

MR. COOLIDGE EXALTS PLUNDER

Millions For Slaughter—

Mere Dollars For Schools

THE following comparison of the funds appropriated by 23 governments for war and education has been issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters at Amsterdam. The original figures in the table below were compiled in terms of British pounds and we have roughly translated them into American dollars. The figures as a whole, as well as the comparisons, are approximate but they are sufficiently reliable to warrant certain conclusions which are drawn by the International.

Of course, the funds for education in the United States are chiefly drawn from local sources and the item credited to the United States under this head refers only to Federal appropriations. Nevertheless, it is shown that our funds for "defense" exceed that of any other nation.

The reader will note that the two leading rivals in appropriations for destruction are Great Britain and the United States, the latter leading the "Mistress of the Seas." The competition between these two powers shows that the struggle for the mastery of the world is between the two leading brothers in the holy crusade to "make the world safe for democracy." Japan, another partner in this crusade, is third in the race and this was to be expected. Japanese capitalism looks upon Asia as its special field of plunder and is ever suspicious of Great Britain and the United States.

Ten years after the conclusion of the war which was begun to save civilization, we have a chance of seeing how far our rescued civilization deserves its name.

The League of Nations has issued a memorandum on public finance during the years 1922-1926. In one only of these years, the governments of 23 countries spent on "national defense" (the poetical way of describing preparations for war) over £505,000,000; while, also during one year only, these same governments spent on education (not glorified by any specifically poetic title) only £138,000,000. The following table shows these respective amounts both absolutely, and per head of the population; but it must be carefully borne in mind that the incidence of educational expenditure falls on different authorities in different countries. For instance, in Germany the Reich pays very little towards education, because the great bulk of the expenditure is borne by provincial and municipal authorities. It would, of course, be much more interesting if we were able to compare the respective expenditures from all sources in a country for these two purposes, but at present this is impossible.

Countries and Year	National Defense Total	Education Total	National Defense Per Head	Education Per Head
Australia, '26-27	\$23,465,000	\$ 854,000	27.00	16.00
Austria, '26	9,800,000	12,050,000	50.00	31.00
Belgium, '26	18,380,000	1,680,000	26.00	50.00
Brazil, '26	40,620,000	5,020,000	36.00	20.00
Bulgaria, '26-27	9,175,000	1,815,000	85.00	31.00
Czechoslovakia, '26	18,485,000	9,550,000	96.00	120.00
Denmark, '26-27	15,955,000	8,950,000	90.00	51.00
Finland, '26	15,380,000	38,750,000	80.00	21.00
France, '26	37,550,000	3,830,000	55.00	50.00
Germany, '26-27	165,315,000	266,690,000	221.00	112.00
Great Britain, '26-27	221,000,000	1,380,000	96.00	17.00
Greece, '26-27	26,850,000	1,380,000	10.00	0.50
India, '26-27	174,760,000	50,015,000	100.00	30.00
Italy, '26-27	193,670,000	67,780,000	76.00	22.00
Japan, '26-27	221,840,000	58,050,000	125.00	167.00
Netherlands, '26	42,855,000	14,815,000	86.00	111.00
Norway, '26-27	18,500,000	4,730,000	55.00	15.00
Portugal, '24-25	16,740,000	13,905,000	30.00	15.00
Romania, '26	26,575,000	25,995,000	110.00	22.00
Spain, '25-26	118,875,000	34,705,000	130.00	106.00
Sweden, '26-27	38,725,000	1,510,000	88.00	6.00
Switzerland, '26	17,145,000	11,180,000	111.00	140.00
U. S. A., '26-27	517,750,000			

The total population of these 23 countries comes to over 800 million souls. In 1926-27, these states expended 12/3 per head of their populations on armaments and 3/5 on education. The state expenditure on education formed 27% of that on national defense; that on armaments exceeded that on education by 270%.

These figures (even with our mental adjustments) speak for themselves! The development of intellect and character is the basis of all human progress; armaments lead only to death and destruction!

A Messiah In The Making

THOSE naive liberals whose sum and substance of political interests must always be wrapped around some Messiah are having prepared for them a new leader in the person of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Before the myth-making goes any further, may we be permitted a few reminders of Mr. Roosevelt's record: Mr. Roosevelt, as assistant secretary of the Navy, wrote a constitution for Haiti which was later forced on that country by the bayonets of the Marines; Mr. Roosevelt made a colorless running-mate in 1920 to the colorless Mr. Cox, Democratic candidate for president in that year; as candidate for governor of New York in the election just ended, Mr. Roosevelt made the liberal suggestion that persons guilty of prejudice against Al Smith ought to be shipped out of the country; Mr. Roosevelt used a public service commissioner to collect his campaign fund in New York; Mr. Roosevelt wrote a letter denying this, despite documentary evidence to the contrary; thereby showing he is too innocent or excellently fitted for Tammany politics; Mr. Roosevelt's campaign for the governorship was devoid of constructive statesman-like utterances. Nevertheless, signs are not lacking that there are many bright young (and old) liberals ready to take a buggy-ride with Mrs. Belle Moskowitz and her Messiah-to-be. Political realists will refuse buggy-rides and get to work to acquire a high-powered automobile of their own. (The Nation please copy.)

President Sanctifies Exploitation and Speculation, And Mocks The Farmers And Workers In Message To Congress

THE message of President Coolidge is characterized by his usual dullness and expressions of piety but it is remarkable in one respect. Eighty years ago two men, Marx and Engels, wrote a Manifesto that became the platform of millions of workers all over the world. That document was an analysis of the modern order dominated by investing capitalists and bankers. It was also a critical exposition of the philosophy of this class. With logic, wit and biting sarcasm these two men satirized the politicians and statesmen who served this class and bared the vulgarity concealed by the professed "idealism" of these politicians and statesmen.

In this year 1928 Calvin Coolidge, small town worshipper at the shrine of great wealth; exponent of the politics of invested capital and President of the United States, writes a message which confirms the wit, logic, and satire of the founders of the Socialist movement! It is an odd performance yet it has a logic of its own.

The two men whose work eighty years ago has inspired millions of workingmen and women all over the world declared that the modern order had "resolved personal worth into exchange value." The need of a constantly expanding market chases its capitalists "over the whole face of the globe." The cheap prices of its commodities "are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls." It compels the "barbarians" to introduce its "civilisation" and its agents rejoice in terms of piety when this is accomplished. It subjects "the country to the rule of the towns." In the cities the worker "becomes an appendage to the machine." He and his fellows "are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants." And the politicians become almost poetical in their praises of this order.

THE CHARMED CIRCLE!

The Coolidge message is an essay which begins by paying homage to our "unexampled blessings" and ends by saying that while we deal "justly, we can well afford to walk humbly" lest we "become selfish and degenerate." The present era of Coolidge is declared to be "the charmed circle of diminishing expenditures, diminishing tax rates and increasing profits." These three items constitute the holy trinity of power as administered in the interest of the owners of the United States.

Elsewhere in the message he particularizes. Thus the "national income has increased nearly 50 per cent, until it is estimated to stand well over \$90,000,000,000." He rejoices over the government's helpful attitude toward "American business" and declares that there "should be no slackening of effort in that direction." Aeronautics is of interest to him only because of its aid to commerce and although "the cost of national defense is stupendous" and has increased \$118,000,000 in four years, the "estimated expenditure for 1930 is \$668,000,000." The "timid and the suspicious" may think that this country is militaristic and imperialistic, he declares, but they are wrong. "Cuba stands as a witness" against this view. And Haiti, Nicaragua, San Domingo?

To enhance our blessings private shippers must be encouraged and it "should be our policy to maintain necessary strategic lines under government operation until they can be transferred to private capital." The power projects along the Colorado River may be trusted to "private enterprise" and of Muscle Shoals Coolidge would be glad to "approve a bill granting authority to lease the entire property for the production of nitrates." There are so many things that can be given to capitalists and these recommendations enable the reader to understand what Coolidge means by "national income."

Mr. Coolidge concludes by congratulating Mr. Coolidge and the rest of us with these pious words: "The country is in the midst of an era of prosperity more extensive and of peace more permanent than it has ever before experienced. But, having reached this position, we should not fail to comprehend that it can easily be lost. It needs more effort for its support than the less exalted places of the world. (1) We shall not be permitted to take our ease, but shall continue to be required to spend our days in unremitting toil."

THE PROSPERITY OF SPECULATORS

What a mockery of the millions still living in insecurity! Do the gamblers on the stock exchange obtain their gains by "unremitting toil"? What of the land hogs in the great cities whose land values are increasing from year to year because of increasing population? What of the absentee owners of great industries, who never see the plants in which their capital is invested; whose incomes are purely workless; whose dividends would flow to them if they were deaf, dumb and paralyzed? Do these gentlemen at the top of the heap indulge in "unremitting toil"? Do the grafters and others who fill soft and useless berths in public offices recoil at the prospect of "unremitting toil"? What of Doheny, and Fall, and Sinclair and their kind.

The fact is that the United States is a paradise for those who

live on workless incomes. Last week we showed on this page from the preliminary report of the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue that 66 per cent of the incomes of 35,527 millionaires were derived from such speculative sources as stocks, bonds, and real estate. Imagine the "unremitting toil" of these upper class bums! Imagine the strained sinews, the exhausted tissues, and the perspiring faces of these "unremitting toilers" as they turned to the financial pages of the morning paper at their sumer cottages to ascertain the increased value of their holdings.

Coolidge Speaks of Peace



The Amsterdammer (Holland)

Many years before Mr. Walter Lippmann found an easy birth, as Mr. Coolidge did, he wrote in his *Drift and Mastery* of these upper class toilers. "With a few thousand dollars I can be an owner in Massachusetts textile mills on Monday, in Union Pacific on Tuesday," he wrote. "I can fit like a butterfly from industry to industry. I don't even have to use my judgment as to where I shall alight. All I have to do is to choose some well-known stock broker and put myself into his hands. And when I read in books on political economy that any profit I make is a reward for my foresight, my courage in the face of risk, I laugh." It makes no difference who the gambler is. "He may be ignorant or wise, he may be a child in arms or a greybeard in his dotage, he may live in Iceland or Patagonia; he has no genuine role in the conduct of industry."

These are the "unremitting toilers" who reap the vast fruits of industry while the millions are considered happy mortals if they own a radio or a second-hand flier.

HOW THE WORKERS FARE

If Mr. Coolidge had turned to his own Department of Agriculture he would find a continuance of the decline of farm values in twenty states extending roughly from Arkansas and Texas in the South to Minnesota in the North; from Nevada in the West to Indiana and Michigan in the East, and there is no indication that the bottom has been reached. The tax burden of the farms has increased to 158 per cent above the pre-war level and the percentage of farm titles lost in the year ending March 1, 1928, was 22.8 per 1000 compared with 23.3 per cent the previous year.

Had Mr. Coolidge turned to the *American Journal of Sociology* for July, which presents a survey of the "prosperity more extensive than ever before experienced," he would find that farmers are still deserting the farms for the cities. In 1920 the farm population was 31,614,269, or 29.9 per cent of the total population. By July of last year it had declined to 27,795,000, or 23.4 per cent of the population. Yet with nearly four million less workers on the farms they supplied twelve million more people with food! Here is a case of "unremitting toil," Mr. Coolidge, toil that heaps up more products with less toilers while farm lands still decline in value.

Then there are the wage workers of the cities who figure in this same survey. In industry the volume of production continues to increase with the total number of workers unemployed estimated at four million. Yet despite this increased production the survey shows that wages as a whole have increased little since the business depression of 1921-1922. Here also is "unremitting toil" and nearly four million for whom there is no work at all.

But the "national income" is over 90 billion dollars. We know it is, Mr. Coolidge, but who gets it? Federal census officials have never attempted to give a clear answer to this question. They so present the data regarding the distribution of wealth that statisticians are perplexed. It is one thing to know what the "national income" is and quite another thing to know how it is distributed. The only thing you say about it is to express your satisfaction over "increasing profits." The data we mention above show that it is not the real "unremitting toilers" who get the major portion of this income but the unremitting spoilers who get it.

THE SANCTIMONIOUS COOLIDGE

And all for what? To perpetuate "the charmed circle of diminishing expenditures, diminishing tax rates and increasing profits." In short, this world of "national income," this income going to wasters, speculators and absentee owners. The greatest social revolutionaries that ever lived could never have indulged in a more profound and more cynical witticism than you have in this statement of the "charmed circle."

You have stated the whole program of your class as we Socialists have stated it for many years. Not many have believed us. Perhaps they will believe you. We shall quote you often in the hope that they will learn the full significance of what this "charmed circle" means for them; in the hope that they will also understand how to break through this circle and end it for all time. And that consummation, Mr. President, is the aim of industrial democracy and the hope of the "unremitting toilers" of the world.

Questions For Our Mayor

About Mr. Rothstein's Rackets

HON. JAMES J. WALKER,
New York City Hall.

(Please hold until Mayor's return from South Bend, Ind.)

Dear Mr. Mayor:

It is not our desire to add to the great burdens which you shoulder so manfully as Chief Magistrate of the largest and richest city in the world.

Far be it from us to mar with any crude intrusions of our own the dignity of the occasion which now calls you from our populous midst to South Bend, Ind.

We understand that you have undergone the rigors of the trip to that far-distant city in order to help celebrate the victories of the Notre Dame football team during the season just closed.

Certainly in view of the bonds of friendship and regard which bind New York to South Bend there could be nothing more fitting than that our Mayor should journey to the Mid-West to assist in the celebration of a football victory.

Undoubtedly the football team of Stanford University at Palo Alto, California, will soon be celebrating its own successful season and we humbly suggest that the affair would be incomplete without the presence of our genial Mayor. Then there are other teams which have done pretty well. There is the aggregation known as the Oregon Aggies which gave our N. Y. U. boys a pretty thorough trimming not so long ago. They, too, will surely be putting on a celebration which will necessitate still another trip to the coast and the possibilities of celebration on the part of Southern football teams are tempting now that cold weather is coming on.

However, as simple and unsophisticated citizens of your great city, may we humbly beg leave to ask your Honor a few questions, urging you to answer them between trips, if necessary.

We are not, like Your Honor, acquainted with night-clubs, speakeasies and racket-covers. As we suggested above, we represent the working class of people of New York City who do not have the opportunity to get about to such places as are described in the columns of "Variety," "The New Yorker" and "The Morning Telegraph."

Word has come to us from these quarters of the killing of one of the lords of this fascinating realm in which Your Honor is so familiar a figure. And we are curious to know what your police department has done about this matter.

CURIOUS BUT NOT IDLE

Our curiosity is not entirely idle. After all, we do pay taxes either directly or indirectly, all of us. Perhaps we are unreasonably stubborn in wanting to see something in return for the money we pay in keeping up a large and elaborate police force. But that's the way it is.

During some of your recent stop-overs in town you may have heard of one Arnold Rothstein and how he was shot in the stomach at the Park Central Hotel on November 4th last. The Park Central Hotel is not exactly an isolated spot. Nor are those who frequent it noted for their hermit-like habits. May we inquire through Your Honor why it has taken your police department so long to bring to jail one George McManus, who is now under indictment for murder? May we ask what negotiations went on between representatives of Mr. McManus, the police and the District Attorney's office before Mr. McManus telephoned Police Headquarters and said that he was ready to come in? Mr. McManus left his overcoat in the closet of the room in the Park Central Hotel which was occupied shortly before the shooting by the defunct Mr. Rothstein. His name was in the lining of the overcoat. The detectives who discovered it, called up Police Headquarters and the man down there who can read, came up and spelled out the name. Furthermore, Mr. McManus has a brother on the cops and is not exactly unknown to the police of the city. Why then the delay in apprehending the said Mr. McManus, who has just now, a month after the shooting, been indicted? Is it the custom of your police department and the District Attorney's office to conduct parleys with suspected murderers before arresting them? If so, what were the terms under which McManus, who was in town all the while the police were said to be searching for him, was willing to give up?

As we understand it, you were acquainted for several years with the late Mr. Rothstein. Did you not know that Mr. Rothstein was engaged in a number of so-called rackets, a bit outside the law to say the least? Was it unknown to the Narcotic Squad of your Police Department that the late Mr. Rothstein made money acting as wholesaler in the distribution of dope? If it was known, why was Mr. Rothstein allowed to go at large? If it was unknown why the Narcotic Squad?

You have had in your Police Department a group of men known as the Industrial Squad. If our memory does not fail us, it was this squad that was so active in beating up subway workers when they went on strike for better wages and hours. Also they have been most vigilant in herding up pickets in garment strikes. What did the Industrial Squad know about the activities of Mr. Rothstein in fixing strikes?

And what about smuggling and bail-fixing and some other pastimes of this all-around man?

There are a number of other questions we would like to ask about this interesting case but space confines us to this one:

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE
PRIVATE PAPERS OF ROTHSTEIN

(Continued on Page 2)

Paterson Strikers Out; Hold Gains

Victory for Workers Still Out Needed to Maintain 150 Settlements Already Made

By Frank Manning

DURING the seven weeks of strike the Paterson silk workers have made significant gains. Over 150 shops have won the 8-hour day, recognition of the union and an increase in wages. Fred Hoelscher, Secretary of the Associated Silk Workers, says that the union is determined to hold these gains at any cost. "There are still over 1,000 workers on strike," he said, "and it is vital that we make the same gains for them. All of our victories hinge upon the complete victory of these strikers. If they are forced to go back to work without recognition of the union the workers in the 150 shops where we have secured will be subjected to pre-strike conditions again."

Inhuman long hours which have prevailed in many of the Paterson silk mills are the principal cause of the strike. One man in the Neptune mill never left the mill between 7 a.m. and 12 midnight. He kept his looms running 17 hours a day without a let-up. He did this for about four months. From another shop, a worker reports, during a period of only a few months four men fainted at their looms. One did not recover. It is also reported that several former workers in this shop are in hospitals or insane asylums. The 1,000 men and women realize the importance of their struggle for themselves and all of their fellow-workers and are determined to carry on if only labor will support them.

The union is providing relief to the strikers and their families out of its fast dwindling treasury. The only outside contribution worth of mention received thus far is a \$500 check from the Forward Association. The Forward readily responded to a plea from the union for support. It is most imperative that strike sympathizers help in every way possible. It will be impossible for the Associated Silk Workers to keep their well-stocked commissary store going unless money and food are received promptly.

The new relief allowances are: Family of 1 to 4 persons—\$8 grocery ticket, \$1 cash; family of 5 or more persons—\$9 grocery ticket, \$2 cash. Single man or woman—if eating at home, \$4 grocery ticket, \$1 cash. If eating away from home, meal ticket and \$1 cash.

Press Ignores Strike.

The absence of sensation and violence are the principal reasons why the capitalist press more or less ignores the situation in Paterson. However, the strike has not been without its working-class casualties. One morning four bosses led an armed attack on a peaceful picket line at the Karl Miller Silk Co. Louis Habib, an editor of a strike paper, a broken arm and a plaster when one of the Millers hit him with an iron bar. Doctors say that it is likely impossible that the man will ever work again. Two other strikers were seriously injured by the murderous bosses and their hired thugs. One is mired in a deep scalp wound and the other a fractured jaw. There were three women in the picket line when it was attacked. Abram Waks, counsel for the Associated Silk Workers says the bosses together with their bloody lackeys will doubtless be indicted for atrocious assault and battery.

A picket line composed of ten young college men and women from New York City marched outside of the Prudential Silk Company a few days ago. Conducted by the Intercollegiate Student Council, the demonstration included students from Columbia, Barnard, Hunter, C. C. N. Y., and Bryn Mawr Colleges and from Union Theological Seminary. The Intercollegiate Student Council is a federation of college liberal clubs and social science clubs. Nathaniel Weyl, Columbia undergraduate and leader of the student pickets explained the mission as follows: "We feel a keen interest in industrial and labor problems," he said, "and a particular responsibility for seeing that increased opportunities, better living conditions, higher wages, shorter hours—come to the young people of the working class."

Football Star On Picket Line.

Banner signs carried by the student pickets spoke their organization's message to all who passed the mill this morning. One sign read "College Men and Women Back Union Labor." "Paterson Silk Workers have a Right to their Union," said another. Others read "Silk Bosses! The Associated Silk Workers' Demands are Just!" "No American Workers should have to work more than 8 hours." "College Men and Women demand the Right to Organize for all Workers."

Among those on the picket line were Miss Betty Dublin, representative of the Bernard Social Science Forum; Nathaniel Weyl of Columbia College; Sylvia Staecker of Hunter; Lawrence Rogin of Columbia; Winston Dancy of City College of New York; and Henry Hank Rosner, City College of New York football star.

A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty of the Brookwood Labor College, has issued an appeal to the strikers for strike unity. He said in part: "If a group of any sort in a union insists that regardless of where the laws of the union place the responsibility, its demands must be accepted as the basis of procedure, that group places itself above the union. It says that it will work with the union only if its demands are met. It also says that unless the union accepts such dictation, it will defy the union, set up its own machinery for conducting the strike, and as the inevitable next step, set up its own union."

"From a larger standpoint such a group, conservative or radical, might be justified in such a course, but it can not under such conditions make a claim to working unity, and it cannot really expect that the union is going to abdicate peacefully and accept such dictation. Unless indeed the union has as little power as a needy family. Don't Delay."

General N. Y. Party Meeting

A general membership meeting of the Socialists of Greater New York will be held Wednesday eve., Dec. 12th, in the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. This is the first general membership meeting since the ending of the campaign.

A special order of business has been prepared and matters pertaining to the last campaign and particularly the coming organization work and the coming Majority Campaign will be discussed. Several other matters pertaining to the welfare and progress of the New York City Party Organization will receive attention. Representatives of the National Executive Committee and the National Campaign Committee will be present. It is the duty of every active Party member to attend this important gathering.

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Secretary, Local New York.

5th-6th A. D. Brooklyn Branch Opens Sunday School; Registration On

The Socialist Party, 5th-6th Assembly District, Brooklyn, N. Y., is reopening its Sunday School at its headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, near Hart street. Parents are invited to send their children from seven years of age upward, to attend the sessions, which will be held from 10:30 to 12:30 every Sunday.

The younger children, from 7 to 9, will be led to understand the importance of cooperative effort through songs, games and stories. Those from 10 to 13 will learn of the workers' place in history—the real story of mankind. Young people over 13 will have round table discussions on current events and will study history and Socialist and other economic theories. Hikes, parties, dramatics and other social events will be of course be arranged to take care of the young folks' natural desire for play.

The teachers are able and qualified men and women, who will be glad to see you and talk things over with you. There will, of course, be no fee. Registration this Sunday, from 11 to 12 a.m., at 167 Tompkins ave. Comrade Samuel H. Friedman, candidate for State Senate in the recent election and a graduate student of Political Science, will be principal of the school and will lead the advanced class. The faculty will include comrades Anne Spero and William Cooper, both experienced teachers and children's leaders.

Pilsudski Attempt to Split Polish Socialists Results in Failure

(By a New Leader Correspondent) Warsaw.—The President of the Polish Chamber, the Sejm Marshal has received a communication from which it appears that altogether five deputies belonging to the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) have taken part in a split. These are Niski, Gardecki, Downarowicz, Jaworowski and Scypiorski. These deputies who stand for a policy of support to Pilsudski, will form the so-called "revolutionary section" of the P. P. S. Out of the 43 of the Club of the P. P. S. in the Sejm, to which 63 deputies belong, only four therefore have followed the example of Jaworowski. The result of Pilsudski's attempt to split the Party is therefore a lamentable failure.

Marchbank Will Speak At Rand School Dec. 18

James Marchbank, the fraternal delegate to the recent convention of the A. F. of L. from the British Trade Union Congress, will be the guest at a reception held in New York City before his return home to England, on Tuesday evening, December 18th. This reception is being arranged under the auspices of the Socialist Party, New York City; the New Leader; the Rand School and several trade union organizations.

Comrade Marchbank is a prominent member of the British Trade Union Movement, as well as the Independent Labor Party. His message to the A. F. of L. Convention was an inspiring one. This was printed in the last week's issue of the New Leader. At this gathering on December 18th, it will be possible for Socialists and trade unionists to greet him personally and to hear from him more intimately before his return to England.

Hoover Prosperity Goes Cold in Gary

GARY, Ind.—(FP)—Several blast furnaces have shut down in Gary since the election and hundreds of men have been laid off by U. S. Steel and other subsidiaries. The tin plate division has cut piece rates 10 cents a ton.

Stationary Firemen & Oilers Organize 3 Locals

DETROIT—(FP)—Three new locals have been chartered in the Detroit district by the Int. Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Oilers & Shop Laborers. They are Local 32 on the Michigan Central, Local 144 on the Canadian National and Local 586 at Windsor, Ont.

GROW More Mortgages Than Apples SEATTLE—(FP)—Yakima Valley apple growers testified before experts of the Interstate Commerce Commission that 40 per cent of the growers of the valley lost their orchards under mortgage in the last eight years.

er, vitality, courage and self-respect as they charge."

A contribution to the Paterson silk strikers is a good investment in humanity and progress. Send it to Associated Silk Workers' Relief Fund, 201 Market street, Paterson, N. J. Checks and Money Order should be made payable to Fred Hoelscher, Secretary of the Associated Silk Workers. Your little mite will help needy family. Don't Delay.

Socialist Club Started At Harvard

Princeton Organizes Branch of League for Industrial Democracy—College Interest High

THIS generation of students in American educational institutions is exhibiting an awakening similar to what happened in Germany and other European universities many years ago. Across the Atlantic many students and professors, sobered by the rise of militarism, the intrigues fostered by certain Powers in the Balkans, the grandiose Junker philosophies that were justifying imperialist expansion, and the problems of modern capitalism, took an increasing interest in the Socialist ideal of a more rational order of society.

This awakening has come to many young men and women in the United States and the incompetent political parties that rule the nation have contributed to it. In the recent national campaign hundreds of students organized into clubs to support the candidacy of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer and the after-campaign period is witnessing permanent organization into clubs to continue educational work.

On Monday night the Harvard Socialist Club was formed in the university at Cambridge after a lecture by Frank Crosswaith of New York. The members had been cooperating in the campaign of the Socialist Party and rendered excellent service in many ways. Lawrence Cohen was elected president of the Club and James Sheldon was elected secretary.

At Swarthmore and Reed.

At Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania similar work had been done by students during the campaign. A straw vote taken of the students and faculty showed the following vote for president: Hoover, 328; Thomas, 174; Smith, 89. This college is promising in a good student club to carry on educational work in behalf of fundamental industrial democracy.

In the West and far West are also educational institutions where students took an active interest in the Thomas and Maurer ticket. Reed College at Portland, Oregon, is of special interest. Republican, Democratic and Socialist students each had their own club and a few days before the election they jointly assembled at a dinner. A vote taken at this banquet also revealed a surprising Socialist sentiment. The poll gave the following results: Hoover, 85; Smith, 55; Thomas, 40.

L. I. D. Branch at Princeton.

At Princeton University in New Jersey nearly fifty undergraduates banded together last Monday night as a branch of the League for Industrial Democracy. They will meet every two weeks during the college year to study social and economic problems.

The students advocated "a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." Modern literature and art, as well as politics, will be discussed at informal meetings. Various professors have agreed to meet with the club occasionally and lead the discussion.

Officers of the club are Clifford R. Read, St. Paul, president; Edward M. Nicholas, Columbus, Ohio, secretary; Joseph L. Parsons Jr., New York City, treasurer. These men, together with George W. Oakes, New York City, nephew of Adolph Ochs, owner of The New York Times; William M. Sloane III, of Los Angeles; Datus C. Smith, of Pasadena, Calif.; and Gerhard P. Van Arkel, of Haddensfield, N. J., constitute the executive committee.

Central Body Gives \$100 For Allen A Strikers

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—As an example to affiliated unions the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union donated \$100 to the locked out Allen A. union hosiery workers of Kenosha. The knitters addressed the central body as the opening gun of their campaign in St. Louis for money support in their ten-month struggle.

Women Ask Freedom For Mooney and Billings

MILWAUKEE (FP)—Freedom for Tom Mooney and Warren Billings is demanded of Governor Young of California by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Independent Workers' Circle No. 129, Milwaukee. The Austro-Hungarian Stock Benefit Society recently passed resolutions to the same effect. They have been forwarded to Governor Young and President Coolidge.

Nicaraguans' Love For U. S. Demonstrated To Texas Man

(By a New Leader Correspondent) DALLAS, Texas.—"Men spat in my path as I walked about town and with leers passed their hands in significant pantomime across their throats."

This, contrary to the political talk so commonly heard, represents the real attitude of natives in connection with the presence of American marines in Nicaragua, says E. D. Stebbins, Dallas insurance man who has just returned from a ten-day stay in Managua, Nicaragua.

That the natives, both the lower element and the upper classes, are so hostile to the United States that an American's visit is uncomfortable, to say the least, was Stebbins' experience. His ten days there were marked by insults and slights that probably came short of personal danger only because of the presence of the troops, he said.

Called him "Ersteb". Stebbins related, "and immediately upon my arrival I heard them hiss 'Ersteb! Ersteb!' at me on the streets. They refused to call me Stebbins, but used the designation as an insulting term."

L. I. D. Announces Conferences for Chicago and New York

The League for Industrial Democracy, expands its custom of an annual student conference in New York City by announcing a parallel conference to be held at the same time in Chicago. The subject of both conferences is "Methods and Limits of Social Control" and the date Dec. 26 to 28. The Chicago meetings will be in Hull House, the New York meetings in Barnard College.

The Chicago meeting will headline Prof. Paul Douglas, Prof. John R. Commons, Secy. Carl D. Thompson of the Public Ownership League, and Harry W. Laidler of the L. I. D. The New York meeting will include as speakers dean A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College, H. S. Raushenbush of the Committee on Coal and Power, and Norman Thomas of the L. I. D. who was the Socialist candidate for president in the November election. The headquarters of the League for Industrial Democracy are 70 5th Av., New York City.

N. J. Socialists In Convention Plan for Work

THE Socialists of New Jersey held a state convention last Sunday at 256 Central avenue, Jersey City. There were 38 delegates present from 16 branches in five counties. Only two branches, one in Mercer County and the other in Union County, were not represented. The counties represented were: Bergen, Camden, Essex, Hudson and Passaic.

The purpose of the convention was to take stock of the condition of the party and to plan to take advantage of the interest generated in the recent campaign to extend organization into each of the twenty-one counties of the state. James O'neal, editor of The New Leader, gave a very inspiring talk on the possibilities of the movement nationally, and made suggestions as to methods to take advantage of the clear field in which the party finds itself.

A report of the Budget Committee of the State Committee was unanimously adopted. It provided funds for the maintenance of a full time organizer in the field, and for the necessary clerical assistance. State Organizer Sutton gave a report of his work and the prospects as he saw them, and this was supplemented by remarks of the retiring State Secretary, Fred Schwartz. The appointment of a successor to State Secretary Schwartz was left in the hands of the State Committee for action at its meeting next Sunday.

A committee of eight, consisting of Comrades Cox of Bergen County, Feinstein of Camden, Alexander Cohen and Jones of Essex, David and Tallman of Hudson, and Miller of Passaic, were elected to carry out the work entailed in the budget, such committee to cooperate with the State Committee. All present felt that the plan would work, and that we were in for a period of solid growth of organization and sentiment for Socialism.

A message was received from Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, who was still suffering from the effects of the serious automobile accident she recently met with, expressing her best wishes for a successful meeting. A motion of thanks and expression of good will was passed, to be accompanied by a bouquet of flowers.

Various resolutions were introduced, mostly by Hudson County delegates. Among them was one to the effect that we secure the services of a lawyer to draft an old age pension bill and present it to the various labor bodies, and fraternal and similar organizations throughout the state for support.

A resolution regarding unemployment was passed as follows: "Whereas in the State of New Jersey today there are people, willing to work, who cannot secure employment, and this problem seriously affects the well-being of thousands of men, women and little children, be it resolved by the Socialist Party of New Jersey in convention assembled that we urgently recommend the following remedial measures, viz: 1. The immediate expansion of all useful public works, those employed thereon to be engaged directly by the government, with a workday of not more than eight hours and with wages at not less than the prevailing union rate. 2. Government money to be lent to municipalities, without interest, for the purpose of carrying on such public works of a local character. 3. The establishment by the government of more employment bureaus and such other measures within its power to lessen the widespread misery of the workers."

"At the age of 70 I am a dependent. The enclosed \$2 would probably not have been given to me had it been known that I was going to use it for a New Leader sub."

Power Trust Reaching Out To Run Mines

By Leland Olds

ORGANIZATION of the coal industry as a department of the super-power system is suggested by the remarks of Samuel Insull, utility director of the middle west, at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of one of his big Chicago plants. According to Insull the time is rapidly approaching when huge power plants will be built in Southern Illinois close to the coal mines, distributing power far and wide throughout the middle west.

Dealing with the increasing problem of supplying power to industrial Chicago, he said: "We will have to go downstate nearer the coal mines for a portion of our production. We are getting to the point where we are now using some 250 carloads of coal a day, and we are looking forward to the point where we will be using 400 or 500 a day. The problem involved in the way of condensing water, transportation of coal and in the way of gas and ash by-products make it desirable that we should get further afield in our production."

Insull has a big power plant on the Illinois River near Pekin which is already transmitting power economically to Chicago. His companies are probably the largest owners of coal mines in the country. Within the last year a financial announcement brought out the fact that the Peabody Coal Company was nothing more than a department in the Insull power combine. Peabody Coal has been recognized as the biggest and most up-to-date coal producer in the United States.

Combination Under Way This combination which is already taking form in Insull's department of the superpower combine involves the production of coal on a mass production basis, its transformation into electrical energy near the mine also on a mass production basis and its transportation over high tension wires. It will mean a continued reduction in the demand for labor. Thousands of coal miners still supporting a steam-driven civilization will have to look elsewhere for work, unless they build up their organized strength to secure a 6-hour day and 5-day week.

In 1919 the average amount of coal needed to produce a kilowatt of electricity was 3.2 pounds. By 1927 it had been cut to 2.4 pounds and by 1927 to 1.84 pounds. Efficient steam plants can produce a kilowatt with 1.55 pounds of coal.

This means that while the production of electricity was increasing 106 per cent the amount of coal consumed in its production increased only 48 per cent. Between 1923 and 1927 production of electrical energy increased 38 per cent, but coal consumed in its production only 7 per cent. This is shown in the following figures for power produced and coal consumed in central stations since 1919:

Central Station	Kil. hours produced	Tons coal consumed
1919	24,315,000,000	35,100,000
1921	26,005,000,000	31,535,000
1923	30,322,000,000	28,960,000
1925	43,514,000,000	40,222,000
1927	50,330,000,000	41,883,000

In the first 8 months of 1928 electrical plants actually reduced their consumption of coal nearly a million tons compared with the same period of 1927. Insull's plan if put in effect throughout the country would mean a still further reduction in the amount of coal used in proportion to the power required to drive the country's industry. It would considerably decrease the potential coal traffic and reduce the fuel for locomotives.

In its largest sense, however, Insull's statement calls attention to the growing concentration of control over the energy which drives modern industry. When all the machinery of production and transportation is driven by electrical energy supplied by superpower plants located near controlled mines, those in control of the power industry will have a stranglehold on American economic life.

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Thousands of Socialist Votes Stolen In Virginia, Is Charged

Partial Returns Indicate Vote of 300,000 In the Entire Nation

HERE are the returns on vote cast for the Socialist candidate for president at the last election in 23 states, as reported to The New Leader from official sources:

SOCIALIST VOTE 1928—27 STATES	
Connecticut	3,019
Delaware	299
Florida	4,036
Idaho	1,296
Illinois	19,138
Iowa	2,960
Kansas	6,205
Maine	1,058
Maryland	1,598
Massachusetts	6,292
Michigan	3,516
Minnesota	6,774
Mississippi	264
Missouri	3,739
North Dakota	842
Nebraska	3,434
New Hampshire	455
New Jersey	4,866
Ohio	8,633
Oklahoma	3,926
region	2,720
South Dakota	423
Utah	954
Vermont	8
Virginia	250
Wisconsin	18,215
Wyoming	788

This makes a total of 105,708 in 27 states. With the vote running in the same proportions in the other states, excepting New York—where the vote will be about 100,000—the final total will be about 300,000 votes.

The 250 votes credited to the party by the Secretary of State of Virginia, is far below the vote actually cast there for Norman Thomas. The New Leader is informed. David G. George, manager of the Virginia Socialist campaign writes: "Almost immediately after the polls were closed, I, as well as other comrades got to work to try to find out what we got. It was a hard task. No one seemed in a position to tell us. Finally the official count was made in Richmond. The Socialist vote was not announced. By inquiry I was informed that Thomas polled 132 in Richmond. Within a few days I found that Thomas got 151 in Danville, 13 in one ward of Newport News, and 13 in Norfolk. Scattering returns as we were able to get them brought the Thomas vote up to 443."

"Then, when the State Board of Canvassers met, instead of announcing the 1500 to 2500 which I had estimated we would get on the basis of incomplete returns, they announced only 250 for the 2 for Danville, 3 for Newport News, and entire state, with only 38 for Richmond, 14 for Norfolk. We had watchers at 3 precincts in the state, and each precinct announced a fair vote—10—5—5—, etc."

"What they did with our vote in Richmond and certain other sections I am at a loss to understand, unless it was counted straight out for Smith. It is a significant fact that the Smith vote rose from about 138,000 (estimated a few days before the election) to 140,146 on the official count. In certain places our vote

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may have been "traded." Three Republicans were elected to Congress, and two others ran close.

"The election has taught us one good lesson. Wherever we can we must have watchers next year in the state election. We must have watchers everywhere we have hopes of sending our candidate to the Legislature. Yours for work, hope and progress."

Labor Victories at the Municipal Elections

(By a New Leader Correspondent) London.—The municipal elections held in England and Wales Nov. 1st, have resulted in a net gain of 212 seats for Labor. The gains and losses are as follows: Labor: gains 255, losses 53; Conservatives: gains 21, losses 101; Liberals: gains 46, losses 48.

In London the Labor Party gained 95 seats and lost 18. Nearly all of these losses were in Bethnal Green, where the Communist element has long been a source of friction and weakness, and where this time it came out in opposition to the Labor Party by running a full list of Communist candidates. Consequently the Labor Party has lost control of the Bethnal Green Borough Council which it formerly held. But Labor has now a majority on the Finsbury Council, in addition to holding its majorities at Battersea, Bermondsey, Deptford, Poplar, Shoreditch, Stepney and Woolwich. Labor has gained the majority of councillors in the following provincial municipalities: Derby, Leeds, Leicester, Rotherham and Swindon. It is now in control of 27 municipalities in England and Wales.

Rumanian Socialists Petition New Regime

(By a New Leader Correspondent) BUCHAREST.—The Maniu Government has fixed the elections for the Chamber for Dec. 12, the general senatorial elections for Dec. 15, and the senatorial elections for special institutions, such as the University, the Chamber of Agriculture, etc., for Dec. 19. The leaders of the Socialist Party at a meeting held Nov. 12, adopted a resolution giving expression to the hope that the new government, true to its early professions, would in the immediate future set about the task of modernizing and unifying social legislation and modify or repeal the laws passed by the earlier reactionary regime against the working class. The government is also requested to pay particular attention to the increase in unemployment.

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Brookwood Will Go on Withits Work

Muste Charges "Steam-Roller" Deprived College of Hearing at New Orleans

KATONAH, N. Y.—On returning to Brookwood Labor College from the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Brookwood faculty, made the following statement: "The New Orleans convention developed the temper of a witch-hunt and a lynching-bee. Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University had been referred to in the report of the convention's Committee on Education as 'the foremost educator in the United States.' In the debate on Brookwood, Vice President Woll remarked that Professor Dewey had recently been to Russia and accused him of being a Communist propagandist. The following day a motion to expunge from the records of the convention all references to this outstanding educator and philosopher was actually carried!"

"In such an atmosphere the injunction issued against Brookwood in October by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. without any hearing for Brookwood was ratified by the convention. Brookwood got no hearing at this convention, despite earnest testimony on behalf of the school and pleas for a hearing and fair play from such delegates as Tobias Hall, member of the Executive Council of the United Textile Workers of America, and delegate of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; J. Bannister, delegate of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; John Burke, International President of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Thomas F. McMahon, International President of the United Textile Workers; Mrs. Florence Hanson, International Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, and Charles L. Reed, a Brookwood graduate, Vice President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, representing the Salem, Mass. Central Union at the convention."

Mr. Muste went on to say that "The Brookwood matter was dragged into the discussion out of order. Vice President Woll and others attacking Brookwood were given ample time to make their statements but each time Brookwood defenders got into action, the motion to close debate was quickly made."

Steam Roller at Work
"Mrs. Florence Hanson, Secretary of the convention, Committee on Education, sought to obtain a hearing for me as a Vice President of the American Federation of Teachers and a member of the Brookwood Local, A. F. of L., which was under attack. She was informed by President Green that her motion was out of order at the time but that she would be allowed to make it later. When the Brookwood matter was again brought in front of President Green with her hand raised in order to get attention for her motion that I be given the privilege of the floor. She was refused recognition and on the pretext that it seemed to be the sentiment of the convention that there had been sufficient discussion of the matter, President Green put a motion to close the debate, which was carried."

"Ninety per cent of the evidence introduced by the spokesmen of the Executive Council came from letters written by three or four disgruntled former students of Brookwood. Dozens of letters from loyal Brookwood graduates who are also loyal members of A. F. of L. unions, with much better labor records than the Brookwood attackers, were in the possession of the Executive Council. The existence of these letters was not even hinted at. A letter from a former student which sounded like an attack on Brookwood was referred to but no hint was given of the existence of a later letter from the same student explaining himself and exonerating Brookwood, although this later letter was published several months ago in the Illinois Miner and has been spread broadcast throughout the country."

"We have no wish to deny some of the statements made about us on the floor of the convention. We do not pretend to be conservatives or 101 percent patriots. Our literature has always openly stated that we believe in a new social order. We do not accept the existing state of things which inevitably brings child labor, unemployment, injunctions against trade unionism, militarism and war in its train as a perfect and final system of society. We differ, and claim the right to differ with certain officials of the labor movement on their policies."

Father Maguire's Appeal
"When a convention can be appealed to, as this convention of the A. F. of L. was, by a distinguished Roman Catholic priest, Father J. W. Maguire, to clean the ranks of labor of 'crooks, grafters, racketeers and murderers' and then go on for days without making any further reference to this matter, while repeatedly not only slamming Communism but trying to pin Communism on every progressive proposition and individual, we shall shed no tears over having incurred its condemnation."

"On the other hand, we have always insisted that we do not incite students with Communism or with the aim of any other section of the labor movement, and that we are not controlled by, financed by or committed to the policies of the Communist or any other political party. We challenge anyone to show a single shred of evidence brought on the floor of the convention to disprove our claim in this regard."

Brookwood Will Go On
In conclusion, Mr. Muste stated, "The A. F. of L. suggests to affiliated bodies that they withdraw moral and financial support from Brookwood. The A. F. of L. does not claim any right to dictate to affiliated bodies in these matters. We are confident that in this case the action of the convention does not represent the considered opinion of the trade union movement and of the rank and file of the workers of America. The real issue is whether genuine, critical, free workers' education with the union label on it, is to be encouraged and when necessary im-

Austrian Socialists Rear Striking Monument on Republic's Birthday



In the center is a likeness of Victor Adler, to the left Jacob Reumann, to the right Ferdinand Hanusch. Camille Huysmans is shown in the foreground, speaking on behalf of the foreign Socialists.

Socialists of Many Nations Join Austrian Party in Unveiling Busts in Vienna

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

VIENNA—The first half of November was devoted in Germany and the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the great revolutionary changes which resulted from the war. The workers in all these countries arranged celebrations and issued manifestoes in commemoration of the introduction of the Republic. These celebrations were held on the largest scale in Austria, and especially in Vienna. In this town of over a million inhabitants it has been possible to base the supremacy of the working-class on ever deeper foundations and to create an example of constructive Socialist administration. The mass parade which took place in the Ringstrasse on Nov. 12th, on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, was on a larger scale than any of the previous big demonstrations of the workers of Vienna.

But organized labor in Austria decided to erect a more lasting memorial to the victory won over the tyranny of the Hapsburgs. The Social-Democratic Party, the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and Labor Boards together raised the sum necessary to create a memorial worthy of the Republic. The municipality of Vienna placed at their disposal a particularly suitable site in the Ringstrasse close by the Parliament House. The memorial which is the work of the foremost sculptor of Austria, Professor Anton Hanak, in spite of its essentially modern character blends perfectly with the architecture of the town. It shows the busts of three Social-democrats who took a decisive part in the foundation of the Re-

Chicago Socialists Prepare Stiff Fight For Spring Election

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Chicago—Socialists in Cook County held one of the best attended and enthusiastic meetings last Sunday that members have attended in many years. National Executive Secretary William H. Henry made a report of the meeting of the National Executive Committee meeting in New York and the plans made for future work. Henry declared that the national organization expected Chicago Socialists to build their important section of the party.

The members were pleased with the work and plans of the committee. They discussed candidates for Aldermen in the coming spring election and decided to concentrate their fight in those wards that are most promising. Four such wards were selected and by the end of this week the candidates will be nominated.

The aldermanic election in off years is nonpartisan. Each candidate's name appears on the ballot without a party designation. The primary is in February and the two highest chosen in the primary go on the ballot for the April election. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee will help in the campaign and a banquet being arranged with Hoan as the principal speaker.

New York Board of Education Lifts Ban On Liberties Union

Action of the Board of Education of New York City in stating its willingness to grant permission to the American Civil Liberties Union to hold a meeting in the auditorium of Stuyvesant High School to discuss free speech ends a controversy of over two years' standing. The Union's battle against what it termed "unfair discrimination" in the Board's refusal to grant the use of public school forums either to the Union or to other organizations using its speakers was at different times wages before the Commissioner of Education at Albany, carried into the courts and before a special committee.

proved, or whether such education is to be killed; whether the labor movement wants to keep the minds of the workers closed and take the risks which that involves, or open the minds of the workers and take the risks which that involves. "We believe the labor movement wants genuine workers' education. Brookwood will therefore go on with its work. We hope for and shall appreciate the support of all honest and progressive elements in the future as in the past."

public—Victor Adler, the founder of the Party, and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first provisional Government, who died on the day before the official proclamation of the Republic; Jacob Reumann, the first Socialist Mayor of Vienna, and Ferdinand Hanusch, Minister for Local Government, under whose administration the social legislation of Austria-Germany came into being. The bust of Adler, executed by Hanak himself, is an extraordinarily good likeness and a real work of art. The other two busts, which are the work of other hands, do not unfortunately come up to this high level of perfection, but the general effect of the Monument to the Republic, taken as a whole, is very impressive.

At the unveiling ceremony were present not only the representatives of the workers organizations of Austria, but a large number of our fellow organizations in other countries had sent delegates or messages. The German Socialist Party was represented by Karl Kautsky, the French Socialist Party had appointed as its delegate Alexander Bracke, who however, owing to the unexpected ministerial crisis was prevented from coming at the moment; the Danish Social-Democrats sent Stauning, the Belgian Socialists Huysmans, the Russian Dan and the Italian Pittoni. From Czechoslovakia came Tomaschek representing the Czech Party and Czech for the German Party; from Poland Diamand; from Hungary a large delegation under the leadership of Peyer. At the unveiling ceremony Professor Tandler spoke in the name of the Memorial Committee, Karl Renner for the Austrian workers organizations, and Burgenmeister Seitz for the city of Vienna. Camille Huysmans, who had worked with Victor Adler for considerably more than a decade in the International in the closest cooperation and friendship, was asked by the foreign representatives to express their friendly messages and those of the whole International.

Federal Trade Commission Opens Court Fight On Elec. Bond & Share

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—(F. P.)—Announcement of filing its suit in the federal district court in New York City to compel the Electric Bond & Share Co. to answer questions and furnish books and papers in its power trust investigation, is made by the Federal Trade Commission.

The text of the Commission's application for a court order to compel testimony and the opening of records by the holding company for the General Electric Bond & Share controls six main holding companies, which in turn control about 150 operating electric and gas companies and over 100 other companies, some of which are inactive. The big six are the American Gas & Electric, the American Power & Light, the Carolina Power & Light, the Electric Power & Light, the Lehigh Power Securities and the National Power & Light Co.

"Fees amounting to more than \$8,000,000, equivalent to over 43% of the Electric Bond & Share Co.'s gross profits during 1927, were paid by controlled and affiliated companies," says the Commission. "Under supervision and control of management, supervision, engineering and construction services. More than half of these fees were for general supervision as distinguished from engineering and construction services."

Unity House Ready For Winter Season

Unity House of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, at Forest Park, Pa. is open for the winter season. An entire building has been equipped with steam heat and other accommodations for the convenience of the guests. Unity House this time of the year is as beautiful as it is in the Spring and Summer. The Blue Ridge Mountains, in which the Unity House is located, assumes in the winter a charm of its own. No better place can be found for a Winter vacation or week-end than Unity House. It is beautiful, stimulating and the climate is exceptionally healthy. Special rates have been arranged for the Winter. For further information apply to the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 3 West 17th street, Telephone Chelsea 2148.

The final arrangements for the Unity Reunion have been made for Saturday evening, February 2nd, 1929, in the Grand Ballroom of Manhattan Opera House. Music will be provided by the famous Paul Whiteman Piccadilly Players. Tickets can be obtained from the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 3 West 17th street, Telephone Chelsea 2148.

N. Y. Dwelling Bill Called Backward Step

Thomas Presents Memorandum On Proposed Law In Behalf of Socialist Party.

THE proposed new New York dwelling house law, on which the Temporary Commission to Revise the Tenement House Law which began public hearings Tuesday was attacked as "a capitulation of social interest and far visioned planning to the demands of landlords and speculative builders," in a memorandum submitted to the commission Monday by Norman Thomas on behalf of the Socialist Party.

Thomas had the following specific criticism to make of the proposed law: that it omits reference to single family dwellings "some of which may easily pass into the class of rooming houses," that it abandons the commission's efforts of last year "to divide the city into two zones based on land values and to save the cheaper and less congested regions from high barrack-like construction; and that it fails to correct the abuse of 'old law' tenements.

"Far and away the most serious defect in your proposed law," Thomas' memorandum said, "has to do with its treatment of 'old law' tenements. Here you have gone backward from the mild requirements you suggested last year. We believe that under no circumstances should these houses get any kind of legal white washing. They should be condemned and destroyed within a reasonable space of time beginning with those which now have the most violations against them. Fourteen of 23 buildings condemned as a public menace in 1885 are still occupied wholly or partially for residential purposes. None of the 'old-law' tenements is or can be made as safe as a tenement house ought to be from the risk of fire. And you have not this year proposed even the minimum standards of fire prevention which you proposed a year ago as the test that would satisfy the public conscience. What has changed your judgment in this matter?"

Urges City Build Homes

Present housing conditions in the city are a "public scandal," Mr. Thomas asserted. "This is true not only of 'old law' tenements, but of the barrack-like 'new law' tenements and the acres upon acres of flimsy, ugly packing box construction in Queens which constitutes a very serious fire menace. A system of city zoning, including decentralization of industry, proper transit and park facilities were urged by Mr. Thomas. Municipal housing erected by a municipal housing authority was stressed as a prime need.

The Socialist memorandum, sent to Harold Riegelman, chairman of the Commission, yesterday, follows:

Memorandum on the Proposed New Dwelling House Law
To the Temporary Commission:
I have been asked to appear before you to represent the Socialist Party of New York. Owing to my necessary absence because of speaking engagements in Pennsylvania, I cannot appear in person and therefore beg leave to file this memorandum in addition to such representations as may be made in person by other members of the Socialist Party.

I do not profess technical competence to discuss certain details of the bill and the important aspects. Let me begin by setting forth the general background from which Socialists approach the situation.

We believe that the present housing conditions in New York City are a public scandal and that this is true not only of the "old law" tenements, but of the barrack-like "new law" tenements and the acres upon acres of flimsy, ugly packing box construction in Queens which constitutes a very serious fire menace. We believe that it is possible to make New York a city of decent, comfortable and even beautiful homes with many parks, playgrounds and bathing spaces. This requires an integrated program of zoning, transit, park planning, housing construction and regulation. It certainly requires decentralization of industry.

For example, a monstrous thing that the transit facilities in New York present to private citizens is the fact that the new regulation of the occupancy of cellars, for example, three and four hundred per cent increases in value at the City's expense, which increases in value are due to new building of an order which is a long step forward in the transit situation.

Walker's Efforts Fail
Now I am aware that your commission is not handling this phase of the situation. Indirectly, however, in planning for housing your commission can recommend legislation which will make it possible to carry out the transformation of all New York into a city of canyon-like streets surrounded by parks. I am also aware that no more private housing is being built and new housing which the situation imperatively demands. The lamentable failure of Governor Smith's housing law and the even more complete failure of Mayor Walker's occasional efforts in this direction give new point to the Socialist contention that New York City requires municipal housing erected and administered by a municipal housing authority. That, of course, is not the business of your commission, but it is the business of your commission to recommend regulatory legislation that will fit into the general plan for a better city. This, I think, you have notably failed to do. In every important respect your bill is worse than the inadequate bill which you presented last year.

1. The reasons which led your commission last year to include even single family dwellings in the scope of your law were cogent and to omit these dwellings, some of which may easily pass into the class of rooming houses, is to lessen the possibility of an order which is a long step forward to the ultimate reduction of all New York City to a city of barrack-like tenements.

2. You abandon the attempt you made last year to divide the city into two zones based on land values and to save the cheaper and less congested regions from high barrack-like construction. In general, the new law will result in the building of high and bulky tenements of the type which have less light and less beauty than they ought to have. In other words, your proposed law will be a long step forward to the ultimate reduction of all New York City to a city of barrack-like tenements.

3. Far and away the most serious defect of your proposed law has to do with its treatment of "old law" tenements, that is, tenements constructed before 1901.

Undertakers Accused of Taking Huge Profits Out of Grief of The Poor

Blanshard Exhibits \$11.50 Casket and Compares It With \$400 Coffins — Urges Cities Supply Service

A casket costing \$11.50 was exhibited on the platform of the Community Church, in New York City last Sunday night by Paul Blanshard, New York Socialist and associate editor of The Nation, as a "proof that the average funeral in New York City costs at least five times as much as it ought to cost." Blanshard also exhibited a burial box for pauper dead made by the City of New York for \$1.73.

"New York's municipal funerals for poor people," he declared, "cost only \$12 while the average funeral bill of estates in New York City is \$772. A large part of the difference between the \$12 figure and the \$772 figure is taken by the morticians who profit upon grief because the city has not developed an adequate method of meeting the problem of funeral costs."

Basing his address upon a recent study of funeral costs made by John C. Gebhart under the auspices of a distinguished committee of church and industrial leaders and financed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Blanshard charged that the average undertaker marks up his caskets about \$400 above cost.

"We can meet this problem in a number of ways," Blanshard said. "Some people suggest cremation, but that is not a solution as cremation is now administered because expensive caskets are usually bought before cremation. Columbarium space is quite as costly as grave space and cremation usually cost about \$40. Cremation is probably the ultimate civilized method of burial, but in order to make it come within the means of the common family large-scale development must take place with municipal ownership or the check of a nonprofit, competing corporation."

"Reducing the number of undertakers in this country would help much to reduce costs because the average small undertaker is compelled to profiteer in order to exist. In New York City 92 per cent of the undertakers have only two

Here you have gone backward even from the mild and unsatisfactory requirements you suggested last year. We Socialists believe that under no circumstances should these houses get any kind of legal white washing. They should be condemned and destroyed within a reasonable space of time beginning with those which now have the most violations against them. In 1926 the Tenement House Department reported that fourteen of twenty-three buildings condemned as a public menace in 1885 are still occupied wholly or partially for residential purposes. None of the 'old-law' tenements is or can be made as safe as a tenement house ought to be from the risk of fire. And you have not this year proposed even the minimum standards of fire prevention which you proposed a year ago as the least that would satisfy the public conscience. That has changed your judgment in this matter."

The United Neighborhood Houses who speak with special authority on the matter of old law tenements made five requests of you. These requests are less rather than more than should be asked. Of the five requests those dealing with the removal of all outside toilets and the prohibition of the occupancy of cellars for dwelling purposes you have dealt with. You have receded in your demands for fire protection, you do not grant the entirely reasonable request that each family must have its own toilet and, finally, you do not prohibit the occupancy of rooms without direct access to the outside air. The proposal of the United Neighborhood Houses on this subject was reasonable in that it would have given six years to bring this most moderate and just requirement into full force.

It is very difficult to see why you are so tender of property rights in old law tenements which have paid the owner many times over the cost of investment. New York is the most prosperous city in the world yet in countenancing these old law tenements it accepts lower standards of safety and decency in housing than today prevail in the great cities of Europe.

In view of these facts we cannot but regard the proposed law as a serious surrender of the public interest and the safety and well-being of women, children and the interests of private profit makers.

Respectfully submitted,

NORMAN THOMAS,

In behalf of the Socialist Party

German Socialist Press Fights Czech Censors; Election Held Dec. 2

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Prague—The press of the German Social-Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia is still exposed to repeated persecution at the hands of the censor. The constant policy of suppression reached its high-water mark October 28th, the day of the National Celebration, when the "Socialdemokrat" came out with great white patches on its front page, this flagrant contravention of the freedom of press in the Czech Republic has been duly held up to public obloquy by the Socialist press of other countries.

The Executive of the German Social-Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia at a meeting which it held on November 6th considered the persecution of the party organs and of the Socialist Youth organization, the leaders of which have been proceeded against for anti-militarist propaganda on the basis of the Law for the Protection of the Republic. At the same time attention was drawn to the suppression of the Communist press in Czechoslovakia.

The elections for the provincial and district assemblies have been fixed for Dec. 2, 1928. The municipal elections in Brunn will also take place on the same day. The German Social-Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia has issued a manifesto "To the working-people" in this connection, summing up the results of the international bourgeois coalition, taking up a definite stand against the communists and describing the coming elections as the day of reckoning for the present system.

funerals a month. These small undertakers prey upon the poor with the result that the average poor family uses nearly all its insurance for burial purposes. A. C. Bullock of Brown University studied 105 families in Providence, Rhode Island, who were receiving aid under the Mothers' Aid Law and discovered that they spent over 7 percent of their income for burial insurance alone. Burial insurance only increases the tendency toward extravagant funerals among the poor.

Wants Cities to Serve.

"A natural remedy for excessive funeral costs would be the development of municipal funeral homes or cathedrals operated by the city at cost. If we regarded death as a legitimate social emergency similar to a street accident, we would insist upon handling funerals on a non-profit basis under community auspices. Three types of municipal funerals have been immensely successful in continental Europe. Under the Swiss funeral system funerals are absolutely free according to federal law with free graves. Under the Dresden system a Municipal Burial Office provides funerals for all citizens at very low rates with three classes of funerals to allow for difference in taste. The highest priced regular casket in Dresden costs \$30 and the best automobile hearse can be rented for \$8. The total cost of a first-class Dresden funeral is about \$100.

"Another type of successful funeral experiment exists at Frankfurt where the Municipal Burial Office charges families according to their income with a maximum price for a funeral of \$57.

"In America municipal funerals will be fought by many private interests but a large limited-dividend corporation for funeral business similar to the City Housing Corporation would be an immediate success in New York. Such a corporation would save New York people many millions dollars a year."

The casket Blanshard exhibited, which was made by the manufacturer of burial boxes for the city poor, consisted of a sixteen covered box with brass handles and a white satin lining, presenting the appearance of an ordinary commercial casket. While the casket was smaller than adult size, Blanshard explained that this was for transportation purposes and that an adult size could be manufactured for \$13 to \$15 and retailed for \$25. Blanshard estimated that the people of New York City pay \$28,000,000 a year in excessive funeral costs.

Fresh Prison Infamies Against Socialist Prisoners in Jails of Lithuania

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS—The Lithuanian Social-Democratic paper "Socialdemokrat" reports fresh acts of violence in the Lithuanian prisons. In Kaunas (Kowno), the political prisoners have started an action of protest. This began on October 12 when the prisoner, Jurgis, was cruelly ill-treated by one of the prison officials with the help of some of the warders. At the evening roll-call Jurgis had asked the official to cease his abuse of the political prisoners. This was sufficient to cause this true servant of Voldemaras to beat Jurgis in the presence of the other political prisoners confined in the same cell. The comrades of the unfortunate man did all they could in his defense, but in spite of their protests and shouts for help Jurgis was bound and dragged out of the cell dressed only in his underclothes.

The political prisoners throughout the whole prison then demanded to speak to the public prosecutor, and on his refusal to appear and hear their complaint, they all embarked on a hunger strike. Forty political prisoners took part in the struggle. By the 8th of October at the end of five days, the condition of exhaustion of the prisoners who were already in a reduced state, gave ground for anxiety. The lives of twenty-three of them were in immediate danger. The prison authorities have had all the bedding removed from the cells of the prisoners who are on strike, so that the half starved men are obliged to lie on bare stone floors. They also refuse to allow the prisoners to leave their cells even for a moment. In spite of all this, however, the strikers are determined rather to die than to yield. They demand that Comrade Jurgis should be restored to them and that the whole matter should be inquired into by the public prosecutor.

MacDonald's New Constituency
(By a New Leader Correspondent)
London—It is well known that Sidney Webb has signified that, in view of his advanced age he cannot stand again for the House of Commons. His constituency, Seaham, will therefore have as its Parliamentary candidate Ramsay MacDonald. On Oct. 30th a mass meeting was held in Seaham Harbour at which MacDonald's candidature was rectified.

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Socialist Women in Reichstag

Revision of Divorce Laws Sought—Other Socialist Activities of Women

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BERLIN—Comrade Marie Juchacz, member of the Reichstag, has written in the "Genossin" (Woman Comrade): "The Reichstag met at the beginning of November. Among the most important subjects down for discussion that of the reform of the penal law will arouse special interest among women comrades as it involves such questions as the death penalty, imprisonment for life, the provisions contained in the Bill in regard to the cure or the rendering innocuous of drunkards, morphomaniacs, etc., the minimum age for punishment, the whole question of the penal law in regard to sex offences (abortion, offences against public morality) and the reform of conditions under which sentences are served. Social-democracy stands out as champion of humanitarian principles. It is fighting not only for the abolition of the death penalty, but it is also in favor in the case of other forms of punishment of substituting the idea of educative treatment for that of retaliation. Women are also interested in the Public Houses Bill. The Government is submitting to the Reichstag a bill on public houses in the preamble to which it is stated that the bill is intended for the protection of young persons. It is proposed to attain this object by making it more difficult to obtain licences and more easy to withdraw them. The proposals for the amendment of the civil code and particularly for the reform of the marriage law will arouse great interest. The law at present in force was drawn up by men for men and pays no attention to the legal equality of men and women in marriage. This is particularly noticeable in regard to the difficulties placed in the way of divorce. Hitherto adultery has constituted an obstacle to re-marriage, where such adultery is declared in the decree of divorce to have been a ground on which the decree was granted. Exemption from this provision can be obtained. The Social-democrats demand the repeal of such reactionary provisions. Women comrades especially condemn the clause which provides that a petitioner for divorce must prove to the court 'serious infringement of the duties arising out of marriage or dishonorable or immoral behavior such as to involve so profound a disturbance in marital relations that the married persons cannot be expected to maintain their married state,' or in the last resort 'brutal ill-treatment.' This clause is responsible for the degraded state to which divorce proceedings in the courts have sunk. The object of the Social-Democrats' proposals is to relieve the petitioners of the obligation to produce such proof. The proposed new wording is as follows: 'A married person may petition for divorce where the marital relationship has been so disturbed or such incompatibility exists between the conjugal pair that one or both of the persons cannot be expected to maintain the relationship.' The Social-Democrats also propose that divorce should be made easier in case of lunacy. The question of the nationality of wives must be reconsidered. In America and France the law has been amended in favor of wives. An American woman can remain an American even when she marries the citizen of another State. In Germany the law at present in force provides that a German woman who marries a foreigner automatically loses her nationality and assumes that of her husband. A wife is therefore placed at a disadvantage at the very time when her need of legal protection is the greatest, i.e., where she desires to take legal proceedings against her husband or to sue for divorce."

"Women will also be interested in all the proposals of the Social-Democratic Party for the amendment of the laws which are not yet in accordance with the constitution and more especially in regard to women's position in the family and the legal position of illegitimate children. The Social-democrats also demand the introduction of a domestic service bill, which was promised in November 1918, but has not yet been drawn up.

"This demand has caused particular excitement among reactionary middle-class women. The Social-democrats demand for the extension of legal provision in regard to maternity protection to cover domestic employees and women agricultural workers will also give rise to considerable agitation and propaganda."

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A Trade Union Movement Without Idealism

By Louis Stanley

EVERY frank observer of the forty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, just ended at New Orleans, must come to two sober conclusions:

1. Never before has a convention of the A. F. of L. been so dead; and
2. Whatever life there was shown in trying to either meet the views of employing interests or not to offend them.

The apathy that has stricken organized labor may be expressed more concretely in this way: there is no progressive wing, there is no opposition group in the trade union movement to shoot the darts of criticism at Administration leaders and sting them into action. The Communists by their old policy of malicious attacks and their new policy of dual unionism have eliminated themselves from the traditional trade union movement of this country. Before they took their latest step, they succeeded in smashing up and discrediting whatever progressive movement there was among organized workers. Particularly the Socialists are no longer heard, first because of a sense of futility, secondly because of a feeling of weakness, and thirdly, because the Communists have made all progressivism look "Bolshevik."

The Fruit of Conservatism
The American Federation of Labor is now reaping the harvest that Samuel Gompers sowed, when for fear of the Socialists he carefully steered clear of the class struggle idea in any form whatsoever and committed himself to its logical alternative, the cooperation of labor and capital. The National Civic Federation, which he helped found to combat Socialism and prove that open-shop capitalists will not hesitate to collaborate with labor leaders at banquets, promises to swallow up the A. F. of L. Already the intellectual leader of the American Federation of Labor has become the Acting President of the National Civic Federation, and that is Matthew Woll. Other trade union officials are prominent in the affairs of the National Civic Federation, an organization which has just taken upon itself the task of working out an arrangement whereby the company unions and the trade unions will give each other official recognition—but more of this on another occasion.

The report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the New Orleans convention does its utmost to convince capital that it ought to cooperate with labor. We read:

"When the union is accepted as the method by which workers shall participate in industry and collective bargaining is established the workers have a real contract that gives them status in the industry. This status makes possible a sharing of interest in production that is the essence of partnership. Interest brings a desire to contribute and hence a release of creative initiative. Sometimes this happens among the workers as individuals and

sometimes in an organized way through the union. The latter, of course, brings the more valuable results. . . . Many of these with the responsibilities of management fall to grasp that workers can think as well as obey orders. This thinking can be utilized by the industry if the right methods are employed."

Not since Samuel Gompers with his dying breath gave his blessing to "American institutions" has the A. F. of L. given such unequivocal support to the capitalist system as the declaration in the report of the Executive Council:

"At no time in its history has the trade union had greater influence in industrial circles. The constructive policies which we advocate and follow challenge the attention and respect of employers in this country and abroad. The trade union resists its claim to recognition upon its capacity to do the things that are good for industry and for human beings. It is a stabilizing, unifying agency responsible for keeping labor's progress abreast of that of other groups. It is not our purpose to usurp the functions of other groups or to establish domination over them, but to further progress for all. We believe that progress comes from using and

improving what we have, hence we have no revolutionary purpose to overthrow the present social system to establish a group control. Our purpose then is exactly the same as that of other intelligent progressive persons. The union, therefore, is an agency which employers may turn to for co-operation in mutual benefit."

The Organization Campaign

The Executive Council raised the slogan: "DOUBLE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN 1929." The least experienced delegate knew that this was just as much a bluff as the challenge to the automobile magnates two years ago at Detroit. The A. F. of L. organizer never got further than warning the manufacturers that if they did not let the A. F. of L. unionize their plants, then the Bolsheviks would. During the last year 83,537 members were added to the American Federation of Labor, according to Secretary Morrison's figures. Of this number the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who were reinstated after a two-year suspension, supplied 32,000. The remaining 51,537 are

scattered, with the large gains found among building trades and railway shopcrafts unions. The needle trades suffer heavily. The United Mine Workers are still counted at 400,000, whereas the real membership of that once powerful organization must be nearer half that figure. Certainly the losses of the Miners are enough to wipe out any gains made elsewhere.

The A. F. of L. convention mapped out no effective program to organize the unorganized and double union membership in 1929. No money was appropriated, no assessments authorized as in former days. Platitudes were indulged in. The 107 national and international unions were left to do as they please, as they always have. There was no central agency created to stimulate them to action and coordinate their efforts. Two organizing campaigns of the previous year were indeed praised. One was conducted in the Piedmont section of North Carolina; the other in Reading, Pa. The first owed its

inspiration to Alfred Hoffman, a graduate of Brookwood Labor College; the second to the Socialists of Reading. Neither Brookwood nor the Socialists have been given any credit. On the contrary Brookwood was condemned by the A. F. of L.

International Isolation
The American Federation of Labor went further in abandoning the international solidarity of labor than ever before. The Executive Council opens its report with these words:

"The American trade union movement is an institution that reveals what is in the minds of representative wage earners of the North American continent. It is an institution that directly influences the thought and development of the whole western atmosphere. It is continental, following commerce and economic development regardless of political boundaries, and in this respect differs from the labor movements of Europe."

Then, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled proceeds to do two things: first, as an expression of

fraternal feeling with the workers of North America, it pleads hysterically for the cutting off of all immigration from the countries in "the whole western atmosphere"; and secondly, as a sign of its lack of provincialism, it refuses to tie up with the International Federation of Trade Unions unless the "absolute autonomy" of the A. F. of L. is guaranteed. Restricting immigration is a substitute for organizing workers; keeping isolated from the world trade union movement is a precaution against Socialism.

A Blow at Pensions for the Aged

The most important legislative proposal before the workers in the United States at the present time is old age pensions. The American Federation of Labor has been committed to the proposition since 1907. It has even gone so far as to advocate a bill in Congress. Within recent years its ardor has cooled off, while on the contrary the movement for old age pensions has made great advances among the affiliated unions. It is worth

noting that the National Civic Federation has taken the lead among employers' organizations in fighting old age pensions. At New Orleans the A. F. of L. took an important step in obstructing old age pension legislation. It came out in favor of establishing a Federal Commission to study the problem. On the face of it this looks like a forward step, for the advocates of old age pension legislation also favor a Congressional inquiry. But they do not stop there. They want a law with minimum provisions passed now. To advocate a United States investigation only is to play into the hands of those business interests who will use this as an excuse to delay action in the forty-eighth State legislatures.

Brookwood—A Tragedy; Dewey—A Joke

The arbitrary manner in which the American Federation of Labor Executive Council had treated Brookwood Labor College had brought disillusionment to many friends of labor, who it is of some importance to please even if they are not employers.

Then, came the action on John Dewey. The Committee on Education had spoken of him as "recognized on every hand as the leading educational authority in America and perhaps the most outstanding figure in the educational field in the world today, a member of our own American Federation of Teachers and at one time Vice-President of the New York Teachers' Union." He was quoted at great length to show the danger of control by special interests of schools. When, however, Brookwood was dragged into the discussion on the establishment of a national labor college, Matthew Woll declared that Professor Dewey had actually been to Russia and asked whether Dewey was "not the one who a few years ago went to New York City for the purpose of planting the germ of Communism in our educational institutions." Professor Dewey came to New York in 1904, many years before Communism existed! Then, the convention expunged its tribute to John Dewey for fear of encouraging Communism. The disillusionment of the friends of labor turned to laughter.

Whither is the American Federation of Labor going? If it pursues its present policies, the employers will soon come to support it as a bulwark against progressivism, just as in Europe, there are a few parish unions based upon the principle of loyalty to the "bosses." The conservatives and reactionaries are having their own way by the default of progressivism. The great need of the moment is for the resumption of activity by far-seeing trade unionists. The Socialists can play an important part in this aggressive work just as they did on the days before the war, because a progressive unionism goes hand in hand with social idealism.

Tobin's Last Appeal

Let us heed the words of an old trade unionist who is far from being a Socialist. Daniel J. Tobin of the Teamsters told the convention upon retiring as Treasurer of the A. F. of L. what he had told other trade unionists on other occasions:

"For twenty-two years I have been a faithful believer in the militant, forceful and aggressive policies of the American Federation of Labor. I believe it is the only manner and method by which our movement may be helpful not only to our membership but helpful to the faltering citizenship of America. By this statement, I do not wish to depreciate the importance of conciliation and arbitration when such doctrines or principles are fair and square and give honest consideration to the trade union involved. But, as the Labor movement prospered in the beginning through that spirit of self-sacrifice and determination which permeated the minds of the men who led in the great vanguard, who helped to create and build up this institution—which has done so much for the toilers of our country—it is my judgment unless we continue and revive, through some means or other, that spirit of individual interest; that determination to fight for what is right; use every argument and education which will compel our enemies and our government to recognize us as an important part of the life of our nation; unless we do something along those lines, I am somewhat fearful of our continued success."

SATURDAY FORUM ON CURRENT EVENTS

December 8
CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL
Winner 1928 Pulitzer Prize for Biography
"Farm Relief and Political Back"

December 15
MORRIS HILKOVITZ
Former leader, Socialist and writer on
Socialism
"The Future of American Socialism"

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How Shall We Use Government?

On the eve of the last election Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for the presidency, delivered his final campaign address over a hook-up of radio stations. So much comment has been received by The New Leader on this address, that we here reprint it in full except for a few deletions of references to purely passing incidents.

By Norman Thomas

LET us for a moment forget names: Socialist, Capitalist, Republican, Democrat and the fears and emotions which they tend to arouse. Let us forget the passion and prejudice which have attended the campaign. Is it not true that all of us who are worth our salt, all of us who love our own children and the future, all of us who face the daily round of life and the burden and the heat of the day, at bottom are united in a great desire for a world of beauty, peace, freedom, plenty and fellowship? We may differ as to the road to our heart's desire. We may be skeptical whether there is any road at all. Nevertheless beyond and behind all our quarrels and differences is this great desire.

Let us see if we cannot take another step together. Shall we not agree that we live in an age when what government does or leaves undone affects us all? Once there was a time in the old days of the pioneers when government had comparatively little effect upon daily life. That day is gone. It is the policies of government which shape the issues of peace and war. Once modern war is declared the hand of the drafting officer is upon every home. No hamlet is so remote that it can escape his coming. Perhaps no hamlet in the next war will be so remote that it can escape the destruction of poison gas and explosives rained down upon it from the air. The time to avert war is while we are still at peace and by policies that make for peace. Modern war does not spring from men's instinctive hates. It arises out of the processes by which we make a living and out of notions of jingoism which are sedulously cultivated in the press and in schools. These things are all largely within the control of government.

Government is an immense factor in determining the degree of justice and liberty which is ours. By its economic policies government is already a powerful factor in the production and distribution of wealth. Our tariff and other financial policies have on the whole notably favored merchants and manufacturers at the expense of farmers and owners at the expense of workers.

Hoover and Smith on Socialism

Since this is true it becomes a matter of profound importance to find out what theories of life, what social ideals and philosophy the political parties bring to bear upon the problem of government. We do not hear much on this vital issue from the old parties. Their platforms and their speeches are usually intended to becloud issues and attract men of opposite points of view. Nevertheless Mr. Hoover in his Madison Square Garden speech did set forth his philosophy which he called "rugged individualism" in opposition to what he called "state socialism." He described neither system accurately. "Rugged individualism" may have been fairly descriptive of the pioneer period which is as dead as the age of stage coaches. It is not in the least descriptive of a system wherein already government constantly interferes for better or for worse with the everyday economic life, by tariffs and regulation, by its control of education and its program of public works. Still less is it descriptive of a country where there is no more free land, where coal, copper, iron and oil have already passed under the ownership of economic dynasties handed down from father to son, where great industries are owned not by responsible individuals but a mass of absentee stockholders who know nothing about the conduct of the industry and irresponsibly

Norman Thomas' Widely Praised Radio Address Delivered on the Eve of Election Day

turn it over to a few insiders to run. Prof. William B. Munro, of the Division of History, Government and Economics, Harvard University, says:

All forms of business are steadily being merged into larger units, e. g., into chain stores, consolidated banks, railroad consolidations, etc. This is bound to go on, because of the economies and greater business efficiency involved. And if it does go on we will all be working for a few men some day. Then the Government will be under great temptation to step in and take over the whole affair, in other words the process of consolidation leads logically to socialism. I am not a Socialist, and do not view the outcome with any pleasure, but it seems to me fairly inevitable."

We agree with Prof. Munro that Socialism is inevitable, the only alternative to tyranny or chaos and we want to make it democratic. Certainly it is already true that rugged individualism does not describe our country of "yes men," of human telephones, of men and women who live in constant fear of their jobs, of the bankers who hold the money on their homes and of that so called "respectable" opinion which is the creation of the propaganda organs of an owning class. Mr. Hoover is as mistaken in his description of his own philosophy as he is in his description of Socialism here and in Europe. What he really believes in is suggested by the famous advertising slogan: Milk from contented cows. To him it seems normal and natural that the owners and controllers of land and resources, of credit, public utilities and great aggregations of machinery should feed and milk the common herd. But to do him justice, he wants the rest of us to be well fed, sleek and contented cows.

Hoover's Rugged Individualism

Alas, the system he praises does not even make us contented cows. It leaves us with hovels in place of homes. It produces a population so incapable of caring for its future that one-third of our aged sixty-five years old and upward are wholly or partially dependent upon the bitter bread of charity. It turns loose a standing army of millions of the unemployed with less concern for the facts of men and women and little children than a decent master has for the fate of the mule for which temporarily he has no work. It results, as experts have shown, in at least a fifty per cent waste of human energy and in consequent poverty. It piles up riches in the hands of the few who frantically seek investment abroad and so launch us on the road to imperialism which leads to war. This is Mr. Hoover's system.

It is also the Democrats' system. When in reply to Mr. Hoover's charge of state socialism against him, Governor Smith put himself in a class with Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes and Na-

than Miller, he proved not only that he was not a Socialist but that he was no true progressive. He did unwittingly pay a tribute to Socialism when he said that for the past twenty-five years the charge of Socialism had been brought against every social reform. The remark shows truly that socialism is the driving power in our present struggle to make government the servant of the people.

More than by any positive declarations, by his silence and evasion on vital questions connected with unemployment, insurance, "axation and nationalization" Governor Smith has shown that substantially the Democrats share the Hoover philosophy. Most of all they have shown by their desperate effort to placate the rich and powerful, to bring great millions into their service and make an open shopper like Raskob their national chairman. No wonder under their tutelage and financed by their money Governor Smith kept still. The only substantial economic difference between Smith and Hoover was the comparatively unimportant question whether or not the government should operate the development of power at Muscle Shoals and a few other remaining power sites. In this difference between the old party candidates, which was not clearly defined, there was no justification for the expense of a national election. Neither of them told us how he would deal with the power monopoly as a whole or really solve the problem of transmitting power which the government may own, control or develop.

In other words, the campaign ended not with increased but lessened difference between the old parties. They practically came together in their basic and unscientific agreement that if a high tariff has not solved the ills of farmers and textile workers a higher tariff may. Only the Socialist Party insisted that while free trade is by no means an immediate possibility, free trade rather than protection is the goal toward which the world should be striving. At best tariffs mean that the government takes some folks' money to subsidize others and that it raises artificial barriers between the nations. I have not time to repeat my careful discussion of this secondary economic issue. The old parties are one. They differ only in possible details as to protectionist methods. We had all the noise, confusion, bickering and passion of a party election, when from the standpoint of a basic theory of our political and economic life it mattered little more which party won the election than who won the Harvard-Yale football game. And this situation which is fantastically crazy from the standpoint of the people is the height of cunning wisdom—at least from the material point of view for the one percent of the people who because they own one-third of our national wealth also own the major political parties. If we had a dictator we should know, metaphorically

speaking, at whom to shoot. If we had one political party, obviously the creature of the lords and masters of our economic life, we might organize another against it. But when we have two parties, both belonging to the same general set of owners, good people, honest workers with hand and brain can be diverted by the excitement of the drama into forgetting that at bottom the fight between the parties is a fight for patronage and power rather than principle.

What Socialism Means

It is this question of principle, this necessity of a new philosophy of life and a practical program for carrying it out, which is the chief concern of the Socialist Party. Socialism is a much misunderstood term in America. It is not a doctrine of violence but rather a way of averting violence and war. It does not advocate a mechanical process of dividing up. It does not stand for less private property but for more, more food for the hungry, more clothes for the naked, more beauty in the homes of the people. But the condition of having more of the right kind of private property is that we shall stop our unfair, anarchistic and wasteful attempt to divide among a few private owners the property that all of us need, the ownership of which by private individuals gives them and their descendants a power over us that ancient kings might have used. Slowly, almost in spite of ourselves, we are learning that there is a great deal of property that we cannot divide up fairly. We do not leave education to the control of those who seek private profit out of it, we do not divide up our highway system twenty miles to one, twenty inches to another and none to the rest with the provision that the owners of roads can collect tolls. In such great enterprises as the Panama Canal, the Holland vehicular tunnel, the New York water system, the splendid searches of the Bureau of Standards, the Ontario hydro electric development, engineers and workers serve society happily and far less wastefully than they would serve absentee owners. It is not such servants of society who have brought the degradation into politics which Mr. Hoover fears must attend socialism. It is rather the seekers after special privilege who bribe governments to alienate oil and water resources belonging to the people.

In our fast moving world we cannot drift unconsciously to a wise socialization of the basic necessities of our common life. We must think, plan, organize. And to think, plan and organize, so as to make industrial or economic democracy a reality is the outstanding challenge to our generation. It is the one hope of plenty peace and freedom. For long ages underlying all other divisions of men has been a great division between the workers and the master class of those who own and control property for power. What- ever historic justification, first feudalism,

and, later capitalism may have had, it is past. Machinery compels us to work together. No town, no nation, even, is sufficient to itself. Our whole world has become a little thing. We Americans are dependent upon the labors of men in the frozen North and tropic South. Any serious disturbance in the world may challenge our peace.

The Instrument of Progress

In this situation it is madness to leave to luck or fortune or the acquisitive powers of certain individuals the control over our economic life. We do not have to pay forever great rewards to economic dynasties simply because they own the land, the oil, the coal, the great aggregations of machinery that all of us need, that have been given to us by Nature or created by the cooperative efforts of men. In a very real sense all that Socialism is the attempt to carry out in economic life the principles of the Declaration of Independence and to apply principles of democracy already nominally accepted in politics. To do this successfully will require thought and effort. It requires an immediate program. But we shall be more likely to succeed with our immediate program if behind it there is a philosophy and ahead of us a great hope. Not the Colonists' Bill of Grievance against King George III was the principal factor in winning the American Revolution. Rather it was the new philosophy of political life which Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson and others hammered out and applied to the stirring events of their time. America and the world will be saved, if at all, by parties which have a philosophy for managing socially and democratically that vast and intricate machinery which man has had the wit to create. When I think of pioneers from Colonial times down to the Scandinavian heroes of that great novel, "Giant in the Earth" and what they accomplished, I cannot believe that dependants will part in the new tasks of social pioneering.

At other times I have developed in detail the immediate and practical program which we Socialists present in order peacefully to correct ancient injustices, and shocking wastes, and bring greater security to men. I have not now the time to restate our program for the taxation of inheritance, income, and those land values which are created by society and belong to society. I can only remind you that we want to help the farmers not at the cost of underpaid city workers but at a federal marketing commission and co-operatives which will end the wastes of innumerable competing middlemen. We have faced the terrible problem of unemployment and presented a round program to deal with it. We have promised to work for old age pensions not as a matter of charity but justice. We have analyzed the evils of labor injunctions and promised to end them. We have drawn up a program for the recovery of civil liberties. We have discussed over and over our principles for the nationalization and democratic, non-political administration of coal mines, the power monopoly and other public utilities and services. We have outlined in detail the steps which must be taken if our children are not to curse the day we brought them into a world of war so horrible under the conditions of modern science that the imagination cannot picture it. We have not claimed infallibility. We know that we must learn by experience. We seek the co-operation not alone of the masses of the exploited workers but even of those more fortunate in this world's goods who yet realize that while their brothers are oppressed and exploited they themselves cannot be free.

The Socialist Party has just begun to fight

We shall now go on to unite the friends we have found in this campaign in an effective organization. Earnestly do I hope that with the passing of the campaign the storms of racial and religious bigotry which have been raised will subside and that Americans will live with one another like friends and neighbors. But, truly to make this nation a fellowship of free men who live in tolerance, will require a great inclusive loyalty of men of every religion and every race to the one task of bringing beauty, fellowship, peace and freedom to earth. We shall get these great gifts by no one election. They require more than political action. But in winning them the intelligent comradeship of workers with hand and brain in their own party is an essential element. All that we have of liberty and democracy, all noble traditions of freedom which have been passed down to us from our ancestors, and the ballot which they purchased for us at such great cost—these are not things to be discarded cynically but to be used intelligently. To use them intelligently requires a new party of the workers with hand and brain devoted to the ends I have set forth.

author of a forthcoming book on Sacco and Vanzetti, will speak on "The Beliefs of Sacco and Vanzetti." The conference will be held at 2 p. m. Place: Civic Club, 18 East 10th Street. Luncheon, 65 cents.

Dr. Leon Rosser Land will address the Bronx Free Fellowship on "The Paris Peace Pact—and President Coolidge" at its weekly meeting at Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, Sunday evening, December 9, at 8 p. m. At 9 o'clock Open Forum, Marius Hansome, will speak on "Ernest Toller: The Drama of Social Purpose."

The Elections in England

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
LONDON—The Manchester Guardian reviews the success of the women candidates at the municipal elections in the 28 boroughs of the county of London. 451 women of all parties stood. 180 were elected, 271 were unsuccessful. In many municipalities a considerable number of women candidates were elected, e. g. 15 in Bermondsey, 13 in Kensington, and 19 in Stepney.

Municipal Elections in Luxembourg

BERLIN—The municipal elections in Luxembourg took place on October 14th. The Social-Democrat Women's organization published in the "Zecher Tagblatt" along with its election appeal a list of women's municipal claims, and put forward a few women candidates. A separate list of women candidates was also submitted by middle-class women. Owing to the system of free lists, it was possible for one middle-class woman to be elected although she only received 1168 votes, whilst the woman candidate put forward by the Labor Party, Anna Kaiser, was not elected although she received more than twice as many votes, viz. 2411.

Poetry Forum

Doctor Habindranth Maitra lectures on "Hindu Poetry at Labor Temple Poetry Forum, 212 East Fourteenth Street, New York City, Thursday, December 13th, 8:15 p. m. Also other well-known poets.

Le Cercle Victor Hugo announces a luncheon conference on Saturday, December 8, at 12:30 sharp. Arthur Warner, associate editor of the Nation, will preside. Norman Hapgood, publisher and

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

AN INVITATION TO A DINNER

WELL, boys and girls, here's one dinner you simply MUST attend.

It's going to be a real high-hat, hotsy-totsy affair. Oooh, admirals and generals and cotton manufacturers and everybody!

The name of this grand dinner is the "Naval Discussion Dinner" and it's going to be held at the Hotel Astor on the evening of December 18th next.

Who but our old naval-mate, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske is to act as Chairman? And the speakers will be Mr. Martin W. Littleton (a voice: "Is that bird still alive?") and the Hon. Jimmie Wadsworth, who once was Senator from these parts until he retired by request—request of the voters.

But what we like best about the whole racket is the membership of "The Honorary Committee" to sponsor this dinner.

And the things they belong to.

Here, for example, is Johnny Calvert, President General of the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

It would probably be something of a shock to Johnny's great-granddaddy to find out what had happened to that document which he signed. Specially if he discovered that his lineal descendant was dining out with most everybody in town who thinks the Declaration is a lot of boloney and acts on what he thinks.

And here is another, Johnny, John Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who loves little children so dearly that he can't bear to see them wasting their time playing around in the fields and streets and spends all his spare moments thinking up ways of getting them to do useful work in a nice cool factory. Then Will H. Hays will be there, big ears and all.

You remember Will. Will you ever forget him? He's the Presbyterian elder who came across for the oil boys with a good, generous slice of perjury. He's for a big navy, too.

And a lot of others whose titles printed in full would cram up this column. Among them Fred R. Marvin, Executive Director of the Key Men of America. Why, Fred! What a pleasure to see you back again! Where have you been since you lost that nice big libel suit Rosika Schwimmer brought against you? You were hiding out in Texas the last we heard of you and now you're back. Arthur Garfield Hays, Madame Schwimmer's lawyer, has got something for you. Drop around at his office some morning and leave the \$17,000 you lost in the case. Or better yet, Fred, pass the hat at the dinner. These suckers are good for another shot. You took them for a ride once. They're just beggars for punishment.

In looking over the Honorary Committee, we think that all things considered, we would like best to sit next to William W. Mackall, President of the Aztec Club of 1847. We are a bit rusty on our Aztec and we had forgotten that those boys were Big Navy sponsors.

It must have been that Montezuma baby who started all this competitive cruiser building.

On our other side we would like to have either Malachi F. Healy, "Past Commander of the Cootie of the U. S.," or Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau, President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It looks to us like Malachi was in the right place at a dinner like this. Practically all the members of the order which he used to command will be there. But on second thought we would rather spend the evening with Mrs. B.

She and I have a lot to talk over.

Revolutions, for example. You don't often bump into professional revolutionists these days. Of course there are a number of funny people hanging around Communist headquarters who call themselves that; but compared with Mrs. B. they are in the Class X League.

It must be a real fascinating life to be a revolutionist like Mrs. B. I expect she gets dogged by the secret police like every real revolutionist and has to wear false whiskers and make up trick names to throw them off the trail. I understand that she and Mr. B. make most of their bombs in the rearway of a Park Avenue apartment assisted somewhat unwillingly to be sure, by Henshaw Jevons, the Brosseau butler, who keeps complaining, "But I say, suppose the nasty things go off."

But I forgot. Good Heavens! I'm on Mrs. B.'s Blacklist. However, she has never seen me and if I tell her I'm Ben Gitlow or some other revolutionary sympathizer she will never know the difference.

Now amid all this garbage we come upon one name that looks vaguely familiar. In the notices of the dinner sent to the press, next to E. Spencer Greason, chairman of the N. Y. Junior Board of Trade, we come upon the name of William Green.

It says that this is William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. But the press agent must have been cock-eyed when he sent that out.

Surely this can't be that same Bill Green who once was treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. Years ago we heard this Green make a speech about how he had worked his way up from the pits by the sweat of his brow and the breaking of his back. By God! And never would he go back on those courageous men of the rank and file who had stood fast by their union in good times and bad and so on, blah, blah, blah.

So, of course, there is some mistake here. For you don't expect to find a man who has come up from the rank and file, by God, and has never forgotten that fact to be sitting around at dinners like this whooping it up for big navies.

You don't expect a man who is the official spokesman for coal-diggers and brick-layers and carpenters and truck-drivers to be cheek by jowl with the crowd who is sitting on these boys' backs and is now out to push them into another war.

You don't? Then you don't know what sort of a labor movement we've got here. You don't know that the average labor leader just swells up and busts with pride when he gets an invitation to attend a spread given by a bunch of Open Shop freebooters like this Naval Discussion gang. You don't know that he pushes himself forward when the flash-lights go off so that he will loom up big in the picture and go home and say, "John Edgerton called me 'Bill.'"

The history of labor in America may be called from Mine-pits to Olive-pits. But as we remarked before, the inclusion of William Green's name in this list must have been a big mistake. If it is, we know that he will hurry to correct it publicly.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

An Apostrophe to Sexual Freedom A Discussion of the Future of Modern Marriage

(A review of V. F. Calverton's "The Bankruptcy of Marriage"; Macaulay, \$3.00.)

By August Claessens

THIS new work of Calverton is at once stimulating in its frankness, audacious in its onslaught on the remnants of puritanical morality, and explicit in its description of current sexual innovations. It is also brilliantly written, provocative in spirit and impassioned in its incursion. In comparison with the work of the older rebels and crusaders, Ellis, Bebel, Forel, Key and others, Calverton is much too verbose and rambling and the calm and more inclusive view of the social scientist is lacking. Moreover, the whole approach seems so woefully shortsighted and the conclusion—a sea of uncertainties. This criticism may be met with other appraisals of this work and it is a product of the emotional storm now raging around some parts of the globe and which some of the intelligentsia vision as a more or less permanent atmospheric condition. Herein the adventurous spirit of youth dashes through the brambles and thumbs its nose at old moralities, conventions and standards. It hears in all challenges and sees in all changing attitudes the bankruptcy, decay and passing of old institutions. It knows and cares little about the persistence of social habits and plasticity of human institutions, their adaptations to changing conditions, their retention of form over the pressure of newer functions. As an exposition of the feverish claims of "youth revolt" this book is an ardent expression. As a guide to a more balanced and satisfactory sex relationship it is manifestly inadequate.

See Marriage Broken Down. In his early chapters, Calverton describes the rough-housing our dear old morality is getting in this new age of jazz, post-war chaos, economic change and tumultuous youth. After a vigorous fanfare foreboding the bankruptcy and end of marriage comes this apparent modification as well as a definition of terms:

"When we speak of marriage today, and the moral institution, it must not be thought that we are speaking of marriage in terms of historical evolution. If we say that marriage has decayed, we do not mean that people do not still marry or that they will not marry in the future. In speaking of the bankruptcy of marriage we mean the bankruptcy of modern marriage and the moral foundations upon which it has been constructed. Even under a state of 'free love,' people may marry, but their marriages may signify nothing more binding than embryonic affections and alliances of a fortnight. Primitive marriage was marriage also, but with divorce as simple as marriage, it was based upon nothing other than the theory of free contract. This theory of free contract is all that the modern revolutionist or free-lover desires. But this attitude is a violation, in fact is the very antithesis, of the binding-contract upon which modern marriage has been founded. It is marriage as we know it, therefore, the marriage of modern monogamy, of the binding-contract variety, our system of marriage, in other words, that has broken down, and today is bankrupt."

Thus it is not marriage in its entirety that is bankrupt and decaying. Only some of its characteristics are threatened. So far so good, but in the further argumentation this caution seems to be lost sight of and in fine frenzy marriage, monogamy and the family are tossed into oblivion.

A Remarkable Survival.

I certainly have no quarrel with friend Calverton in his attack upon the old foundations of marriage, its utter inadequacies in moral standards, its commercialization as an economic institution and its hypocrisy as a happy venture. I might find fault with the fact that he overlooks many other degrading elements in his limited analysis. To mention but a few,

there are the economic, social and intellectual inequalities of the sexes bred in our social system and that prevent every prospect of marital concord; the anti-social and beastly attitude of men towards women as merely instruments for gratification rather than towards them as fellow human beings; and the intensification of the element of physical attractiveness by artificial means and its demoralizing effect in the play of sexual selection—these are also factors that bankrupt many a marriage and cause moral decay. More than mere freedom from contract is needed in this sex revolution. Monogamy has not proven a failure because of religious, traditional or legal inhibitions and proscriptions. It is more remarkable that it has survived through all of these artifices.

I would be seriously unfair not to mention, before I become more vehement in my criticism, that there is ever so much in this book that every Socialist and radical will agree with, and much that should be shouted from all house-tops. The writer discounts at length the increase of divorce as evidence of the decadence of smug morality; the decided change of attitude to and practice in pre-nuptial relations, the companionate marriage and its limitations, the increasing knowledge and pseudo-knowledge in the use of contraceptives without and within marriage, the alarming growth of abortions and the troublesome problem of illegitimacy. I question in friendly vein whether the writer is not unduly excited about the modern "necking" and "petting" as newer practices. May these not be merely new names for age old amusements? Then as to the "obvious decline of prostitution" are the meager statistics presented really sufficient for such conclusions? The disappearance of the street walker and the flagrant red-light district does not mean the end of prostitution any more than the closing of brewery and saloon meant the success of prohibition. The ancient traffic has adapted itself to the changing bootlegger environment and our anti-vice crusaders are loud in their wailing regarding this fact. I fear, friend Calverton is too prone to rationalize on his main theme and that is the partial, and I surmise, a wished-for total eclipse in constant marital relations. Whether that end is possible or desirable will be argued later but at this point, it is pertinent to remark that the evidence submitted is too fragmentary to warrant sensational conclusions.

Women in Russia.

The high spots in the book are undoubtedly the concluding five chapters that deal specifically with "The New Morality in Soviet Russia." Herein Calverton describes with great enthusiasm the economic and social emancipation of women, the assault on the double standard in sex ethics, the new legal status providing equality for both sexes with a tip of scales in favor of women, the remarkable sanity and humane spirit in their laws regarding sex education, birth control, abortion, marriage, divorce and illegitimacy. Much news has come out of Russia in recent years regarding these matters. In the friendly articles of Abraham Cahan, after his visit to Russia, none were so refreshing as those treating with the Russian women, their changed status and newer spirit. But, Calverton over-writes all other observers in his Russian rhapsody. I fervently hope that all that he describes so vividly and the conclusions based thereon are the blessed truth. A healthy scepticism is surely pardonable in the face of much of the false propaganda, pro and con, that is pouring out of Russia. Furthermore, it all seems so utterly incongruous, that these same Communist dogmatists who have continued and in some measure improved upon Tsarist tyrannies, intolerances and repression of civil liberties serve the largest possible individual and

should have liberated sex from all fetters. Of course, many things are possible in this most impossible world, and I sincerely hope that the Russians have actually achieved all and more than Calverton exalts in. Maybe, after all, Russian asses are only males.

And now for the bone of contention, let it be said at the outset, the demand for a radical change in our concepts of love, marriage and sex life, is agreed to by every intelligent person. That this change should or must result in the abolishment of monogamy, marriage and the family is highly debatable. That there is a large or growing sentiment in that direction is a matter of interpretation. There is a minority of souls, who are so incapable of compatibility that any sort of constant relationship, sexual, social, vocational and otherwise seems to them utterly hopeless. In these unhappy folk the incessant pursuit for variety, their promiscuous sexual proclivities are most often pathological. The utility of their existence is not merely sexual. If the "new freedom" that Calverton espouses offers no other end but that of the removal of all restraints to the gratification of desire then it makes but little appeal to the more normal and pro-social persons who recognize the necessity for individual restraint to social well-being. Calverton seemingly ignores this fact. Note the following:

"The very conception of monogamy presumes a certain longevity; if not permanence of affection. Although this ideal of monogamy may have been exalted inspiration to the Victorian poet, it is but life evasion to the contemporary psychologist. That man-natism which we have been in the habit of describing as love is beautiful but brief. Its very electricity surges from the sexual impulse. The excitement of sex attraction gives it spirit and momentum. Although it may be maintained that this is not all of the love experience, it must be admitted, without referring to Freud, that it is its basis. The excitement disappears with the revolved realization of the sex desire. Tentatively at least it may be stated as a psychological law that, with constancy of contact, the enjoyment of sex-relationship decreases in inverse ratio to its retention. The thrill of discovery disappears, and what once was golden glow fades even to glitter. With this inevitable change passion dims and love fades either into indifference, dislike or devotion. The exhilaration which we have called romance, however, is irrefragably lost. That is a fact which practically every psychologist has known, but has been unwilling to acknowledge. The layman proves it by action and proverb. With woman, due to cultural influence, no doubt more than to any other factor, the experience often is not similar; and it is this disparity in reaction that is additional cause of difficulty and conflict."

(This quotation appears in Chapter XVI which in the table of contents is captioned, "The Future Morality of Soviet Russia" while the chapter itself is titled, "The Future Morality in Soviet Russia." Now, which is it? Future or Futile? Or is it both?)

The Future of Marriage.

If this doctrine is held forth as the ideal and goal of sexual freedom, then I must insist that the gratification of the sexual desire is no more the sum and substance of love than the pleasing of the palate is nutrition. And in all seriousness, we should at the least recognize the fact that a goodly portion of the human race has evolved far beyond the animal stage of existence and that the concept of "love" denotes a multiplicity of stimulations, psychological adjustments and cultural refinements. I respectfully submit that all these attributes of civilization cannot be dismissed as trivial sentimentalities in Soviet Russia or anywhere else. A still higher type of civilization must bring forth refinement of a much higher order and our natural impulses and desires must be guided to serve the largest possible individual and

social welfare. This may or may not be achieved by institutional coercion. It may and most desirably should come through that restraint nurtured in the ennobling of character and taught by the best evidence of successful practice.

Contrary to Calverton, the future of marriage, monogamy and sexual morality is not so nebulous. There is sufficient data, analysis and theory in the sociological literature of the sex life to chart its course in the social revolution. In brief, the changes will include the following: through sex education the prudish aspect must ultimately vanish. With the attainment of complete economic, social and intellectual equality of the sexes a more sympathetic attitude toward pre-nuptial as well as extra-nuptial sex relations; the fulfillment of the ideal of companionate marriage; a more intelligent appreciation of higher elements of personality and character in sexual selection in addition to the esthetic attraction; a more efficient probing of compatibilities; a hastening of the abolition of false femininity and the development of women to adult maturity; the solemnization of marriage by mutual love, understanding and cooperative effort—these are some of the changes so vitally necessary to a saner sex life. Man and woman, liberated from industrial and domestic drudgery in a saner economic society, will possess the leisure that must enhance intellectual, vocational and artistic capabilities, enrich their personalities and improve their reciprocal relations. Fully matured men and women disdain the narrow interest in self and family and find their joy in larger enterprise. Enduring devotion to another, or to a task, to a pursuit or to an ideal is one of the inspiring traits of mankind. Monogamy drives its roots into this soil and the blasts of sexual sensualists and eccentrics are well resisted.

Both in his preface and in his epilogue, Calverton senses the possible and quite just criticism that it is the modern style in some circles of thought to exaggerate the importance of sex in relation to life and he emphatically disavows this attitude in his perspective. This caution is excellent and imperative. May we not suggest a further caution to Brother Calverton and to those who share his views and that is that marriage and monogamy are principally adult experiences rather than those of hot-blooded, indiscriminating and insatiable youth. In the life of the average adult the physical expression of sex occupies but a minute fraction of attention. Marital love is quite impossible without it but the satisfaction of sexual desire is only a constituent among many other factors that hold ideal marriage intact.

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Thomas Will Speak In Brownsville Friday

The Educational Center of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman st., Brooklyn, will open its winter series of lectures this Friday night, December 7, with Norman Thomas speaking on the subject: "The United States as a Socialist State." Abraham Shipkoff will open the forum.

Friday evening, December 14, B. C. Vladeck will speak on "The Working Class in American Politics." He will be followed by McAlister Coleman who will speak on Friday, December 21, and Friday, December 28, on "Coal and the Men Who Mine It."

Philip Stephenson of North Carolina says that the articles by McAlister Coleman sparkle and remind him of the humor of one of the great humorists of a past generation, Petroleum V. Nasby.

THE CHATTER BOX

A Rhapsody in Red

Red is the stain of passion,
Red is the ancient fashion
For the garments of desire. . . .
But the color runs with the touch of tears,
And the tint wears off with the rub of years;
And what of the ashes, after the fire . . . ?

Blood is red for a long, long time,
Till the thud of the sod,
Till the lick of the lime . . .
Blood has fallen on seas and snows,
On fresh ploughed lands, on sapless sands,
But the color pales, and the color goes,
And where it vanishes, no one knows.

Red is a passion, red is a pose,
Hue for a pennon, blend for a rose,
Glow for the dawn and dye for the suns,
But the pigment melts and the color runs,
And will we say to them instead:
"The dawn can conquer the night with red,
The sun rides proud in a flush of fire,
While love only wears its painted veil
To cover the cheap little tricks of desire . . . ?"

But I want this poem to drip with red,
To sear, to burn, to scream with red
Into every man's heart,
Into every man's head.

I want this to be the song of a dream
Shot full of flame . . .
A song for me in an ugly world,
A place of grief, all-spotted with shame . . .
And mired so deep in its sordid sins,
That never a beautiful thing begins
To lift its head, but a bludgeoning din
Falls like a sledge and crushes it in.

I want this poem to live on and on
And I want to live ten lifetimes long
To sing its strength to a billion men,
Until they learn to sing this song . . .
And into their blood and into the sun,
I will pour my soul and dip my pen,
Till the spaces beneath
Are filled with scrawl of my songs in red.

Now the print that you read is dull and black,
As dark as the room with screw and wrack,
As black as the holes
Where free men lie,
Where poor men die;
As black as the souls
Of the dried old men,
The grim strong men,
The fat cold men,
Who hang with a phrase,
And kill with a pen.

I want this poem to burn with red,
Till it sears its way
Into every man's head.
I want these words to scorch the ink,
Until men yearn, until men think,
Until they march to the ultimate war
With the only reason worth dying for.

The blood of beasts and men is red,
But the color dies when they are dead.
Yet there is this between beast and man,
One cannot think, and the other can . . .
And there is this for us at least,
That a man may rise above the beast.

Some thoughts are high and some are low,
Some are too mad; some too slow,
But of all the thoughts in a thinking head,
I pray for the ones that dance in red.

And let them shake with the ague of dread
The smug, and the soft, and the surfeited,
The stride will be high,
And the way will be red,
And the boot will be rude as it tramples through
The delicate gardens
That bloom for the Few. . . .

Roses, lilies . . . ?
Let them die . . .
The languid poets will have their sigh
Just as the languid ones always do . . .
While we will plan and plant anew,
Under a bright and thankful sun
Such gardens as we may look upon
Without a warden at the gate
To spring the latchbolt of estate. . . .
And we will plough and we will seed,
And fear no blight of clutching greed,
And what will rise and wave full grown,
Will be our own, will be our own.

And if need be I want this song
To live with me ten lifetimes long,
And why I want this poem in red,
To sear, and burn and scream with red,
Into everyman's heart,
Into everyman's head.

S. A. de Witt.

Questions For Our Mayor

Continued From Page 1

AND WHO HAD ACCESS TO THEM
AFTER THE SHOOTING?

Curious stories reach us to the effect that those papers would throw light on a number of political and gang murders that have been committed in this town under Tammany administrations.

For at least five days after the shooting no attempt was apparently made by any responsible official to take these papers into custody. A nice delicacy which has not always in the past been in evidence in other cases, restrained officials from looking into this matter. And in the meantime friends and relatives of the murdered man were permitted to do as they would with these enlightening documents.

In short, Mr. Mayor, if you can spare a minute or so from football celebrations, won't you assure us that you and your administration have nothing to fear from a thorough "de-bunking" of the Rothstein case? Won't you give us evidence a bit more tangible than any hitherto produced, that you are doing all in your power to bring to justice the real murderer of Rothstein and that you are resolved that from now on there will be no more Rothsteins, "Frankie" Yales (by the way, what became of that case?) and their like running this city for the benefit of pimps, burglars, gun-fighters and dope-vendors?

Anxiously awaiting your reply.

We remain, very respectfully yours,
THE EDITORS OF THE NEW LEADER.

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friend.

Thomas Sounds Call For City Campaign; Party Meeting Dec. 12

A CALL for the beginning of the most vigorous city campaign the Socialists of New York have ever waged was sounded last Saturday by Norman Thomas, speaking to an audience that crowded the Debs Auditorium in the Peoples House.

"In 1929, Tammany will have a fight all over the city. No Mayor in recent years has a worse record than our Prince of Wiscrackers. No administration in recent years has been involved in so many scandals," Thomas declared.

August Claessens, secretary of the New York Party, issued a call on Monday for all members of the party to attend a city-wide membership meeting on Wednesday evening, December 12th, in the Rand School. Morris Hillquit will be among the speakers. Earnest work will be outlined for the beginning of the city drive. This certainly should be one of the largest city meetings in many years. All branch and other activities will be suspended. All comrades are urged to be present and to make sure that the new members of their branch attend.

The press of the city has been quick to appreciate the importance of an active Socialist campaign in the city next year. The New York Times, the Herald-Tribune and other papers have devoted much space to our plans. Ex-Mayor Hylan's announced candidacy, coupled with a strong Republican fight, will mean that Tammany will have far from a walk-over. On all sides it is said that the election will present the greatest Socialist opportunity ever seen in the city.

The charge that the Walker administration is "sparring for time to find a scapegoat and mix the whitewash" in the Rothstein murder case in order to suppress "uncomfortable revelations concerning the relations between this dead king of the underworld, the police department and high-placed Tammany leaders" was made Saturday by Thomas. The Rothstein case threatens "the new Tammany with worse revelations than at any time since the Van Wyck administration." Thomas asserted.

Hillquit Suggested for Mayor
Thomas called for a progressive political movement which would seek to oust Tammany from power in the city. He assailed ex-Mayor Hylan, declaring that the Queens sewer and the Health Department scandals had their inception under his administration. Hylan's announced candidacy will do the city no "positive good," Thomas said, but would do some negative good by dividing "the opposition to a constructive movement."

The name of Morris Hillquit was put forward by Thomas as the leader of a Socialist progressive campaign for the Mayorality. The Socialist Party will not "reject alliances of the proper sort," he declared, referring to the coming campaign. The Walker administration was assailed by Thomas on the score of corruption.

PERSONAL

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LABOR TEMPLE

14th St. and Second Ave.

Sunday, December 9, 1928

5:00 p.m.—Dr. G. F. Beck on "The Jew (Medieval)."

7:15 p.m.—C. C. Webber on "The Social Principles of the Hebrew Prophets."

8:30 p.m.—Thomas—Norman on "How Not To Get Peace."

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union

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At 8 o'clock

Sunday, December 9

MR. BRUCE BLIVEN

"The Morals of the Press"

Tuesday, December 11

DR. HUGH S. TAYLOR

Princeton University

"Activated Atoms"

Friday, December 14

MR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"Freedom and the Reformation"

ADMISSION FREE

Open Forum Discussion

Community Lectures

Max Eastman

"THE RUSSIAN SOUL AND THE BOLSHIEVICS"

Thursday Evening at 8:15

Single admission at door \$1.00

Louis Gannett

"Current Events in American Life and How They Affect the World"

December 12, January 9, February 15, March 15, April 19

Wednesday Evenings at 8:15

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Anita Block

"Significant Events of the Current Season"

The Theatre Guild's new production "WINGS OVER THE BARBERS" will be discussed

Wednesday Evening, December 19, at 8:15

Single admission at door \$50

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SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9

12:00—Woodhaven Studio Program

3:00—Vita Lind, soprano

3:15—Harry Laidler, "A New Third Party"

3:45—Abraham Gross, violin

4:00—Winnifred Harper Cooley, "Susan B. Anthony"

4:30—Purcell and Wolf Sisters

5:45—Charles A. Wagner, poet

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10

12:00—Frances Gentile, Jessie Baker

12:40—Gervase Thomas, Beards "American Party Battle"

1:00—Seagrave Singers

1:20—Paul Lowenkron

1:40—Marty Warren

4:00—Griffith Hill, soprano

4:20—Anion Romatka, Labor Temple Poetry Forum

4:40—Lillian Dwight, contralto

5:00—Gertrude Well Klein, rebel poems

5:20—Lee Houghton, musical monologues

5:40—Young People's Socialist League

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00—Queen's Home Service

2:15—Paul's Radio Shop

2:30—Hollis & Bellaire Community House

2:45—Clothes Shop

3:00—Queen's Sewing Company

3:15—Community Men's Shop

3:30—Bellaire Theatre

3:45—George Davidson, violin

4:00—Galen Gough, physical culturist

4:20—Sam Bernstein, popular songs

4:40—Casper Fickel, violin

5:00—Eleanor L. Levenson, Women as Socialists

5:20—Thomas Stevens, tenor

5:40—Mrs. Celestine, Clothes for the Small Boy

8:00—John Martin, "The Dance"

8:20—Cantor S. Schorn

8:40—Lora P. Goldberg

9:00—Petra M. Murray, soprano

9:20—Brooklyn Labor College

9:40—Abram Gross, violin

10:00—Chatterbox, S. A. DeWitt

10:20—Bashone—Chase Musicals

10:40—Winnifred Harper Cooley, Books

11:00—Cassess's Restaurant

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12

12:00—Hannah Jester, soprano

12:20—N. Y. Tuberculosis Association

12:40—Abraham Paldock, violin

1:00—As a Poet Sees It

1:15—Music

1:20—Constance Holland, Have You a Minute?

1:40—Madge A. Tolleson, contralto

2:00—Madge Ohe, Oliver Wendell Holmes

2:20—Betty Bright, contralto

2:40—Galen Gough, physical culturist

3:00—Mary Linden, violin

3:20—New Leader Clippings

3:40—Florence M. Yordy, soprano

4:00—Myra Norton, piano

4:20—Gordon Richardson, Modern Art

4:40—Woodhaven Studio

5:00—Hinis from Suzanne

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13

3:00—Dr. William Hayes, Health for All

3:20—Adelaide Olson, mezzo

3:40—Dr. Werner Merchand, Animal Psychology

4:00—Women's Peace Society

4:20—Hints from Suzanne

4:40—Galen Gough, physical culturist

5:00—Lydia Mason, piano

5:20—Gordon Richardson, Modern Art

5:40—Ida Karlin, Teachers' Union Auxiliary

6:00—Lowenkron Musicals

7:40—Evelyn Hughes "Women in Socialism"

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14

4:00—Scholl House Studio

5:00—Woodhaven Studio

5:30—Tea Time Tunes

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15

1:00—Current Editorials

1:30—Speech Period

2:00—N. Y. Tuberculosis Association

2:20—A. Basil Wheeler

2:40—Edward Solov, entertainer

3:00—Popular Surprises: Galen Gough, Ed. Page, Harold Greenspan, Edith Radkin

4:00—Young People's Period

4:20—Young Musicians' Period: Mae

4:40—Victor and Ernest Tallarico, piano and saxophone

5:00—Cousin Betty, Children's Story

5:20—Frieda Schuster, soprano

5:40—Soviet Village Life, Borders

6:00—Negro Art Group Hour: Addie W. Hinton, talk; Margaret Pianist; C. Carroll Clark, baritone

8:00—Edith Radkin, musical culturist

11:00—Cassess's Restaurant

Organization

Education

Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

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

General League Meeting

The general meeting of the New York League was well attended, more than two hundred Yipsels being present. Besides other circles, the entire membership of the New York City League was present.

With the exception of the two New York members of the N. E. C. Fields and Switkes, the chairman, Louis Rabinowitz, the National director, Comrades Parker and Sitala of Massachusetts, and Comrades Field and Switkes of New York, attended the meeting. Owing to a lack of finance, it will be impossible to hold a national convention at the proper time. However, reports show that circles are springing up in states where there never were any before. At the next meeting of the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party the matter of adequate finance will be brought to the attention of that body.

Newark Circle Receives Charter

The Newark Circle has received its charter from the hands of Morris Novik, chairman of the N. E. C. After the ceremony was completed, he addressed the members of the new circle. Frank Manning of the Boston Yipsels also spoke to the Newark Yipsels.

Circles Reply

It has always been said that it is easy to criticize destructively, but not so easy, constructively. It would be far better, in the former case, to abstain from criticism.

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The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

WHICH SIDE IS JAIL?

WITH Grover Burgess doing sensitive work as Red Adams, and a stirring if crude production, "Singing Jailbirds" receives its first New York presentation, by The New Playwright (team of social vision) at the Provincetown Playhouse (bold in experimentation). In "Boston," Upton Sinclair presents details of what's rotten in places near Denmark; in the earlier "Singing Jailbirds," he symbolizes the spirit that may make the world afresh. A French novel, otherwise insignificant, the name of which I have forgotten, contains the transfiguring phrase: "If sinners scorch in hell, Christ is beside them suffering there." This philosophy, the only logical result of that love which is to win the world, is brought from the next into the present life in the thought of Debs, that, while no man is in prison, no man is free. And Thoreau is echoed in the song that is the urge mood of "Singing Jailbirds": "Remember you're outside for us." "While we're in here for you."

The chief trouble with a play of this sort is that it appeals only to those who are initially sympathetic. To such, "Singing Jailbirds" is a vivid picture of the fate of a fighter for labor, with a rousing first act, of genuine vigor, as the prisoners, dropping from lack of air in the steam-bathed "tank" of the prison, shout out their songs until the breath falls them. The remainder of the play, by making active before us the fancies of Red Adams in solitary confinement, gives pictures of the life that leads men into the I. W. W. "Solidarity" in a quality man comes to desire through separate needs; seldom does he recognize its advantages philosophically until personal conditions have made him feel the want of it. Red Adams' days are no exception and the fight against prison torture that his memories help him make is moving indeed. More imaginative direction would help the play; the final meeting of friends in Red's vision, for example (this is Harry Kemp's suggestion), would group more effectively placed as though in a jungle, and only when Red broke down, crying for his eyes, his echo coming forward for his spirit to carry on. And, with the spirit of the audience the night I saw the play, and with the many special nights coming, a bold directorship would have that audience leave the theatre in final rallying song.

A REAL BRAIN

HAVING in mind various ways in which my own (one-act) play, set within the brain, has been produced, I was prepared to be very critical of Austin Strong's "A Play Without a Name," at the Booth, two scenes of which occur inside the hero's brain. The presence in the east of Kenneth McKenna made me expect something at least intelligent; nor was I mistaken: "A Play Without a Name" is a drama for the intellectual; its play is a play one can enjoy without dropping to the level of the adolescent ones, such as "Peter Pan" and "The Yellow Jacket," of current performance—set us back along the path of our cultural growth; the good ones, such as I have just mentioned, call on us for a conscious shift of mood; the many "Broadway" dramas hold their audiences, unaware, on lower than the mature level.

el. "A Play Without a Name" ranks with the great dramas at least in this respect, that its appeal is to the mature.

The play presents one day in the life of a competent, sensitive man, afflicted with the frequent accompaniment of sensitivity, an inability to thrust himself forward, that seems akin to fear. Bold as he is in another's behalf, John ventures little for himself, and on the morning we watch, seems to have failed. The play traces his "spree," to cover thoughts of failure; while his wife, who, as every woman knows, has spurred him on, prepares the jubilee for his real success.

The first brain-scene retraces events we have just watched, John's discovery of his apparent failure, the coming of "Billkins" as spare-companion; and interestingly permits us to hear the thoughts of the hero, which we would have had to be psychoanalysts to guess. The second brain-scene during his love-making carries the action forward, revealing that the influence of John's wife has not been in vain. . . . Though events shortly after, and the effective close, leave each member of the audience to estimate the damage according to his own intellectual level.

Peggy Wood gives a delightful presentation of the wife, in a relationship where a sense of humor plays, as a light on polished wood, over the surface of love. Kenneth McKenna matches her skill, and if he lacks the fire of Katherine Wilson as the speaker, it is because he is true to role. With an excellent cast and effective production, "A Play Without a Name" is a novel and stimulating drama.

IN BRIEF

Movies Continue

The pre-holiday rush of plays leaves little space for comment on motion pictures, but I want to spare a little for the little cinema houses. Have I spoken of "Ten Days That Shook the World," still holding the new (and most inviting) Little Carnegie Playhouse? Lacking the unity of "The End of St. Petersburg," it equals it in power of single episode and in skill of photography, and should not be missed. It will be followed by "Un-easy Money, the Adventures of a Bank Note."

The Fifth Avenue Playhouse program is inviting. The week of Dec. 15, "Mechanics of the Brain" will be revived. This "first chapter in Behaviorism" is one of the most illuminating of films in an unfamiliar field. The week after, "Gow," the head hunter, Louis Lomax and Will Gropper have decorated the hall, and every reader you do or don't know will probably have here. (Fights between factions will be duly reported.)

At the New Masses Costume Ball (Webster Hall, Dec. 1) the dancing to Vernon Knickerbocker's orchestra will be interrupted by the singing of I. W. W. songs from "Singing Jailbirds," by the cast of the Upton Sinclair play, Hugo Gough, Louis Lomax and Will Gropper have decorated the hall, and every reader you do or don't know will probably have here. (Fights between factions will be duly reported.)

The New Theatre Guild play, "Wings Over Europe," by Robert Nichols and "Favite Brown," opening Monday at the Martin Beck, deals with the problem of world peace. It is a drama for an all-male cast, and promises a deal of excitement.

It may interest some to know that at the headlining in the theatre for the past two years, Frances Peaches' Browning is to become a star in a legitimate play on Broadway. Arrangements have been completed between her and Jack Lindner, producer of "The Squalor," the melodrama at the Forrest Theatre, whereby she will enter that play within a few days.

The Messrs. Lee and J. J. Shubert announce formal opening of the new Ethel Barrymore Theatre, 47th Street, west of Broadway, Monday, Dec. 17, when Miss Barrymore will be seen in "The Kingdom of God," by the Spanish playwright, G. Martin Gaitanaris, adapted by Helen and H. Granville-Barker.

On Friday night, Dec. 14, the Russian Symphony Chorus will appear in the second concert of the Artists' Recital under the auspices of the People's Symphony Concerts at the Washington Irving High School, 16th Street and Irving Place.

For three days, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, Dec. 8, 9 and 10, the St. George Playhouse will present the Moscow Art Theatre Players' film version of "Crime and Punishment."

The Messrs. Shubert have in rehearsal, "Make Room for Daddy," a new musical comedy featuring Frank McInyre and Ann Seymour, which opens Wednesday night, Dec. 12, at the Playhouse, Wilmington.

The supporting cast includes Roy Atwill, George Baxter, Eddie Nelson, Archie Leach, Frances Dewey, Al Gold, Laurette Mann, Harry Wells, and others. Marcella Swanson, the Four Nightingales, Eight Lightning Dancers and a special chorus known as the Jack Donahue-Boyle Girls.

"The Yellow Jacket" will conclude its present run on December 15 but will be kept in the repertory of the Coburn Theatre. "Faust," a comedy by James Plaut Webber, based on Shakespeare's immortal character, with music by Porter Steele and lyrics by Brian Hooker, will be the next production of Mr. and Mrs. Steele.

Yipsel Christmas Dance
In cooperation with the Socialist Party, the Yipsels of Greater New York will hold a Christmas dance at the P. N. School, Dorsha and Her Dancers will present a series of new dances. Her program will be given at 10 o'clock and 12 o'clock. After that the regular dancing will commence. Yipsels will receive special rates for themselves and their friends. Circles interested in increasing their treasuries are urged to get in touch at once with the Executive Secretary, Room 505, 7 East 14th Street.

Yipsels who are going to attend the theatre benefit of the Socialist Party at the Provincetown Playhouse are requested to get their tickets through the City Office. The play is Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds." The benefit will be for three performances, the dates being Dec. 19, 20, 21. Yipsels will get special rates for these three performances.

Washington Heights Organized
The newly formed circle in Washington Heights meets every Sunday evening at the Party Headquarters, 60

NEW LEADER

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

Editor James O'Neal
Assistant Editor ... Edw. Levinson
Contributing Editors:

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



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

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1928

In the last issue of The New Leader there were two unfortunate typographical errors in the leading article on the first page. In the second column the line reading "The one cotton mill in Georgia is today a secret organization," the word "union" following the word "mill" was dropped. In the last column the line reading "Vain trying to be as conservative as the masters themselves?" should read "By trying," etc. We regret these errors which were due to the fact that we went to press one day earlier than usual.

The Prosperity Myth

A RECENT statement by Virgil Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board regarding alleged prosperity in the United States is to the point. He declared that it is a "prosperity complex which has been built up during the last few years." It is "rather a state of mind than a fact susceptible of demonstration either by statistics or by actual experience."

Mr. Jordan is a statistician and for that reason his statement is worthy of consideration. The fact is that the prosperity myth has been put over by high pressure propaganda. It has not only been cultivated in this country but it has dragged the people across the Atlantic. There are still standards of living in the United States that are a disgrace and millions of workers are involved. Even the myth-makers have been compelled to except western agriculture, the mining and the textile industries from the rosy view of a happy America but these are the only exceptions they make.

One may travel anywhere in the United States and observe the physical evidence of wretchedness in cities and towns on every hand. A mere glance out of a car window will reveal street after street of shacks and sheds and dirt and squalor that are evidence of privation, short rations and disease. South of the Potomac are cities and towns so foul in these respects that they are revolting. In the larger cities of the North, in the textile cities and the mining towns, are large nests of human misery that give the answer to the hired squads who have peddled the prosperity drug on a national scale.

Even the figures and estimates of the minimum wage required by the average wage worker's family to live in a moderate degree of decency, estimates made by the Federal Department of Labor included, show that this wage is received by only a small fraction of the working population. Other figures show the enormous unearned incomes of the sweatshirts of labor on the farm and in urban industry.

The fact that this propaganda has been put over shows the weakness of the whole American Labor movement.

The New "Freedom" For Women

ONE of the curiosities of every great struggle for human welfare is the appearance on the outer edge of the movement of a group or a sect which transforms the claims of the movement into absurdity. This usually occurs when the issue that is really worth while becomes an abstraction with the sect. Reality is then sacrificed for the abstraction.

Perhaps the most notable example of this tendency was the extreme wing of the Abolitionists. They had become so "revolutionary" in their attitude to the slave owners that they unconsciously adopted the chief item in the ruling planters' program—secession—and sacrificed the slave to perpetual servitude. This Garrison wing of the Abolitionists declared "no union with slaveholders" and welcomed secession of the South. Had this been generally accepted in the North a southern confederacy would have been realized and the Negro would have remained a bondman and sold as merchandise.

Another example of this psychic evolution of a noble cause into an ignoble one is given attention by the National Women's Trade Union League in its December bulletin. The old struggle for the emancipation of women from civil, professional, political and economic disabilities has produced a grotesque abstraction in the program of the National Woman's Party. This organization of women expounds an abstract theory of "freedom" that may well be subsidized by the most reactionary employing interests in this country. These women oppose any legislation for women in industry because this legislation interferes with "freedom of contract." Moreover, it singles out women, which attention in some way is regarded as an injustice to working women. They should be "free" to

negotiate and bargain with that other free agent—the corporation that owns the industry.

This abstraction is carried to its logical conclusion in the statement, "We demand the right to work 16 hours a day if we want to." A "right" that contemplates hours of labor for women which even slave owners would have opposed because it would have destroyed the slave, is simply an absurdity. It means the freedom of the exploiters of women labor to return to that merciless regime which was typical of the New England factory hells of a hundred years ago. It is of a piece with the extreme wing of the Abolitionists who in the name of "freedom" would have given the masters of great estates in the South a free hand in dealing with their black serfs.

These reactionary women are not offering anything new. It is the reactionary Manchester economics of early mill owners which they are offering to women of this century. They haven't learned anything in 200 years.

Alms For Beggars

NO PUBLICATION is of more interest to us than the Weekly News Service of the American Federation of Labor, especially the editorials which it supplies to trade union publications for here is to be found the substance of A. F. of L. philosophy. One on the theme of "self-help" is of more than ordinary interest. It is declared to be "Labor's philosophy." It is a "challenge to the age-long allurements that there are royal roads to freedom through legislation and dependence on others. . . . It is the experience of mankind that help from others is unstable. It is either charity or paternalism and fosters dependence."

Now we also believe in self-help but why it is assumed that such help is in conflict with help through legislation we do not know. The editorial does not explain. It takes for granted what must be proved. Why legislation also means paternalism and charity is also not explained. This, too, is assumed, not explained.

If the working people through their own power wrest legislation from their opponents that is of benefit to the masses why is the exertion of this political power considered in conflict with self-help? And if we take for ourselves through such power how can this action be said to be charity or paternalism? Charity or paternalism means something done for you by somebody else. Does the writer of the A. F. of L. editorial mean to say that when the British Labor Party wins a measure in Parliament for British workers that this is charity? That is the logical inference of the editorial, absurd as it is.

Then why should not his reasoning work the other way. The Baldwin Government of conservatives a few years ago passed a measure which has to some extent restricted the freedom of the trade unions. In passing this measure did the conservatives receive charity? Certainly not. They won from the workers and the workers lost. When another Labor Government comes into power it will repeal the restrictive trade union legislation. Will the repeal mean charity for the trade unions? Certainly not. It will mean a victory for Labor and a loss for the conservatives. Labor will help itself through its political power.

The A. F. of L. editorial goes on to say, "When organized labor asks for legislation," etc. And there its whole case collapses. When you insist on asking for something it is a case of charity for you. The editorial admits support of the policy of asking for legislation which is the essential of charity and paternalism. Abroad the workers spurn this attitude. Instead of asking they take, and they take it with their own political power.

It is the A. F. of L. political policy which approves charity and it is the labor party policy which rejects it as humiliating and unworthy of men and women who really are independent and who detest paternalism in all its forms. In the matter of legislation our trade unions, sad to say, beg for charitable consideration. They are humble supplicants for legislative alms and that is why they get so little.

Crime and Criminals

THE study of prison and crime by Warden Lewis E. Lawes in his recent book, *Life and Death in Sing Sing*, will jolt the reader who accepts our present barbarous methods of dealing with the misfits of society. We still have a vivid memory of the class "justice" which on the one hand sent two humble Italians, Sacco and Vanzetti, to the chair while not a single oil thief has spent one day in prison. There is also the tender consideration always shown to the man of wealth when he is arrested and the savage third degree to which the worker is subjected when he is accused of a crime.

But aside from this evidence that our boasted American "democracy" rests on a class code which favors the rich and condemns the man and woman without a large bank account is the curious twist of bourgeois ethics that occasionally emerge in some cases. Warden Lawes cites a number. There is the case of the Italian prisoner serving twenty years. The author quotes him as saying:

When the war-come I got make a fight and kill-a Germans who never hurt-a me at all. For these I get a medal. Then I come-a home and kill these-a man, he slacker, who ruin-a my sister. Now the Judge he say-a I must do-a twenty years. I maybe make a murder in war, but I no make a murder to kill these-a snake.

Who can answer the staggering questions posed by the statement of this unfortunate man?

In the Days to Be

Ah, it may be! Oft me seemeth, in the days that yet shall be,
When no slave of gold abideth 'twixt the breadth of sea to sea.
Oft, when men and maids are merry, ere the sunlight leaves the earth,
And they bless the day beloved, all too short for all their mirth,
Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,
Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold;
Then, 'twixt lips of loved and lover, solemn thoughts of us shall rise;
We, who once were fools and dreamers, then shall be the brave and wise;
There, amidst the world new-built, shall our earthly deeds abide;
Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.

—WILLIAM MORRIS.

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Editor, The New Leader:

Comrade James D. Graham in a letter to The New Leader about the new constitution singles out for attack, article 10, section 3, which provides for an affiliated membership.

Nothing is clearer from our experience than the fact that a political party for labor cannot be founded on individual memberships in this country. We have tried it with sincere and devoted efforts for a generation and we have not succeeded. This section seeks to build the party by allowing working class groups such as unions, farmers organizations, workmen's circles, etc., to affiliate without every member becoming a dues paying party member. When they affiliate they will help us financially, furnish a field for further intensive organization and propaganda work, and give us some affiliated members who will help us in our educational and campaign work.

As a matter of fact, there were people in Massachusetts who were not party members but who did more work for the party in the last campaign than nine tenths of our membership. The section providing for an affiliated membership simply provides a place in the party for such persons.

A party built on affiliated membership such as is provided for by Act 10, section 3, of the New Constitution, is the form of organization of the British Labor Party, the Australian Labor Party, the Norwegian Labor Party and the Belgian Labor Party. It is also the form of organization of our own Jugo-Slav Federation which has been relatively the most successful of our federations in keeping and increasing its membership in the last few years. It simply recognizes the fact that there are working class groups organized or strongly influenced by Socialists, and composed to a great extent of Socialist sympathizers, who can affiliate with the party though not a large proportion of their membership would actually sign an application card. This provision is therefore very important.

As for the provision being the work of the "Liberals" in the party, I was the author of the provision and I am voting for the new constitution except for the provision regarding the change in dues and the provision changing our application card so as to leave out mention of the class struggle by name. So I am not a Liberal.

Boston, Mass.
ALFRED BAKER LEWIS.

A COMPLIMENT

Editor, The New Leader:

I have been a subscriber to The New Leader for a few weeks and I feel bound to compliment you for the forceful manner in which you present truths vital to all of us. In particular, let me cite your article commenting on President Coolidge's peace plea for more battleships and the photo at the end showing the tragic fate of a soldier who died for ideals that are not part of the ignoble capitalist system. The grief for him and the knowledge that he died in vain must indeed be a great heartache to those who survive him.

The tabulation of the sources of income, showing labor to have less than one-half, is another eye-opener. I wonder if many people realize that the value of money is partly in the material and service it can buy, that all wealth is the product of labor.

It stands to reason that all wealth is the result of the individual and collective toil of the millions of workers. I hope the year is near when we shall no longer have to slave for our barons in peacetime or go to war and die for them.

New York City
BERNARD J. MURRAY

We thank this new reader for the compliment he pays The New Leader. However, we would point out that he has used the wrong word when he states that all "wealth" is the product of labor. Useful labor produces all values but not all wealth. Timber and raw materials are wealth but they are not produced by labor. However, they acquire value when useful labor is applied to them and they are transformed into articles for sale and consumption. The distinction is important.

Barking for Capitalism

E. D. K., Cambridge, Mass.—The clipping reporting John Spargo's lecture in Methuen was received but we doubt the advisability of paying any more attention to him. There were men like him who deserted the cause of the slave in this country on the ground that southern bondage was really assuming the character of a benevolent tutelage where the slave was being trained to be of great service to civilization. These renegades—they were few as there are few Socialist renegades—also accepted the view of southern planters that the lot of the slave was improving; that most of them had garden patches to supplement their slave rations; that some of the garden produce was sold and gave the bondman an income; that he worked in the open field under healthful conditions; that Christian pastors were gradually raising his standard of culture; that lashing of the Negro was becoming less frequent; that the almost complete absence of revolts showed that he was satisfied, and that the agitation of the Abolitionists, once justified by conditions, was no longer justified. Spargo is playing the same game that these former renegades played. There is no reason why we should advertise the man as every issue of The New Leader and the evolution of capitalism itself are answers to his contention that capitalism is perfectly lovely for the wage workers and that the ruling classes are really doing us a kindness by relieving us of the wealth we produce. The apostate never believes in himself and we doubt whether those who hire his services do, although they are willing to use them for their own purposes.

By the way, I saw in sample the excellent products of the Cooperative Bakery in Syracuse which was also started under Workmen's Circle and Socialist auspices.

Ten dollars for 2 subs, the balance for sub cards from H. W. Anderson, secretary of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles.

Colombia Next?

Glory and Profits of United Fruit Company Threatened by Revolt of 12,000 Workers—U. S. Intervention Being Engineered

TWELVE THOUSAND workers have revolted against unspeakable conditions in the banana plantations of Colombia. The United Fruit Company, a United States corporation, counts the Colombia banana region as part of its domain. A movement for intervention by the U. S. Navy has been set on foot.

The *New York Times*, as often happens during critical stages of American relations with foreign nations, contributes its share to the hysteria by printing a sub-head reporting that "American lives are menaced." The story, admittedly, is inspired by American holders of concessions in the South American republic. Refusing to permit the use of his name or his connections, the informant of *The Times* declares that the situation in Colombia is worse than the American consul at Santa Marta represents it to be in his reports to Washington. This unnamed "concessionaires' representatives" says he has been endeavoring to advise the Consul on the proper method of procedure. *The Times* also quotes "private dispatches" received in New York to the effect that 12,000 workers are armed and led by "Mexican communists." There is a broken connection between the New York source of this "news" and the Associated Press despatch from Bogota, Colombia, which reports that the strikers have the "support of the Socialists."

Commander Collins of the U. S. Navy, now in Caribbean waters, has been asked by United Fruit Company officials in Colombia to hold himself in readiness for action. The marines are being made ready. The job in Nicaragua is unfinished, but work can be carried on in Colombia at the same time.

The United Fruit Company must have its bananas to sell to American consumers at the usual extortionate profits.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

Reapportionment Needed

ONE piece of business which even the short lame-duck session of Congress ought not to neglect is the reapportionment of members of the House of Representatives upon the basis of the last census. To leave the apportionment on the basis of the sessions of 1910 is a rank injustice to many states. Since the electoral college assigns to each state a number of electors equivalent to the total of its Senators and Representatives, conceivably in the last Presidential election, the result might have been decided on the basis of the present unfair apportionment of Representatives.

While it is at it, Congress ought to initiate a constitutional amendment for the direct election of the president and vice-president. No mere reapportionment of Representatives will make the electoral college a proper way to elect a president. When Governor Smith in his farewell speech said that a shift of 500,000 votes might have given him an electoral majority he did not illustrate the strength of the Democratic Party but the serious weakness of our electoral system. A shift of 500,000 votes would never have wiped out Hoover's six million plurality. Under our present electoral system it is at any time possible that a president may get a popular minority and an electoral majority or that a president with a substantial popular plurality may lack an electoral majority, in which case the election will be thrown to the House of Representatives. In either case popular feeling at the manifest unfairness of the situation might be a real menace to orderly government.

The electoral system is unfair for the following specific reasons, some of which can be removed without a constitutional amendment while others cannot.

1. We are operating under an unfair apportionment of Representatives on an outmoded census. This can and should be changed immediately by Congress.

2. Representatives and hence presidential electors are apportioned on the basis of population. In the Southern states where Negroes, regardless of educational qualifications, are deprived of their vote, the white voters get an unfair power in comparison with the rest of us. On the basis of the 1924 figures one vote in Mississippi for the choice of presidential electors had a weight of a little over six votes in New York State. Representation in Congress and the electoral college should be reduced proportionately in states which by force or fraud deny the vote to any section of their citizens. This would not require constitutional amendment.

3. It is not fair that state votes should be cast as units. Thus, the electoral vote of New York State went as completely against Governor Smith, who lost by a comparatively small plurality as it went against Davis, who lost by almost a million plurality for his opponent.

4. Finally, the power of small states is unfairly weighted by giving the least populous of them, like Nevada, with less than 100,000 residents, a minimum of three votes in the electoral college. These last two reasons of themselves require constitutional amendment for the direct election of president and vice-president.

Cooperation Counts

One of the bright spots in the strike of the Associated Silk Workers of Paterson is the good cooperation our comrades of the Socialist Party and the Workmen's Circle in Paterson are extending to the strikers. This cooperation is best illustrated by the Purity Cooperative Association which is giving about 30 loaves of bread and ten dozen rolls a day to the strikers. The Purity Cooperative Bakery and the butcher shop which it runs are splendid examples of what cooperation can do. Originally formed under Socialist influence they have made good by every test. I like to give personal praise where praise is due. The manager of the bakery is H. Engel; the directors are Sam Shlob, S. Kausky, Berkowitz, A. Span, S. Epstein, M. Goodman, H. Perlow, J. Eisen, D. Rosen, M. Abramson, J. Lawrence and S. Stein.

By the way, I saw in sample the excellent products of the Cooperative Bakery in Syracuse which was also started under Workmen's Circle and Socialist auspices.

Wall Street On a Spree

This luxury prosperity, and this Wall Street boom won't last forever. But if it does, it will mean a higher average price and the market, it will mean a reduction in the real return of them as investments. Many 7 or 8 per cent stocks on par now return on market value around 5 per cent. Some fabulously valuable bank stocks return only about 4 per cent on market value. Yet more and more our courts are holding that public utility companies are entitled to 8 per cent on their inflated values and that anything less is confiscation, which decisions are neither good law nor good sense but under our judicial oligarchy they are binding as we find when we pay 10 cent car fares and high gas and electric bills.

Brookwood Is Needed

A docile and apathetic A. F. of L. Convention, the least significant by general agreement for many years, approved the action of its Executive Council in granting what is equivalent to a permanent injunction so far as the official labor movement is concerned against Brookwood Labor College. And this without any real hearing for Brookwood at all. Labor under the leadership of Matthew Woll, Acting President of the National Civic Federation, has thus gone on record that it will not grant to its own children what it demands of the courts and that it will permit less liberty of discussion and inquiry in a labor college approved by it than is granted as a matter of course by all our first rate colleges and universities. It is a sorry business but it only proves that there is more need than ever for Brookwood and its work. Evidently it is from the rank and file, and the younger rank and file, that the new spirit and the new wisdom must arise which will again make our labor unions magnificent instruments for the emancipation of the workers.

Labor and Tariffs

There is an apparent tendency in the official labor movement to turn from the hard work of organizing the unorganized to the easier work of lobbying in Congress. A number of labor unions have organized a league for higher tariffs. Several questions suggest themselves. Thus, will do they want protective tariffs that will absolutely exclude foreign imports of all products made in America? If not, what is their basis of protection? Their simplicity does not make it plain. How do they think we can have an export trade without some import trade? Is there not a danger that higher and higher tariffs will play into the hands of monopolists at home and put a premium on managerial inefficiency? Recent figures show an increase in our iron and steel exports. Yet among the unions endorsing higher tariff is the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—an organization which has notably failed to organize the steel workers. Now if the steel trust can successfully sell abroad, why does it need a higher tariff at home? Have not the workers as consumers some interests that high protective tariffs historically violate? Have not the workers as citizens of the world an interest in their brother workers in other lands and in the peaceful relations between nations? These interests have not historically been furthered by races in tariffs.

There is, moreover, no clear evidence that high tariffs are always synonymous with high wages. Look at the state of our textile industry as an example! Consider also the fact that while American wages in a high tariff country are higher than British wages in a low tariff country, British wages are higher than French wages, though France is a high tariff country. This is not an argument for immediate free trade but for more realistic examination of the facts than our labor union protectionists have indulged in.

In the long run just as no organized industry can indefinitely maintain an island of high wages in a sea of unorganized workers, so no country can indefinitely maintain high living standards for workers without taking an interest in raising the standard of other workers throughout the world. It is not a whole-some thing for American unions to hold themselves rigidly aloof from international organizations of workers and trust to prohibitive tariffs to save them.

Roll Call of Leader Workers

ONE dollar contribution and \$4 to apply on the subscription of H. W. Watermire of Cal. "The paper was great during the campaign," he says. "The results are gratifying to me." Comrade Watermire reports that some former standpatters became interested in the New Leader.

Tim Murphy continues to fire in the subs from Pennsylvania.

Wm. Karlin, New York, is making use of the sub cards.

Charles Brash, of Brooklyn, describes himself as a youngster of 74 years. He adds that he wants to pay for his renewal on time and does so.

Charles Solomon of Brooklyn, sends in 2 more.

We always have to reserve space for Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston. Four this time.

RAH-AND-SOME SUBS.

Three subs from the Harvard Socialist Club, sent in by L. B. Cohen.

D. W. McCallister of Indiana, pays for New Leader bundles to the amount of \$4.62. Illinois prevents Comrade McCallister from hustling for the paper at this time, but he lost no time in securing another worker to take his place on the firing line.

"I rejoice in your ringing utterances for truth, for justice, reason and common sense in clearly exposing age-old ignorance and greed. We are encouraged and must ardently stand together for the ushering in of the cooperative commonwealth." (Minnie A. Shinn, Denver, Col.)

THINGS I HATE TO TELL

From a letter to the New Leader. "I want to tell you and God alone knows how I hate to tell it,—is, that I voted for Al Smith. I did not think that the Democratic Party would make it any better or that it would win, but I became disgusted with the bunk issue of religion and the liquor issue. I couldn't help it, but never again. I hope that all of you who have spent so many years in the Socialist Party will succeed in uniting all the progressive forces." The Indiana correspondent whose letter is quoted, makes a good start by ordering the New Leader for a year.

"Cannot afford to let my sub expire. I would be lost without the sound information that I find in the New Leader." So writes Mrs. Edwin Gray of Niagara Falls.

A SOCIALIST FAMILY

There are five members of the Zornik family in Pennsylvania and all of them are members of the Socialist Party. We don't have to tell you that they are strong for the New Leader.

Otto Heimig runs down one in Phila.

A renewal and a new one from Pittsburg. Wm. Adams, secretary of the Socialist Party.

"Many thanks for the book by Hillquit, 'Socialism Today,' given as a premium for my renewal. The 16 cartoons by Art Young are fine and the New Leader is the greatest paper we ever had for Socialism." H. W. N.

"We pass the paper around and do what we can for the cause," says Leonard Grant of Oregon.

SAVES TIME AND POSTAGE

A. Fantl, Washington, sends a renewal and a new sub. Edward P. Clark, Long Island City, does the same.

It is safe to say that there is not a subscriber but what has one or more friends who are interested in a paper like the New Leader. When you send in a renewal, send their subs in at the same time.

Lorenzo Watson, Arizona, renews and says that before next election his part of the country will be lined up for Socialism.

Algermon Lee, Educational Director of the Rand School, sends in a sub from St. Paul. Also a single from W. S. Neal, San Diego, Cal.

DO YOUR CHRISTMAS SHOPPING EARLY

The above slogan is old but the suggestion that you send subscriptions to THE NEW LEADER to your friends as Christmas gifts, may have been overlooked by you.

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION

Renew for the year 1929.

Speaking of Christmas gifts and resolutions, how about a year's subscription to THE NEW LEADER and a set of Upton Sinclair's "Boston" (in 2 volumes), for \$5. Postage prepaid. The regular price of "Boston" is \$5. Make your resolution today that you will take advantage of this offer.

"Send the paper to my son who is a student at the University of North Carolina. We are putting out a fine paper." M. E. Edson, Fla.

Sidney Botvenik says that the New Leader is fighting a good battle to keep the workers organized. He praises Art Young's cartoons and doesn't forget to renew.

"The special feature articles on the front page are alone worth the price of a sub to the New Leader," says Robert Hoffman of Buffalo. A renewal, of course.

W. W. Nye, Nebraska, is just under wire with a new sub.

"I don't want to miss a copy. The New Leader has been improving its features of late." Ernest Gerlach, Columbus.