. 15.

The Socialist theatre benefit performances held by the Socialist Party, City Office, in cooperation with various branches and other organizations will be given at the Provincetown Playhouse on Dec. 19, 20 and 21. On these dates Upson Sinclair's new play, "Ringing Janglebirds," will be given under the auspices of the New Playwrights Theatre. Tickets for these performances include the following prices: \$1, \$1.15 and \$2.50.

**Women Comrades to Meet Dec. 4**  
The Women's Committee met Monday, Nov. 19. A number of plans were discussed and formulated. The Committee is ready to submit the plan to the women of the party at large. For this purpose, Mrs. Rachel Finken, State chairman of the Women's Committee and Hilda G. Claassen, organizer of the Women's Committee of Greater New York, are calling a meeting Tuesday, Dec. 4, at 9 P. M. sharp, to be held at the Rand School Studio. Refreshments will be served. It is the purpose of the committee to combine activity and sociability. It's up to all of us to make this a success. Please come early.

**Christmas Eve Gathering**  
The first of a number of social gatherings at which the membership of the Socialist Party of Greater New York and their friends will spend an enjoyable evening, is on Christmas Eve, Dec. 24. This affair will be held in the Dels Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 12th Street. The program is as follows: At 9 P. M. sharp, Madam Dorscha and her "Theatre of the Dance" will be the principal feature of one hour's entertainment. Presenting a new program of dances, including one group number entitled, "Man in the Mob," danced by Paul Hayes and a group of Madam Dorscha's dancers. A number of solo dances, including March Garder and two tangos. At 10 P. M. the Camp Tammam Orchestra will occupy the stage. The program of the evening, up to the early hours of the morning, will be devoted to merriment, dancing and dancing. Tickets are \$1 per person.

**MANHATTAN**  
4th A. D.  
A special meeting will be held on Wednesday, Dec. 5, at the Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. The National Referendum will be voted on and other very important questions concerning the Party will be taken up. Each member is requested to attend the meeting.

**Upper West Side**  
The second monthly meeting, which was to be held Thursday, Nov. 29, will be postponed, because of the holiday and instead, will be held on Thursday night, Dec. 13. At the last meeting it was decided that the time was too precious to be consumed by inconsequential parliamentary wrangling, over matters which can be attended to by a few of the more interested comrades, and that henceforth branch meetings should be devoted to general Socialist culture.

Branch meetings are now held in a fine room in the Temple Israel Community Center, 210 West 91st Street. This is a clean and attractive place and no doubt, will enhance the future meetings of our Upper West Side Branch. The program for the next meeting, Thursday, Dec. 13, will be a lecture by Mrs. Mary some on "World Workers' Education." This lecture will be of special interest to young people, particularly the young and radical spirit. Comrade Hansons will also exhibit a rare collection of radical posters, which he collected abroad and which illustrate the ferment in the labor, youth and Socialist movements. Every effort will be made to get out a record attendance.

On Saturday evening, Dec. 8, a testimonial banquet will be given to Frank Crosswath at the Irving Plaza. This affair is being arranged by a number of Socialists, intimate friends of Frank Crosswath and a number of Negro citizens of Harlem.

**Finnish Branch**  
The annual bazaar of our Finnish Branch, which was opened last Saturday, will continue to be held on Sunday, Dec. 9, at the Finnish Community Center, 120 West 12th Street. Splendid programs are arranged for every evening with the best talent of the Finnish theatrical world. Monday booths containing a variety of unique articles and the general social atmosphere is worthy of the "Isle of Comrades" from all branches. Our non-Finnish comrades are particularly urged to visit this bazaar and bear witness to the splendid work of our Finnish comrades.

**BRONX**  
2nd A. D.  
An organization meeting will be held Thursday, Dec. 6, in the office of Dr. N. Mollin, 1400 Wilton Avenue at 8:30 A. M. An effort will be made to organize a branch in this west side section of the Bronx.

**3rd A. D.**  
The 3rd A. D. held a very successful business meeting last Friday at the Marjorie Unique Mansion. They raised \$20.00 and decided to hire its meeting place by contract for one year. This Friday evening Samuel Orr will open the series of lectures and a large attendance is expected. They are selling considerable tickets for the Theatre Party. Other Bronx branches should follow their example.

**Brooklyn**  
Bensonhurst Open Forum  
The forum conducted by a joint committee of the Socialist and Workers' Circle organizations of Bensonhurst will be held throughout the entire Winter season at the Savoy Mansion, 64rd Street and 20th Avenue. Every body is invited. Admission free.

**Boro Park**  
A luncheon and symposium will be held this Saturday, Dec. 1, at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum at 8:30 P. M. Matters pertaining to the past campaign and the future work of the Party will be discussed. A number of prominent comrades have been invited. The chairman of the gathering will be Joseph Stein. Secretary August Claassen will also be present.

**18th A. D.**  
The 18th A. D. is now busily engaged in formulating its post-election educational program. Courses in Socialism, as well as individual topics on Communist Events, are contemplated. Current events are now being engaged in canvassing the membership to bring it up to date in dues as well as a committee to see new headquarters.

**QUEENS COUNTY**  
Branch Jamaica  
Tonight (Friday) Branch Jamaica will meet in the Workers' Circle Club rooms at 8905 161st Street, Jamaica. James O'neal will talk on the meaning of the big Socialist vote and the plans of the National Executive Committee for building up the Party organization. Members are urged to bring their friends to hear this talk. There will be an opportunity to vote on the new Party constitution tonight for the first and last time.

**Rockaway Branch**  
A meeting of the Rockaway Beach Branch will be held this Friday, Nov. 30, at 8:30 P. M. at the Workers' Circle Club, 156 East 86th Street. August Claassen will speak on the "Results of the Recent Election."

**Lecture Calendar**  
BROOKLYN  
Friday, Nov. 30, 8:30 P. M.—Speaker, B. C. Vinick. Subject: "The Outlook for a Labor Party in America." Williamsburg Mansion, 397 South 5th Street. Socialists Party, 4-14th A. D.  
Sunday, Dec. 2, 11:30 P. M.—Speaker, Dr. Fogelman. Subject: "Current

Events." Savoy Mansions, 64th Street and 20th Avenue. Audiences, Socialist Party and Workers' Circle of Bensonhurst.  
Friday, Dec. 7, 8:30 P. M.—Speaker, August Claassen. Subject: "The Socialism of George Bernard Shaw." Williamsburg Mansion, 397 South 5th Street. Audiences, Socialist Party, 4-14th A. D. Branch.

**QUEENS**  
Friday, Nov. 30, 8:30 P. M.—Speaker, August Claassen. Subject: "The Results of the Recent Election." Workers' Circle Club, 156 East 86th Street. Audiences, Rockaway Branch, Socialist Party.

## Public Forums

**MISS KIRCHWEY AT HUGO CIRCLE**  
Le Cerdie Victor Hugo cordially invites you to a luncheon conference on Saturday, December 1st at 12:30 sharp. Freda Kirchwey, literary editor of "The Nation" will speak on Margaret Sangster's new book, "Motherhood in Bondage"; chairman, Mrs. Robert S. Cooper, executive secretary of the American Birth Control League; James F. Gooper, M.D., medical director of the American Birth Control League, will speak on the medical aspects of the book. Place: Hugo Circle Club, 18 East 10th Street. This meeting will be over at 2 p.m., so as to permit attendance at the Norman Thomas lecture at the Rand School.

**CROSSWATH IN HARLEM**  
Harlem Socialist Organization Committee held a meeting on Sunday, November 24th and decided to open the Harlem Branch on Sunday, December 2nd, December 1, 1928, with Comrade Frank Crosswath as director; M. Extract, assistant director; Sophie Legall, treasurer, and Alice Crosswath, secretary. Speakers will be announced in the next issue.

**SELIGMAN AT BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER**  
Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University will be the speaker at the Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 100 Avenue C, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Sunday evening, December 2nd, at 8:15 o'clock. He will speak on the most timely and interesting topic: "The Peace Commissions and World Prosperity."

**THE NEGRO HEROES OF THE VESTRIS**  
The above will be the topic of an address to be delivered by Rev. Ethelred Brown at the Hubert Harrison Memorial Church, 149 West 136th Street, at 8:30 o'clock Sunday evening, next, December 2nd. The address will be followed by discussion.

Sunday evening, December 2nd, at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service: "The Union and Freedom," a discussion of Arthur Garfield Hays' book "Let Freedom Ring" by Dr. Leon Rouser Land. Special musical program by Gershwins and Zoukoff and Kaufman. At 9 o'clock Open Forum: "Inside the Bill. Louis Sobich, recently arrived from England. Open discussion and questions.

**The Brownsville Labor Lyceum**  
210 SACKMAN STREET, BROOKLYN  
Large and Small Meeting Rooms  
Facilities for Balls and Banquets  
MAX ROSEN, Manager. Dickens 3287

**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION MECHANIC WELDERS**  
General Secretary: A. F. MORTON  
Executive Headquarters  
3608 SNYDER AVE., BROOKLYN, N. Y.

**LOCAL 174, A. C. W. U. of N. A.**  
7 East 12th Street, 2nd Story, Room 307  
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday evenings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
Employment Bureau open every day at 9 P. M.

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
180 East 24th St., Madison Square 1934  
Regular meetings every Wednesday 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, Manager. METES FOLDNEY, Sec'y-Treas.

**Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 1, I. L. G. W. U.**  
180 East 24th St., Madison Square 1934  
Regular meetings every Wednesday 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, Manager. METES FOLDNEY, Sec'y-Treas.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 224, A. C. W. U. of N. A.  
115 E. 8th St. Orchard 7196  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
ISIE LEFT, President  
J. KORN, Secretary

**WORKERS! Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers**  
Always Look WAITERS & For This LOCAL 1 LABEL  
163 E. 23rd Street  
Tel. Gramercy 8943  
LOUIS RUFFIN, President  
LOUIS RUFFIN, Sec'y-Treas.  
Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8:30 P. M.  
210 East 8th St.

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

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

**THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY**  
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.  
John Black, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Room 270-10, New York.  
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 287 South 5th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 9:00 P. M.

**Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6928, A. F. of L.**  
1 East 15th Street, Storytown 799  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 102 East 23rd Street, Room 207.  
Fred Passalunghi, N. Union.  
A. Weiner, Sec'y.  
Wm. E. Chiding, Business Agent

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD OF GREATER NEW YORK**  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Office: 21 East 14th St., Orchard 1837  
Board Meetings: 1st and 3rd Tuesday, 8:30 P. M.  
All locals meet Tuesday evening at the Office  
MORRIS BLUMENBERG, Chairman  
HYMAN NOVODOL, Sec'y-Treas.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 3, A. C. W. U.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman  
M. GREENMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
JACOB ENGLISH, Fin. Sec'y.

**Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION**  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
11-27 Arden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.  
Office: 175 East Broadway, 2nd Floor.  
Phone: Orchard 6393  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

**United Neckwear Makers' Union**  
LOCAL 1814, A. F. of L.  
1 East 15th St., Storytown 799  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office  
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President  
M. GREENMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
L. B. BERGER, Manager  
LOUIS FUCHS, Fin. Agent

**Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.**  
7 East 12th Street, 2nd Story, Room 307  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night at 8:30 P. M.  
E. L. FREEDMAN, President  
LEON HATTAB, NATHAN REISER, Manager  
S. NATHAN, Sec'y-Treas.

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION**  
Local 51 of I. L. G. W. U.  
180 East 24th St., Madison Square 1934  
Telephone ORCHARD 118-7  
A. SNYDER, Manager.

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

**German Painters' Union**  
LOCAL 400, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 7 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 287 South 5th Street.  
L. LEFKOWITZ, President  
ALVIN BOITTEYER, Secretary  
184 AV. N. Y. C.  
242 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

**United Hebrew Trades**  
115 EAST 12TH STREET  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board meets every 1st and 3rd Monday at 8:30 P. M.  
M. TIOEL, Chairman  
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer  
184 AV. N. Y. C.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**  
Local 2, Int'l Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn, Pulaski 0798  
Reg. Meetings Every 2nd and 4th Mondays  
M. REIS, President  
JOSEPH KARAS, Vice-President  
SAMUEL HINDEL, Sec'y  
ALBERT FILL, Fin. Sec'y  
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent

**HYMAN JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union  
OFFICE: 120 BROOKLYN AVE.  
Phone Orchard 949-1-3  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday  
A. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.  
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1  
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday  
Executive Board meets every Monday  
All Meetings are held at 133 SECOND AVENUE.

See that Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union  
Local 884, I. U. of T.  
Office: 884 W. 14th St., City.  
Local 884 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Northern Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Northern Hall, 210 East Fifth Street.  
CHAS. HOFFER, Sec'y. Business Agent.  
MAX LIESLER, Sec'y-Treas.

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**The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union**  
2 West 16th Street, New York City  
Telephone Chelsea 2148  
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

**The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union**  
LOCAL NO. 18, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office: 21 East 14th Street, N. Y. Telephone ALGONQUIN 1889  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America**  
LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 485 East 166th Street  
OFFICE: 241 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone NEEBOW 8774  
FRED E. JOHNSON, President. Phone NEEBOW 8774  
HARRY F. ELKAY, Fin. Sec'y. Phone NEEBOW 8774

**Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America**  
11-15 UNION SQUARE, N.Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR  
Telephone: ALGONQUIN 6009-1-2-3-4-5  
STYDEN HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
21 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone WATKINS 3061  
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD International Pocketbook Workers' Union**  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
69-55 WEST 21ST STREET, N. Y. Phone GRAMERCY 1928  
CHARLES KLINMAN, Chairman. CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. I. SHIFFKOFF, Manager

**Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24**  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 840 Broadway. Phone Spring 4548  
Uptown Office: 39 West 37th Street. Phone WISCONSIN 1979  
STYMAN LEDEBAUER, J. MALINICK, Manager. ALEX ROSE, Chairman Ex. Bd. NATHAN LEDEBAUER, Sec'y-Treas.  
ORGANIZERS: I. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

**FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 6008  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY BEGON, General Sec'y-Treas.

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. U. of A. Local "Big Four"  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Storytown 5366  
Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office  
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. I. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

**AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, NEW YORK LOCAL NO. 1**  
Columbia Building, 206 West 14th St. Phone WATKINS 1928  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 287 South 5th Street.  
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President  
A. L. ECKHART, Frank J. Fines, Frank Schell, Treas.

**N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6**  
Phone WATKINS 888  
LEON N. BOONE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
Jas. J. McGraw, Secretary-Treas.  
Theodore F. Dineen, Organizer

**N.Y. Joint Board, Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 211 Broadway (Room 523) Phone Spring 328-688  
A. GOODE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Executive Board meets every First, Third and Fourth Monday.  
Local 345—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 6021 Stagg  
Office: 241 East 161st Street, N. Y. C. Phone NEEBOW 8774  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening at the Office.  
WILLIAM WEINERT, President. Phone NEEBOW 8774  
CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President. FRANK F. LUTZ, Treasurer  
SAMUEL FORTNER, Sec'y. ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

**Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.**  
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION OF U. S. & C.  
28 W. 21st Street. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.  
EDW. F. McGRADY, Manager

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS**



A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.  
Editor ..... James Onal  
Assistant Editor ... Edw. Levinson  
Contributing Editors:  
Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algoner Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association, People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
One Year Postpaid in the United States ..... \$2.00  
Six Months Postpaid in the United States ..... \$1.00  
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries 3.00

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

**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1928**

### Labor and the Tariff

**ORGANIZATION of a Wage Earners' Protective Conference** by seventeen unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is a peculiar combination of class consciousness and job consciousness. It is formed to enforce labor interests in framing tariff schedules as it is held that other tariff organizations have worked for employing interests that have supported them. As one correspondent puts it the unions believe that "those manufacturers who have been loudest in demanding protection are numbered among those who pay the lowest wages and fight the unions hardest."

Here is class consciousness and comprehension of economic interests. The job consciousness appears in the program which proposes to shut out foreign products that have been admitted in competition with American industries. Increasing importations of bricks, books and shoes are especially mentioned. The unions hope to increase the number of jobs in this country by practically shutting out such commodities.

It is a dubious program and, we believe, a short sighted one. A nation cannot hope to export without also importing. There is no reason why workers abroad should not urge upon their own governments a similar policy. They would be fully justified in demanding that if tariff walls in this country are to be raised higher than other nations should raise higher walls against importation of American goods. If that is the result—and it is what should be expected—American commodities will pile up behind our tariff walls and American workers will be thrown out of work. We certainly cannot insist on the slogan of "High Walls at Home and Low Walls Abroad."

But to this may be added another and more graver danger. We have already had a controversy with France over this very policy. It is likely to lead to general tariff wars. It is effective in this country and there are those who think that physical conflict may be the outcome of general tariff wars. In the event of a general war over tariff organized workers would reap a sad harvest and the appointment of Mr. Woll as a member of the Tariff Commission would be no compensation.

### Our New Opportunity

**OUR** readers have in this issue of The New Leader the story of the meeting of the National Executive Committee and the essentials of the report of the National Campaign Manager, G. August Gerber. As in other campaigns there were some misunderstandings largely based upon rumor and lack of full knowledge of the facts. It was necessary to wait till the committee could meet before a review of the campaign and its results could be made and this brought a full comprehension of the facts.

The committee has outlined a program of continuous action to begin immediately and this contemplates work on a national scale. It is no exaggeration to say that the new contacts made during the campaign, the many young men and women who have become interested in our movement, and the requests that have been received since the campaign closed have been the most encouraging we have received since the end of the World War. But in order to take advantage of the new opportunities all our resources must be mobilized without delay. Three months or six months hence will be too late. Work must begin now and there are many new friends who are waiting for the word to march.

Encouraging as the new contacts made during the campaign are still more are the many voters who have expressed their disgust since the election and who want a "new deal." This sentiment has been expressed in so many quarters that one wonders how many other thousands there are who feel the same but who have not spoken or written of it. It is certain that we have only heard from a small number of those who believe that we have reached a turning point in party history and that one wing of the two-party alliance must be scrapped.

One thing that has contributed to this attitude of mind is the numerous editorial speculations that have appeared in the press regarding the future of the Democratic Party. The party polled the largest vote in its history yet many of its leaders and editorial guides regard it as hopeless. A review of its history shows that it has elected only two presidents since the Civil War and Wilson owed his

first election not to the strength of his own party but to the division of the Republican Party. He was re-elected because the voters feared that a Republican President would drag us into the war.

Why do leaders and guides fear for their party despite its large vote? Because in the politics of capitalism a party is a failure and has no future if it cannot capture the Federal offices. The offices are all that are at stake as principles and differences disappeared long ago. In Philadelphia the Republicans have kept the local Democratic organization alive for years and in New York City Tammany has nursed Republican organizations for many years. The same situation has become notorious in many other large cities and intelligent people who have any knowledge of the situation know it.

Thus a combination of circumstances has arisen where the stock and the prestige of the Democratic Party are rapidly declining. The misfortune of this party is our opportunity. It is not the only factor in the situation but it is an important one. The crazy "issues" which the two-party leaders staged is another factor. We should make no mistake, however, in judging the situation. It is one that may develop into dull acquiescence in the old indifference unless we move swiftly to take full advantage of it. There is work to do and every party member and every friend we have made must do his full duty when the call comes for service. It is up to you. Do your duty well.

### Super-Power "Education"

**ONE** outcome of the attempt of the super-power crowd to take over the public schools and other educational institutions is the organization of a national Save-Our-Schools Committee. It includes some eminent men and women from all sections of the country and it will wage a fight against super-power propaganda.

That this is necessary in this country shows how arrogant various sections of our ruling classes can become. This defense organization should not be necessary in a country where the people are alert against the prostitution of public agencies to the interest of powerful capitalistic groups. Our super-power kings have acted on the assumption that it was not necessary for a sale of the schools to be made to them. They have acted as though the schools were private bureaus of the super-power industry and teaching and administrative staffs were their hired employees.

The owners of slave property once accomplished this object in the South not only in relation to the schools but also in relation to churches, newspapers, magazines, political parties and every other phase of the educational life of the South. A handful of slave owners maintained a rigid mastery of all these institutions. Any attempt to challenge this control made the person who did so a suspect. He was a "revolutionary Agrarian" who would destroy society. Slave property became holy. Capital invested in slaves became the sacred cow.

The revelations of the Federal Trade Commission show that the super-power crowd have attempted a similar game. Their answer to the advocates of public ownership of the power sites of the object is to label them "Bolsheviks." Now the "Bolshevik" is the equivalent of the "revolutionary Agrarian" in the days when slave property ruled south of the Potomac. Perhaps our super-power gentry would be only too happy if they could also imitate their predecessors by using tar and feathers in their "educational" campaign.

We heartily welcome the fight against the new "education."

### Our Healthy Dynasties

**ONE** of the most interesting phases of American politics is the crusade thirty years ago for destroying the big combinations of capital. One of its results was the "dissolution" of the Standard Oil Company by a decree of the United States Supreme Court in 1911. One of its tragedies is that the Anti-Trust Laws have been effective in quite a number of trade union cases, such as "dangerous combinations" being punished by levying on the funds of the union.

When we turn to contemplate the present health of the Oil Dynasty which was "dissolved" seven years ago we find a rather unique situation. The components of the old concern represented a value of a billion dollars before the "dissolution." Now these organizations have a value five times their original value. The California concern recently moved up into the billion dollar class and its arrival at this happy stage drew attention to the health of the dynasty as a whole.

And that is the net result of the crusade of thirty years ago when millions of people feared the domination of industry by a few giant combinations. Today that domination has been realized in the leading industries and the old crusade is hardly a memory in the minds of millions who participated in it. Concentration of industry and the flowering of dynasties on the ruins of little business are conspicuous in this age of industrial evolution and in no other country do bankers and capitalists rule society with as little real opposition as here.

Of course, this cannot continue forever without a political reaction which will bring a contest for control of the governing powers. In recent months attention has been called to the remarkable concentration in the retail business by the organization of chain stores and the combination of chain systems into a higher consolidation. With these mammoth organizations hunting down the little business man and taking over his small enterprise American society is more and more producing an industrial feudalism. The future struggle is the task of wresting both economic and political power from the powerful magnates and the beginning of industrial democracy.

**IN THE INTERESTS OF ECONOMY** no receipts will be sent by The New Leader and The Leader-Appeal for subscription renewal remittances, except when specifically requested. Watch the date alongside of your name on the address label at the top of page one. The figures will indicate the month and year, respectively, of the expiration of your subscription.

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

From Near Herin

The New Leader:  
Dear Comrades:  
We never had an organization here but we polled 257 votes. Only about two thirds of those who were eligible to vote, went to the polls. Many were dissatisfied with the old party tickets. With a Socialist organization in the field, we would have polled thousands instead of hundreds.  
Edw. G. Pulley, Marion, Ill.

The New Constitution

There are many things in the new constitution that should have been discussed by the membership, but owing to the campaign they have been neglected; although those delegates opposed to it at the convention tried to have a motion adopted that the new constitution be held in abeyance until after election, and then be submitted to a vote of the membership.

The National Office of the Socialist Party has been hampered by lack of money with which to do organizing work. While a member of the National Executive Committee the writer tried repeatedly to get \$25 a week paid to our late Comrade Emil Herman, a veteran organizer, so that he could proceed to organize the West, but the majority of the members of the N. E. C. voted the motions down because of lack of funds; and Jim Onal told the delegates at the National Convention that Jimmie Graham had fine ideas for organizing but could not raise the cash. And that same convention voted to reduce the revenue of the National Office sixty-six and two-thirds percent.

This decrease in dues provided for by the new constitution threatened to stop the finances of the National Office during the campaign that the N.E.C. at its May meeting, at Newark, New Jersey, upon motion of Morris Hillquit, voted to suspend that part of the constitution relating to dues until the first of the year. What authority the N.E.C. has to suspend any part of the constitution after the convention had adopted it nobody knows except the members of the N.E.C. themselves.

However, once the referendum on the new constitution was called, the old constitution, by all parliamentary law, is in force until the new one has been ratified by a vote of the party membership.

The socialists and trade unionists have been the ones that have popularized Direct Legislation, or the Initiative and Referendum. By actual practice it has been clearly demonstrated that, to put any measure to a vote, eight percent of the membership of any organization, municipality, or state is the highest percentage that the law can operate successfully under. Any number higher than eight percent makes the Initiative and Referendum unwieldy and unworkable. When the Initiative and Referendum is being advocated for adoption by states the democrats and republicans always buttress their endorsement with the qualification, "I am in favor of the Initiative and Referendum carefully guarded."

This "carefully guarded" means placing the percentage of signers required high enough so as to make the law inoperative.

The new constitution places the percentage of signers required at twenty percent—or one hundred and fifty percent higher than the average old party advocates. Are we going to be such hypocrites that we will place in our platform planks for Direct Legislation, and then in our own party constitution place the percentage of signers required so high as to prohibit any measure being submitted to a vote of the membership?

The recall has been removed from the new constitution—yet we advocate the recall—but dare not have it in our constitution, where it has been for twenty-five years and more.

At the convention which adopted the new constitution reports of the committees were mimeographed and copies given to every delegate, so that, while the report of the committee was before the convention, the delegates could act more intelligently on the same. But the report of the committee on constitution was not mimeographed, and no copies were given to the delegates. The report was adopted without the majority of the delegates realizing the changes that were taking place until, weeks afterwards, they received a copy of the minutes of the convention from the National Office. Had the report of the constitution committee been put before the delegates the same as all other reports were in all probability this referendum would never have taken place. Snap judgment was taken on the adoption of the new constitution.

Section 10 of the new constitution creates the "Open Door" for hell in the party. It will, if adopted, have a tendency to cause splits and trouble in the party in many states. It was inserted in the new constitution by the "ultra" in the party, and not by Communists and "United Fronters"—though the latter, if they desire to use it, will have an opportunity to bore from within.

This section 10 is vague, as it does not fix the per capita tax of affiliation fee. To make it effective, if adopted, an amendment will have to be submitted to a referendum of the party members, as the N.E.C. has no authority whatever to amend or remove anything from the constitution.

Therefore vote NO on every section of the new constitution—thereby leaving the old one as it is until the desired changes have been thoroughly discussed by the party members.

The new constitution is a very reactionary instrument, and wipes out all the democracy in the party that has taken years to develop. No such thing as this could have taken place when our party was husky. And if our party ever grows these reactionary tendencies in the new constitution, if adopted, will be repealed F.D.Q.

James D. Graham

Livingston, Montana

The load beneath the harrow knows Exactly where each tooth-point goes; The butterfly upon the road Preaches contentment to that load.

—Rudyard Kipling.

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

**TO** those of us who know the role that organized labor must play in any scheme of social progress the echoes that reach us from the A. F. of L. Convention at New Orleans are very disquieting. The Federation is trying to fool itself and the public by boasting of an increase of 83,000 members without explaining that that apparent increase is more than accounted for by the return of over 100,000 organized railway clerks to affiliation with the A. F. of L. Actually on the A. F. of L.'s own choice there was a loss of about 20,000 members in the total number of organized workers now affiliated with the national organization.

There was nothing in the spirit of the meeting, nothing in other results reported to compensate for the loss of membership. Once more President Green, Matthew Woll, Acting President of the National Civic Federation, et al. leaned over backward to prove how respectable they were and how much they hated the Communists. Apparently their convention actually applauded the Commander of the American Legion who advocated the Johnson-Capper Bill with the assurance that it would not draft labor and would draft capital in the event of another war. Precisely the opposite is true as appears on the face of the bill which gives the government power to draft men and to control capital. Everything we know about the last war and preparations for the next war shows how sympathetically capital would be treated and how drastically men would be coerced. Imagine a Mellon or his successor stopping profiteering under the vague terms of this bill! Even the A. F. of L. news service recently denounced the bill.

Sam Gompers, at any rate, the vigorous Gompers of the earlier days, would have had as much reason as Gene Debs to turn in his grave could he see and hear to what level leadership in the A. F. of L. has fallen in face of company unions, imperialism, the denial of civil liberties and all the challenging facts of our time. The one note of militancy was sounded by Daniel J. Tobin in presenting his resignation as treasurer of the A. F. of L. We think his words and attitude must find a response in the hearts of thousands of loyal trade unionists. And it is to this response from the rank and file rather than to any of the official hierarchy that we look for the salvation of the American labor movement.

It is almost pathetic to see the joy with which prominent labor leaders not only applauded but claimed credit for Hoover's endorsement of a program of public works to avert dull times. There is nothing new in the idea or Hoover's endorsement of it which he first made publicly as far back as 1921. Almost everybody else, including labor leaders, has endorsed the same general idea. The significant thing is the method by which the idea may be applied. If, as Governor Brewster of Maine, suggested to his fellow Governors, the President-elect has endorsed the rather far reaching plan of Foster and Catchings, that is news and, on the whole, good news.

It is very important for the public and especially for labor organizations to observe that no building program by the government is a sufficient cure for the evils associated with unemployment. It will not of itself help men to find where there are jobs without passing through the cruel, inefficient and often extortionate and corrupt machinery of private "slave markets," such as I have seen from coast to coast. That requires an efficient system of public employment exchanges. Neither will the Foster-Catchings scheme do much to help what the highbrows call technological unemployment, that is, the unemployment due to the fact that on farms and in factories, improvements in machinery and the use of machinery steadily reduce the number of men who, provided the working week keeps its length, are necessary to do a given job. Every year since 1919—the index of factory employment has fallen. The remedy for this situation of course is steady progress toward that five-day week which organized labor has properly been demanding without very much success, outside some building trades, in obtaining it.

Finally, Hoover's partial remedy for unemployment by no means gets rid of the need for unemployment insurance. It will scarcely touch seasonal unemployment which unemployment insurance will not only alleviate but help to prevent. An employer making heavy contributions to insurance funds will be a lot more careful how he fires and hires at need without any program for the year. Unemployment and old age insurance, moreover, as we have frequently observed, are necessary to help labor organize those industries where the poor bribe of group insurance now keeps the workers away from taking the risk of forming their own unions. In short, labor's rejoicing over the new hope that proper public expenditures on public works at the proper moment will avert periods of depression or relieve unemployment in them is a thing that we share. But common sense compels us to insist that what Mr. Hoover has said is not only no adequate program for dealing with unemployment but not even a guarantee that he will put up a real and successful fight for as comprehensive a plan as Messrs. Foster & Catchings have outlined.

The extraordinary achievement of perfecting a device by the use of light waves to measure dimensions with no greater error than two one millionths of an inch is only one of the great achievements revealed by the report of the Bureau of Standards. Now the interesting fact is that this is a federal bureau and that these engineers work for the government, or rather for society, being paid by the government. Not only do they save the government millions of dollars by testing all products the government buys so that it does not have to buy by advertisement like the rest of us dubs but also the Bureau makes scientific researches which are the basis of the most important technical advances. These, be it noted, are the achievement not of Hoover's "rugged individualists" working for profit but of servants of society working for moderate salaries. What becomes of the theory

Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy.—United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

## Roll Call of Leader Workers

The first order for Upton Sinclair's novel, Boston, was sent in by Don C. Chase of New York.

Tim Murphy is waking 'em up in Mellon's Empire. Hardly a day goes by but what Tim sends in two or more subs.

"The enclosed sub is from a recent 'convert,'" writes A. W. Corbin of Cincinnati, "and I want to keep him interested." That's just what The New Leader will do.

R. F. King, Yelm, Wash., sends in \$3 "for an ardent Socialist," Peter Hendricks.

### OUR POPULARITY CONTEST

"I am as popular around here as a hornet in an orthodox church at prayer meeting time. \* \* \* A nickel is as big today as a dollar was 20 years ago, but I want to see the N. L. live." (Frank Turner, Greenville, Pa.) A few more subscriptions from Comrade Turner's neck of the woods and the popularity contest will take another turn.

Miss Elsie Tobias, Brooklyn, sends in a sub. Another one from the National Office.

### AMONG THOSE MISSING

Several of the oldtimers failed to report for several weeks. We know they can always dig up a few subs. We suggest that they search their pockets.

Our New Leader subscription card in the mails is worth two (or more) in your pocket.

"Have been reading the N. L. for 3 years and find it indispensable in keeping abreast of the times. I am a student at Fordham Law School and it gives me great pleasure to espouse the cause of Socialism among my fellow students." Louis Rice, Passaic, N. J. A renewal, of course.

### "IN AMERICAN"

Samuel H. Cohn, one of our young readers who wanted the N. L. He learned that his father had seen some stray copies of the paper and enjoyed some of the articles he read. "So, the other day," writes the former, "I thought that I would ask dad to fork over two bucks as that amount for renewal wasn't in sight. Well, he forked over the two berries and here they are. So continue to send your good paper."

Another one from Edward E. Thompson, Collingwood, N. J. From Wesleyan University comes an order for Sinclair's "Boston" and a sub to the paper, send in by R. L. Morrow.

One of our enthusiastic readers up in Maine, has been mailing out copies of The New Leader to a good list of prospects. She writes that "the woods were filled with democrats. The sooner they join the republicans or wake up, the better. Progressives and other half-breeds, count but little."

If you haven't taken advantage of the premium offer of Upton Sinclair's great novel, ("Boston," 2 volumes), you better hurry. See ad on another page.

1776-1928

Israel Putnam, Elmira, N. Y., doesn't forget to renew.

H. Rosoff of Brooklyn, is another one who sends in a renewal. He does not want to miss a copy.

There is an army of disillusioned voters in this country. Many of them realize that they threw their votes away. Now that the fog of fake issues has disappeared, Socialism can get a sane hearing. The opportunity for securing subscriptions to your paper, The New Leader was never as good as it is at the present time.

J. Tornick, N. J. is one of the regulars who reports this week.

"I surely appreciate the work that the N. L. is doing in the cause of Industrial Democracy. If the workers would cast an intelligent ballot, our candidates would win over those of Wall Street." Granville Hummers, Alma, Neb.

From Shreveport, La. E. Fred Mead sends in a sub. He says that many of the voters are disgusted with the political situation. The New Leader can change all that.

Louis Vorse, Albany, just gets under the wire with a sub.

Sub boosters can round up the subs while the getting is good by carrying the sub cards. That's the sure, quick way of securing subs. Send for some today.

We have a few sets of the Art Young cartoons left. The folio of sixteen cartoons, printed on high quality paper, constitutes a striking memento of the campaign and is a strong argument for Socialism. The price is 30 cents by mail.

Local Rochester New York is working hard to increase our circulation, writes Martin J. Cook.

### Acquitted, But Not Released

In Zagreb on October 5 the trial of the railway worker Franz Stepanic took place. He was accused, under the Law for the Protection of the State, of being in possession of a revolver, a portrait of Lenin, a Labor newspaper and other things of the kind. The tribunal found him not guilty, and he was only sentenced to three days imprisonment carrying arms without a license. He was not released, however, but given over once more to the police. The intention which these may cherish with regard him are not known, but he will probably be confined in his place of birth.

A halter made of silk's a halter still, Colley Cibber.