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the Interests of the Social-
ist and Labor Movement

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Wisc. Socialists Gain Six Assembly Seats; Two Socialists Win Seats in Pennsylvania; Huge Increases Given N. Y. C. Socialists

Milwaukee Elects 9 Assemblymen, 2 Senators, Sheriff

Benson Wins by Majority of 4,676—Quick Loses
Congress Seat by Small Margin as Old-Time
Victory Crowns Party's Campaign Efforts—
Sheahan Runs Well

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The Socialist Party in Milwaukee has realized something like one of its old election victories. The general apathy in political action which had affected many voters was overcome by the Socialists in the election on Tuesday.

The Socialist Party has three members in the lower house of the State Legislature and two members in the Senate. On Tuesday the voters elected nine Socialists to the lower house and re-elected Walter Polakowski to the State Senate. With the gain of six members in the Assembly the party will have a larger group in the house to fight for urgent measures of interest to the working people.

To this victory in the legislative field must be added a Socialist Sheriff. Al Benson, Socialist candidate for that office, carried Milwaukee County by a majority of 4,676.

Benson is one of the hardest party workers in Milwaukee. He and others have carried the Socialist message to workers at large factory meetings during the campaign and from a truck decorated with Socialist posters.

William Quick, Socialist candidate for Congress in the 4th district, lost by a small margin, James P. Sheahan, candidate for Congress in the 5th district, polled a good vote.

The campaign was waged for a straight Socialist vote to the slogan of "Better Right Than Sorry." It ended Sunday night in a big mass meeting in the Auditorium with Mayor Hoan, Senator Duncan, Quick, Sheahan, Benson and Max Raskin as the speakers.

Waldman Polls 4,504 In City of Buffalo

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO.—In spite of the Democratic landslide, the voters' mistaken manner of repudiating the Hoover administration, the Socialist vote in Buffalo held up remarkably well. Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor, polled 4,504 votes with the remainder of the ticket polling about 6,000 votes—many voting for Roosevelt. From the latest indications the Socialist vote in Erie County will be about 7,000 votes—the average vote for many years.

Buffalo Socialists put up the best campaign in many years. Over 100,000 pieces of Socialist literature were distributed. A large downtown campaign headquarters was maintained. Many old time Socialists returned to the party. A number of new members were secured. Local Buffalo Socialist party will hold its next membership meeting in Carpenter's Hall, 475 Franklin street, Thursday, November 13th. Future meetings will be held at the same place the second and fourth Thursdays in each month.

Dues Stamp Sales in New York Take Big Jump, Is Report

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY.—As a result of the campaign in New York State the Socialist Party has been strengthened in the weak sections outside of New York City. State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill reports that the dues received from members from counties outside of Greater New York during September and October were three times the dues received during the same months in 1928. Merrill is also of the opinion that still more members would be reported were it not for the industrial depression which restrains converts from affiliating with the party.

Lilith Wilson And Hoopes Victorious

Reading Sends Two Socialist Legislators to
Harrisburg—Bowers
Runs Second

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
READING, Pa.—Socialists of Reading have won their third successive victory by electing two members of the Pennsylvania Legislature. The winning candidates are Lilith Wilson and Darlington Hoopes.

Two years ago the Socialists elected J. Henry Stump for Mayor, two councilmen, and a city controller. Last year they elected the remaining two members of the city council and, with the Mayor, controlled the council by having all the members. The Socialist sweep last year also carried four Socialists into the school board which has a membership of nine. The Socialist candidate for Congress in Reading, Andrew Bowers, ran second and James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor, polled a large vote in the city than his Republican opponent, Gifford Pinchot.

Mrs. Wilson on N. E. C. Lilith Wilson is the wife of Birch Wilson, former secretary of the Socialist state organization and now secretary to Mayor Stump. Lilith Wilson grew up in the Socialist movement in Indiana in the years before the World War. She is a capable speaker and organizer and has lectured in many states. Mrs. Wilson has had extensive experience in the Socialist Party, is well informed, and will make a creditable representative of the party in the Pennsylvania Legislature. She is a member of the Socialist National Executive Committee.

Darlington Hoopes is a young lawyer who served the Pennsylvania Socialists as state secretary at Norristown for years during the post-war reaction when the Socialist Party suffered through terror and defections from the organization. When the Reading Socialists won their first victory two years ago they prevailed upon Hoopes to move to Reading where he has helped the organization as legal adviser. This required him to give up the state secretaryship and the state office was moved from Norristown to Pittsburgh and Sarah Limbach of that city succeeded him.

Reading Socialists celebrated their third victory Tuesday night in the wee hours of the morning and a general celebration will probably be held later. The two Socialist legislators are now preparing.

(Continued on Page Two)

Socialist Vote in New York City					
	1930	1928	1926	1924	1922
Waldman (Gov.)	15,494	15,022	15,892	15,637	13,851
Roth (Lt.-Gov.)	23,655	19,946	25,004	25,338	8,258
Karlin (Att. Gen.)	40,044	33,686	42,879	38,885	24,641
Hillsdorf (Compt.)	8,188	7,518	9,434	8,443	1,593
Totals	88,333	77,091	94,141	89,252	48,546

Waldman Polls 175,000 In State; Party Vote Jumps

Karlin Polls 94,000—
Socialists Beat Repub-
licans in Some Dis-
tricts—Bronx Vote Big-
gest

THE Socialist Party polled a hundred per cent. increase in the polling in New York City on Tuesday. If the usual upstate percentages hold true, Louis Waldman, for governor on the Socialist ticket, will poll a total of 175,000 votes as compared with 101,000 two years ago. Waldman was given 88,329 votes in New York City alone. The upstate results will not be known for about two weeks.

The increase given Waldman, magnificent as it was, was smaller than the great increase in the straight Socialist vote as represented by the total vote given the Socialist candidates for congress, for state senate and for the state legislature.

The increase in the straight Socialist vote, in a campaign where most energies of the party were concentrated in four congressional districts, is indicated in these figures:

N. Y. Congress Vote—Socialist	
1930	127,481
1928	66,884
N. Y. C. State Senate Vote—Socialist	
1930	105,562
1928	65,748
N. Y. C. Assembly Vote—Socialist	
1930	102,700
1929	77,068
1928	66,920
N. Y. C. Governor Vote—Socialist	
1930	88,823
1928	48,546

Comparisons with the vote given Norman Thomas for Mayor in 1929 would not be fair considering the unusual circumstances of that race, and considering that the straight Socialist vote in 1929 did not come up to the Thomas vote. Thomas polled 175,000 votes in New York City in 1929. The straight Socialist vote, however,

was somewhere between the 90,522 votes given Charles Solomon for Comptroller and the 86,704 given Algernon Lee for president of the Board of Aldermen. From this it will be seen that Waldman consolidated the Socialist vote secured under the Thomas leadership into permanent Socialist gain, while the straight vote obtained by the state senate and assembly candidates was immensely improved.

Karlin Leads Ticket William Karlin, for attorney general, led the Socialist ticket in the New York City vote, obtaining 94,141 votes. Elizabeth C. Roth, for lieutenant-governor, was given 77,091 votes and William Hillsdorf, for comptroller, was given 89,252 votes.

This vote for the state ticket of the Socialist Party was received despite the sensational landslide by which Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected and smashed all records in New York State. The pent-up resentment against President Hoover worked in New York State as through the country, and Governor Roosevelt, though boasting of no better record on unemployment than Mr. Hoover, was the recipient of a great vote. His campaign was colorful and unprogressive and his large vote must be credited not to himself as much as to the Hoover policies, the miserable campaign of Charles H. Tuttle, Republican nominee, the alienation of upstate drys by Tuttle's attempt to ride two horses and the ingrained mistrust of the New York Republicans by the voters of New York State which has sent the Republican Party down to defeat in all but Presidential contests.

New York Socialists were jubilant this week over the prospect that the vote for Waldman might be in excess of the vote for any State-wide Socialist candidate since 1920, with the exception of a largely personal vote in 1922 for Charles P. Steinmetz and the vote in the Socialist column for Robert M. La Follette for President in 1924. On the basis of a New York

(Continued on Page Two)

Socialists Poll Heavy Vote For Congress

Thomas Pleased—"When
Do We Fight Again?"
Says Broun—Totals
Jump to 127,481

SOCIALIST congressional candidates in New York City ran up gigantic total votes in the election of Tuesday, doubling, tripling and in some cases quadrupling the Socialist congressional vote of two years ago. Some districts gave Socialists votes which were better by thousands than the vote given Norman Thomas for Mayor last year, a vote secured under unusual circumstances and which was much higher than the straight party vote.

The totals in the congressional vote of this year and two years ago:

SOCIALIST CONGRESSIONAL VOTE—N. Y. C.	
1928	66,844
1930	127,481

The increases were registered not only in the four congressional districts where the Socialist "Big Four"—Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, Jacob Panken and B. C. Vladeck—ran, but in practically all congressional districts in the city.

Here are the totals in the districts where the Socialists concentrated their efforts on congress fights:

6 Andrew L. Somers (D.)	46,211
Jos. G. Meyerson (R.)	29,901
Norman Thomas (S.)	21,882
8 Patrick J. Carley (D.)	80,072
Benj. Ammerman (R.)	36,619
Baruch C. Vladeck (S.)	23,956
14 Wm. I. Sirovich (D.)	12,173
Edward E. Spafford (R.)	6,682
Jacob Panken (S.)	6,726
17 Louis B. Brodsky (D.)	19,248
Ruth Pratt (R.)	19,869
Heywood Broun (S.)	6,862
23 Frank Oliver (D.)	97,632
George M. Fayles (R.)	27,698
Samuel Orr (S.)	16,801

Ready for Next Fight

Comparison with the votes obtained by the Socialist congressional candidates in these districts tell the story of sensational gains:

District	1928 Vote	1930 Vote
6th	7,026	21,882
8th	10,351	23,956
14th	1,648	6,726
17th	1,600	6,862
23rd	9,437	16,801

(Norman Thomas, running in the 6th, and Heywood Broun, running in the 17th, announced their intention of running again in the same districts in 1932, in the meantime spending some intensive effort on building up the party in their districts. Vladeck also took kindly to the same idea for his dis-

(Continued on Page Two)

Big Socialist Gains General As Voters Smash G.O.P. Rule

Landslide Restores Conglomerate Democrat Fac-
tions to Status of National Party—Socialists'
Vote Rises Wherever Party Put Up Fight,
Scattering Returns Show

By Edward Levinson

RE-ACTING in blind and furious resentment against the Hoover administration which is associated with the cause of hard times and unemployment, the American electorate this week turned to the Democratic party. The "spare tire" of American capitalism punctured and wrecked in 1928, has given eight new members of the U. S. Senate and 48 new members of the lower house. As the results stand at the moment, the Republicans and Democrats will have 47 members each in the Senate, and the Farmer-Labor party one. One senate seat is still in doubt. In the House, the G. O. P. will have 213, the Democrats, 216, Farmer-Labor one, "independent" Republican one. Four house seats are still in doubt.

The Democracy, the party of the Southern drys and northern wets, of pseudo-liberals and Tammany corruptionists, of high and low tariff interests, of financial and industrial connections, has thus for a time again been given a semblance of a national party, an appearance which is certain to disappear when its conflicting elements get into action in the two years ahead.

In the face of the Democratic landslide, the Socialist Party scored outstanding victories wherever its organization was strong enough to put up a fight. Socialist congressional candidates in New York City, Milwaukee and Reading, Pa., amassed startling increases over the votes of 1928 in the same districts, though all Socialists failed of election to the house.

Big Legislative Victories in Two States Wisconsin returned nine Socialists to the state legislature, an increase of six members. Reading, Pennsylvania, elected two Socialists, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson, to the legislature. This will be the first time two Socialists will sit in the Pennsylvania assembly, one of the most important state legislative bodies in the nation.

Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for governor in New York, will poll about 175,000 votes, it is indicated from the returns in New York City with upstate figures still not forthcoming. Waldman polled over 88,329 votes in New York City, an increase of 100 per cent over his vote two years ago when he ran for governor of the state.

Upton Sinclair, Socialist candidate for Governor, appears to have polled about 50,000 votes, which would represent an increase of almost 30,000 over the Socialist vote for president in that state two years ago. Other returns are fragmentary. Advances from Connecticut indicate a state Socialist vote of 5,000.

No general figures on Pennsylvania are available, but James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor in that state had the satisfaction of leaving Governor-elect Pinchot behind in the polling in Reading. In Illinois, the vote has not been tabulated but National Socialist Secretary Clarence Senior reports that the Socialists in local contests in that state have polled material increases over the votes of the last two elections.

The unflinching report comes from all sections: Wherever Socialists have been able to put up a fight, the vote has increased markedly, sometimes two, three and four hundred per cent.

During the last few days before election, the forces of reaction began to take fright at the work the Socialists were doing and in several sections of the United States, arrests were made and hired hoodlums tried to stop the Socialist advance by wrecking campaign offices. Undoubtedly this election campaign displayed greater efforts on the part of the Socialists than any since 1920; either presidential or congressional.

A spurt in the last few days, according to Senior, brought the number of pieces of literature distributed up well over the five million mark. Several places printed and distributed little newspapers and special leaflets which were issued weekly. The Socialist Campaigner, in Milwaukee, was printed in editions of one hundred thousand for twelve weeks before the election and all of them were distributed by volunteers.

In Reading special local leaflets were prepared and distributed and in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Montana, Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado and Kansas, special local literature was distributed in addition to that printed by the national office.

The most significant development in the Pennsylvania state election took place just a few days before polling time when the powerful Philadelphia Central Labor Union, which had several months previously endorsed Gifford Pinchot for governor on the Republican ticket, rescinded its endorsement and came out for James H. Maurer, the Socialist candidate. It also called upon the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to follow suit.

In Great Shape for 1932 Fight Maurer, Arthur McDowell, state organizer, and Louis Weisbart, were arrested October 27th, in Pittsburgh, when they tried to speak from the steps of the City-County Building without a permit. A permit had been given to Pinchot, for a meeting, a few days before, and the Socialists decided that although their permit had been refused by the police, they should stand upon their constitutional rights to hold a meeting in the same place the other party candidates did.

Geo. Koop, Socialist candidate for United States senator in Illinois, was arrested while speaking on West Randolph street, in Chicago, opposite a theatre which had an overflow crowd from the meeting for J. Hamilton Lewis, the Democratic candidate.

One of the headquarters of the Jacob Panken-for-Congress Campaign committee was raided and sacked by hangers-on of Tammany Hall, on Sunday night previous to the election. Every piece of literature in the place was torn, signs were smashed and furniture was upset in this desperate last minute effort of Tammany Hall to defeat Panken, whose campaign is being carried on with the enthusiasm which will win. Another Panken headquarters had stones thrown through the windows.

Whether or not the candidates won, all sections of the country will benefit by the enthusiastic and intelligent way in which the campaigns were carried on this year. They will revive the organization in many places where it has been dead for ten years, they will bring to the ranks new blood, and they will give to the old fighters in the cause new enthusiasm so that the next trial of strength in 1932 will be taken advantage of in a much better way.

The Socialists and the Election Returns

AS this is written complete returns of the Socialist vote are not available but it is certain that a substantial increase has been realized. In some sections the increase is heavy, exceeding even the expectations of party workers.

The victories reported from Milwaukee and also in Reading will encourage every active Socialist. The handsome Socialist vote received in New York City and in the state is also encouraging. The vote shows that in the United States, the world's paradise of capitalism, a working class party can make headway in every locality where it takes itself seriously and gets down to work.

What is apparent in the general vote throughout the nation is the complete collapse of the Coolidge-Mellon-Hoover philosophy of American capitalism. In the history of the republic there has not been such a disillusionment.

These gentlemen had advertised the United States as a utopia of happiness guaranteed to all. In reality it was a stock gambler's paradise supplemented with the most intense exploitation of industrial workers we have ever known. Never in any other period had the masters of industry sweated such vast fortunes out of the working masses.

The end of all this was certain to come some time. Those who were the most shocked at the collapse of the popular illusion were the political economists who wrote books and magazine articles glorifying American capitalism. Some of them went out of their way to sneer at the Socialist interpretation of capitalism. Their writings will accumulate dust on library shelves and sell for five

cents a pound in the second-hand bookshops.

The sweep from Republican illusion to Democratic illusion simply repeats American political history. In the upper range of capitalism there is no alarm expressed over the result. There will be a change of office-holders but no change in legislation. The great interests that rule the republic will be cared for, while the masses will suffer.

Socialists will now have to prepare themselves for the big and important work ahead. We shall not be surprised if there are bread riots in the large cities this winter. Because little legislative relief for the jobless can be expected it is likely that desperate and uninformed men will run wild.

There is only one course left to the gentlemen in office whether they are Republicans or Democrats. They will give the unemployed jails and clubs in exchange for their votes. It is our duty in every community to help enlighten the jobless millions to avoid wild and futile actions, to formulate demands upon city and state legislative bodies for enactment of measures of relief for which we fought in the recent campaign.

Supplementing this work is the earnest need of building our party organizations. There is a wide sense of economic grievance now possessing the workers. Many are in a mood to think. Our philosophy will get a hearing. Party organization is the need of the hour.

Let us undertake the tasks that face us with earnestness and determination and a will to win.

Gerber Urges Organization Work at Once

Manager of Campaign Praises Socialists for Assistance Given in Campaign

THE lesson of the campaign and the Socialist vote is the need of party organization and more effective cooperation by all Socialist voters. This is the conclusion of G. August Gerber, state and city campaign manager for the Socialist party in New York.

In a statement issued on Thursday, Mr. Gerber said: "The Socialist Party, its members, friends and sympathizers, have occasion to congratulate themselves upon the remarkable showing made by its candidates at the general election throughout the state held on Tuesday, November 4th.

"In this most difficult year, when the necessary finances with which to conduct the educational work of the Socialist Party were so extremely difficult to secure because of the acute economic depression; when that same acute economic depression led the voters to vent their resentment against the Republican Party by voting for the Democratic Party, we find that Louis Waldman, candidate for Governor and Standard Bearer of the Socialist ticket in New York State, consolidated the remarkable gains of the Socialist Party of 1929 in the City of New York, and more than doubled the vote which he received when candidate for Governor in 1928.

"At the present time there are but few results reported from the up-state voting districts. Those results, already in, however, indicate that there is a regular and consistent increase in the voting strength up-state and that the 47,000 votes which Louis Waldman received in 1928, when candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket, will be fully 60,000 to 75,000 and possibly 90,000 votes in 1930.

"The indications on the basis of the fragmentary returns received up to the present moment, fully show that the 101,000 votes which Louis Waldman received in 1928, have steadily grown so that in 1930, against the most difficult external and internal condition, have developed and grown to be 150,000 to 200,000 votes.

"The voting strength manifested for the Socialist candidates running for local offices, shows that the Socialist Party has a voting strength of from 200,000 to 250,000 in New York State.

"The lessons of the campaign would seem to indicate the crying need for effective Socialist Party organization; that the forward-looking peoples of the cities and districts in the state are charged with the responsibility of organizing local Socialist Party organizations to the point that there may be an effective leadership for the feeling that some general change is necessary if our political, social and economic life is to be put in order and on a constructive basis.

"It is a serious matter to contemplate the responsibilities which will fall upon the socially-minded groups and peoples during the coming winter. Chances and suffering will be avoided only if we will have organization based on understanding.

"This is the challenge to the Socialists at the present moment. To rise to the occasion is a demand of the situation.

"May we express the hope that the Socialists, their friends and sympathizers; the Trade Unionists and progressive groups; the Liberal and forward looking individuals will cooperate toward the effectuation of this need.

"May we urge that effective steps toward this realization be begun at once—NOW."

Socialist Camera Club Formed; New Leader To Print Best Pictures

A group of Socialists, young and old, have banded together under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural and Sports Activities of the Socialist Party for the purpose of forming Socialist camera clubs. The idea of the club is to take pictures which will tell of labor's struggles, labor conditions, etc. The immediate plan of the club is to work on campaign pictures, taking "shots" of Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Heywood Brown and others in action. The New Leader has offered its cooperation to the club in the shape of a promise to print the most interesting pictures obtained by members of the club. Socialists in other cities are invited to cooperate with the club and The New Leader.

An announcement by the New York Socialist Camera Club says: "We do not intend to stop with the close of election. The present depression provides material galore for interesting and dramatic studies of unemployment, men and women without jobs, the dress-makers strike, workingmen in different poses while working. All of these subjects and more are ripe for action for an intelligent and socially awake cameraman. All those who are interested write to A. I. Rothenberg, care of The New Leader, 7 East 15th street."

Comparisons Show Great N. Y. C. Socialist Gains

N. Y. City Vote for Governor

FOR WALDMAN

Manhattan	1930	1928
A.D.		
1.....	393	377
2.....	274	326
3.....	398	413
4.....	496	380
5.....	243	331
6.....	1,576	632
7.....	846	751
8.....	1,209	717
9.....	829	739
10.....	676	504
11.....	867	681
12.....	491	416
13.....	594	538
14.....	500	406
15.....	537	585
16.....	634	507
17.....	655	496
18.....	543	444
19.....	374	704
20.....	357	282
21.....	490	819
22.....	590	945
23.....	1,649	1,698
Totals.....	15,490	13,851

A.D. (Kings)

1.....	357	311
2.....	6,665	3,198
3.....	200	193
4.....	977	518
5.....	433	593
6.....	1,813	965
7.....	306	450
8.....	118	164
9.....	1,486	1,945
10.....	16	567
11.....	836	801
12.....	800	094
13.....	464	367
14.....	1,103	573
15.....	187	220
16.....	6,980	2,825
17.....	1,134	818
18.....	7,329	3,097
19.....	645	400
20.....	743	889
21.....	2,069	1,813
22.....	2,825	1,991
23.....	1,945	1,226
Totals.....	40,044	24,641

A.D. (Bronx)

1.....	1,044	392
2.....	4,061	1,198
3.....	2,192	880
4.....	1,969	1,017
5.....	3,218	1,182
6.....	4,105	1,059
7.....	2,507	1,226
8.....	4,479	1,304
Totals.....	23,655	8,258

A.D. (Queens)

1.....	876	239
2.....	1,090	269
3.....	1,219	258
4.....	2,094	319
5.....	1,994	347
6.....	915	171
Totals.....	8,188	1,593

A.D. (Richmond)

1.....	491	122
2.....	461	81
Totals.....	952	203

City Grand Total

88,329	48,546
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Waldman Polls 175,000 N. Y. Returns Indicate

(Continued from Page One)
City vote for Mr. Waldman of 88,329, and the fact that the up-state vote usually balances the city vote, his maximum total is estimated at 175,000.

Waldman Interprets Vote
"On the basis of the fragmentary returns the Socialist vote for Governor in the State seems to be 175,000," Mr. Waldman said. "Later returns may make this a larger vote. It should be borne in mind that the greatest number of election districts were not covered by Socialist watchers, and we must accept the votes given by boards consisting wholly of Democratic and Republican inspectors. My recorded vote indicates an increase of 100 per cent. over the vote cast for me as a candidate for Governor two years ago.

"In a Democratic landslide, which virtually snowed under the Republicans, the Socialists must congratulate themselves upon the tremendous increase in their vote. While I hoped for a vote of 300,000, I regard the vote recorded for us as a distinct victory.

"The Socialist Party entered the campaign with a small organization and with huge parts of the State altogether without an organization. The large Socialist vote will cheer the Socialist workers and stimulate our organization to more intense political activity next winter. We shall consider the large increase of votes as a mandate to the party to proceed with its work to secure relief for the unemployed, justice for the aged, and to press for legislation to protect the consumers of our State.

"The huge vote cast for the Democratic Party must be recorded as a distinct disappointment to those who hoped that civic consciousness would express itself in larger numbers against Tammany corruption and recent shocking revelations of official wrongdoing. Apparently, superior organization won over clean government. The Republican heavy losses in New York City as well as up-State must be regarded as a popular rebuke to the utter lack of planning by the Republican Administration in Washington for the alleviation of the present national crisis.

"It must also be regarded as a rebuke to the Republican Party of our State for its wholly negative and reactionary position in this

N. Y. City Vote for Congress

MANHATTAN

Dist.	1930	1928
11 Walter Dearing..	1,240	583
12 Marx Lewis.....	940	770
13 Domenico Saudino	808	629
14 Jacob Panken.....	6,726	1,848
15 Leonard C. Kaye	610	638
16 Hilda Claessens...	948	792
17 Heywood Brown...	6,362	1,800
18 Edw. F. Cassidy...	1,329	995
19 G. August Gerber	2,491	2,247
20 Frank Poree.....	849	844
21 F. W. Clodswaith	3,895	4,050
22 A. A. MacLean.....	1,834	1,404
Totals.....	18,853	9,681

BRONX

23 Samuel Orr.....	16,801	9,437
24 Louis Weil.....	10,819	7,443
(Westchester vote missing.)		
Totals.....	27,620	16,880

KINGS

3 Joseph A. Well....	1,469	1,121
4 Abraham Zucker...	864	836
5 Joseph N. Cohen...	2,073	2,354
6 Norman Thomas...	21,882	7,026
7 Benj. Jackson.....	2,757	1,893
8 B. C. Robinson...	23,956	10,551
9 W. B. Robinson...	5,804	3,936
10 A. I. Shiplooff...	5,179	3,645
Totals.....	127,481	68,844

QUEENS

1 S. W. Christensen	1,190	285
2 Tucker P. Smith...	6,146	2,317
Totals.....	7,336	2,602

RICHMOND

24 Barnard, E. K....	1,020	
Totals.....	1,020	

MANHATTAN

Dist.	1930	1928
12 Goldowsky, M....	1,038	792
13 McNamee, Edw....	741	744
14 Lee, Algernon....	3,793	2,264
15 Hughan, E. W....	2,777	2,397
16 Fenster, B.....	1,180	896
17 Coleman, M.C....	1,703	1,811
18 Steinhardt, G. I.	1,308	1,022
19 Neibuh, Reinhold	1,480	1,670
20 Delson, Max.....	2,943	3,418
Totals.....	18,853	9,681

BRONX

21 McMullen, Geo....	6,007	3,474
22 Hendin, Louis....	8,391	6,515
23 Friedman, E.....	13,457	7,378
Totals.....	27,855	17,367

QUEENS

3 Fine, Nathan.....	5,371	1,540
24 Barnard, E. K....	1,020	
Totals.....	6,391	1,540

RICHMOND

24 Barnard, E. K....	1,020	
Totals.....	1,020	

MANHATTAN

Dist.	1930	1928
1 Edelson, M.....	510	432
2 Lieberman, L.....	455	436
3 Hughes, J. W....	495	540
4 Markshild, M....	416	415
5 Hade, W. T.....	351	302
6 Claessens, A.....	1,761	416
7 Berlin, Simon....	388	817
8 Newman, P.....	1,377	1,035
9 Seidman, S.....	1,032	908
10 Bohn, W. E.....	707	636
11 Phillips, H.....	728	734
12 Malley, B. H....	639	426
13 Webber, C. C....	517	593
14 Blinger, L.....	593	462
15 Hillquit, Nina...	607	624
16 Volk, Herman....	501	569
17 Frey, Nina.....	582	512
18 Segaloff, S.....	584	474
19 Wilfink, A.....	339	713
20 Weinberg, A. N.	417	295
21 Brown, E.....	461	520
22 Hodgson, Fred...	637	872
23 Freed, Mandel...	1,994	1,765
Totals.....	105,562	65,748

QUEENS

1 Perrin, S.....	1,142	734
2 Molin, A.....	4,439	3,763
3 Umansky, J.....	2,330	1,709
4 Koplin, D.....	2,256	1,854
5 Friedman, E.....	2,257	1,854
6 Gross, M.....	2,257	1,854
7 Goodman, S.....	2,257	1,854
8 Knaubloch, L.....	2,257	1,854
Totals.....	102,730	65,748

RICHMOND

1 Steinberg, E.....	1,234	444
2 Clarke, E. P.....	1,234	444
3 Layburn, H. H....	1,234	444
4 Zarnetkin, A. K...	1,234	444
5 Friedman, J. G...	1,234	444
6 McGerlin, E.....	1,234	444
Totals.....	7,336	2,602

MANHATTAN

Dist.	1930	1928
12 Goldowsky, M....	1,038	792
13 McNamee, Edw....	741	744
14 Lee, Algernon....	3,793	2,264
15 Hughan, E. W....	2,777	2,397
16 Fenster, B.....	1,180	896
17 Coleman, M.C....	1,703	1,811
18 Steinhardt, G. I.	1,308	1,022
19 Neibuh, Reinhold	1,480	1,670
20 Delson, Max.....	2,943	3,418
Totals.....	18,853	9,681

BRONX

21 McMullen, Geo....	6,007	3,474
22 Hendin, Louis....	8,391	6,515
23 Friedman, E.....	13,457	7,378
Totals.....	27,855	17,367

QUEENS

3 Fine, Nathan.....	5,371	1,540
24 Barnard, E. K....	1,020	
Totals.....	6,391	1,540

RICHMOND

24 Barnard, E. K....	1,020	
Totals.....	1,020	

MANHATTAN

Dist.	1930	1928
1 Edelson, M.....	510	432
2 Lieberman, L.....	455	436
3 Hughes, J. W....	495	540
4 Markshild, M....	416	415
5 Hade, W. T.....	351	302
6 Claessens, A.....	1,761	416
7 Berlin, Simon....	388	817
8 Newman, P.....	1,377	1,035
9 Seidman, S.....	1,032	908
10 Bohn, W. E.....	707	636
11 Phillips, H.....	728	734
12 Malley, B. H....	639	426
13 Webber, C. C....	517	593
14 Blinger, L.....	593	462
15 Hillquit, Nina...	607	624
16 Volk, Herman....	501	569
17 Frey, Nina.....	582	512
18 Segaloff, S.....	584	474
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MANHATTAN

As Thomas said, all over the Congressional districts saw bitter fights against the Socialists. Whereas last year, when he ran for Mayor, there was no sustained effort to stem a Socialist tide of

20 Million Face Poverty, Says Green

Great Mass of Others Have Only Part Time Jobs, A. F. of L. Head Says

WASHINGTON—(F.P.)—Unemployment in October has been fully as acute as in September, and with winter at hand the condition of the jobless is worse, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declares. Not only are more than 20,000,000 persons threatened with dire need by the fact that their breadwinners are unemployed, but there are other millions who suffer from part time employment, the Federation chief pointed out. These victims of "unemployment within employment" represent a great reduction in the buying power of the public. Last winter the number of jobless was doubled from October to February. Will it again double this winter?

"Employment made no further gains in October," Green's report stated. "Trade union reports from 24 cities show 21 per cent still out of work as in September. Although October is the peak month of fall activity, it does not necessarily bring improvement in the general employment situation. Our figures in past years have shown little change from September to October except in a few trades. The lack of improvement in October is therefore no cause for discouragement as to the general business situation."

"But the very large number out of work on the threshold of winter is cause for very serious concern. Last winter the number out of work, as indicated by our figures, increased 71 per cent from October to January and doubled by February. Winter before last, when employment conditions were unusually favorable, the number out of work increased 47 per cent from October to February."

No Savings Left
"Widespread efforts are already being made to keep men at work and create more jobs. Business men, welfare groups, government agencies labor and all other groups the country over must concentrate on measures to provide against unemployment in the next few months if we wish to avoid a similar increase this winter. Wage earners this year have no reserves to fall back on. Savings have been exhausted in the hard struggle of the past year."

"If all groups join wholeheartedly in the movement to provide jobs and relief, unemployment can be largely conquered. We must visualize the danger ahead and face the problem. The government officially estimates the unemployed at 3,500,000. An increase of usual proportions would bring the number well over 5,000,000. Including the families dependent on these men and women, over 20,000,000 persons, or one-sixth of our entire population, are threatened with acute need from unemployment this winter."

"In addition to these entirely out of work, millions more are employed part time. Our figures for trade union members, who probably suffer less than others from unemployment within employment, show that 15 per cent were working part time in October. In metal trades, 23 per cent, in other manufactures 29 per cent, and in clothing and textiles as many as 41 per cent are unemployed part time. This means serious reductions in income and buying power."

No Marked Changes
"Changes from September were not marked in any industries. In building there was an increase of less than 1 per cent in the number out of work. In printing and metal trades a small improvement reduces the unusually high figure of unemployment; in clothing and textiles the peak of the fall buying season brought a 31 per cent improvement. More are back at work also in food industries, other manufactures and street transportation. The only cases of worse employment are on railroads, in service industries and theatres."

"Fifteen cities report employment better than in September, but the following 8 report a change for the worse: Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Paterson and Seattle."

The following figures cover 800,000 union members:

	Percent	Percent	Unemployed Part Time
	Oct. 1930	Sept. 1930	Oct. 1930
All Trades	21	21	15
Building Trades	38	38	22
Metal Trades	21	23	7
Printing Trades	7	8	4
Other Trades	14	14	7

Hall Johnson Singers At Mutual Aid Dinner

The League for Mutual Aid announces that on Friday Evening, November 7th, Rockwell Kent, well-known painter, author, adventurer and explorer will relate some of his adventures at The Hall Johnson Singers have generously consented to entertain with some songs from their repertory. The Place: Teutonia Hall, 158 Third Avenue, near 15th and 16th Streets. Time: Friday Evening, November 7th 7 p.m. sharp. Reservations: \$1.50 a person.

Pocketbook Union Meets In Its Fourth Convention; 20 Shops Won Over in Year

One Hundred and Fifty Delegates Gather at Opening Sessions in Hoboken

By Louis Stanley
THE Fourth Biennial Convention of the International Pocketbook Workers Union held the first installment of its sessions in Hoboken, N. J., on October 31 and in New York City on November 1 and 2, and adjourned until November 8 to enable the convention to complete its business. One hundred and fifty delegates were present, not only from New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia as at the last convention but also from Boston, Springfield, Baltimore and Montreal.

Barnet Wolff, who succeeded A. I. Shipiloff, as manager of the union on July 21 presented a comprehensive report of the organization's activities and made certain recommendations. Wolff pointed to the efforts that had been made to carry on organization work despite the lack of funds. Since the beginning of 1930 over 20 shops have been unionized in New York City. In several cases strikes have had to be called. Besides these activities in New York the union has had to conduct organization campaigns out-of-town, first in order to control runaway shops and secondly, in order to unionize new territory that might come in to competition with New York manufacturers and tempt the latter to fight the union. Cities involved have been Fitchburg, Springfield, Boston and Fall River, Mass.; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pa.; Providence, R. I., and Baltimore, Md.

How slippery the out-of-town shop is illustrated in the report by Wolff. In Philadelphia a strike has been called against the Darcy Bag Co., a non-union shop, which was suspected of doing work for the Mademoiselle Bag Co. of New York. Both the Darcy and the Mademoiselle concerns, although each has a separate legal existence, belong to the I. Miller Shoe interests of New York City. The Mademoiselle shop is working under union conditions. The Darcy strikers are now being paid strike benefits and it is expected that many will be found employment in New York.

In Springfield the union succeeded in re-establishing the work in the Bay State Leather Goods Co., which had been taken over by Resnick Bros. of New York. The union sold its ownership in the equipment of the Bay State Leather Goods Co. to Resnick Bros. The fifty or sixty workers in the shop are now members of the union and are to receive increases in wages. At the same time by agreement with Resnick Bros. the interests of the workers in the New York shop will be protected.

Much praise is given by Wolff to the work of the Impartial Chairman of the Industry, Dr. Henry Moscovitz. Soon after the new manager came into office a dispute arose as to whether the employers in the Association, which had a collective agreement with the union, should pay their workers for the Fourth of July holiday, when many of the shops had remained closed during the period before and after the Fourth because of the business depression. According to the agreement the employers pay for three legal holidays. When the matter finally came before the Impartial Chairman, he ruled in favor of the union. The workers affected received around \$30,000 for Independence Day. Other cases that came before Dr. Moscovitz were in the main those where the discriminated against by "bosses" discharged of workers figured. All were re-instated except one. Wolff takes the opportunity to condemn illegal stoppages of work by union members in certain shops who take it upon themselves to enforce demands. Such stoppages, he declares, undermine union discipline and make employers distrustful of the union.

The manager's report refers to the improved financial status of the unions due to the recent efforts to collect outstanding dues and assessments. Many members, however, are still in arrears. Because the secretary-treasurer should be able to devote more of his time to the strictly financial part of his duties, Wolff proposes that this official be given competent assistance in conducting the Employment Department of the union which falls within his province.

Wolff concludes his report by recommending that the union seek to attain the following: the forty-hour week, a single scale for workers, a minimum scale for general helpers, a ratio of one helper to one pocketbook maker, the installation of an apprenticeship system, the establishment of control over the development of machinery in the cutting or for that matter in other departments, and the substitution of the one week trial period for the present two week period. Orally he also recommended that the suspended members of the union, who were not permitted to participate in the affairs of the organization, be reinstated in order to promote "harmony, unity, solidarity and united effort amongst our members."

Nature never observes the laws of man.—Berthold Dostoevsky

against the employers for better wages and conditions."

Most of the actual business of the convention was taken up with the discussion of the cases of the suspended members. They were Communists who adhered to the policies and practices of the Trade Union Unity League. The question came before the convention when the Appeals Committee reported. The Committee received from the suspended members a communication which was identical with a leaflet that had been distributed to delegates and guests declaring that appellants were more convinced than ever that they have been right in following the program of the T.U.U.L. Disregarding this defiance the Committee, reporting through J. Rosenbloom, recommended that the decision of 1926 be upheld, that the suspended members be reinstated with the right to participate in all phases of union activity except that they might not run for office for one year. Meyerowitz, a "left wing" delegate offered an amendment to the effect that all rights be returned to the accused unconditionally. During the discussion of the report David Meyer of the "progressive" group asked Wolff how the union could conscientiously give back to the suspended members their rights when they flaunt their beliefs in dual unionism and their loyalty to the Trade Union Unity League before the convention. When Wolff took the floor he announced that he had changed his mind about reinstating the suspended persons. He had only just become acquainted with the leaflet. It showed that the defendants were recalcitrant, that they still believed in dual unionism and disruption. If the convention reinstates them it will be an admission by the delegates that the accusations of the suspended that the union leaders were betraying the interests of the workers had some foundation. Garlick, another "progressive" delegate argued that it was urgent to unify all forces in the union, that it was time to return to sanity and give every member his full rights, that after all the suspended members do not stand completely for dual unionism and that the union ought to feel strong enough to control the situation. A representative of the members applying for reinstatement took the floor and among other things denied that the T.U.U.L. stood exclusively for dual unionism. A vote on the amendment showed that only 13 delegates stood for unconditional reinstatement. The committee's report was adopted by a vote of 60 to 14.

Various speakers addressed the convention. Among them were A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College, who will be a member of the committee to investigate charges against the old administration and who in his address aroused the delegates by his attack on gangsterism in unions! Frank Panken, Mrs. Panken, B. C. Vladeck, A. I. Shipiloff, the former manager; N. Chanin of the Workmen's Circle; Dr. Henry Moscovitz, Abe Grosner of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" and A. Litwak.

Max Drewnowicz reporting for the resolutions committee brought in several resolutions which when adopted committed the union to making new demands upon the employers when the present agreement expires on May 1. These resolutions call for the following: the forty hour week; unemployment insurance to be paid by the employers and controlled by the union; a sixty dollar minimum wage for mechanics; expiration of the new agreement on August 15, just before the fall season; control of the introduction of machinery, apprenticeship system, a one week trial period. One resolution provided for a committee which is to investigate the dual system of week work and piece work in the industry and report findings at the next convention.

Great interest attaches to the proposed constitution for the union which will be taken up at the reconvening of the delegates on November 8. The new rules lay the foundation for a genuine international union. At present in spite of its title the International Pocketbook Workers Union is a section, but one accounting for most of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Tour for Crosswaith Planned by Senior

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Chicago. — Following up the election, the national office will tour as many speakers as it can place, in as wide a territory as possible. The first speaker offered is Frank Crosswaith, widely known as one of the best orators in the party, and leader of the colored Socialists. Comrade Crosswaith has just finished a run for Congress in the Harlem district of New York City, which has upset all predictions and made the Socialists in that district into a real power in the community. Locals and states wishing to use Comrade Crosswaith should write immediately to the national office, suggesting dates and places where he can be used.

"The guns of the Tcheka's hangmen are no more directed, as in the time of the civil war, mainly against the classes that formerly ruled and the remnants of the old regime. The Bolshevik terror now hits with full violence just those classes and groups, by which and in whose interest the Russian revolution was made."

Russ Socialists Protest New Soviet Terror

Conference Called in N. Y. C. for Nov. 23 to Plan Vigorous Defense

RUSSIAN Socialist organizations in New York City are aroused over the new wave of terror in Russia which has revived the semblance of trials. A mass meeting early in October in the Church of All Nations protested against the terror and a labor and Socialist conference has been called to meet in the Pennsylvania Hotel on Sunday, Nov. 23, at 2 p. m., to plan further action against this policy.

The Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party in Berlin has also sent a statement to the Socialist and Labor parties of all countries which reports what is happening in Russia. The statement, signed by Th. Dan and R. Abramovitch, follows:

Text of Statement
"A new wave of terror of enormous cruelty is sweeping over our country. Mass arrests of workers and intellectuals, imprisonments, tortures, deportations and executions become daily occurrences. Actual hecatombs of corpses are added to the tens of thousands of 'Kulaks' who have been shot last winter, and to the hundreds of thousands of deported peasants and workers, of whom, according to official data, more than 160,000 still today populate the concentration camps of the Soviet Union."

"As the basis of the dictatorship grows smaller, as the collapse of the fantastic economic plans become more evident, as the misery of the population and the starvation in cities and villages increases, the fury of the terror becomes more violent."

"The present situation is clearly illustrated by the recent supposed discoveries of 'harmful organizations' made by the G. P. U., in connection with which 48 notoriously harmless and innocent officials have been executed in Moscow on September 24th, 'by short shrift.'"

"The best known representatives of the Russian intellectuals are accused of having formed the 'central body' of this mysterious conspiracy."

The Men Accused

"Eminent professors and economists such as Kondratyoff, Yurovsky, Ransin; pioneers of the Russian cooperatives such as Sdyrin, Tchayanoff, Koroboff; old Socialist scientists and writers such as Goman, Bassaroff, Sukhanoff; men who stood in the Socialist and democratic movement for decades, who consciously sacrificed the most precious thing, namely, their political independence, their right to political activity and criticism, in order to be able to cooperate loyally with the Soviet Government as specialists, men who in the highest positions helped to create all the foundations of Soviet economics—such men are now supposed to have conspired to ruin the Soviet economy with the help of English gold, 'to organize famine in the country' and 'to re-establish the rule of capitalists and Junkers.'"

"This masterpiece of the Tcheka is to be followed by others, continuously new 'conspiracies' are to be 'unearthed' by the stool pigeons of the G. P. U. The life of the prisoners is in danger. New mass murder has to be prevented."

"It is clear that these fairy tales are meant to make the Russian intellectuals, whose influence on their own party and on the Russian working people Stalin fears, the goat for the criminal recklessness of the 'Stalin method' for the failure of the fantastic 'plans.'"

"It is clear that as silly as these fairy tales are, they prove that the Stalin clique decided to destroy the last bridges behind itself, to cut the last threads which still connect the dictatorship with certain circles of Russian socialistic and democratic intellectuals."

"The guns of the Tcheka's hangmen are no more directed, as in the time of the civil war, mainly against the classes that formerly ruled and the remnants of the old regime. The Bolshevik terror now hits with full violence just those classes and groups, by which and in whose interest the Russian revolution was made."

"Oppositionists' Also Aimed At
"Even further: It becomes more and more evident that the machine of the bolshevist terror is now to deal also with a large part of the Communist Party itself and at the first opportunity to crush the 'right opposition' with the same ruthlessness, with which it has destroyed the 'Trotskyists.'"

"The 'black ravens,' the motor trucks of the Tcheka, resemble more and more the 'charettes,' the bloody carts of Robespierre, which in the last weeks before the sudden downfall of the almighty dictator, day in, day out transported to the guillotine an artificial 'allegory' of scoundrels, innocent citizens, honest political opponents, party friends who had become burdensome and dangerous personal rivals, under the pretext of 'counter-revolutionary conspiracies' fomented by 'English gold.'"

"In this critical period of development of the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Parties of Europe and labor movements"

Two New Pamphlets Issued by Nat'l Office

Chicago.—"Socialism—What It Is and How To Get It", by Oscar Ameringer, a 32-page pamphlet and "The Socialist Primer" by Art Young, consisting of twenty-four original cartoons have just been published by the national office.

Literature secretaries are urged to get a stock of these two pamphlets, both of which contain new and up-to-date material and concentrate on selling these publications to persons who have become interested in the Socialist party during the campaign. In this way permanent good will come out of the campaign in most of the districts. The price of each pamphlet is ten cents. Quantity rates on Oscar Ameringer's pamphlet are \$1.00 per dozen; \$5.00 per hundred; \$10.00 per thousand. On Comrade Young's pamphlet they are \$1.00 per dozen; \$6.00 per hundred; \$50.00 per thousand.

Vital Election In Austria This Sunday

Invasion of Socialist Homes and Headquarters Perpetrated by Fascist Party

AFTER years of armed watchfulness of reactionary Fascists, monarchists and Catholic reactionaries in Austria, the Socialists of Vienna were taken off their guard on Tuesday of this week. The Heimwehr (Fascists) have two posts in the cabinet of the minority government and ordered a search of Socialist organizations and homes in the city for arms.

The government's action was legal but it was directed against the Socialists alone. The Heimwehr remains, armed and on a number of occasions in recent years the Fascists have marched upon Vienna with the intention of overthrowing the Socialist administration of the city.

The Fascists, monarchists and Catholic politicians represent the old aristocratic regime. Their main strength lies in the rural population of ignorant peasants and the small towns and villages. Socialist Vienna has remained a powerful barrier against the feudal and clerical aristocracy and with the raid on the Socialists Tuesday the old ruling class hopes to win the Austrian elections which occur Sunday, November 9, through intimidation and force.

In Vienna itself the reaction has been more or less favorable by powerful banking and capitalist magnates. This class is the heir to the commercial and merchant classes that overthrew the clerical and feudal magnates in the early nineteenth century. The Vienna bankers and capitalists have no real love for the medieval bigots that seek to master modern Vienna but they also hate the Socialists whose heavy taxation of property in the city has enabled the Socialist administration to realize the greatest housing and social welfare program to be found in any European city.

This attitude of the bankers and capitalists explains their objection to the raid. The Neue Freie Presse, their organ, declared: "If the government wishes disarmament it must proceed to disarm all armed formations. It must not throw its power all into one side of the scale. What has now happened is a caricature of what honest Austrians conceived as disarmament."

The Austrian elections on Sunday may have wide repercussions throughout Europe. Fascist-Clerical reaction may result in civil war in Austria and a general disturbance throughout Central Europe. The whole Labor and Socialist movement on the Continent may also face a grave crisis that will test the courage and generalship of the movement. Italian and German Fascism, together with the brutal gangs that rule Hungary, will certainly be involved in any disturbance that may take place.

must become as active as possible in the struggle against the terror in Russia. Ever weakening in this direction, especially any attempt to support the communist illusion, as if out of the blood and filth of the Tcheka's terror a 'new world' of Socialism could, after all, finally be born, would make the parties morally responsible for the final failure of the Russian revolution, and above all, would be felt by the Socialist workers in Russia as a dagger thrust, as treason to the Russian Revolution, which can be saved only by way of democracy, on the basis of an honest alliance of free peasants and workers."

"In full accord with the spirit of the May appeal of the Socialist and Labor International, we call upon all Socialist Parties, the sections of the Socialist International, to use all available means of the press, of parliament, of propaganda and agitation in a most energetic fight against the terror, against the fratricidal murder, against the shame of mass execution and capital punishment, against the suppression of all political and human rights in the Soviet Union. In our opinion, such a fight is the most effective way to save the Russian Revolution and also to assist in the recuperation of the international labor movement."

Co-Op Congress Best in Years, League Feels

Political Divisions Absent for First Time in Many Years

THE Seventh Biennial Congress of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the four-day congress of Consumers Cooperative Societies, held in October, was the best attended and the most constructive ever held in this country. For the first time in many years there was almost a complete absence of any political divisions within the Congress, and all attention was given to plans and programs for future activities. The directors were instructed to organize a Cooperative Insurance Department of the League to offer life, accident, fire and casualty insurance to the cooperative societies and their members throughout the country. The New Era Life Association Co. of Michigan was given recognition as the official life company of the League and the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Co. with headquarters in New York as the official fire company for protection of household furniture. Other lines of insurance will be handled temporarily through a brokerage office to be set up at League headquarters.

A conference of delegates from cooperative wholesale Societies throughout the country organized a permanent inter-wholesale committee to keep these organizations in touch with one another and gradually effect a federation. A similar conference of state-wide cooperative oil associations appointed another permanent committee.

The secretary reported a membership of 120 affiliated societies at the beginning of 1929 and outlined a plan of development for The League itself and for the extension of the general movement during the next two years which was enthusiastically received. The treasurer's report showed that for the first time in its history, The League is completely supported by its affiliated societies, and the delegates present pledged a fifty per cent increase in financial support for 1931.

Greetings Received

The cooperative training schools, summer institutes and the correspondence school were all promised increased support, and at the directors' meetings proposals were presented for the organization of a cooperative college and committee appointed to investigate and make plans.

Greetings by letter or cable came from the cooperative movements of 25 European and Asiatic countries and two delegates were present in person with the greetings of the Canadian Cooperative Movement.

Dr. James Peter Warbasse, member of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance, reported on the International Cooperative Congress held in Vienna in August.

Resolutions were passed unanimously by the delegates instructing the board to organize an insurance department, protesting against Fascist terrorism in Italy and Finland, demanding free speech for all labor and progressive organizations desiring to use radio broadcast facilities, urging the extension of Women's Cooperative Guilds, welcoming all efforts toward the organization of cooperative employees, and demanding increased emphasis upon educational activities by all cooperative societies.

Eighteen directors were elected to the board and at the subsequent board meeting all officers were re-elected, viz.: J. P. Warbasse, New York, president; H. I. Nordby, Minneapolis, vice-president; Cedric Long, New York, secretary; Mary E. Arnold, New York, treasurer.

The Cooperative Central Exchange and its Finnish-American cooperators provided an excellent entertainment to the delegates on Monday evening, October 20th, and a bountiful banquet on Tuesday evening. At the latter, leaders of the Farmers Cooperative Movements in Indiana and Nebraska presented magnificent reports of the work being done in those two states.

Lancaster, Pa., Revives Party Organization

Lancaster, Pa.—Last Friday, with the aid of Fred Gendral, State Organizer, sixteen Lancaster Socialists organized a branch after years of inactivity. Cora Eixler, known and loved Comrade, faithful unto death, maintained some organization until her death in 1926. With the fulfillment of Socialist prophecy in the decline of Capitalism and the remarkable growth of the Party in Pennsylvania this old American community has experienced the birth of a new Socialist movement. With only a few days before election, the branch set about distributing literature with the result of immediate inquiries arriving at the State Office whose address the literature carried.

With Lancaster as a center the local will extend organization to the surrounding country. Lancaster is the seventh community to have a Socialist organization restored since the Reading State Convention. The Secretary is Harry S. Yeager, 248 West Liberty Street, Lancaster.

Nervous and irritable? It's a warning...

that elimination is delayed—that you're absorbing intestinal poisons. Ex-Lax acts safely and gently to rid the body of unhealthful wastes. Ex-Lax has been the family laxative for nearly a quarter of a century and its popularity is constantly increasing as the years go by. Ex-Lax is prescribed by numerous physicians and is recommended by millions of users, because it is the most pleasant and the most dependable laxative known to science. It is eagerly taken by children as well as grown-ups.

Keep "regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolated Laxative

DEBATE Resolved:

"SOCIALISM and COMMUNISM will follow the collapse of CAPITALISM!"

Scott Nearing Harry Watson
Author of 'Twilight of Empire,' YES Noted Author YES
Chairman, ROGER N. BALDWIN

Friday Evening, November 14, 1930
at 8:15 P. M.
COMMUNITY CHURCH
34th Street and Park Avenue, New York
TICKETS \$1.00, BALCONY 50c.
Obtainable at Community Church, 34th St. and Park Ave.; Rand School, 7 E. 15th St.; Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave.; Rational Vegetarian Restaurant, 518 Brighton Beach Ave., Coney Island, or by mail at Room 702, 110 W. 40th St.
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THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. at 34th St.
8 P. M.—Haridas Muzumdar and Manilal C. Parekh, of India
"THE CRISIS OF INDIA"
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Henry Harrison: LECTURES
"War Literature Today: Novels, Plays, Histories, etc. What Do They Teach?"
Admission Free All Welcome

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
at 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, Nov. 7th
DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Three Contrasting Theories of the Meaning and Way of Life"

Sunday Evening, Nov. 9th
PROFESSOR JOHN T. SKRINE
"Humanism and the Classical Tradition"

Tuesday Evening, Nov. 11th
PROFESSOR SHIRLEY CUMBY
"Experimental Research in Psychology"

At Mahlenberg Library
265 W. 23rd Street
at 8:30 o'clock

Monday Evening, Nov. 10th
MR. E. H. HAGGIN
"The Nature of Musical Ideas"

Wednesday Evening, Nov. 12th
PROFESSOR ROBERT VAN NORDOFF
"Mechanics and Reality: Descriptive and Geometric Points of View"

Thursday Evening, Nov. 13th
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"The Problem of Chance: Parmenides, Heraclitus, Democritus"

Saturday Evening, Nov. 15th
DR. RICHARD MCKEN
"Aristotle: Habit and the Moral Sense"

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP
A Clearing House of Opinion, meets at Auditorium—150 West 83rd St.
Tuesday, November 11, at 8:30 P. M.
DR. ALFRED ADLER
(Eminent Viennese Psychologist)
will speak on:
"THE LIFE PATTERN"

Sunday Afternoon Discussion Group
Nov. 10th, at 4:30 P. M. BETTY ROSS
will speak on "LOVE AND LIFE IN SOVIET RUSSIA."
Tea will be served. Subscription 50c

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MR. NORMAN THOMAS
on
"The Socialist's Attitude Toward Property"

Wednesday, November 12th, 8:15 o'clock
Auspices of The Business Men's Group

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Among those who have addressed The Grub Street Club are D. W. Griffith, Maxwell Bodenheim, Harry Korad Beresford, Claude Bragdon, Clement Wood, Elsie Louder, V. F. Calverton, Winifred Sakville-Sinclair, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Ellis Parker Butler, Robert Nathan, McAllister Coleman, S. A. DeWitt, J. George Frederick, Chas. D. Yazzoon and many others.
Among the poets who have read are Helene Mullins, Arthur Guilerman, Elias Lieberman, Harry W. H. Harris, Abe Beer, Mary Carolyn Davies, Louis Grith, Louis Ginsberg, Lucia Trent, Ralph Choyce, Harry W. H. Harris, M. M. M. M., Margaret Wilder, Juanita Clivette, Shesma O'Sheel, Margaret Bell Houston, Joe T. Shipley, Chas. Divine, A. M. Sullivan, and innumerable others.

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ATHESM

The Socialist Party And Modern Political Thought

An address over the "Red Network" of the National Broadcasting Company, from Station WEAU, New York City, Wednesday, Oct. 22, 8 p. m.

By Louis Waldman

FROM the very beginning of nation has swayed between two schools of political thought. One reflected the views and interests of wealth and special privilege. The other was associated with the aspirations and hopes of the common people seeking by democratic means to maintain a government that would bring happiness and contentment to all the people.

These strains pervade our social life today. The extreme views of the conservative tendency find expression in a policy of drifting and in speeches like those made by President Hoover at Kings Mountain, South Carolina. Reactionary thinking and policies know no geographic or political lines as far as the two old parties are concerned. The President's glorification of a non-existent "individualism" which existed in our pioneering days but is now outdated by a century, was voiced fittingly enough on Southern Democratic territory where political, industrial and social reaction reigns supreme. Amid the squalor and poverty of the southern mill villages, where men, women and even children of tender years, are compelled to labor over 50 hours a week for a weekly wage often as low as \$12 the President declared that our social order is the best to be found anywhere in the world because, he claimed, everyone in our land has an equal chance in the race of life. He said that "the government trains the runners"; that "we strive to give them an equal start"; and that "our government is the umpire of fairness."

The bi-partisan policy of drifting, of muddling through, of expenditures on past and future wars of three-fourths of our taxes, of our unsound tariff, of giving big business a free hand to exploit and rob our workers and consumers, of public misgovernment, waste and frequent corruption—all these sore spots in American life today are directly traceable to this outworn political philosophy.

The basic conflict between Socialist thinking and the views of the spokesmen of the dominant political parties is that we do not fairly train the runners; that we start, and that our government as administered by the Democratic and Republican parties is not an umpire of fairness.

The Socialists hold that the race can never be equal until in line with the great technical progress in industry, banking, commerce and transportation, we make equal progress in the adjustment of the machinery of government to our present social needs. In pioneer society, the philosophy of individualism may have been a sufficient guide. Our new social order based on large-scale industry and mass production has created social problems which require the introduction of the social concept in our government and in our lives. Into the political and economic thinking of our country, the Socialists have introduced the principles of

Government's Responsibility to Insure Workers' Security Is Major Socialist Premise; The Facts of "The Equal Race" And "The Umpire of Fairness"

social planning, social control, social responsibility, social insurance and similar social concepts.

What are the facts of industrial and social life today?

The 1927 report of the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue shows that there are 34,695 persons in the United States who reported an income of \$50,000 a year or over. According to Willford I. King of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, approximately 35,000,000 wage and salaried workers in the United States earned in 1927, with an allowance made for unemployment, the sum of \$1,205 a year, or \$23.17 per week. There was one millionaire in the United States in that year to every 1,000 wage-earners whose average wages did not exceed \$23.17 per week. How equal could the race between these 35,000,000 wage and salaried workers and 35,000 millionaires with an annual income of \$50,000 and over?

The United States Department of Labor standard budgets in various cities brought down to June, 1930, reveal that a minimum health and decency budget for a family of five was approximately \$2,200 a year. Even the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, places a family budget at \$2,000. The salaried and factory wage-earners at the lowest scale of wages are thus compelled to live below the standard of American decency and comfort. They are forced to accept inadequate housing, food, clothing, education and cultural opportunities.

Imagine a race between the children of 35,000,000 wage-earners, particularly those of the lowest earnings, and the children of the 35,000 millionaires. Compare the chance for success and equality of opportunity of the child born on Fifth Avenue and the child born in one of our slum areas! It is a bit ludicrous to speak of everybody born in the United States starting from scratch in a race for life when the disparity in wealth and opportunity is as great as it is today.

The United States Bureau of Census indicates that the number of the unemployed in the United States this year was somewhere from four to six million. What have the administrations of the Democratic and Republican parties in states and nation done to make the race for this army, who with their families number somewhere between fifteen and twenty million people, equal with those who draw their dividends from our industrial and commercial corporations?

According to the Standard American Corporation of Chicago, the stockholders for the first three-fourths of the year of 1930, received \$2,944,800,000 as against \$2,501,000,000 in the same period of 1929. The highest point in the post-war period for the amount of dividends disbursed was reached in 1929. Despite one of the severest unemployment periods in the history of our country, the amount of dividends disbursed in the 9 months of this year was greater than the banner year of 1929.

How impartial is the umpire who

permits six million wage-earners and their families to be starved or be on the verge of starvation, terrorized with insecurity, while permitting a handful of owners of industry every facility for making that race easy and assuring for them a speedy arrival?

It is the Socialist contention that the so-called individual equality of opportunity is largely a thing of the past. This is the age of chain stores, mergers and large corporate ownership and management. The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, one chain, has 7,000 stores, and does a \$1.7 billion gross business than the Pennsylvania Railroad. What chance has the corner grocer in competition with the Atlantic & Pacific chain stores? Why talk of equal opportunity for him in the race?

Commercial failures in the short period of one decade, increased 100 per cent; from 9,982 in 1918 to 23,842 in 1928. In 1930, the number was even larger. Not only is the wage and salaried worker under terrific handicaps in this so-called equal race, but even the small business man is placed at a notorious disadvantage in his fight to survive against the rapidly developing merger and monopoly.

Ex-ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, is sponsor for the startling statement that 59 men, most of them financiers and industrialists, rule the United States. Who appointed these men whom Mr. Gerard has singled out as the rulers of America? What check have the people over them? To whom are they accountable? And how do they determine who shall hold political office, and who shall not? These 59 industrialists and bankers and others do in fact rule this country. They do so by reason of their economic power, which a complacent and supine bi-partisan Republican and Democratic rule has permitted them to build up.

Four companies control one-half of the copper resources in the United States. The United States Steel Corporation controls close to three-fourths of the ore supply in the country. Seventeen companies control 86 per cent of the nation's power, and 34 per cent is controlled by two of these. What chance has anyone to compete with the U. S. Steel Corporation, with the Anaconda Copper Company, or with the power trust? And what chance has the United States steel worker to bargain for wages, hours and conditions of employment in the United States Steel Corporation or its counterpart? What chance is there for the millions of farmers whose farms are being mortgaged in increasing number, and whose lot is progressively getting worse in this race of equal opportunity?

Let there be no mistake. Every time there is a merger in our industrial and commercial life, every step forward in the improvement of technological production brings Socialism nearer to our door. We hold that a maximum of efficiency in production must also bring on equitable distribution of the wealth produced. To bring that about, to win security for all the people, is the mission and hope of Socialism.

One of the primary functions of government is to guarantee to its people security against want. For the last nine months we have had a severe crisis of severe unemployment amidst plenty. The percentage of unemployed members of the American Federation of Labor, the more favored portion of our 40,000,000 wage and salary earning population, increased from 10 per cent in September, 1929, to over 22 per cent in August, 1930. Among the unskilled and unorganized the condition of unemployment is much worse. In my own state, New York, there are close to 500,000 jobless. These unemployed were callously left to shift for themselves by state Democratic administrations as well as the Federal Republican administration in this, the wealthiest nation in the world. President Hoover's recent interest in the problem is commendable but belated. The time to ward off the evil of enforced idleness was during the period of comparative prosperity. Remembering the Hoover promise of "a job for every man" and "a chicken for every pot," made in 1928, the voters may be forgiven if they look on President Hoover's current efforts as smacking of time-honored political promises that blossom annually, two weeks before election day.

We believe that the government must supply work to those willing and able to take it, or must by law compel industry and the community to provide for the jobless workers and their families by the enactment of a universal system of unemployment insurance. Provision should be made for the establishment and the setting up of agencies for the retraining of those workers permanently displaced by technologic improvements, the merger and the stop-watch of modern production.

The Republican and Democratic leaders who seek to avoid their duty of protecting the workers through unemployment insurance by calling such a system a "dole" are perfectly willing to countenance the pauperization of self-respecting American workers through the dole of private charity. We Socialists regard the pauperization of our workmen as contrary to the best American traditions. We urge upon the nation and the several states the adoption of unemployment insurance as a measure of justice. Unemployment insurance has proven itself sound economic and social policy. In Germany there are 16,738,000 workers covered by unemployment insurance. In Great Britain and Ireland, 12,000,000 are similarly protected; in all of continental Europe a total of 47,500,000 wage-earners receive insurance benefits during periods of unemployment.

The Socialist Program
The Socialist program proposes a shorter work day and a five-day week as an indispensable part of a sound solution of the unemployment problem. Of the 47,000,000 gainfully employed in the United States only approximately 4,000,000 are organized in trade unions. Even if all the unions were able and willing to make the fight for the five-day week and the shorter

work day, the employers of the organized trades could not possibly accede to this demand because of their inability to compete with the unorganized trades which can maintain almost unrestricted hours of employment. Only by state and federal legislation can the universal shorter work day and the five-day week be established. To that the Socialist Party is committed. Due to the pioneering of the Socialists, the movement for shorter hours is beginning to win the increasing support of economists, as well as a large army of wage and salaried workers, and progressive men and women in all walks of life.

Another contribution of Socialist thinking to our contemporary political life is a growing recognition of the need for the establishment by law of security for the aged. We are happy that this principle is gaining a foothold in American public life. The only disquieting feature about it is that the old political parties, reluctant yielding to popular pressure for justice to the aged, emasculate the principle and offer sugar-coated poor laws instead. The Socialist Party is committed to wage relentless war against indifference towards the upward of 2,000,000 aged men and women in the United States who are dependent in whole or in part upon charity to live through the declining days of their lives. We urge for the veterans of industry: invalidities or pensions as matter of right in the same way as veterans of wars and employees in civil service are pensioned.

The Workers' Health
In line with the Socialist principle that it is the function of government to guarantee to its citizens and people security against want, we have urged and are pressing upon public attention today a program of health and maternity insurance. A state investigation

conducted in Ohio, one of our large industrial states, found that the burden of sickness falls with crushing force upon the working people. About 20 per cent of the population were disabled for more than one week each year. One-fifth were disabled for from four to eight weeks; 6.4 per cent were disabled for from eight to twelve weeks; and 3 per cent for more than six months. It is estimated that in New York City 450,000 persons are disabled for from four to eight weeks each year and that 140,000 persons are disabled for from eight to twelve weeks a year.

A very recent study made by Dr. Louis I. Dublin and Robert J. Vane, Jr., on the causes of death by occupation, show that death rates for tuberculosis, to mention only one serious affliction among the working population, is from two and a half to nearly four times as high as among professional, mercantile and agricultural groups. In other words, for every one who dies from tuberculosis in the professional, mercantile and agricultural classes, four workmen die from that fatal disease. In Germany, close to 32,000,000 are insured against invalidity and sickness. In England 18,000,000 persons are so insured; and in France, by an act signed last July, over 9,000,000 persons are likewise insured. On the other hand, in the United States not more than 1,000,000 mostly of the wealthier class, out of an entire population of 120,000,000 are partly insured against illness and invalidity.

The 47,000,000 wage and salary workers, and their families, are not protected by private insurance against disabling sickness. They cannot afford it on an average wage of \$23.17 a week. Most of what there is of disability insurance does not cover the great mass of our working population. Compensation laws cover disability due to industrial accidents arising from em-

ployment only. All other non-industrial accidents and diseases are the hazards of the unfortunate victims who are often compelled to become objects of charity or to suffer real privation. The first sufferers in the event of illness of the breadwinner are the women and children. Just as a persistent and patient campaign by the Socialist movement forced the Democratic and Republican parties to discard their individualistic laissez faire attitude and adopt workmen's compensation laws for industrial accidents, just so do we urge the American people to give the Socialists political power to enact adequate law providing for the security of the aged, the sick and the unemployed.

The Consumers Abandoned

Not only have our people as producers been deserted by the Republican and Democratic parties and left to the mercy of the owners of industry and commerce, but as consumers they have been abandoned to the greed of the public utility magnates. Billion dollar corporations and utility mergers are gripping the nation by its throat, taking full advantage of their monopolistic character, they have imposed exactions upon the consumers of our cities, states and nation which are becoming increasingly more difficult to bear.

The power trust alone has often exercised political control over our legislatures, regulating commissions and even a large portion of our national Congress. It has not hesitated to make its influence felt within the cabinet of the President. In its arrogance it did not hesitate to censor an address on power which United States Ambassador Sackett was to make to an International Congress. It has become a positive and ever-present menace to democratic institutions. Exercising control over this compact 10,000,000 dollar business they are seeking to steal from our

national government and the several states our last remaining great natural resource—water power. There are in the United States waterfalls capable of producing 40,000,000 h.p. of electricity a year. In my own state of New York the magnificent Niagara Falls, St. Lawrence River and other waterfalls are capable of producing 4,000,000 h.p. of electricity a year. The Republican Party is ready to continue its policy of surrendering these resources outright to the power trust for private exploitation under a system of licensing. The Democratic Party, under the leadership of its recent candidate for President, Alfred E. Smith, and of Governor Roosevelt, are opposed to public operation and distribution, refusing to follow the example of our Canadian neighbor, the Province of Ontario. To aggravate the situation the Democratic Party in New York State, through Governor Roosevelt, is proposing a plan which if adopted would mean the expenditure by our state of about one billion dollars for the development of our waterfalls. When thus developed it would hand the industry over on a platter to the power trust which dominates New York politics. If adopted it would constitute the greatest gift ever given by a free government to private interests.

For the New Social Order

One of the most fraudulent political documents I have ever seen is that part of the New York Democratic handbook which represents Governor Roosevelt as advocating a power program in New York, modeled after the Ontario system. The key to the vast economies of the Ontario system is direct public distribution of electricity to the consumers. Governor Roosevelt is "opposed to public distribution. Let him speak for himself. As recently as October, 1928, the aspirant to national Democratic leadership, said: "I don't want, any more than the power interests, to put the people of the state into the business of distributing power to the

(Continued on Page Eight)

John Brown to American Youth

A Glorious Message for the Eager Young Men And Women of Today

By Louis Rabinowitz

ON the morning of October 17, 1859, the entire country was electrified by the telegraphic despatches flying about, concerning the capture of the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by a tiny group of Abolitionists and Negroes. The newspapers, in their usual manner, blazed forth with lurid headlines of revolution and strife, striking terror into the hearts and minds of the American people. But the set of despatches of the following morning, proved the absurdity of these prophecies with the announcement that the leader and part of his group of adherents had been captured, while the others had either escaped or been killed. The journals followed with editorials calling for the lynching of the leader and his men, and the people reading these sheets, cried Ditto.

But the leader of the attempt to capture the arsenal—who was he? At first the papers were silent. But public insistence prevailed, and the name of the man was reluctantly divulged. He was none other than John Brown. Old Pottawatomie Brown of Kansas! A descendant of one of the Mayflower Pilgrims. The same man who had not long before, led a dozen slaves out of Missouri into Canada to freedom. Again he had been attempting to free the slaves from the yoke of their exploiters. With a few rifles and little ammunition, aided by three of his sons and five colored men, John Brown intended to lead the slaves of Virginia to liberty.

But his attempt was frustrated, and he and his followers, with the exception of one son who escaped to New York, were condemned and killed. He was denounced throughout the land by Big Business men and their respective organs of publicity, as the blackest of villains. At the Republican Convention of 1860, they branded his attempt as "among the gravest of crimes." But there were a few thinkers of the day who understood the truth.

Emerson was led to say that Brown's death made the gallows glorious as the cross. He wished that "we might have health enough . . . not to cry 'madman' when a hero passes." Longfellow wrote in his journal, "This will be a great day in our history; the day of a new revolution quite as much needed as the old one." In 1881, Edward Atkinson stated to a southern audience that the day was not far distant when the workers would erect a statue of John Brown "in token of the liberty which he brought to the white men of the South." Victor Hugo pronounced Brown an apostle and a hero.

Whether John Brown was impractical and a sadly misguided fanatic, or whether he can be placed among the saints and the great heroes of history, is of no practical importance to the American worker. A single sentence John Brown uttered before he swung off into eternity—makes certain John Brown's prominence in the thoughts of the American working class. For his sentence and execution, he experienced not the slightest fear or regret, except for the loss of life he had occasioned. The following significant words written by John Brown, answer for John Brown, the apostle of freedom for the exploited: "It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause." And his cause was freedom for the exploited.

In the United States, the colored man is no longer, legally, a slave as of old. He has the same political status as that of the "free" white man. But slavery has not been abolished. Slavery of man by man still exists, and in a more intense and far-reaching form than Negro slavery ever could have survived. The wage-slave, the victim of the capitalist system, still carries the yoke of exploitation. The Negro had only been freed from the com-

paratively few chains of responsible Negro slavery, so that he might be forced to enter with his white fellow-workers into the powerful and terrible web of wage-slavery. The master of a Negro slave was forced to feed, shelter, and clothe his property, for the death or crippling of the slave was the master's loss. But the modern capitalist master need worry about none of these conditions concerning his factory or farm "hand." Work or no work, the Negro slave ate, was clothed and sheltered. But with unemployment, the modern wage-earner does not eat, but starves and freezes.

John Brown fought for the abolition of slavery. He fought for the extermination of those conditions in society which make for classes, wherein one class is able to exploit and consequently control the lives of another class. The immediate evil he died to destroy, has been uprooted and done away with. But the cause of Negro slavery, wage slavery, and all other slaveries that have ever reared their vicious heads in human society, still remains with us. The Profit Motive, the heart of the very existence of the capitalist system, still exists. It is, in truth, a many-headed dragon. John Brown died so that one of its heads might be chopped off. Many men and women have died in the past, that others of its heads might disappear. But new heads always grow upon the stumps left by the old ones. There is only one way to overcome and destroy, once for all time, this terrible parasite of mankind.

To kill it at its source of life. To remove its reason for existence, and leave it without any motive force. Then the body, left naked of spirit, will become a corpse and rot. 'Twill not be much of a job for the American workers, then, to

bury the stinking carcass.

The Profit Motive, the heart of the capitalist system, is the organ that must be removed. And it can be removed in only one efficient way. By removing the cause of profit-making—the segregating in the hands of a tiny few, of the ownership and absolute control of the social tools of production and the sources of the materials of production. How? By simply transferring these essential rights from those few unproductive exploiters, to the vast majority, the American workers, to whom these rights naturally belong. The disappearance of the Profit Motive and its consequent evil influences upon mankind, is guaranteed by the vesting of the rights of public ownerships and democratic control of these socially necessary tools and materials, in the hands of the producing class, the American workers.

Thus, we have a cause that is worthy of the name, because it is a real cause. Its ways are simple, and its influence is powerful. It is the hope and aspiration of the American working-class. And its movement is centered in the activities of the Socialist Party. John Brown was happy to die, for a cause. Was his death in vain? Didn't he leave a lesson? Do we feel that we can die without experiencing some of the glory that was with John Brown?

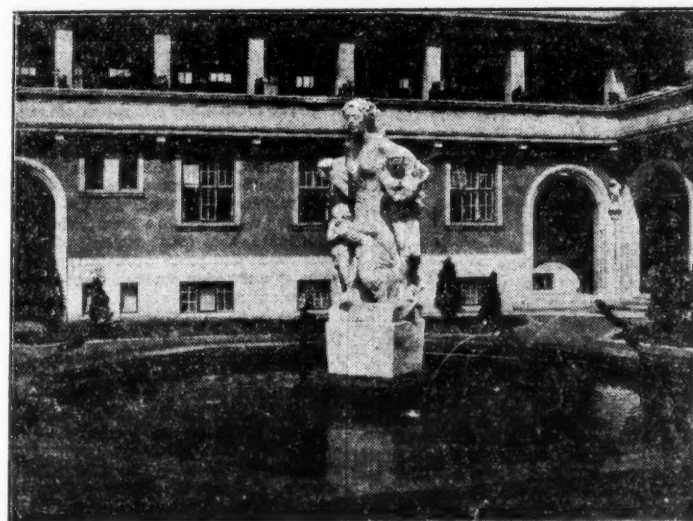
To feel assured that one has died for a cause. And such a cause! The extermination of exploitation! It is, indeed, a wonderful cause, and good. Yet, one need not die. He need only fight for this glorious cause, with hand and with brain. Solidly together, American youth cannot fail to accomplish such an object. John Brown's message still lives, for his cause is not yet won. So, let the cry ring forth!!! Young people of America—Unite, in the ranks of Socialism.

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Where Do We Go From Here?

NOW that election is over and there is not much to keep us out in the open, we are wondering what to do in the evenings when along comes a leaflet from the New History Society asking the honor of our presence at a series of twelve public lectures on "The Cause of Baha-U-Llah" in the Crystal Room of the Ritz Carlton Hotel.

This is a cause that we know very little about. In fact we do not even know what Baha-U-Llah. It may come from sitting on the damp ground or again in going out in the rain without your rubbers. At all events it sounds pretty interesting to us and we shall be around good and early at the private entrance of the Crystal Room to hear Mirza Ahmad Sohrab's snappily entitled first lecture, "The A. B. C. of the cause of Baha-U-Llah."

Best of all however, in our opinion will be the lecture of December 28th called, "Within or Without?" Which?

That sounds as though it were tailor-made for us for we have been without now for so long that if there is any way of getting within we hope Mirza is not just making up the lecture as he goes along but has the real low-down dope.

The New History Society which is running these lectures has regular initiations on the Fifteenth of each month. I don't know just how you get initiated into a history society. I suppose they make you recite parts of Xenophon's Anabasis backwards or live for a week on a Diet of Worms.

We were initiated into a Greek letter society once and they blindfolded us and fed us oysters smeared with asafetida (if that is the way you spell that awful stuff). So we are so keen on initiations and may just go to the lectures as an uninitiated neophyte absorbing as much as we can of Baha-U-Llah without bothering about being initiated.

Of course this won't take up all our time. There should be bowling, for example. Many and many a moon has waxed and waned since we hurried the bounding spheroid down the gutter. The pin boys, we hear, are asking anxiously about us. We always were their favorites, we gave them so little to do.

Dominoes likewise is another way of whileing away the long winter evening. It is about the only table game at which we can stay awake. Time and again we have attempted the intricacies of bridge but it is too much like a course in memory combined with civil war. The hostility which our playing invariably arouses in our partner is far from smouldering. It leaps into hot flame at about the third hand, especially when we are rash enough to bid. It seems to us that we could have just as much fun if we went at each other with fire-axes and fought it right out in the open.

And then we can get in some reading. Long since, for example, we promised to review Calverton's new book. It seems to be about lovers and we were so gosh-darned busy running for State Senator that we had to let love go by the board and now look at the darned thing. We mean the State Senate, not love.

Anyhow we are going to keep our promise and read "Three Strange Lovers" and also the biography of Einstein. It will be quite a change to get away from politics into the realms of higher mathematics. The only mathematics we have indulged in lately has been distinctly lower mathematics, trying to find our vote with the aid of a magnifying glass.

Speaking of books again, a brief glimpse into John L. Spivak's new book, "The Devil's Brigade," has roused our interest. It is about the Hatfield-McCoy feud. We once interviewed the last of the fighting Hatfields, a ferocious old gent who had had his eye shot out and kept a young arsenal back of his house. He was extremely mild-spoken and as gentle a murderer as you hope to meet.

I had taken a picture of him standing on the front porch of his home with the intention of printing it in a newspaper. In the course of our conversation, during which he told me that he was a great admirer of Napoleon and had read pretty nearly all the Napoleon literature available in that part of West Virginia, he mildly remarked that there were two sorts of folks whom he particularly disliked, newspapermen and detectives. And then with a strange light in his remaining eye he said that he never allowed his picture to be printed and that if anyone did print a picture of him it would be just too bad for the man who took it. I never sent that picture into the paper.

As we rush to press I have the glad announcement to make that on the heels of the Democratic landslide, my black cat, The Bear, gave birth to four kittens, one a sort of Maltese and the other three black. This now increases our cat family to six, which is quite a lot of cats for one New York apartment. So if you happen to be out of any black or Maltese kittens won't you let me supply the demand? Their pedigree is magnificent, the charge is nothing and the compensation is enormous.

All these kittens are of course, good Socialists. The Bear was quite disturbed over the fact that none of our candidates was elected, so deciding that what was needed was more Socialists, she did her comradely duty.

We were about to write a long poem in honor of the prolonged disappearance of Judge Crater but our sense of rhythm disappeared along with the judge and we got no further than "Can you tell us where is Crater, since he's given us the slip?"

The League for Industrial Democracy is giving a swell theater party on the evening of November Twelfth. The show is Vicki Baum's "Hotel" and we hope you will get a lot of tickets from Rose Shapiro, who is at the offices of the League at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City. See you in the lobby between the acts.

Well as Heywood Brown, so grandly quoted in a grand column of his the day after election, "When do we fight again?"

McAlister Coleman.

Battleships

All the labor used in the construction of battleships, which means employment in mines, chemical services, steel and iron works, the engineering, joinery, carpentry, plumbing, and painting trades can be transferred to the building, say, of houses, and a great variety of work which represents enduring forms of national wealth.—J. R. Clynes.

No man has any right to be rich. No man ever became rich by fair means. No man ever became rich by his own industry.—Robert Blackford.

Capitalism is very sick all over the world and the quacks in power have a difficult job trying to get it out of bed.

Our Weekly Foreign Letters

Socialism And the Far East

Some Misconceptions on China Cleared Up; A Warm Reception From Japan's Party

By Emile Vandervelde

IT will be known that I have undertaken a journey to the Far East in a purely private capacity, as the guest of Chinese university institutions.

But on my arrival in China I had to take account of the fact that in all circles people were too interested in what they continue to call the second international for it to be possible for me to ignore completely my position as president of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International.

At Harbin already, which remains a Russian pre-revolution town in Chinese territory, I was literally assailed by the most diverse delegations: workers and moujiks of the town and neighborhood, workers who had come especially from the Amur region, and Socialist revolutionaries who handed me for the L. S. I. a memorandum containing a very significant protest, in view of their hostility to the Soviets, against the fact that our executive had declared itself in favor of the suppression of the Sino-Russian (Soviet) condominium in the exploitation of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

At Mukden, and later at Peking, even Tuchuns, such as Marshals



Emile Vandervelde

Chang Hsueh-liang and Yen Hsi-Shan, demonstrated to me an interest for the "second international" only to be explained by their hostility to the third.

But at Peking I had conversations of quite another character with men belonging to the left of the Kuomintang, such as Wang Ching-wei and Chen Kung-po.

Wang and Chen, who have broken with Nanking, are still represented by the people belonging to the right of the Kuomintang as disgraceful Communists or at least as allies of the Communists. They themselves declare that in allying with Yen, the model governor, and Feng, "the Christian general," they have no other object than to put an end to the Fascist dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.

One thing is certain, in any case. It is absurd to represent them as having, or still having, an agreement with the Communists, to whom they have become frankly hostile; on the contrary, they manifest today a very likely sympathy for the principles and methods of the Labor and Socialist International.

When I had been officially received by the enlarged conference of the Kuomintang, which was meeting at Nan Hai in one of the pavilions of the old Imperial Palace, Wang Ching-wei made the most categorical declarations in this connection in his speech of welcome.

On the other hand, his friends and he insist very strongly that in future the international should have close and permanent relations with them through the exchange of documents and information.

Does it follow, as the Chinese newspapers have announced, that the left of the Kuomintang is on the point of asking formally for affiliation to the L. S. I.?

That is certainly a mistake. The program of immediate demands which they have just drawn up approximates in many points to those of the Social-Democratic parties. With regard to international policy, where colonialism and imperialism are concerned the agreement is still more marked.

But there are elements of every kind in the Kuomintang, from Conservatives to Socialists or quasi-Socialists, from the partisans of Chiang Kai-shek to those who oppose him by force of arms. The only link which unites them is, in the words of Sun Yat-sen, the "principle of racial struggle," the aspiration common to all the Chinese towards national independence—on which foreign imperialism would no longer infringe.

In these conditions, in order to make the affiliation of the elements of the left of the Kuomintang to the L. S. I. conceivable, it would be necessary for them to constitute themselves into a distinct party with a specifically So-

cialist program, separating themselves from other Chinese nationalist elements.

But that is, to say the least, a matter for the future.

The only thing which could be possible, and I want to add, essentially desirable at present, is that we should not lose contact, that we organize a regular exchange of documents and reciprocal information, and that from our side we neglect nothing to increase and strengthen the movement of real sympathy for the principles and action of the L. S. I., which is at present showing itself in China.

In Japan I found, alongside other proletarian parties of various tendencies, the Social-Democratic party, which has many times been mentioned in the "International Information" of the L. S. I., which secured more than 170,000 votes in the last election, and in respect of which it may reasonably be hoped that it will unite its action with ours in the near future.

We were received by its national council in Tokyo with a warm cordiality. Before the modest office which has just been opened and which serves as a "people's house" I was invited to plant a tree in memory of our visit, and on leaving for Shanghai I received from Prof. Abe a letter, the essential passage of which will be read with interest:

"Yesterday the executive com-

mittee had meeting to discuss the question whether our Social-Democratic party will join second international or not. After careful consideration we came to the following conclusions:

"1. We believe that Social-Democratic party of Japan is almost the same with second international in principles and policies.

"2. But we believe that time is not yet ripe for us to join second international because our party is not yet strong enough to participate in the international actions."

"But I have no doubt that time will come when our party will be the member of second international. Finally let me express my belief that your visit to this country was a great stimulus to the Socialist movement here."

To sum up, the impression made by these contacts, which of necessity were too brief, is that in Japan as in China, there is great sympathy for the international in advanced circles, but sympathy which is still in a diffused state.

To transform this sympathy into formal affiliation involving common action will be a matter of time. But affairs will move all the more quickly as the international multiplies its contacts with the Far East and turns to profit the obvious and enormous deception which the third international leaves among the peoples who have counted upon its assistance in order to realize their aspirations towards independence and the success of their efforts against imperialistic domination.

THE LESSON OF ITALIAN FASCISM

By G. E. Modigliani

PARIS

IT is high time to emphasize the fact that the local and national aspects of Fascism, to which so much exaggerated importance has been given in connection with events in Italy, have nothing to do with its real nature.

Fascism is the insurrection of the social reaction which rises, not against the threat of social "disorder," but against the approach of the new social order. In Italy Fascism is Catholic and Papal. Perhaps it will also be Catholic in Poland and in Austria. But it certainly isn't in Finland or in Germany. In Italy, and perhaps in Poland, Fascism is partly explained by the low state of culture of vast social strata. But I defy anyone to contend that this explanation holds good for Germany. It is said that Fascism triumphed in Italy because the Italians were cowardly, or at least poorly disciplined. In reality the Italians fought like the others in the World War, but they have been slandered more than the others by the ferocious

and incapable generals who led them so poorly. However we cannot point to the lack of warlike qualities in the Germans and Austrians to explain the electoral triumph of Hitler or the making of Starnberg, the Heimwehr chief, Austrian Minister of the Interior.

On the contrary, the social phenomena preparing for and accompanying the spread of Fascism are the same everywhere. In Italy, in 1919 and 1920 the agrarian reaction suspended agricultural work, as much as it could, in order to provoke misery and unemployment which worked admirably as sappers of proletarian energy and agents to provoke disturbances affording a pretext for swift and ferocious reprisals. It goes without saying that in Italy then it was all the easier to recruit Fascist gangs from among those suffering from hunger. And later misery and unemployment became the normal thing in Italy and were exploited by Fascists, already triumphant, but always in need of armed Pretorians. And in Germany, Austria and Poland are not unemploy-

ment and want the strongest allies of Hitler's Fascism and the Heimwehr?

Fascism was a joke in Italy so long as it was the extremist organization of a venal demagogue like Mussolini. It only became dangerous when agrarians and speculators financed it and made it the instrument of their blind and ferocious class hatred. But these ultra-reactionary forces alone would never have succeeded in arresting the working class drive if the middle classes, with their characteristically superficial and impulsive mentality, hadn't believed in the miraculous ability of the anti-Marxian and anti-labor demagogues. And now the same adhesion to Fascism by the same middle classes in Austria and Germany produces the same forward rush of the shock troops of the "Awakened" of nationalism, of anti-Semitism, of royalism.

And, alas! Here we see a repetition of the same lack of intelligent political and social collective understanding on the part of the masses most interested in con-

quering Fascism.

In Italy, when all too few of us vainly protested against aggravating the situation by trying to defeat Fascism through a 100 per cent social revolution, the intransigents at first dodged the question, then accused us of treason and, always, made it impossible to regroup the political and social forces which "would have been satisfied" to smash Fascism by reinforcing the Parliamentary and democratic regime. And today the same mistakes are producing the same results elsewhere. In Germany 4,500,000 Communist votes condemn Parliament and democracy, all to the advantage of the 6,000,000 Hitler Fascists. And who can tell but that in Austria, too, somebody within the ranks of the Socialists themselves won't begin to wonder if Austrian Socialism wouldn't have done better by being less intransigent so it might have been in power now and have the forces of the state at its disposal, instead of seeing those forces entirely in the hands of the Heimwehr and its leaders.

Yes, Fascism is a class phen-

omenon. But there are more than two classes, contrary to the ideas of those "Marxists" among whom Marx himself didn't care to be numbered. Indeed, there are those who distinguish two distinct classes within the working "class" itself—that of the industrial workers and that of the peasants. And it is still more apparent that what is called the "enemy class" is in reality a conglomeration of classes profiting by the capitalist regime in quite different ways and degrees. So that the proletariat above all the city workers, can easily find among the intermediate classes all the help needed to resist the real beneficiaries of the capitalist regime and to bring about the conquest of the State from the latter as the defense of democracy against all brands of Fascism.

This is the big lesson for the proletariat in the rise of Fascism. A united international front of all the Socialist and democratic states, linked together and supported by all the Socialist and democratic movements, is the only remedy for Fascism, the only bulwark against war.

Scanning the New Books

Pioneering in the Fight for Women's Rights

A Daughter's Eulogy

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

This small volume of three hundred pages, "Lucy Stone," by Alice Stone Blackwell, Little, Brown & Co., \$3, is the latest of the many biographies of woman suffrage pioneers purporting to evaluate impartially the service of this or that individual to the common cause. The thesis pressed at all points in this book is that Lucy Stone was the first, the only, the best of all workers in the Vineyard of the Lord. This thesis so motivates the author's mind that she misses her mother's chief contribution to the woman's movement of the 19th century.

Lucy Stone, as shown by her daughter, left her home at a tender age to earn a living, she put herself through college, she was an important part of the modern economic drive among women. That was the outstanding thing about her, and not, as her biographer seems to think, that she ante-dated some other woman in holding a suffrage meeting. Constant partial pleading as to Lucy Stone's chronological place in surface happenings prevents recognition on the part of Miss Blackwell of the economic roots of the suffrage movement and Mrs. Stone's very vital relation to them.

The general reader will get most from this book as an unintentional psychological study of a reformer in Victorian days who, unmoved by love of art, music or literature, ceased to just one idea—the emancipation of her sex. Lucy had a hard upbringing with simple, hard working people. Life was a narrow, self-sacrificing experience for her. Quite naturally as she grew up she never did anything spontaneously. As pictured by her daughter, she argued and argued until the moment of action came, and then she moved on an unswerving line of "duty." She seems never to have done anything because she wanted to, but always because she thought it "right." And for Lucy Stone that she thought a thing right, made it right. The biographer calls all this "apostolic zeal." The reader will incline to the more modern

conclusion reached by Henry B. Blackwell, the man she finally married. She argued with him from 1853 to 1855 as to whether marriage was not the grave of woman, whether the holy estate would advance or end Lucy's work. The young lover breaks in with the revelatory bombshell, p. 159, "Your views on the subject (marriage) are warped from the unfortunate impressions of your childhood." "Lucy Stone" should be on the desk of every psychologist.

Chapter XV. of this interesting biography has been assured, by its author, a wide-reading public. Miss Blackwell opens this section with—"Events were pending that led to a serious split among suffragists," and the paragraph ends, "Those who are not interested in the history of the woman suffrage movement should skip this chapter." Many beside the anointed won't skip. I did not skip.

The chapter will be dull reading for the neophytes and provocative for the initiated. Its challenging inaccuracies are even greater than its dullness. I will single out one slip, because I am so intimately connected with it: Miss Blackwell complains on p. 226 that the History of Woman Suffrage gives no explanation of the causes that led to division in the suffrage association, "but merely says: 'during the autumn of this year (1869) there was a secession from our ranks, and the preliminary steps were taken for another organization.'" etc. Miss Blackwell quotes exactly seven lines from the History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, p. 406, and says, and perhaps she believes, that is the sum total in the History of reference to the "Split." If Miss Blackwell will turn to p. 756 of that same Vol. II of the History of Woman Suffrage she will find Chapter XXVI—the longest chapter, by the way, in the volume—entirely devoted to Lucy Stone's association. A footnote will tell Miss Blackwell: "A history of this Association from its formation is compiled by Harriot E. Stanton from reports in the Agitator and Woman's Journal."

(Perhaps I should explain though it may add fuel to the fire, that the Harriot Stanton of those days lies buried in the Harriot Stanton Blatch of today.)

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the Editors of the History, granted me not seven lines but one hundred and six pages on which to spread out the seceders' view in their own words of why they rebelled and what they did after they rebelled. Not only this, but my superiors allowed me to decorate my chapter with two steel engravings, one of Lucy Stone and one of Julia Ward Howe. Through these same steel engravings I received, as it happened, the full flavor of the spirit of the secessionists of that day. Mrs. Howe in declining to send her picture for reproducing, thanked us for the "intended" honor of including her in the volume.

But whatever the cause of rebellion, its cure was so emphatic that Miss Blackwell ought not to have buried in an appendix the fact that when in 1850 the lambs laid down with the lions they elected as president of the united societies Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony as vice-president. To me the significant fact is that after an internecine war of twenty years the rank and file showed they preferred to be desiccated saints. The future historian of the suffrage movement will find this book suggestive of lines of research rather than reliable source material.

Religion And The State

The guiding principle in the political life of Luigi Luzzatti, one time prime minister of Italy, was that the human race is constantly progressing in the understanding and amelioration of social conditions. In attempting, in his own life, to further this progress, he became, as he himself put it, "a friend of every human being." His is the credit for the reforms which, more than any other legislation, bettered the lot of the working

class of his native country.

"God in Freedom" (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, \$5) is interesting, therefore, as the means by which Luzzatti sought to bring about the adoption by all countries of the program he carried out in Italy. He believed that all human progress and happiness are derived from the liberty of the individual in thought and in conscience. Therefore he advocated in his writings, as well as in his practical political endeavor, the acceptance by all legislatures of his formula "Free religions in a sovereign state." This conclusion, he thought, is inevitable; its failure would be inconsistent with his idealistic concept of progress. Luzzatti did not consider himself a direct agent, but only a catalyst, a means of hastening the acceptance of these views.

The book is a study in religious and legal history of the development toward the separation of church and state, a study of the development of religious liberty, without which there can be no human happiness. The canvas upon which Luzzatti draws his study is vast and comprehensive, containing sketches of China and India, besides those of countries whose religious and legal principles are more familiar. Indeed, quite apart from its significance as a study of religious liberty, the book is a valuable compendium of descriptions of religious and legal institutions throughout the world. Yet he handles this great mass of detail with the consummate ease and skill of a master, with clarity and profundity, and without losing sight for a moment of the central principle toward which he is driving.

JOSEPH L. BLAU.

Society has an excellent eye for the helpless: it waits trading on people unless they are really down.—John Galsworthy.

THE THOUSANDS OF READERS OF THE NEW LEADER ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE POWER OF THE PAPER GROW. YOU CAN HELP BY PATRONIZING OUR ADVERTISEMENTS.

Children's Delight

"Early Moon." (Carl Sandburg, Harcourt, Brace and Company,) is a collection of some seventy poems Carl Sandburg gathered especially for younger readers. Whether or not one agrees with the appropriateness of all the selections made is beside the point. For a variety of reasons but few of which are explicable, the word "poetry" has too long been associated, in the minds of youngsters, with things highfaluting and incomprehensible. It would probably painfully shock most any boy or girl to discover how often he or she has spoken poetry without suspecting it, just as Mollere's M. Jourdain was amazed to find that he had been speaking prose all his life (without knowing it). It is in this realization of the presence of poetry in the simple, the easily understandable and the things one sees every day, that lies the chief value of the book.

Hats, skyscrapers, tractors, toys, balloons, street windows, telephones, these are the things Sandburg finds poetry in. Gamblers, six month babies, fish criers, farmers, pawn-shop men, traffic cops, these are the people Sandburg writes about. And nature, Sandburg points out, is more than the conventional stars and sea and sunset, though he writes of these too. He sings his songs to buffaloes, pumpkins, crickets, weeds, fogs, corn, bugs, cabbage, and rats. No impenetrable aura of incomprehensibility here!

"Art," said Tolstol, "consists of three things. Simplicity, simplicity, and simplicity." None more effectively demonstrates the truth of that definition than Carl Sandburg. He writes simply of the simple things and the reader of his poetry, no matter how young, cannot but be awakened to the presence of beauty even in the seemingly most unimportant things. For such an awakening no debt of gratitude is too large.

BENJAMIN SIFF.

When there are no soldiers there is no war; where nobody is loaded nobody explodes.—Siarr Jordan.

The Chatter Box

Life Is a Worker in the Mines

Life
Is a worker in the mines.
Long hours spent twist gloom and care
And odors choking up the nose
Long hours staring in the dark
Toiling—aching—sweating blood
Year in, year out
Until mind and body are as one—
A piece of coal.
And burnt for fuel and then at last
Becomes a pallid, sickening ash
Of dirty white.

The lamp stuck there upon his hat
Glowed soft—then flickers and goes out.

Life
Is a worker in the mines—
He too . . . goes out.
Douglas B. Krantzsoor.

This is being written Saturday night before election. I shall be away in the mine country all of the week, and so, once in twenty years no polling booth will see me cloaked with my conscience, and no polling place will know my bulk on guard against the thieves of Tammany. The palpitating world will have to wait a full week at least to get my stimulating angle on how everything happened . . . or perhaps, Heaven forfend, didn't occur. Good luck till then.

Which would allow for the mention that Brewer and Warren, Inc., publishers, offer to the intelligent reading Americans a really important novel on the class struggle in this country . . . "The Devil's Brigade . . ." John Spivak is the author.

Jack Spivak used to work on the New York Call. I well remember his trenchant style of news reporting. He could cover a strike or a protest meeting as no Socialist reporter has ever improved upon for gripping truth and power to stir indignation. With the same magic as similar experience has done for my partner in letters across the valley of this page, Mac Coleman.

In this book the non-union tragedy of West Virginia takes on the fierce scope of national drama. The uprising of three thousand armed miners, the challenge of their leader, Frank Keeney to the State of West Virginia, the subsequent bloodshed . . . and the final intervention of the President Harding troops that quelled the rebellion are told in breath-taking manner. You just march on with that hopeful, quibbling band of genuine revolutionists into their hopeless adventure.

The strikingly original observation and recital of how the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud was actually buried between the two factions in order to join in the common struggle against the common foe should make fine stuff for educating the schematic Socialists of every wing and tenet, that only a firmly bound unity among the rebels against capitalism will ever avail for victory.

Here is a book at last that calls merely for intelligence and compassion in order to be thrilled by the printed word. And a story that will take that tired feeling out of you, who are only plausibly wishing for the Great Change.

This is the Chatterbox's Book of the Month . . . "The Devil's Brigade . . ." If the headline hasn't got you yet, get the book, at least.

Mary Fox, that efficient executive lady of the L. I. D. invites you all to come down to the National Theatre, on the evening of November 12, to enjoy "Hotel," a play that is reputed to outdo "Street Scene" in interest and dramatic value. The play comes here from Europe with the recommendation of continental critics, and the L. I. D. would never lead you wrong anyway.

If you see a frowsy headed, Roman-nosed, chinless guy with the wrong side of his bow-tie showing askew over the vest, walk up and introduce yourself to the only columnist in captivity who writes poems for all kinds of children . . . Here's one for instance:

FALLEN STARS

If you could stand at my window
And look with me out in the night,
There, low in the faraway darkness
I would show you the loveliest sight
Out to the north and the westward,
Then to the south and the east,
The earth is piled with so many stars,
A trillion quadrillion at least.
Some are heaped higher than hillsides,
Some are fast stretched out in strings,
And some are sprinkled like neighbors,
A few are the loveliest things.
Pa says that it is only the lighting
Of houses and street lamps and cars . . .
But I will keep right on believing
That they are the fallen stars . . .

And while the gentle mood is on me, in breezes Jean Jacques Corneil, a bird just flown from the jail of Poughkeepsie, and tells me in his baritone resonance how the Komedie Kops of that Dutchless County Commonwealth hauled him into the hoose-gow for daring to tell the citizens of that Republic-gamston village the message of Socialism. And he also bidden out the story of how Simon King, giant of a man and comrade withal just did the Samson stunt to the officers of justice and law and order there . . . A good tale in these days of head busting down at our own city hall . . . This getting into jail isn't such a bad habit for Socialists now and then. I don't mean just deliberately spitting and scratching yourself into it . . . Even a scurried pussy cat can effect such a victory.

But getting in while your head is clear and your protest against the gods rings with reason and a genuine love for justice and decency . . . That's accomplishment. I still glow with the memory of my first view of a detention cell in the Bronx . . . ten years ago . . . I envy Jean his latter day thrill . . . Keep it up old boy . . . speaking for the good fight . . . and getting pinched once in a while . . . in the cause . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Militarism

All nations attempting to live by conquest end by being themselves the victims of a military tyranny precisely similar to that which they hope to inflict; or, in other terms, the attempt to impose by force of arms a disadvantageous commercial situation to the advantage of the conqueror ends in the conqueror's falling a victim to the very disadvantage from which he hoped by a process of spoliation to profit.—Norman Angell.

A day will come when a cannon ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been.—Victor Hugo.

Otto H. Kahn, the banker, declares that the economic foundations of capitalism are sound and that our troubles are largely "mental." There is consolation for the jobless millions who should think they have jobs and quit worrying about unemployment.

The Socialist Party And Modern Political Thought

An address over the "Red Network" of the National Broadcasting Company, from Station WEAU, New York City, Wednesday, Oct. 22, 3 p. m.

By Louis Waldman

FROM the very beginning of the nation has swayed between two schools of political thought. One reflected the views and interests of wealth and special privilege. The other was associated with the aspirations and hopes of the common people seeking by democratic means to maintain a government that would bring happiness and contentment to all the people.

These strains pervade our social life today. The extreme views of the conservative tendency find expression in a policy of drifting and in speeches like those made by President Hoover at Kings Mountain, South Carolina. Reactionary thinking and policies know no geographic or political lines as far as the two old parties are concerned. The President's glorification of a non-existent "individualism" which existed in our pioneering days but is now outdated by a century, was voiced fittingly enough on Southern Democratic territory where political, industrial and social reaction reigns supreme. Amid the squalor and poverty of the southern mill villages, where men, women and even children of tender years are compelled to labor over 50 hours a week for a weekly wage often as low as \$12 the President declared that our social order is the best to be found anywhere in the world because, he claimed, everyone in our land has an equal chance in the race of life. He said that "the government trains the runners"; that "we strive to give them an equal start"; and, that "our government is the umpire of fairness."

The bi-partisan policy of drifting, of muddling through, of expenditures on past and future wars of three-fourths of our taxes, of our unsound tariff, of giving big business a free hand to exploit and rob our workers and consumers, of public misgovernment, waste and frequent corruption—all these spots in American life today are directly traceable to this outworn political philosophy.

The basic conflict between Socialist thinking and the views of the spokesmen of the dominant political parties is that we do not fairly train the runners; that we start, and that our government as do not strive to give them an equal administered by the Democratic and Republican parties is not an umpire of fairness.

The Socialists hold that the race can never be equal until in line with the great technical progress in industry, banking, commerce and transportation, we make equal progress in the adjustment of the machinery of government to our present social needs. In pioneer society, the philosophy of individualism may have been a sufficient guide. Our new social order based on large-scale industry and mass production has created social problems which require the introduction of the social concept in our government and in our lives. Into the political and economic thinking of our country, the Socialists have introduced the principles of

Government's Responsibility to Insure Workers' Security Is Major Socialist Premise; The Facts of "The Equal Race" And "The Umpire of Fairness"

social planning, social control, social responsibility, social insurance and similar social concepts.

What are the facts of industrial and social life today?

The 1927 report of the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue shows that there are 34,695 persons in the United States who reported an income of \$50,000 a year or over. According to Willford I. King of the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, approximately 35,000,000 wage and salaried workers in the United States earned in 1927, with an allowance made for unemployment, the sum of \$1,205 a year, or \$23.17 per week. There was one millionaire in the United States in that year to every 1,000 wage-earners whose average wages did not exceed \$23.17 per week. How equal could the race between these 35,000,000 wage and salaried workers and 35,000 millionaires with an annual income of \$50,000 and over?

The United States Department of Labor standard budgets in various cities brought down to June, 1930, reveal that a minimum health and decency budget for a family of five was approximately \$2,200 a year. Even the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, places a family budget at \$2,000. The salaried and factory wage-earners at the lowest scale of wages are thus compelled to live below the standard of American decency and comfort. They are forced to accept inadequate housing, food, clothing, education and cultural opportunities.

Imagine a race between the children of 35,000,000 wage-earners, particularly those of the lowest earnings, and the children of the 35,000 millionaires. Compare the chance for success and equality of opportunity of the child born on Fifth Avenue and the child born in one of our slum areas! It is a bit ludicrous to speak of everybody born in the United States starting from scratch in a race for life when the disparity in wealth and opportunity is as great as it is today.

The United States Bureau of Census indicates that the number of the unemployed in the United States this year was somewhere from four to six million. What have the administrations of the Democratic and Republican parties in states and nation done to make the race for this army, who with their families number somewhere between fifteen and twenty million people, equal with those who draw their dividends from surpluses put away in our industrial and commercial corporations?

According to the Standard American Corporation of Chicago, the stockholders for the first three-fourths of the year of 1930, received \$2,944,800,000 as against \$2,501,000,000 in the same period of 1929. The highest point in the post-war period for the amount of dividends disbursed was reached in 1929. Despite one of the severest unemployment periods in the history of our country, the amount of dividends disbursed in the 9 months of this year was greater than the banner year of 1929.

How impartial is the umpire who

permits six million wage-earners and their families to be starved or be on the verge of starvation, terrorized with insecurity, while permitting a handful of owners of industry every facility for making that race easy and assuring for them a speedy arrival?

It is the Socialist contention that the so-called individual equality of opportunity is largely a thing of the past. This is the age of chain stores, mergers and large corporate ownership and management. The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, one chain, has 7,000 stores, and does a larger gross business than the Pennsylvania Railroad. What chance has the corner grocer in competition with the Atlantic & Pacific chain stores? Why talk of equal opportunity for him in the race?

Commercial failures in the short period of one decade, increased 100 per cent; from 9,982 in 1918 to 23,842 in 1928. In 1930, the number was even larger. Not only is the wage and salaried worker under terrific handicaps in this so-called equal race, but even the small business man is placed at a notorious disadvantage in his fight to survive against the rapidly developing merger and monopoly.

Ex-ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard, is sponsor for the startling statement that 59 men, most of them financiers and industrialists, rule the United States. Who appointed these men as the rulers of America? What check have the people over them? To whom are they accountable? And how do they determine who shall hold political office, and who shall not? These 59 industrialists and bankers and others do in fact rule this country. They do so by reason of their economic power, which a complacent and supine bi-partisan Republican and Democratic rule has permitted them to build up.

Four companies control one-half of the copper resources in the United States. The United States Steel Corporation controls close to three-fourths of the ore supply in the country. Seventeen companies control 86 per cent of the nation's power, and 34 per cent is controlled by two of these. What chance has anyone to compete with the U. S. Steel Corporation, with the Anaconda Copper Company, or with the power trust? And what chance has the United States steel worker to bargain for wages, hours and conditions of employment in the United States Steel Corporation or its counterpart? What chance is there for the millions of farmers whose farms are being mortgaged in increasing number, and whose lot is progressively getting worse in this race of equal opportunity?

Let there be no mistake. Every time there is a merger in our industrial and commercial life, every step forward in the improvement of technological production brings Socialism nearer to our door. We hold that a maximum of efficiency in production must also bring an equitable distribution of the wealth produced. To bring that about, to win security for all the people, is the mission and hope of Socialism.

One of the primary functions of government is to guarantee to its people security against want. For the last nine months we have had a severe crisis of severe unemployment amidst plenty. The percentage of unemployed members of the American Federation of Labor, the more favored portion of our 40,000,000 wage and salary earning population, increased from 10 per cent in September, 1929, to over 22 per cent in August, 1930. Among the unskilled and unorganized the condition of unemployment is much worse. In my own state, New York, there are close to 500,000 jobless. These unemployed were callously left to shift for themselves by state Democratic administrations as well as the Federal Republican administration in this, the wealthiest nation in the world. President Hoover's recent interest in the problem is commendable but belated. The time to ward off the evil of enforced idleness was during the period of comparative prosperity. Remembering the Hoover promise of "a job for every man," and "a chicken for every pot," made in 1928, the voters may be forgiven if they look on President Hoover's current efforts at smacking of time-honored political promises that blossom annually, two weeks before election day.

We believe that the government must supply work to those willing and able to take it, or must by law compel industry and the community to provide for the jobless workers and their families by the enactment of a universal system of unemployment insurance. Provision should be made for the establishment and the setting up of agencies for the retraining of those workers permanently displaced by technological improvements, the merger and the stop-watch of modern production.

The Republican and Democratic leaders who seek to avoid their duty of providing the workers through unemployment insurance by calling such a system a "dole" are perfectly willing to countenance the pauperization of self-respecting American workers through the dole of private charity. We Socialists resent the pauperization of our workmen as contrary to the best American traditions. We urge upon the nation and the several states the adoption of unemployment insurance as a measure of justice. Unemployment insurance has proven itself sound economic and social policy. In Germany there are 16,738,000 workers covered by unemployment insurance. In Great Britain and Ireland, 12,000,000 are similarly protected; in all of continental Europe a total of 47,500,000 wage-earners receive insurance benefits during periods of unemployment.

The Socialist Program
The Socialist program proposes a shorter work day and a five-day week as an indispensable part of a sound solution of the unemployment problem. Of the 47,000,000 gainfully employed in the United States only approximately 4,000,000 are organized in trade unions. Even if all the unions were able and willing to make the fight for the five-day week and the shorter

work day, the employers of the organized trades could not possibly accede to this demand because of their inability to compete with the unorganized trades which can maintain almost unrestricted hours of employment. Only by state and federal legislation can the universal shorter work day and the five-day week be established. To that the Socialist Party is committed. Due to the pioneering of the Socialists, the movement for shorter hours is beginning to win the increasing support of economists, as well as a large army of wage and salaried workers, and progressive men and women in all walks of life.

Another contribution of Socialist thinking to our contemporary political life is a growing recognition of the need for the establishment by law of security for the aged. We are happy that this principle is gaining a foothold in American public life. The only disquieting feature about it is that the old political parties, reluctant yielding to popular pressure for justice to the aged, emasculate the principle and offer sugar-coated poor laws instead. The Socialist Party is committed to wage relentless war against indifference towards the upward of 2,000,000 aged men and women in the United States who are dependent in whole or in part upon charity to live through the declining days of their lives. We urge for the veterans of industry, multitudes or pensions as matter of right in the same way as veterans of wars and employees in civil service are pensioned.

The Workers' Health
In line with the Socialist principle that it is the function of government to guarantee to its citizens and people security against want, we have urged and are pressing upon public attention today a program of health and maternity insurance. A state investigation

conducted in Ohio, one of our large industrial states, found that the burden of sickness falls with crushing force upon the working people. About 20 per cent of the population were disabled for more than one week each year. One-fifth were disabled for from four to eight weeks; 6.4 per cent were disabled for from eight to twelve weeks; and 3 per cent for more than six months. It is estimated that in New York City 450,000 persons are disabled for from four to eight weeks each year and that 140,000 persons are disabled for from eight to twelve weeks a year.

A very recent study made by Dr. Louis I. Dublin and Robert J. Vane, Jr., on the causes of death by occupation, show that death rates for tuberculosis, to mention only one serious affliction among the working population, is from two and a half to nearly four times as high as among professional, mercantile and agricultural groups. In other words, for every one who dies from tuberculosis in the professional, mercantile and agricultural classes, four workingmen die from that fatal disease. In Germany, close to 32,000,000 are insured against invalidity and sickness. In England 18,000,000 persons are so insured; and in France, by an act signed last July, over 9,000,000 persons are likewise insured. On the other hand, in the United States not more than 1,000,000 mostly of the wealthier class, out of an entire population of 120,000,000 are partly insured against illness and invalidity.

The 47,000,000 wage and salary workers, and their families, are not protected by private insurance against disabling sickness. They cannot afford it on an average wage of \$23.17 a week. Most of what there is of disability insurance does not cover the great mass of our working population. Compensation laws cover disability due to industrial accidents arising from em-

ployment only. All other non-industrial accidents and diseases are the hazards of the unfortunate victims who are often compelled to become objects of charity or to suffer real privation. The first sufferers in the event of illness of the breadwinner are the women and children. Just as a persistent and patient campaign by the Socialist movement forced the Democratic and Republican parties to discard their individualistic laissez faire attitude and adopt workmen's compensation laws for industrial accidents, just so do we urge the American people to give the Socialists political power to enact adequate law providing for the security of the aged, the sick and the unemployed.

The Consumers Abandoned

Not only have our people as producers been deserted by the Republican and Democratic parties and left to the mercy of the owners of industry and commerce, but as consumers they have been abandoned to the greed of the public utility magnates. Billion dollar corporations and utility mergers are gripping the nation by its throat, taking full advantage of their monopolistic character, they have imposed exactions upon the consumers of our cities, states and nation which are becoming increasingly more difficult to bear.

The power trust alone has often exercised political control over our legislatures, regulating commissions and even a large portion of our national Congress. It has not hesitated to make its influence felt within the cabinet of the President. In its arrogance it did not hesitate to censor an address on power which United States Ambassador Sackett was to make to an International Congress. It has become a positive and ever-present menace to democratic institutions. Exercising control over this compact 10,000,000 dollar business they are seeking to steal from our

national government and the several states our last remaining great natural resource — water power. There are in the United States waterfalls capable of producing 40,000,000 h.p. of electricity a year. In my own state of New York the magnificent Niagara Falls, St. Lawrence River and other waterfalls are capable of producing 4,000,000 h.p. of electricity a year. The Republican Party is ready to continue its policy of surrendering these resources outright to the power trust for private exploitation under a system of licensing. The Democratic Party, under the leadership of its recent candidate for President, Alfred E. Smith, and of Governor Roosevelt, are opposed to public operation and distribution, refusing to follow the example of our Canadian neighbor, the Province of Ontario. To aggravate the situation the Democratic Party in New York State, through Governor Roosevelt, is proposing a plan which if adopted would mean the expenditure by our state of about one billion dollars for the development of our waterfalls. When thus developed it would hand the industry over on a platter to the power trust which dominates New York politics. If adopted it would constitute the greatest gift ever given by a free government to private interests.

For the New Social Order

One of the most fraudulent political documents I have ever seen is that part of the New York Democratic handbook which represents Governor Roosevelt as advocating a power program in New York, modeled after the Ontario system. The key to the vast economies of the Ontario system is direct public distribution of electricity to the consumers. Governor Roosevelt is opposed to public distribution. Let him speak for himself. As recently as October, 1928, the aspirant to national Democratic leadership, said: "I don't want, any more than the people of the state into the business of distributing power to the

(Continued on Page Eight)

John Brown to American Youth

By Louis Rabinowitz

ON the morning of October 17, 1859, the entire country was electrified by the telegraphic despatches flying about, concerning the capture of the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by a tiny group of Abolitionists and Negroes. The newspapers, in their usual manner, blazed forth with lurid headlines of revolution and strife, striking terror into the hearts and minds of the American people. But the set of despatches of the following morning, proved the absurdity of these prophecies with the announcement that the leader and part of his group of adherents had been captured, while the others had either escaped or been killed. The journals followed with editorials calling for the lynching of the leader and his men, and the people reading these sheets, cried "Ditto."

But the leader of the attempt to capture the arsenal—who was he? At first the papers were silent. But public insistence prevailed, and the name of the man was reluctantly divulged. He was none other than John Brown. Old Pottawatomie Brown of Kansas! A descendant of one of the Mayflower Pilgrims. The same man who had not long before, led a dozen slaves out of Missouri into Canada to freedom. Again he had been attempting to free the slaves from the yoke of their exploiters. With a few rifles and little ammunition, aided by three of his sons and five colored men, John Brown intended to lead the slaves of Virginia to liberty.

But his attempt was frustrated, and he and his followers, with the exception of one son who escaped to New York, were condemned and killed. He was denounced throughout the land by Big Business men and their respective organs of publicity, as the blackest of villains. At the Republican Convention of 1860, they branded his attempt as "among the gravest of crimes." But there were a few thinkers of the day who understood the truth.

A Glorious Message for the Eager Young Men And Women of Today

Emerson was led to say that Brown's death made the gallows glorious as the cross. He wished that "we might have health enough . . . not to cry 'madman' when a hero passes." Longfellow wrote in his journal, "This will be a great day in our history; the day of a new revolution quite as much needed as the old one." In 1881, Edward Atkinson stated to a southern audience that the day was not far distant when the workers would erect a statue of John Brown "in token of the liberty which he brought to the white men of the South." Victor Hugo pronounced Brown an apostle and a hero.

Whether John Brown was impractical and a sadly misguided fanatic, or whether he can be placed among the saints and the great heroes of history, is of no practical importance to the American worker. A single sentence John Brown uttered before he swung off into eternity—makes certain John Brown's prominence in the thoughts of the American working class. For his sentence and execution, he experienced not the slightest fear or regret, except for the loss of life he had occasioned. The following significant words written by John Brown, answer for John Brown the apostle of freedom for the exploited: "It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause." And his cause was freedom for the exploited.

In the United States, the colored man is no longer, legally, a slave as of old. He has the same political status as that of the "free" white man. But slavery has not been abolished. Slavery of man by man still exists, and in a more intense and far-reaching form than Negro slavery ever could have survived. The wage-slave, the victim of the capitalist system, still carries the yoke of exploitation. The Negro had only been freed from the com-

paratively few chains of responsible Negro slavery, so that he might be forced to enter with his white fellow-workers into the powerful and terrible web of wage-slavery. The master of a Negro slave was forced to feed, shelter, and clothe his property, for the death or crippling of the slave was the master's loss. But the modern capitalist master need worry about none of these conditions concerning his factory or farm "hand." Work or no work, the Negro slave ate, was clothed and sheltered. But with unemployment, the modern wage-earner does not eat, but starves and freezes.

John Brown fought for the abolition of slavery. He fought for the extermination of those conditions in society which make for classes, wherein one class is able to exploit and consequently control the lives of another class. The immediate evil he died to destroy, has been uprooted and done away with. But the cause of Negro slavery, wage slavery, and all other slaveries that have ever reared their vicious heads in human society, still remains with us. The Profit Motive, the heart of the very existence of the capitalist system, still exists. It is, in truth, a many-headed dragon. John Brown died so that one of its heads might be chopped off. Many men and women have died in the past, that others of its heads might disappear. But new heads always grow upon the stumps left by the old ones. There is only one way to overcome and destroy, once for all time, this terrible parasite of mankind.

To kill it at its source of life. To remove its reason for existence, and leave it without any motive force. Then the body, left naked of spirit, will become a corpse and rot. "Twilt not be much of a job for the American workers, then, to

bury the stinking carcass.

The Profit Motive, the heart of the capitalist system, is the organ that must be removed. And it can be removed in only one efficient way. By removing the cause of profit-making—the segregating in the hands of a tiny few, of the ownership and absolute control of the social tools of production and the sources of the materials of production. How? By simply transferring these essential rights from those few unproductive exploiters, to the vast majority, the American workers, to whom these rights naturally belong. The disappearance of the Profit Motive and its consequent evil influences upon mankind, is guaranteed by the vesting of the rights of public ownerships and democratic control of these socially necessary tools and materials, in the hands of the producing class, the American workers.

Thus, we have a cause that is worthy of the name, because it is a real cause. Its ways are simple, and its influence is powerful. It is the hope and aspiration of the American working-class. And its movement is centered in the activities of the Socialist Party. John Brown was happy to die, for a cause. Was his death in vain? Didn't he leave a lesson? Do we feel that we can die without experiencing some of the glory that was with John Brown?

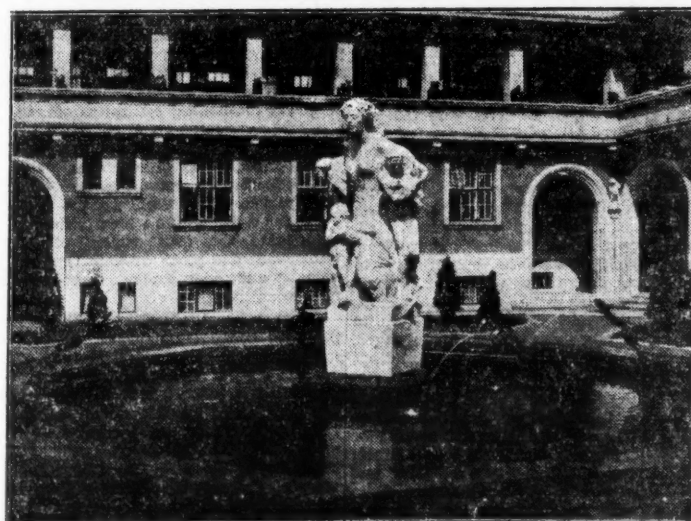
To feel assured that one has died for a cause. And such a cause! The extermination of exploitation! It is, indeed, a wonderful cause, and good. Yet, one need not die. He need only fight for this glorious cause, with hand and with brain. Solidly together, American youth cannot fail to accomplish such an object. John Brown's message still lives, for his cause is not yet won. So, let the cry ring forth!! Young people of America—Unite, in the ranks of Socialism.

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Socialist Party of America

2653 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Where Do We Go From Here?

NOW that election is over and there is not much to keep us out in the open, we are wondering what to do in the evenings when along comes a leaflet from the New History Society asking the honor of our presence at a series of twelve public lectures on "The Cause of Baha-U-Llah" in the Crystal Room of the Ritz Carlton Hotel.

This is a cause that we know very little about. In fact we do not even know what causes Baha-U-Llah. It may come from sitting on the damp ground or again in going out in the rain without your rubbers. At all events it sounds pretty interesting to us and we shall be around good and early at the private entrance of the Crystal Room to hear Mirza Ahmad Sohrabi's mappily entitled first lecture, "The A. B. C. of the cause of Baha-U-Llah."

Best of all however, in our opinion will be the lecture of December 28th called, "Within or Without?"

That sounds as though it were tailor-made for us for we have been without now for so long that if there is any way of getting within we hope Mirza is not just making up the lecture as he goes along but has the real low-down dope.

The New History Society which is running these lectures has regular initiations on the Fifteenth of each month. I don't know just how you get initiated into a history society. I suppose they make you recite parts of Xenophon's Anabasis backwards or live for a week on a Diet of Worms.

We were initiated into a Greek letter society once and they blindfolded us and fed us oysters smeared with asafetida (if that is the way you spell that awful stuff). So we are so keen on initiations and may just go to the lectures as an uninitiated neophyte absorbing as much as we can of Baha-U-Llah without bothering about being initiated.

Of course this won't take up all our time. There should be bowling, for example. Many and many a moon has waxed and waned since we hurried the bounding spheroïd down the gutter. The pin boys, we hear, are asking anxiously about us. We always were their favorites, we gave them so little to do.

Dominoes likewise is another way of whiling away the long winter evening. It is about the only table game at which we can stay awake. Time and again we have attempted the intricacies of bridge but it is too much like a course in memory combined with civil war. The hostility which our playing invariably arouses in our partner is far from smouldering. It leaps into hot flame at about the third hand, especially when we are rash enough to bid. It seems to us that we could have just as much fun if we went at each other with fire-axes and fought it right out in the open.

And then we can get in some reading. Long since, for example, we promised to review Calverton's new book. It seems to be about lovers and we were so gosh-darned busy running for State Senator that we had to let love go by the board and now look at the darned thing. We mean the State Senate, not love.

Anyhow we are going to keep our promise and read "Three Strange Lovers" and also the biography of Einstein. It will be quite a change to get away from politics into the realms of higher mathematics. The only mathematics we have indulged in lately has been distinctly lower mathematics, trying to find our vote with the aid of a magnifying glass.

Speaking of books again, a brief glimpse into John L. Spivak's new book, "The Devil's Brigade," has roused our interest. It is about the Hatfield-McCoy feud. We once interviewed the last of the fighting Hatfields, a ferocious old gent who had had his eye shot out and kept a young arsenal back of his house. He was extremely mild-spoken and as gentle a murderer as you hope to meet.

I had taken a picture of him standing on the front porch of his home with the intention of printing it in a newspaper. In the course of our conversation, during which he told me that he was a great admirer of Napoleon and had read pretty nearly all the Napoleon literature available in that part of West Virginia, he mildly remarked that there were two sorts of folks whom he particularly disliked, newspapermen and detectives. And then with a strange light in his remaining eye he said that he never allowed his picture to be printed and that if anyone did print a picture of him it would be just too bad for the man who took it. I never sent that picture into the paper.

As we rush to press I have the glad announcement to make that on the heels of the Democratic landslide, my black cat, The Bear, gave birth to four kittens, one a sort of Maltese and the other three black. This now increases our cat family to eight, which is quite a lot of cats for one New York apartment. So if you happen to be out of any black or Maltese kittens won't you let me supply the demand? Their pedigree is magnificent, the charge is nothing and the compensation is enormous.

All these kittens are of course, good Socialists. The Bear was quite disturbed over the fact that none of our candidates was elected, so deciding that what was needed was more Socialists, she did her comradely duty.

We were about to write a long poem in honor of the prolonged disappearance of Judge Crater but our sense of rhythm disappeared along with the judge and we got no further than "Can you tell us where is Crater, since he's given us the slip?"

The League for Industrial Democracy is giving a swell theater party on the evening of November Twelfth. The show is Vicki Baum's "Hotel" and we hope you will get a lot of tickets from Rose Shapiro, who is at the offices of the League at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City. See you in the lobby between the acts.

Well as Heywood Brown, so grandly quoted in a grand column of his the day after election, "When do we fight again?"

McAlister Coleman.

Battleships

All the labor used in the construction of battleships, which means employment in mines, chemical services, steel and iron works, the engineering, joinery, carpentry, plumbing, and painting trades can be transferred to the building, say, of houses, and a great variety of work which represents enduring forms of national wealth.—J. R. Clynes.

No man has any right to be rich. No man ever became rich by fair means. No man ever became rich by his own industry.—Robert Blanchford.

Capitalism is very sick all over the world and the quacks in power have a difficult job trying to get it out of bed.

Our Weekly Foreign Letters

Socialism And the Far East

Some Misconceptions on China Cleared Up; A Warm Reception From Japan's Party

By Emile Vandervelde

It will be known that I have undertaken a journey to the Far East in a purely private capacity, as the guest of Chinese university institutions.

But on my arrival in China I had to take account of the fact that in all circles people were too interested in what they continue to call the second international for it to be possible for me to ignore completely my position as president of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International.

At Harbin already, which remains a Russian pre-revolution town in Chinese territory, I was literally assailed by the most diverse delegations: workers and moujiks of the town and neighborhood, workers who had come specially from the Amur region, and Socialist revolutionaries who handed me for the L. S. I. a memorandum containing a very significant protest, in view of their hostility to the Soviets, against the fact that our executive had declared itself in favor of the suppression of the Sino-Russian (Soviet) condominium in the exploitation of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

At Mukden, and later at Peking, even Tuchuns, such as Marshals



Emile Vandervelde

Chang Hsueh-liang and Yen Hsi-Shan, demonstrated to me an interest for the "second international" only to be explained by their hostility to the third.

But at Peking I had conversations of quite another character with men belonging to the left of the Kuomintang, such as Wang Ching-Wei and Chen Kung-Po.

Wang and Chen, who have broken with Nanking, are still represented by the people belonging to the right of the Kuomintang as disgraceful Communists or at least as allies of the Communists. They themselves declare that in allying with Yen, the model governor, and Feng, "the Christian general," they have no other object than to put an end to the Fascist dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.

One thing is certain, in any case. It is absurd to represent them as having, or still having, an agreement with the Communists, to whom they have become frankly hostile; on the contrary, they manifest today a very lively sympathy for the principles and methods of the Labor and Socialist International.

When I had been officially received by the enlarged conference of the Kuomintang, which was meeting at Nan Hai in one of the pavilions of the old Imperial Palace, Wang Ching-Wei made the most categorical declarations in this connection in his speech of welcome.

On the other hand, his friends and he insist very strongly that in future the international should have close and permanent relations with them through the exchange of documents and information.

Does it follow, as the Chinese newspapers have announced, that the left of the Kuomintang is on the point of asking formally for affiliation to the L. S. I.?

That is certainly a mistake. The program of immediate demands which they have just drawn up approximates in many points to those of the Social-Democratic parties. With regard to international policy, where colonialism and imperialism are concerned the agreement is still more marked.

But there are elements of every kind in the Kuomintang, from Conservatives to Socialists or quasi-Socialists, from the partisans of Chiang Kai-shek to those who oppose him by force of arms. The only link which unites them is, in the words of Sun Yat-sen, the "principle of racial struggle," the aspiration common to all the Chinese towards national independence—on which foreign imperialism would no longer infringe.

In these conditions, in order to make the affiliation of the elements of the left of the Kuomintang to the L. S. I. conceivable, it would be necessary for them to constitute themselves into a distinct party with a specifically So-

cialist program, separating themselves from other Chinese nationalist elements.

But that is, to say the least, a matter for the future.

The only thing which could be possible, and I want to add, essentially desirable at present, is that we should not lose contact, that we organize a regular exchange of documents and reciprocal information, and that from our side we neglect nothing to increase and strengthen the movement of real sympathy for the principles and action of the L. S. I., which is at present showing itself in China.

In Japan I found, alongside other proletarian parties of various tendencies, the Social-Democratic party, which has many times been mentioned in the "International Information" of the L. S. I., which secured more than 170,000 votes in the last election, and in respect of which it may reasonably be hoped that it will unite its action with ours in the near future.

We were received by its national council in Tokyo with a warm cordiality. Before the modest office which has just been opened and which serves as a "people's house" I was invited to plant a tree in memory of our visit, and on leaving for Shanghai I received from Prof. Abe a letter, the essential passage of which will be read with interest:

"Yesterday the executive com-

mittee had meeting to discuss the question whether our Social-Democratic party will join second international or not. After careful consideration we came to the following conclusions:

"1. We believe that Social-Democratic party of Japan is almost the same with second international in principles and policies.

"2. But we believe that time is not yet ripe for us to join second international because our party is not yet strong enough to participate in the international actions."

"But I have no doubt that time will come when our party will be the member of second international. Finally let me express my belief that your visit to this country was a great stimulus to the Socialist movement here."

To sum up, the impression made by these contacts, which of necessity were too brief, is that in Japan as in China, there is great sympathy for the international in advanced circles, but sympathy which is still in a diffuse state.

To transform this sympathy into formal affiliation involving common action will be a matter of time. But affairs will move all the more quickly as the international multiplies its contacts with the Far East and turns to profit the obvious and enormous deception which the third international leaves among the peoples who have counted upon its assistance in order to realize their aspirations towards independence and the success of their efforts against imperialistic domination.

THE LESSON OF ITALIAN FASCISM

By G. E. Modigliani

PARIS

It is high time to emphasize the fact that the local and national aspects of Fascism, to which so much exaggerated importance has been given in connection with events in Italy, have nothing to do with its real nature.

Fascism is the insurrection of the social reaction which rises, not against the threat of social "disorder," but against the approach of the new social order. In Italy Fascism is Catholic and Papal. Perhaps it will also be Catholic in Poland and in Austria. But it certainly isn't in Finland or in Germany. In Italy, and perhaps in Poland, Fascism is partly explained by the low state of culture of vast social strata. But I defy anyone to contend that this explanation holds good for Germany. It is said that Fascism triumphed in Italy because the Italians were cowardly, or at least poorly disciplined. In reality the Italians fought like the others in the World War, but they have been slandered more than the others by the ferocious

and incapable generals who led them so poorly. However we cannot point to the lack of warlike qualities in the Germans and Austrians to explain the electoral triumph of Hitler or the making of Starheimberg, the Heimwehr chief, Austrian Minister of the Interior.

On the contrary, the social phenomena preparing for and accompanying the spread of Fascism are the same everywhere. In Italy, in 1919 and 1920 the agrarian reaction suspended agricultural work, as much as it could, in order to provoke misery and unemployment which worked admirably as sappers of proletarian energy and agents to provoke disturbances affording a pretext for swift and ferocious reprisals. It goes without saying that in Italy then it was all the easier to recruit Fascist gangs from among those suffering from hunger. And later misery and unemployment became the normal thing in Italy and were exploited by Fascists, already triumphant, but always in need of armed Pretorians. And in Germany, Austria and Poland are not unemploy-

ment and want the strongest allies of Hitler's Fascism and the Heimwehr?

Fascism was a joke in Italy so long as it was the extremist organization of a venal demagogue like Mussolini. It only became dangerous when agrarians and speculators financed it and made it the instrument of their blind and ferocious class hatred. But these ultra-reactionary forces alone would never have succeeded in arresting the working class drive in the middle classes, with their characteristic superficial and impulsive mentality, hadn't believed in the miraculous ability of the anti-Marxian and anti-labor demagogues. And now the same adherence to Fascism by the same middle classes in Austria and Germany produces the same forward rush of the shock troops of the "Awakened" of nationalism, of anti-Semitism, of royalism.

And, alas! Here we see a repetition of the same lack of intelligent political and social collective understanding on the part of the masses most interested in con-

quering Fascism.

In Italy, when all too few of us vainly protested against aggravating the situation by trying to defeat Fascism through a 100 per cent social revolution, the intrants at first dodged the question, then accused us of treason and, always, made it impossible to regroup the political and social forces which "would have been satisfied" to smash Fascism by reinforcing the Parliamentary and democratic regime. And today the same mistakes are producing the same results elsewhere. In Germany 4,500,000 Communist votes condemn Parliament and democracy, all to the advantage of the 6,000,000 Hitler Fascists. And who can tell but that in Austria, too, somebody within the ranks of the Socialists themselves won't begin to wonder if Austrian Socialism wouldn't have done better by being less intransigent so it might have been in power now and have the forces of the state at its disposal, instead of seeing those forces entirely in the hands of the Heimwehr and its leaders.

Yes, Fascism is a class phen-

omenon. But there are more than two classes, contrary to the ideas of those "Marxists" among whom Marx himself didn't care to be numbered. Indeed, there are those who distinguish two distinct classes within the working "class" itself—that of the industrial workers and that of the peasants. And it is still more apparent that what is called the "enemy class" is in reality a conglomeration of classes profiting by the capitalist regime in quite different ways and degrees. So that the proletariat above all the city workers, can easily find among the intermediate classes all the help needed to resist the real beneficiaries of the capitalist regime and to bring about the conquest of the State from the latter as the defense of democracy against all brands of Fascism.

This is the big lesson for the proletariat in the rise of Fascism. A united international front of all the Socialist and democratic states, linked together and supported by all the Socialist and democratic movements, is the only remedy for Fascism, the only bulwark against war.

Scanning the New Books

Pioneering in the Fight for Women's Rights

A Daughter's Eulogy

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

This small volume of three hundred pages, "Lucy Stone," by Alice Stone Blackwell, Little, Brown & Co., \$3. is the latest of the many biographies of woman suffrage pioneers purporting to evaluate impartially the service of this or that individual to the common cause. The thesis pressed at all points in this book is that Lucy Stone was the first, the only, the best of all workers in the Vineyard of the Lord. This thesis so motivates the author's mind that she misses her mother's chief contribution to the woman's movement of the 19th century.

Lucy Stone, as shown by her daughter, left her home at a tender age to earn a living, she put herself through college, she was an important part of the modern economic drive among women. That was the outstanding thing about her, and not, as her biographer seems to think, that she ante-dated some other woman in holding a suffrage meeting. Constant partial pleading as to Lucy Stone's chronological place in surface happenings prevents recognition on the part of Miss Blackwell of the economic roots of the suffrage movement and Mrs. Stone's very vital relation to them.

The general reader will get most from this book as an unintentional psychological study of a reformer in Victorian days who, unmoved by love of art, music or literature, cleaved to just one idea—the emancipation of her sex. Lucy had a hard unbraving life with simple, hard working people. Life was a narrow, self-sacrificing experience for her. Quite naturally as she grew up she never did anything spontaneously. As pictured by her daughter, she argued and argued until the moment of action came, and then she moved on an unswerving line of "duty." She seems never to have done anything because she wanted to, but always because she thought it "right." And for Lucy Stone that she thought a thing right, made it right. The biographer calls all this "apostolic zeal." The reader will incline to the more modern

conclusion reached by Henry B. Blackwell, the man she finally married. She argued with him from 1853 to 1855 as to whether marriage was not the grave of woman, whether the holy estate would advance or end Lucy's work. The young lover breaks in with the revelatory bombshell, p. 159, "Your views on the subject (marriage) are warped from the unfortunate impressions of your childhood." "Lucy Stone" should be on the desk of every psychologist.

Chapter XV. of this interesting biography has been assured, by its author, a wide-reading public. Miss Blackwell opens this section with—"Events were pending that led to a serious split among suffragists," and the paragraph ends, "Those who are not interested in the history of the woman suffrage movement should skip this chapter." Many beside the anointed won't skip. I did not skip.

The chapter will be dull reading for the neophytes and provocative for the initiated. Its challenging inaccuracies are even greater than its dullness. I will single out one slip, because I am so intimately connected with it: Miss Blackwell complains on p. 226 that the History of Woman Suffrage gives no explanation of the causes that led to division in the suffrage association, "but merely says: 'during the autumn of this year (1869) there was a secession from our ranks, and the preliminary steps were taken for another organization.'" etc. Miss Blackwell quotes exactly seven lines from the History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, n. 406, and says, and perhaps she believes, that is the sum total in the History of reference to the "Split." If Miss Blackwell will turn to p. 756 of that same Vol. II of the History of Woman Suffrage she will find Chapter XXVI—the longest chapter, by the way, in the volume—entirely devoted to Lucy Stone's association. A footnote will tell Miss Blackwell: "The history of this Association from its formation is compiled by Harriot E. Stanton from reports in the 'Agitator and Woman's Journal,'

(Perhaps I should explain though it may add fuel to the fire, that the Harriot Stanton of those days lies buried in the Harriot Stanton Blatch of today).

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the Editors of the History, granted me not seven lines but one hundred and six pages on which to spread out the seeders' view in their own words of why they rebelled and what they did after they rebelled. Not only this, but my superiors allowed me to decorate my chapter with two steel-engravings, one of Lucy Stone and one of Julia Ward Howe. Through these same steel-engravings I received, as it happened, the full flavor of the spirit of the secessionists of that day. Mrs. Howe in declining to send her picture for reproducing, thanked us for the "intended" honor of including her in the volume.

But whatever the cause of rebellion, its cure was so emphatic that Miss Blackwell ought not to have buried in an appendix the fact that when in 1890 the lambs laid down with the lions they elected as president of the united societies Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony as vice-president. To me the significant fact is that after an internecine war of twenty years the rank and file showed they preferred to be led by juicy radicals than by desiccated saints. The future historian of the suffrage movement will find this book suggestive of lines of research rather than reliable source material.

Religion And The State

The guiding principle in the political life of Luigi Luzzatti, one time prime minister of Italy, was that the human race is constantly progressing in the understanding and amelioration of social conditions. In attempting, in his own life, to further this progress, he became, as he himself put it, "a friend of every human being." His is the credit for the reforms which, more than any other legislation, benefited the lot of the working

class of his native country.

"God in Freedom" (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, \$5) is interesting, therefore, as the means by which Luzzatti sought to bring about the adoption by all countries of the program he carried out in Italy. He believed that all human progress and happiness are derived from the liberty of the individual in thought and in conscience. Therefore he advocated in his writings, as well as in his practical political endeavor, the acceptance by all legislators of his formula "Free religions in a sovereign state." This conclusion, he thought, is inevitable; its failure would be inconsistent with his idealistic concept of progress. Luzzatti did not consider himself a direct agent, but only a catalyst, a means of hastening the acceptance of these views.

The book is a study in religious and legal history of the development toward the separation of church and state, a study of the development of religious liberty, without which there can be no human happiness. The canvas upon which Luzzatti draws his study is vast and comprehensive, containing sketches of China and India, besides those of countries whose religious, and legal principles are more familiar. Indeed, quite apart from its significance as a study of religious liberty, the book is a valuable compendium of descriptions of religious and legal institutions throughout the world. Yet he handles this great mass of detail with the consummate ease and skill of a master, with clarity and profundity, and without losing sight for a moment of the central principle toward which he is driving.

JOSEPH L. BLAU.

Society has an excellent eye for the helpless: it voids treading on people unless they are really down.—John Galsworthy.

THE THOUSANDS OF READERS OF THE NEW LEADER ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE POWER OF THE PAPER GROW. YOU CAN HELP BY FURNISHING OUR ADVERTISERS.

Children's Delight

"Early Moon." (Carl Sandburg, Harcourt, Brace and Company.) is a collection of some seventy poems Carl Sandburg gathered especially for younger readers. Whether or not one agrees with the appropriateness of all the selections made is beside the point. For a variety of reasons but few of which are explicable, the word "poetry" has too long been associated, in the minds of youngsters, with things highfaluting and comprehensible. It would probably painfully shock most any boy or girl to discover how often he or she has spoken poetry without suspecting it, just as Moliere's M. Jourdain was amazed to find that he had been speaking prose all his life (without knowing it). It is in this realization of the presence of poetry in the simple, the easily understandable and the things one sees every day, that lies the chief value of the book.

Hats, skyscrapers, tractors, toys, balloons, street windows, telephones, these are the things Sandburg finds poetry in. Gamblers, six month babies, fish criers, farmers, pawn-shop men, traffic cops, these are the people Sandburg writes about. And nature, Sandburg points out, is more than the conventional stars and sea and sunset, though he writes of these too. He sings his songs to buffaloes, pumpkins, crickets, weeds, frogs, corn, bugs, cabbages, and rats. No impenetrable aura of incomprehensibility here!

"Art," says Tolstol, "consists of three things. Simplicity, simplicity, and simplicity." None more effectively demonstrates the truth of that definition than Carl Sandburg. He writes simply of the simple things and the reader of his poetry, no matter how young, cannot but be awakened to the presence of beauty even in the seemingly most unbecoming things. For such an awakening no debt of gratitude is too large.

BENJAMIN SIFF.

When there are no soldiers there is no war; where nobody is loaded nobody explodes.—Starr Jordan.

The Chatter Box

Life Is a Worker in the Mines

Life
Is a worker in the mines.
Long hours spent twist gloom and cars
And odors choking up the nose
Long hours slaving in the dark,
Toiling—aching—sweating blood
Year in, year out
Until mind and body are as one—
A piece of coal,
And burnt for fuel and then at last
Becomes a pallid, sickening ash
Of dirty white.

The lamp stuck there upon his hat
Glowed soft—then flickers and goes out.

Life
Is a worker in the mines—
He too . . . goes out.
Douglas B. Krantzor.

This is being written Saturday night before election. I shall be away in the mine country all of the week, and so for once in twenty years no polling booth will see me cloistered with my conscience, and no polling place will know my bulk on guard against the thieves of Tammany. The palpitating world will have to wait a full week at least to get my stimulating angle on how everything happened . . . or perhaps, Heaven forbid, didn't occur. Good luck till then.

Which would allow for the mention that Brewer and Warren, Inc., publishers, offer to the intelligent reading Americans a really important novel on the class struggle in this country . . . "The Devil's Brigade . . ." John Spivak is the author.

Jack Spivak used to work on the New York Call. I well remember his trenchant style of news reporting. He could cover a strike or a protest meeting as no Socialist reporter has ever improved upon for gripping truth and power to stir indignation. Years of work among the miners had left him with the same magic as similar experience has done for my partner in letters across the valley of this page, Mac Coleman.

In this book the non-union tragedy of West Virginia takes on the fierce scope of national drama. The uprising of three thousand armed miners, the challenge of their leader, Frank Kenney to the State of West Virginia, the subsequent bloodshed . . . and the final intervention of the President Harding troops that quelled the rebellion are told in breath-taking manner. You just march on with that hopeful, quixotic band of genuine revolutionists into their hopeless adventure.

The strikingly original observation and recital of how the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud was actually buried between the two factions in order to join in the common struggle against the common foe should make fine stuff for educating the schismatic Socialists of every wing and tenet, that only a firmly bound union among the rebels against capitalism will ever avail for victory.

Here is a book at last that calls merely for intelligence and compassion in order to be thrilled by the printed word. And a story that will take that tired feeling out of you, you who are only piously wishing for the Great Change.

This is the Chatterbox's Book of the Month . . . "The Devil's Brigade . . ." If the headline hasn't got you yet, get the book, at least.

Mary Fox, that efficient executive lady of the L. I. D. invites you all to come down to the National Theatre, on the evening of November 12, to enjoy "Hotel," a play that is reputed to outdo "Street Scene" in interest and dramatic value. The play comes here from Europe with the recommendation of continental critics, and the L. I. D. would never lead you wrong anyway.

If you see a frowny headed, Roman-nosed, chinless guy with the wrong side of his bow-tie showing askew over the vest, walk up and introduce yourself to the only columnist in captivity who writes poems for all kinds of children . . . Here's one for instance:

FALLEN STARS

If you could stand at my window
And look with me out in the night,
There, low in the faraway darkness
I would show you the loveliest sight.
Out to the north and the westward,
Then to the south and the east,
The earth is piled with so many stars,
A trillion quadrillion at least.
Some are heaped higher than hillsips,
Some are just stretched out in strings,
And some are sprinkled like neighbors,
A few are the loneliest things.
Pa says that is only the lighting
Of houses and street lamps and cars . . .
But I will keep right on believing
That they are the fallen stars . . .

And while the gentle mood is on me, in breezed Jean Jacques Coronal, a bird just flown from the jail of Poughkeepsie, and tells me in his baritone resonance how the Komedey Kops of that Dutchesse County Commonwealth hauled him into the hoose-gow for daring to tell the citizens of that Republican ridden village the message of Socialism. And he also booms out the story of how Simon King, giant of a man and comrade with just did the Samson stunt to the pillars of justice and law and order there . . . A good tale in these days of head busting down at our own city hall . . . This getting into jail isn't such a bad habit for Socialists now and then. I don't mean just deliberately splitting and scratching yourself into it . . . Even a scurried pussy cat can effect such a victory.

But getting in while your head is clear and your protest against the gods rings with reason and a genuine love for justice and decency . . . That's accomplishment. I still glow with the memory of my first view of a detention cell in the Bronx . . . ten years ago . . . I envy Jean his latter day thrill . . . Keep it up old boy . . . speaking for the good fight . . . and getting pinched once in a while . . . in the cause . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Militarism

All nations attempting to live by conquest end by being themselves the victims of a military tyranny precisely similar to that which they hope to inflict; or, in other terms, the attempt to impose by force of arms a disadvantageous commercial situation to the advantage of the conqueror ends in the conqueror's falling a victim to the very disadvantage from which he hoped by a process of spoliation to profit.—Norman Angell.

A day will come when a cannon ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been.—Victor Hugo.

Otto H. Kahn, the banker, declares that the economic foundations of capitalism are sound and that our troubles are largely "mental." There is consolation for the jobless millions who should think they have jobs and quit worrying about unemployment.

The Guild Twice Takes The Theatre

The Stage

The Movies

Music

At the Rivoli



Norma Talmadge's new picture, "Du Barry, Woman of Passion," is at the Rivoli Theatre. In it she is supported by William Farnum and Conrad Nagel.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE VIRGIN CONQUERED

"ELIZABETH THE QUEEN" By Maxwell Anderson. At the Guild Theatre.

THE Theatre Guild's new offering, "Elizabeth the Queen," is a masterpiece of the stage, with Lynn Fontanne at her best as the once called virgin queen. The story of her love, in her late years, for the young Essex, stormingly played by Alfred Lunt, of her love for the lord and its conflict with her queenly pride, makes effective melodrama, fittingly garbed in the costumes of history. Maxwell Anderson has provided the piece with sound psychological turns, with frequently striking dialogue, and with the trappings of court intrigue and lovely jealousies that historical dramas require. The whole is gloriously theatrical, and most effective. The Guild has a hit.

This much said, reservations creep slowly in. One recalls an article by the Lunts, in which they declare that good acting should be done by the Lunts, and Lynn Fontanne illustrates this by taking a napkin and a sugar bowl to become Queen Elizabeth. Excellent as her Queen Elizabeth is, one cannot help reflecting that much of its power comes from the most elaborate make-up she requires—without which that masculine voice, even now strained at times, would sound artificial. Historical plays, too, if they seek more than the moment's effect, are true either to history or to gathered legend; Maxwell Anderson tells a tale so different from any given that he is really offering us an original, invented story, and luring our interest by attaching it to figures already known and seductive. As one might invent a new love-affair for Cleopatra—or Godiva. Finally,

while it is no reflection on the present play, the accumulated impression strengthens that, for some time—"The Guardsman," the Gally in "Volpone," "Meteor," and Essex now—Alfred Lunt has chosen or been given parts that are alike, that call for a definite sense of superiority, a swaggering or subtle display of his self-esteem, a "Miles gloriosus" role. While Lunt plays this type to the life, as to the manner born, the Guild should beware lest it has, or is developing, a narrow capability, instead of the versatile actor one likes to imagine as leader of its company. But, with the exception of Dudley Digges, the best players the Guild has had in its permanent company have been women; and in "Elizabeth the Queen" Lynn Fontanne gives further demonstration of her great prowess.

WIND OVER ASIA

"ROAR CHINA." By S. M. Tretyakov. At the Martin Beck.

The Theatre Guild's first venture of the season, a Russian picture of China, is a good old melodrama on the grand scale (almost opera bouffe) with the sides reversed. The English and American heroes have become snobbish tourists, crooked commercial men, and cruel sailors; the "yellow dog" has been transfigured into a long-suffering, justly indignant, and ultimately triumphant hero. For, of course, the play ends with the uprising of the Chinese proletariat. Despite the obvious distinctions of this ink-well villain and white-wash hero play, the piece is stirring as it moves along—much as were the good old melodramas of the ten-twenty-thirty cent days. The stage is the shoreward, with real water and Chinese boats, whose high sails make a background until they move off, for the scenes on the British man-of-war beyond.

The threat of this battleship hangs over the entire play; indeed, the guns almost batter down the drama. For the gigantic scale of the cannon—actual size—the real water, the real Chinamen in many roles, keep one too frequently conscious that this is a clever stunt of staging, and prevent full absorption in the movement. But as a sample of Soviet theatre, "Roar China" is vivid and worth while.

TWO'S COMPANY

"THREE'S A CROWD." A revue mostly by Howard Dietz. With Clifton Webb, Libby Holman, and Fred Allen. At the Selwyn.

There are three excellent reasons (among minor items of considerable interest) for a visit to the Selwyn. One is Clifton Webb, whose voice and feet and face have a way with them. One more, and a lot more, is Fred Allen, whose art in the monologue is as imitatively individual as his humor is knowing, well-timed, and well-put. The third is a lively lass named Margaret Lee, first general assistant, female, to these deft doers. (The new Garrick Galeties have a song to end torch songs, which makes us think of Libby Holman.)

The opening bedroom scene of

Henry B. Forbes Brings "School Girl" to B'way Week of November 17

Henry B. Forbes will bring to Broadway during the week of November 17 his new production of "School Girl," a play by A. W. Pezet and Carman Barnes, based on the novel of the same name by Miss Barnes, which was written when she was only 15.

Though the play takes its name from the novel which made a sensation a few months ago and is based on the work, the authors have dramatized not so much the novel as the emotions of the story's leading character, an adolescent girl who finds growing up a serious and sometimes tragic process.

Joanna Roos, whose work last season in "Uncle Vanya" called for very favorable comments from critics and the public, will be featured. She is supported by an able cast that includes Charles Waldron, as the father; Helen Claire, and Michael Barr, as the young lover.

Richard Bennett On Supporting Casts

Producers were wont, once upon a time, to engage a well known star for a certain part and consider the job of casting completed once the contract was signed. The other actors, they reasoned, didn't matter and could be picked up by the bushel on a price basis.

Stars, with a clause in their contracts providing that all members of the cast must have their O. K. aided in this idea by vetoing the hiring of well known or skilled players, lest others take away from the star's glory. But things change even in the theatre, and today the spectacle of a star surrounded by nobodies and incompetents is far less common.

Richard Bennett, star of "Solid South," Lawton Campbell's comedy at the Lyceum Theatre, believes that the old idea was unsound, and asserts that the star's glory is actually heightened when he or she is surrounded by expert mimes. From the very beginning he urged Alexander McKaig to engage a supporting cast of high competence, and since Mr. McKaig felt the same way already, Mr. Bennett's power of persuasion were put to no great test.

As a result, examination of the cast of "Solid South" discloses a roster of players every one of whom is well known in the theatre.

"Three's A Crowd" turns into a chant "There ain't gonna be no beds." Also, there are very few parlor stories. Which leaves us the bath. The next scene, therefore, is "In Marbled Halls," and there is embarrassment in a maid's being locked in the bathroom while a man is in the tub; but oh! that final recognition. The skits and songs speed gaily along, with Fred Allen ever our choice, and again good dancing. But several plays recently have more effectively advertised Walter Winchell. Deft patter, and neat but suggestive allusion, are hard to recapture to convey in a review; but they shine throughout the revue. In rapidity of pace, in sheer entertainment and comment upon such passing shows as Polar trips and family growth, there is abundance of merit and mirth in "Three's A Crowd."

APOLLO THEATRE

WEST 44th ST. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30.

George White Flying High

Bert Lahr—Oscar Shaw

GOOD SEATS AT BOX-OFFICE

Eves. \$1.50 to \$5.50

Wed. & Sat. Mats. \$1 to 3.

FIRST THEATRE ASSEMBLY

PRODUCTION OF THE SEASON

Walter Greenough, Dir., Presents

ROOM OF DREAMS

CONTINENTAL COMEDY

Empire Theatre

Broadway and 40th Street

Eves. 8:30 Mats. Saturday

"ONE OF THE IRRESISTIBLE THINGS OF THE THEATRE."

—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

MR. GOLDEN PRESENTS

Frank Craven

in His Own Play

"That's Gratitude!"

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE

West 58th Street

The Star Comic of a Smash Hit Musical



Bert Lahr is considered one of the greatest comedians on the stage today. He is to be seen in George White's "Flying High" which is still at the Apollo.

"Room of Dreams" Inaugurates the Walter Greenough Theatre Assembly Season at Empire

As distance goes it is only two short blocks from the humble Princess theatre in West 39th street to the majestic Empire at 40th and Broadway, but measured in the terms of the theatre it is a mighty stride indeed.

It tells the story of the progress of Walter Greenough and his creation, the New York Theatre Assembly, which modestly came into existence last season, taking over the old Princess to produce five plays, and which begins its second season next week when it leases the Empire from the Charles Frohman interests for the presentation of "Room of Dreams."

With the theatre set for the presentation of its first play, the Theatre Assembly launches its season of 1930-31 with the obligation to its members to produce five plays of a quality worthy their support. The opening play, "Room of Dreams," is the only play definitely scheduled but the Assembly has in its possession a number of approved manuscripts, from which the four succeeding offerings will be selected.

The Strand Holds Over "The Doorway to Hell"

A new wrinkle in gangland machinations is revealed in Warner Bros. tense melodrama of the underworld, "The Doorway to Hell," which is in its second week at the Strand Theatre, with Lewis Ayres, star of "All Quiet," featured as a Napoleonic beer baron.

A gang member, who runs afoul of the law, expects his mob to do everything in its power to "spring" him—get him free—even to the point of planning a jail delivery.

The picture is an intimate study of gang life and shows the organization and the method of operation, with all its ramifications, of the illicit beer-runners who have sprung up since prohibition. It reveals also how impossible it is for a gangster to quit with a whole skin once he has become involved.

MAJESTIC

THE 44th W. of B'way

Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

NEW MUSICAL HIT

NINA ROSA

By Harbach-Romberg-Caesar

with ETHEL TERRY

Robertson Leonard Ceeley

AND 100 OTHERS

350 Seats. Seats \$3 to \$4.40;

450 to \$1 to \$2.50

JANE COWL

in a new production of Shakespeare's

TWELFTH NIGHT

with Leon Quartermaine, Arthur Hohl,

Walter Kingsford, Jessie Ralph

Maxine Elliott's Theatre

39th Street, East of Broadway

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

EDGAR WALLACE'S

Sensational Hit!

"ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season!

"A melodrama among melodramas—tremendously exciting—fast and thrilling—a hair-raiser."

—Robert Garland-Telegram

EDGAR WALLACE'S

FORREST THEATRE

WEST 47th STREET

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

TORCH SONG

ARTHUR HOPKINS Presents

Settings by CLEON THROCKMORTON

In Henry B. Forbes' New Play



"School Girl" will come to Broadway the week of Nov. 17. In it will be Joanna Roos, who will be remembered for her fine work in "Uncle Vanya." She is supported by an able cast of Broadway favorites.

Fox Brooklyn Has a Grand Bill; "Renegades" On Screen; Stage Acts

The Fox Theatre at Flatbush and Nevins introduces an entirely new and interesting program, including the first showing in Brooklyn of "Renegades," simultaneous with the New York premier. It is said to be the finest picture of the French Legion to reach the screen since the advent of the "talkies."

Noah Beery, George Cooper and Gregory Gaye are a contrasting but delightful trio, Baxter's care-free and rollicking comrades in his adventures and misadventures, and C. Henry Gordon, a newcomer to the talkies, is thoroughly convincing as the Legion officer.

In addition, Fanchon & Marco offer their lavish "Rose Garden" idea on the stage. Featured herein are Red Donahue & Uno, Harold Stanton, Rio & Lunny, 3 Jacks & Queen, stagemod's foremost adagioists; Helen Fetch, beautiful athletic specialist; the Aerial Girls, spectacular trapeze artists, and the living rosebuds, the Sunkist Beauties.

Opera for Children

The various musical opportunities New York affords for children are interestingly continued in the series of grand opera presentations arranged by the Sarah Lind Opera Company, mornings at 11.

At Town Hall. The first of these is "Hansel and Gretel," today; followed by "Cinderella" on Nov. 28. The season's offerings include "Coe d'Or," "Tales of Hoffman," "Marta," and "Mignon," all of which should bring delight to many children, and afford effective introduction to the treasures of music.

Theatrephones at Plaza

A new service feature at Leo Brecher's Plaza Theatre on East 58th Street is the installation of "Theatrephones" for the hard of hearing which has just been completed. These devices enable even those whose hearing is seriously impaired to enjoy modern screen entertainment. No additional charge for the service is made at the Plaza.

Theatre Guild Presents

Elizabeth The Queen

Guild Theatre

52nd Street, West of Broadway

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

Theatre Guild Presents

ROAR CHINA

Martin Beck Theatre

43rd St. W. of 8th Ave.

Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

LAURA D. WILCK

The International Film Star

LYA DE PUTTI

In her American Stage Debut in

MADE IN FRANCE

A Smart Farce Comedy

with JACK LARRIC

with a great cast

CORT THEATRE

W. 48 St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

LYSISTRATA

Uproarious Comedy Hit, with

BLANCHE YURKA, ERNEST TRUOX, CHARLES COBURN,

NYDIA WESTMAN, ERIC DRESSLER, HOPE EMERSON,

RUTH GARLAND, JEROME LAWLER, MARY MORRIS,

ETIENNE GIRARDOT, IAN WOLFE

and 70 others

44th St. Theatre

West of Broadway

Eves. 8:40; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Nov. 7-8-9-10

"Ten Days That Shook the World"

Nov. 11-12-13

"Czar Ivan the Terrible"

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE

32 WEST EIGHTH STREET

Between 8th and 9th Avenues

Continues at the Beacon Theatre



Irving Aaronson continues as the stage attraction at the Beacon Theatre on Broadway and 74th street. This is his fifth week here, and it seems that his popularity will keep him here many more weeks.

News Reel Theatre Celebrates Anniversary

The News Reel Theatre last week rounded out its first year of successful operation. Devoted exclusively to the showing of the news of the world in sound and pictures, this revolutionary amusement enterprise has exceeded all hopes held for it by its sponsors.

"The duty of the News Reel Theatre is to present the news fifty-two weeks a year and there isn't anything that I can imagine important enough to divert us from this purpose," Mr. Harvey, general manager, explained. Then he added:

"We are happy on this occasion to be regarded as the most successful theatrical innovation of the year and the forerunner of a chain of similar theatres in the capitals of the world. This summer we opened a London News Reel Theatre. It was my pleasure to be there in an advisory capacity and on the opening night was sure that our success here would be repeated in the world's largest city."

ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St.

Per. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

WARNER BAXTER

in

Renegades

A Fox Movietone Drama of Love, War, Hate, in the foreign legion, with

MYRNA LOY

NOAH BERRY

ON THE STAGE

Return of

ERNO RAPEE

directing the ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, also Stage Ensemble.

The Perfect Romance

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OUTWARD BOUND

A Warner Bros. & Vitaphone Picture

WARNER BROS. THEA.

B'way, at 51st St.

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Sun. 2-6-8:45

Good Seats 50c, 75c, \$1.00

Uncensored Confessions of a Baby-Face Killer

Warner Bros. present

"The Doorway to Hell"

with LEW AYRES

Star of "All Quiet" and "Common Clay"

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Continuous

Popular Prices

Midnight Shows

Otis SKINNER

as the rascal of Bagdad in

KISMET

A First National & Vitaphone Picture

HOLLYWOOD THEATRE

Reay & 31st St.

Daily 2:15-8:45

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All Seats Reserved

ANN HARDING

Star of "Holiday"

IN HER LATEST TRIUMPH

"GIRL OF THE GOLDEN WEST"

DAVID BELASCO'S LATEST PLAY

CAMEO

2nd St. & B'way

In Laura Wilck's New Play



Lya De Putti, international film star, comes to the Cort Theatre this week in Jack Larric's new farce comedy "Made in France."

Mr. Harvey let it be known that approximately 2,000,000 people have paid admission to the theatre since it opened, with a weekly average of about 35,000. What is more the News Reel Theatre, Mr. Harvey said, is immune to the average theatre ills and is only slightly affected by seasonal slumps.

Newspaper men, headed by Adolph Ochs, publisher of the New York Times, are the theatre's best clients. All other professions are well represented, with educators in the lead.

A wild baby who made old men act childish!

Warner Bros. Present

THE LIFE of the PARTY

Winnie Lightner

Faster and Funnier Than

"Gold Diggers of Broadway"

Warner Bros.

Winter Garden

Continues: Popular Prices: Midnight Shows

CAPITOL

Broadway and 5

Joseph Moskowitz Looks Back 20 Years

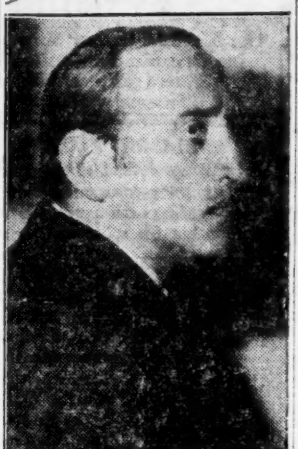
This is the twentieth anniversary of one of the more unique figures on the East Side, which has remained undaunted by the years which have swept over it. It was just twenty years ago this week that Joseph Moskowitz and his wife opened a tiny restaurant at Houston and Rivington Streets. The misadventure of the crowds with her real home-cooking, and Moskowitz held them there, entranced by his virtuosity on that bizarre Gypsy instrument, the Cymbalon. Many patrons who frequented Moskowitz's when they were struggling for fame still pay visits there, now that they have reached that fame. Such men as Konrad Bircovich, Michael Gold, and George Joan Nathan found inspiration there for stories and articles. It was, and is, the meeting place for Louis Mann, General Coleman T. de Pont, and Stephen Graham. Among its musical patrons are Alma Gluck, Efrem Zimbalist, Sascha Jacobson and George Kuzco.

The new location has all the features, and the reminiscences, of the old, with many new points in its favor. For one thing, it is much larger, and has added a Yiddish Orchestra, which plays excellent jazz for dancing.

Hadley to Conduct Manhattan Symphony Sunday, November 16

Luisa Silva will be the soloist at the first concert of the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, Henry Hadley conducting, at Carnegie Hall, November 16, at 9 P. M. Mrs. Silva was born in the Hawaiian Islands and began her musical studies in San Francisco. She is comparatively new to her

The Celebrated Director and Founder of the Yiddish Art Theatre



After a successful tour of South America, Maurice Schwartz is back in New York, where he begins his new season at the newly renovated Second Avenue Theatre. It was here that Schwartz made his first appearance in this country.

own land because she has spent the past few years singing in opera and concert in Italy, France, Spain, Germany and Holland where she was hailed by critics as "the Duse of the lyric stage."

This concert will be broadcast by WOR.

On November 30, Ruggiero Ricci will play the Beethoven Concerto at Mecca Auditorium with his teacher, Louis Persinger, conducting the orchestra.

Both of these concerts are of an unusually sensational character and are being looked forward to with great interest.

"The Life of the Party," With Winnie Lightner, At the Winter Garden

Making "The Life of the Party," current at the Winter Garden Theatre, was mere play for Winnie Lightner, screenland's clowning comedienne, because all she had to do was act natural. A rough-house tomboy in real life, with a penchant for strenuous pastimes and throwing people around, Winnie just had a lot of fun in the picture.

Her ready wit and mastery of repartee, which makes her the life of any party she is in, are employed to great advantage in portraying the sophisticated song plugger who drops a life of hell-room living and a diet of canned beans and turns gold digger with a vengeance. Rather, she organizes a gold digging business of which she is the directing genius.

Winnie Lightner's rapid-fire lines, spontaneous humor and pithy epigrams supply the life of the picture, and Charles Judels' house-wrecking propensities, and Charles Butterworth's droll humor as Col. Joy, all combine to add to the hilarity of "The Life of the Party." Others in the cast, which was directed by Roy del Ruth, are Claudia Dell, John Davidson and Arthur Hoyt.

Publicity Directors Association Next Meeting Nov. 13

The Publicity Directors Association of America, which includes representatives of all industries and organizations, met at the Astor Hotel on Thursday, October 23, and decided to hold its next meeting at a dinner on Thursday, November 13.

In MGM's Special Production at the Astor



"War Nurse" pictured in the sensational novel of the same name is now at the Astor Theatre. Robert Montgomery and June Walker are pictured above in a scene from that production which was directed by Edgar Selwyn.

Week of Excellent Pictures at the 8th St. Playhouse; 2 Revivals

At the Eighth Street Playhouse, commencing with Friday, November 7th, for four days only, will be presented a revival of "Ten Days that Shook the World." The events of the ten days in which the final struggle took place with soldiers, sailors, workers, men of the street, and even by women participating, is pictured with the skill of a supreme genius by Sergi Eisenstein and his collaborators.

For three days commencing Tuesday, November 11th, up to and including November 13th, will be revised "Czar Ivan the Terrible," starring L. Leonidoff of the Moscow Art Theatre.

On the same program, will be presented "Paganini in India," "Cactus Kid," a Mickey House Cartoon, "General Ginsberg."

New History Society to Hold 2nd Free Lecture Sunday, November 9

The New History Society announces that the Bazaar and Oriental Fete which the Caravan, a section of the organization, held recently at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, sponsors of the movement, was a highly successful affair, both socially and financially.

The flight from Newark Airport, chances for which were sold at the Bazaar, will take place on Sunday, November 9, at 3 P. M.

Tomorrow evening at eight-thirty, the second free lecture of the season will be given at the Ritz-Carlton, Madison Avenue and 46th Street, Mr. Chanler and Mirza Ahmad Sohrab will both speak. Mr. Chanler's subject being "Investigation of Truth in the Cause of Bahá'u'lláh" and Mr. Sohrab's "The Liberator of God."

ACTORS UNION
Office 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Orchard 1923
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

BONNAY EMBROIDERS UNION
Local 68, 1 L. G. W. U., 7 E. 15th St.
Algonquin 5874
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Baitz, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS UNION
LOCAL NO. 9, Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Pflaum, Sec'y.

BUTCHERS UNION
Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Office and headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

BUTCHERS UNION
HEBREW
Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A.
175 E. B'way
Orchard 7766
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Sec'y: SAMUEL SUBSEMAN
ISIDORE LIEF
Business Agents

CAPMAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave. Phone Orchard 8660-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M. Sec'y: S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

CLOTHING CUTTERS UNION
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office, 120 E. 12th Street; Stuyvesant 3506. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Philip Orlosky Manager; I. Machin, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone Watkins 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Reisman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd Floor. Telephone Algonquin 6800-1-2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Sec'y.

FUR WORKERS UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. 4100. Officers: Morris Kaufman, General President; Harry Berger, General Secretary-Treasurer.

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.
LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7922. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 8:30 P. M. Charles Steisky, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS UNION
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 940 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 0788. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 P. M. Sec'y: Victor President, Sam Kohn; Business Agent, H. Kalinowski; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Kohn.

HEBREW TRADES
175 East Broadway; Telephone Dry- dock 8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 P. M. Sec'y: M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

INTERNATIONAL PAINTERS' UNION
Local 2, International Painters' Union, Office and headquarters, 940 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 0788. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 P. M. Sec'y: Victor President, Sam Kohn; Business Agent, H. Kalinowski; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Kohn.

PAINTERS' UNION
Local 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, 100 E. 10th St., Room 10. Sec'y: Robert Benfroit, Sec'y-Treas. Samuel Mandel, President.

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LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 8 John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 E. 7th St., Room 2700-10, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:30 P. M.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
3 West 16th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION
Local No. 10, 1 L. G. W. U.
Office, 100 W. 38th St. Telephone W. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Perlman, Manager-Sec'y; Max Stoller, Chairman of Exec. Board; David Frumkin, Asst. Manager.

LITHOGRAPHERS
OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Office, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 7794. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Frank J. Hanson, Vice-President; Frank Schiel, Sec'y; Emanuel Thelen, Sec'y-Treasurer; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION
LOCAL 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, P. O. Box 100, 640 Broadway, Phone Spring 4548; uptown office, 30 West 37th Street, Wisconsin 1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Specter; Sec'y-Treas., Morris Rosenberg; Secretary, Louis Fuchs; Business Manager; Louis Feldman.

MILK DRIVERS UNION
LOCAL 584, I. U. of T.
Office, 205 W. 14th St.
City, Local 584 meets on 2nd Thursday of the month at 8 P. M. in the office. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8 P. M. in the office. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Louis Feldman, Secretary-Treasurer. SEE THAT YOUR MILK MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION
LOCAL 101, A. F. of L.
Office, 100 E. 10th St.
Regular meetings second Wednesday of every month, 8 P. M. Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y-Treas.: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
Office, Algonquin 7622. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8 P. M. in the office. Rubin Rubenstein, President; Louis Feldman, Vice-President; Louis Feldman, Sec'y; Louis Feldman, Sec'y-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION
LOCAL 499, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, 100 E. 10th St., Room 10. Sec'y: Robert Benfroit, Sec'y-Treas. Samuel Mandel, President.

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PAINTERS' UNION No. 261
Office, 100 E. 10th St., Room 10. Sec'y: Robert Benfroit, Sec'y-Treas. Samuel Mandel, President.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
New York Joint Board. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 52 West 21st Street, New York. Phone Gramercy 1023. Philip Horowitz, Chairman; Jacob Levin, Secretary-Treasurer; A. Barnett Wolfe, Manager.

DRESSERS UNION
LOCAL 3, A. C. W. A. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St., Room 10. Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y-Treas.: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD
Of Greater New York. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office, 11-37 Arton Place, Brooklyn. All locals meet every Wednesday evening, 8 P. M. Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y-Treas.: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6
Offices and headquarters, 24 W. 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y-Treas.: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman; Sec'y: Louis Feldman.

VEST MAKERS' UNION
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. M. Greenberg, Sec'y-Treas. Peter Monat, Manager. Office, 31 West 15th Street, Phone, Watkins 8091. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evenings.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION
LOCAL 1, 41 East 29th St.; Tel. Gramercy 0843. Jack Lander, Sec'y; William Lander, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every Thursday at 8 P. M. in the office. Always look for The Labor Union, 218 East 10th St.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
LOCAL 20, I. L. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St., Phone, Madison Square 1634. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Louis Feldman, Sec'y; Louis Feldman, Sec'y-Treasurer.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS UNION
LOCAL 62 of I. L. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St., Phone, Madison Square 1634. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Louis Feldman, Sec'y; Louis Feldman, Sec'y-Treasurer.

LABOR LYCEUM
919 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGG 3812

LABOR TEMPLE
243-247 EAST 84th ST. Workmen's Educational Association. Free library open from 1 to 10 P. M. Halls for meetings, entertainments and balls. Telephone RECENT 1033

Government of the people, for the people, by the people, shall not perish from the earth.—Lincoln.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION

During the past week contributors to the "Mutual Aid Fund" were: C. W. Epomeal, Kensington, Md.; \$2. Mrs. Elizabeth A. C. Brown, Hallowell, Me.; \$1. Mrs. Emma Byrne, Wilmunecia, Ky.; \$2. J. E. Carahan, Fayetteville, Ark.; \$1. Ray W. Chamberlain, Davenport, Iowa; \$2. C. E. Coplin, Emmet, Idaho; \$2. H. Culman, Honolulu, T. H.; \$2. E. X. Dickinson, Stahol, N. J.; \$1. C. M. Eis, Palisades, Wash.; \$2. S. Hakanson, Seattle, Wash.; \$2. Mandel Haluska, Chicago, Ill.; \$2. M. J. Morton, Albemarle, N. C.; \$1. S. S. Osato, Ludlow, Va.; \$1. Karl A. Zeiner, Allentown, Pa.; \$1.

The above contributions pay for 400 leaflets, which have been mailed out; prepaid to those who asked for them.

Winnie Higgins Contest

Winnie Higgins continues to hold first place in the number of points won by contestants in the contest. It is quite a margin ahead of its nearest competitor, but the post-election returns promises to upset its lead. It is the only one which kept its position without being challenged and passed during the week. New Jersey moved up

from fourth place over both Pennsylvania and Virginia and is now in second place. Virginia and Pennsylvania were tied for third place, while New York has risen from sixth place to fifth.

During the week California sent in new entrant and Colorado reported that several would be sent in just after election day. The ranking of states that reported during the past week is as follows: Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, New York, California, Ohio, Canada and Mississippi.

Colorado
Party membership is growing steadily as the result of the campaign put on in Denver and throughout the state. For the first time in years, in Denver, the party has put ads in non-Socialist papers that are bringing big results. A tremendous rally was held at the Woodman's Hall, when Carly Whitehead, party chairman, and Raymond V. Holwell, candidate for superintendent of public instruction, spoke. They were given good publicity. Holwell, a recent adder to the movement, is a wonderful speaker with a keen sense of humor and makes deft, deftful ridicule. This time, instead of Denver being concentrated on to the exclusion of the rest of the state, the entire state has been covered with literature and with speakers. W. C.

Stone, state secretary since last summer, when he graduated from Brookwood Labor College, has to reorganize the state, which is the condition cannot be compared with what it was three or four years ago.

Iowa
Comrades in Ladara are arousing themselves after being quiet for several years and have started literature distribution and soliciting membership. Sympathizers in and around Iowa are urged to get in touch with Albert E. Rayner.

Connecticut
STATE NOTES
Special Organizer Mason is back with us again and the comrades are glad to have him. He was assigned to Waterbury and Naugatuck to build up the reorganized locals there. The locals in the state are going to hold forums this winter with both state and out of town speakers and in this way expect to build up their membership.

Sam Boardley of New York addressed one of the largest attended outdoor meetings in the state in Shelton, where Boardley lived before going to New York, and the town area held in due to his big, State Organizer Cederholm was chairman. Comrades McLevy, Schwarzkopf and Fred Cederholm addressed fourteen

noon-day rallies in front of the shops in the closing week of the campaign in Bridgeport. Each speaker had a literature stand and the factories were swamped with literature.

Michigan
Mayor Daniel W. Hoon and Clarence Senior will speak at a meeting of Detroit Socialists, Thursday evening, Nov. 13. All members and sympathizers are urged to get out a huge crowd. The meeting will be held in the Jugoslav Hall, 116 West Six Mile road.

Ohio
Local Massillon is going to arrange for one of the members of the N. E. C. to speak in this city and in Canton on his way east. Negotiations are now being carried on with possible speakers. Secretary Senior will speak in Cleveland, on a date to be decided upon by Sidney Yellen, state secretary. Probably it will be Nov. 11.

Pennsylvania
Reading comrades, while raising their campaign funds did not forget that the national organization and the state organization had to be maintained. A contribution of \$50 was received by the national office and a week before election day a decided ten per cent of the funds raised in Reading, ought to be sent to state and national offices.

PITTSBURGH
Pittsburgh Socialists climaxed their campaign with a record distribution of literature last Sunday morning. In the short two hours allotted nearly seven thousand pieces were distributed in the principal sections of the working areas.

STATE COMMITTEE
Sunday Nov. 16, the full Pennsylvania state executive committee will meet in Pittsburgh to decide the national organization and the state organization had to be maintained. A contribution of \$50 was received by the national office and a week before election day a decided ten per cent of the funds raised in Reading, ought to be sent to state and national offices.

KANE
James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Governor, left such an outstanding impression in this unorganized county that another meeting was held last Sunday with an even larger crowd. David Rinne, candidate for secretary of internal affairs, and Jane Taylor of Pittsburgh, were the speakers. The national organization and the state organization had to be maintained. A contribution of \$50 was received by the national office and a week before election day a decided ten per cent of the funds raised in Reading, ought to be sent to state and national offices.

MILWAUKEE
Marj Winson will address the branch on "Total Disarmament," on Thursday, Nov. 13, 8:15 P. M. at 5160 Brown street.

Virginia
The state committee, consisting of twelve comrades from all parts of Virginia, will meet Sunday, Nov. 9, at 1:30 P. M. in Room 254, Hotel Richmond, in Richmond. Many other comrades will attend this meeting, which promises to be the most enthusiastic ever held here, due to our membership increase and large vote. The session will begin with chicken or turkey dinner, at \$1.50 per plate. All wishing to attend should send check for reservations at once to David G. George, secretary, P. O. Box 883, Richmond, Va.

RICHMOND
Local Richmond will hold a regular meeting Nov. 10, with special place program.

HOPEWELL
Local Hopewell will hold a special "Anti-War" meeting, Tuesday, Nov. 11, at 8 P. M. David G. George, state secretary, will be the principal speaker. Weather permitting, a street meeting will be held at 7 P. M. The local will meet hereafter on the second and fourth Tuesdays. Arrangements are being made for a big meeting with Clarence Senior, national secretary, and David George, Nov. 21 or 22.

NORFOLK
A reorganization meeting of Local Norfolk will be held Sunday, Nov. 10, at 8 P. M. David G. George, state secretary, will be the principal speaker. Weather permitting, a street meeting will be held at 7 P. M. The local will meet hereafter on the second and fourth Tuesdays. Arrangements are being made for a big meeting with Clarence Senior, national secretary, and David George, Nov. 21 or 22.

NEWARK
Frank Grosswill will be the speaker at the forum organized by the Socialist Party of Essex County, 122 Pierrepont street, a street meet-

Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present, in concise form, the views of the progressive Youth. It invites contributions of news and views.

Address: FREE YOUTH 7 East 15th St. New York City

Yipsels Hold Debate

The Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York has arranged a debate between Arthur Garfield Hays, noted lawyer and author and John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, on the subject of censorship. The debate will be held at the Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue, on Friday, Nov. 7, at 8:30 P. M. Mr. Frank Gillmore and Harry Hansen, will act as chairmen. Socialists are requested to attend.

New Bedford
A junior circle has been started, composed of Girard Cole, Arnold Weaver, John Machado, John Brozak, Norman Philo, Norman Radcliffe and others. The seniors, numbering 14 strong, together with the juniors and Socialist Party branch will hold a joint meeting to discuss the possibilities of keeping a regular clubroom

headquarters. The meeting will be held this Saturday at 2 P. M. at headquarters, 1823 Acushnet avenue, North End.

Brooklyn Youth Rally
Over 500 young men and women jammed the auditorium of the Eastern District High School, Oct. 31. The youth rally was held by the league and the Socialist Party of Williamsburg. Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Prof. Niebuhr and William E. Bohn addressed the meeting. Morton Salzbarg, Eleanor Schachner and Nancy Dodd Elliot also spoke. Abe Belsky, executive secretary of the New York League, presided.

Queens Circle Granted Charter
At the last meeting of the executive committee, the Queens circle was granted a charter with eleven members. Naomi Dean, formerly of Chicago, was elected organizer. The circle will be known as Circle One, Sr. Queens, and will meet Sunday evenings at the committee room of Mon-

roe Court, 43-13 47th street, Sunnyside, L. I.

Circle Organized in East New York
Under the leadership of Harry C. Davis, of Circle Nine, Kings, a senior circle has been organized at 910 Belmont avenue, Brooklyn. Over 20 have joined. The following officers and committee were elected: organizer, Harry C. Davis; financial secretary, William Colman; recording secretary, Florence Ruskin; educational director, Joseph Schobel. The committee elected are as follows: constitution committee, Harry C. Davis, William Colman, Fanny Edelstein, Louis Hochberg, Genesta J. Bunner; educational committee, Vea Dorleax, Joseph Schobel; social committee, Percy Brackowitz, Harry C. Bunner; membership committee, Fanny Edelstein and Louis Hochberg. The circle will meet every Saturday evening at 910 Belmont avenue, Brooklyn. Abe Belsky will address the circle at its next meeting.

CIRCULING THE CIRCLES
Circle Five

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1930

Out of the Past

HOW administration of governing power by parties serving the upper classes brings the same penalties to the working masses is evident from some political history. The Republicans controlled from 1861 to 1885. The Democrats elected Grover Cleveland President in 1884, eight years after the Republicans completed their conquest of the prostrate South following a great war. By 1886, ten years after this conquest, millions of workers were facing a Democratic depression.

Beginning in 1917, the Democrats controlled during a great war. In 1919 the peace of abominations was made and one year later the Republicans captured Washington. Ten years later, repeating the history of the first Cleveland administration, Hoover is in office and millions face destitution.

A paragraph from J. F. Hudson's "The Railroads and the Republic," published in 1886, describes the distress of the former period. It reads:

With grain so abundant and cheap in the great agricultural states that it has been burned for fuel; with all classes of manufactured goods produced in such excessive supply that the factories have had to shut down, the farmers of the West have been unable to buy goods, and the mechanics of the East have suffered for the lack of food. Writers on economic subjects tell us of overproduction; but when, in the midst of universal overproduction, or, in other words, excessive abundance, we find the presence of grim want, etc.

Does not that statement out of the Democratic past adequately fit the Republican present? Who won the election in 1886, in 1928, and in 1930? Think hard.

The Tariff Dogma

WHILE the Grundy-Woll high tariff dogma is being exported for the information of the European masses another export accompanies it. It is one of the absurdities of Mr. Woll's protest against establishment of American enterprises abroad that his high tariff gospel aids in this export of and investment in such enterprises.

For example, the financial section of the New York Times brings the news that American manufacturers are turning to Canada as a base from which to supply their foreign markets and as a means of escaping tariff barriers that are being erected against the United States. One New York banker estimates that 1,500 American branch factories have been established in Canada which he calls the "flight of American industry." He estimates that several hundred thousand men are employed in these American branch industries in Canada.

Sold on the score of employment alone American workers have lost hundreds of thousands of jobs and they may thank the philosopher of the A. F. of L. for his share in this result. The movement of American capital across the Canadian border continues and within another year the jobs that will be transferred from the United States to Canada may well reach near a million.

On the other hand we doubt whether the political influence of Woll was really much of a factor in the enactment of the tariff monstrosity. "Nonpartisan" action is a harmless thing and it delivers no votes, but it is disgraceful when any labor man's name can be coupled with the names of powerful exploiters in support of such legislation.

Twelve Years

IT is twelve years since the world was made "safe for democracy" and Sir Philip Gibbs has assayed to inform humanity how safe it is in a book entitled, "Since Then." He points out that since the end of the World War 3,500,000 Russians have died of starvation; hundreds of thousands of Armenians have been massacred; thousands of Hungarians died in Bela Kun's reign of terror; Poland, China, Egypt, India, Germany, South America, have been scenes of bloodshed;

700,000 Germans died of famine following the armistice, and unrest is world-wide.

Even this is only part of the story. There are today more men under arms than when the war broke out; there are about a dozen dictatorships and apparently a few more in the making, and the capitalist system of production is convulsed with its old disease of prostration with many millions of workers facing want.

The aftermath is not new. Disillusionment always follows war. Men die for what they do not want and we get what we do not expect. War and imperialism, famine, massacre, terror and dictatorship, prostration and millions of jobless workers, are the fruits of a civilization based on private and corporation mastery of industry. Government serves as a police power to protect this dominion of reckless anarchists. To wrest that police power from the hands of the ruling classes is essential if we are to avoid the suicide of civilization. Coming into the world dripping with blood and dirt, capitalism has become a bloated monstrosity that must die if humanity is to live in peace and security.

Only Mental!

WE doubt very much whether the masters of capital and finance know much about the fundamentals of the capitalism which gives them their enormous incomes. Otto H. Kahn, the banker, is quoted as saying that the distress in the United States is largely "mental," that it is like a man who is physically sound but imagines that he is sick. Yet the speaker followed this observation by saying that European nations are now manufacturing their own goods "instead of purchasing them from this country." He added that a loss of our export trade followed, leaving a large surplus on hand for which there is no demand.

The reader will observe that Mr. Kahn does not say that the loss of trade and the accumulation of a surplus are imagined. He recognizes these two factors as real. That they have contributed to the sickness of capitalism is evident and that this sickness is real is also evident and yet he could say that the general distress is largely "mental." The inference is that if we will not think of our distress the surplus will disappear and export trade will become brisk.

Either the banker is ignorant or else he consciously endeavors to muddle the thinking of those who want to understand the disease of capitalism. In either case we are not likely to get out of the ditch. And this conclusion is not based upon our imagination. It is based upon the performance of the great banker which leaves us in mental distress.

IN A NUTSHELL

An idler is a watch that wants both hands,
As useless if it goes as if it stands.

—Cowper.

Hoover believes that Socialism will reduce us all to a dead level but he isn't likely to send this message to those who are standing in the breadlines.

The unemployed include the idle and useless owners of industry but they are the group of the jobless who are not deprived of incomes.

Will Rogers declares that on Hallowe'en many voters "put pumpkins on their heads and on election day they don't have to." Now whom did he mean?

It is reported that stock frauds in October resulted in nearly \$12,000,000 losses. The voting stock in capitalist politics will part with more than that.

Because of the Socialist vote the enemies of the Socialist Party have again cancelled the order for flowers to send to our funeral.

As we go to press we are uncertain whether the Pennsylvania or the New York Central Railroad won in the Pennsylvania election as we have forgotten the labels of the Republican and Democratic parties in that state.

The capitalist parties have their Irish, Polish, Italian, Jewish and other leaders so that when they affirm that the Socialist Party is "un-American" we can appreciate the "patriotism" that prompts the assertion.

We do not produce more than we can consume but more than we can buy and capitalism is responsible for it.

Law was made for property alone.—Macaulay.

Wherever the search after truth begins, there life begins; wherever the search ceases, there life ceases.—John Ruskin.

War—Why!

Give me a gun,
That I may blaze away
At him, whom I ne'er met before this day;
Yea, e'en at him whose face I scarce can see,
He, afar off, a thousand yards from me.
Mad work? Yes, 'tis, for both of us poor fools,
For me and him, both of us merely fools.

Give me a gun,
That he may fire at me
If chance he gets. For that—let Fate decree;
But he's a blot, a dot upon earth's crust,
He now 'tis I or he must bite the dust.
Quarrel? Not me, ne'er met the man before;
We're simply fools and fools, I say once more.

Arm both of us,
That each may shoot at each.
At home—his home and mine—the parsons preach
All men are brothers. That I don't deny;
But if 'tis so, then I would ask you way
We should be faced now, strange friend and me,
Having no quarrel? 'Cause 'tis fools we be.

Give me my sight!
That's right!

Mate, give me thy hand!
At last we understand,
Guns, bayonets, swords, cannon and all hell's tools,
These no men need when human reason rules,
Thy home is thine, sacred thy fatherland,
Mine doubly safe, while true to Right we stand,
Hell's agents only—Vice, Ambition, Greed—
Thy foes and mine; from these we'll now be freed!

—Exchange.

Peter Pan Peters Out

By Adam Coaldigger

SOMEbody got off a good one the other day when he said, "Peter Pan and Pollyanna got married and begot the prosperity kids." By this he meant the well-meaning statesmen who ever so often predict prosperity just around the corner. They've been doing this ever since the bottom dropped out of the stock market a year ago and they are still doing it in spite of the fact that every new prosperity prophecy is followed by a new low in Wall Street.

Them Peter Pan and Pollyanna boys really ought to know better than to try to make themselves believe that a world-wide business calamity as the present one can be cured by pious wishes. If marvels like that could be accomplished, then old Noah made the mistake of his young life by building the ark for he might have stopped the deluge by reciting, "It ain't gonna rain no more."

But the trouble with some of our educated people is that they went to college on the strength of their daddies' kale and got themselves a sheepskin to prove that they ain't sheep-heads. I ain't saying that education is the bunk. But education that starts with freshmen and ends with statesmen who imagine that the well of knowledge dried up on their graduation day is nothing but a shame.

Nor are intelligence and education one and the same thing. An educated fool is a lesser fool for being educated, but he is a fool nevertheless. An intelligent person, on the other hand, can pick up more knowledge playing hooky than the ordinary dullard can by going through college. The ideal educational system would be, of course, the education of the intelligent irrespective of their parents' pocket books. And that is exactly what we haven't got. So it comes about that tens of thousands of poor boys and girls, whom nature had selected for intellectual leadership are damned to manual labor, while tens of thousands of natural born hod-carriers, bar-keepers and counter jumpers are educated into the sort of master minds that try to conjure material prosperity out of imaginary silk hats.

But here I go rambling about education when I started out to give my reasons why the present world-wide business depression will be with us for some time to come, if not longer.

To start with, the hard times we are enjoying now are due to the prosperity we suffered during the World War. War prosperity in turn was caused by the withdrawal from industry of some twenty million useful workers and their subsequent wholehearted cooperation in the destruction of life, limbs and goods. Withdrawing producers from production boosted the demand for labor and consequently raised wages. The wholesale destruction of goods increased the demand for goods and consequently raised prices. Thus everybody made money, and everybody was made happy with the possible exception of some thirty million widows, orphans, maimed, crippled, blind, maniacs and corpses.

Of course, the thing was too good to last or as the master minds expressed it, what had gone up had to come down, and so it did with the mighty thud of the deflation period following on the heels of the World War.

The hard times we have now were due in 1919 but after making a magnificent start in hard-landing at that time they were temporarily side-tracked by a renewed flow of goods to Europe. The dear old world was busted. Its cupboards were bare. Its elbows and knees, toes and seats were

exposed to the inclemency of the weather. It needed everything and lots of it. And the only party having lots of everything, because during the war he got everything Europe had accumulated during the last three centuries, was Uncle Sam.

Well, Uncle Sam was willing and about 1921 there started the hilarious loaning of money, and exportation of American food, raw material and manufactured products that caused the great and intelligent American people to "thank God for Coolidge."

Europe used this blessed gulf stream of American wealth to rehabilitate its devastated regions and rebuild its wrecked industries. That done Europe started to pay us back in our own coin, for it was not twenty-two thousand millions of dollars that we had loaned to Europe during and after the war but twenty-two thousand million dollars worth of goods—that is, that part of the product of American labor which American labor failed to find in its pay envelopes.

Of course when Europe started to pay us in the only coin it possessed, the products of its laboring masses, such a howl went up in the tenets of the mighty that it was heard in the farthest corners of the universe.

"What," said the great ones, "let them lousy foreigners dump their pauper labor goods on the American market and thereby destroy the American standard of living which we have tried so hard to conserve for American labor by means of the American plan, company unions, and the open shop movement?"

"Nix, nothing doing. Raus mit 'em." And raus they went through the divine instrumentality of the Grundy tariff bill which is so effective that it even prevented Europe paying for the wheat and cotton of our farmers with the result that said farmers are in the death throes of the greatest involuntary hunger strike that ever came down the pike.

Well, with the European market gone, with not a ghost of a show of ever recovering a cent of interest, to say nothing about the principal, on the twenty-two thousand million dollars we have loaned to Europe ever coming back unless we choose to take our pay in goods (from which God protect us) and with our farmers pauperized, where is this tirelessly proclaimed prosperity to come from.

Wise Cal. How he must thank God for not choosing to run for the White House just about when the roof came down. And poor Herbert, how much easier it is to feed Belgian refugees with American money than to feed American unemployed with empty pockets—how much easier too, to proclaim meatless days, heatless days, and sweet-leaves days in a delirium of patriotic exuberance than to alleviate these stark realities in times of dire need.

However, I would no more blame Herbert Hoover for the dismal times that have fallen on this country than I would give praise to Coolidge for the prosperity that preceded it. At the same time, for the sake of our national self-respect, I do wish someone in high place would have the courage or the brains or honesty to call the business brat by its right name—an international panic of the first magnitude that may well be the beginning of the end of capitalism itself.

In the meantime, good Lord protect me from the educated fools; from the natural born fools I can protect myself.

Bringing Art To The People

By Ben Blumenberg

THE union of business and the talkie-movie has brought us near the ideal of those who believe that art should be the heritage of all. It is a truism that art cannot subsist upon esthetically spun phrases. It is to the credit of capital that it has placed art on a firm foundation and in the case of the movie at least, made all of us kin. From children to octogenarians we are the beneficiaries of the rationalized art that in value of the output is only exceeded by steel and automobiles. More than that, the union of business and art has knitted the members of all classes more closely, has unified our tastes, minds and ideals. More fully than a million sermons have the movies and talkies proved the potency of the idea that unless we be as little children, etc. That all classes, regardless of ages and mentalities have been sold to art has been made possible by the magic wand in the guiding hand of business. The Greeks had a word for it.

It is true that there are people who hesitate giving their sanction to the form of entertainment spoken of. It appears that they are somewhat finicky in their cultural standards and merit the pitying contempt of the movie and talkie devotees. With countenances unshamed, the former admit that they missed seeing Dolores Smithers in the thrilling society drama, "The Woman in the Stranger's Bed," or Gwendolyn McMuss in "The Constant Virgin." Even when they are told that these two artists may be seen in a neighborhood playhouse, (bring the children), do they appreciate what is being done for them?

There is much to be said for the movies. There is also much that must be left unsaid. A just evaluation may be gained from the columns of that sprightly journal that publishes "all the news that's fit to print." In a recent issue more than three-quarters of a page was taken up with ads, each one with few exceptions occupying from six to twenty-four times the space used to advertise any one of the plays being produced on the "legitimate" stage. We are not finding fault and we hasten to say that the ads in the staid, hearty and home publication had an appeal as finished as that of a Barker for a bootleg-cocky show at a county fair.

Step A Little Closer, Gents!
"SEE THE FRISKY, FRENCHY
FOX STAR"
Guess, Children.

"WHAT REALLY GOES ON IN
THE OFFICE AFTER HOURS?"

Naughty, Naughty.
"IF YOU LEAVE YOUR HUSBAND—
I'LL DO MY BEST TO
TAKE YOUR PLACE."

"Brilliant" Comedy of Mixed Up
Matrimony.

"A LADY SURRENDERS"

Refused To Sign A Waiver, Eh?
"MAN-MADE LAWS DAMNED
THEM SO THEY SOUGHT A
HIGHER FORGIVENESS"

(Note: The last named is not the drama produced on Yom Kippur by the Honorable James Walker and his all-star cast of New Tammany statesmen.)

Oh, These Female Politicians
"SHE HAD A KISS WE
THOUGHT FOR EVERY MAN—
AND PICKPOCKET FINGERS.
TOO."

It turns out that the dame was a "Cuban blonde." THAT WAS THE GUY (Say, now listen. If this Times meant to say go it would have said it), "COMES ALONG AND FIGHTS FOR HER SOUL. . . SOMETHING WE'D NEVER HEARD ABOUT."

Can One Ask For More?
"A WIDOW—WHAT A WIDOW!
WITH MILLIONS SHE STARTS
ON A GAY TRIP TO PARIS.
AND FRIENDS, MILLIONS,
CLOTHES AND BEAUS."

Socialists and Modern
Political Thought

(Continued from Page Four)

ultimate consumer. That is a matter which can now be properly taken care of by private companies.

An impartial investigation conducted by a group of educators headed by Prof. H. W. Peck of Syracuse University found that the retail revenues of the New York Electric companies, under private ownership, per kw. hour from domestic and commercial consumers are three times as great as those in Ontario where the people had the intelligence and courage to establish public operation, distribution and development of their electric business. "The New York bills," this committee declared, "were much higher. Sixty kw. hours cost \$1.30 in Toronto, \$3.60 in Buffalo, \$3.65 in Rochester, \$3.81 in Syracuse, \$4.35 in Utica, and \$2.80 in Niagara Falls. We Socialists are pressing upon our electorate the program of adopting public ownership, public conservation and development—our water resources, and the public transmission, distribution and sale of electric energy to the people at cost. We propose the Ontario plan adapted to American conditions. In addition we declare it is imperative that our municipalities be given legal power to own and operate their public utilities and electric business. Wherever it has been

We are assured that one must not judge a play by the title. Surely they can't be as bad as all that. Many an honest heart beats under an aldermanic vest. You must see this one, you simply must.

"HE LOVES THEM AND
LEAVES THEM"
"THE SUPREME LOVER"

Ranko Osoo

In

"THE CALL OF THE FLESH"

"THE LAST WORD IN EXOTIC
THRILLS"

Bring the children. All pictures are censored by Brother Elder Will Hays and others—many others.

Well, it's all a bit confusing. It may be that I'm on the wrong track. Wonder if I dropped in on the Summer Society with, "You don't mind if I take a few books from your collection. Oh, anything you have will do—I'm old-fashioned. Say, Lawrence, Casanova, Harris; anything that may induce youthful cinema addicts to turn from their course and lead them into paths of the good, the true and the beautiful."

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Election Brings Substantial Satisfaction—Victories for Organization in Reading and Milwaukee—The Voters Punish Hoover and Themselves—Tammany Hall and the Roosevelt Vote

THE SOCIALIST VOTE

THERE are several things worth saying about the election. The first thing to examine from a Socialist standpoint is the election as it affects our party. Here I think we have reason not for exaltation but for substantial satisfaction. Two Assemblymen from



Norman Thomas

Reading, nine Assemblymen and the Sheriff in Milwaukee make an excellent record. Louis Waldman's unusually fine campaign deserved more votes than he got in New York City, but he doubled his own gubernatorial vote of 1928 and probably will have made about the best showing of any gubernatorial candidate on a straight Socialist ticket since 1920. The increase in our total Assembly and Congressional vote this year was another good omen in New York City.

It is particularly satisfactory that so large a part of the vote for Vladeck and me was a Socialist vote shared by others of our colleagues who richly deserved it all. Heywood Brown's candidacy has done the Socialist Party an amount of good all over the country which cannot be measured by the vote. Yet that vote was a real achievement in the face of the kind of opposition he had. It must always be remembered that the old party machines fought Brown in his district and me in mine far more vehemently than they took the trouble to fight me when I ran for Mayor in 1929 without thought of election. I expect reports from other parts of the country to strengthen my impression of a satisfactory showing for Socialists.

Why Reading and Milwaukee won. OF course, the moral of the election is that the Socialist Party to be effective must have organization. It is not some curious intelligence on the part of some voters in Milwaukee and Reading but the fact of organization which makes those districts bright spots for us. The best thing about our New York campaign is that it gave some evidence of improving organization and some promise of even better organization if we can take advantage of opportunities such as I think the very successful house meetings in my district give to us. The turn out of watchers at the end of the campaign in some of our districts was most encouraging. If they had turned out sooner for canvassing it would have been better. If we can use them effectively during the year it will be still better. This effective use of people interested in the party requires, I am convinced, some changes in our method of organization and of conducting our branch meetings. Of this I shall have more to say later.

This hasty review of a situation which has encouragement for Socialists would not be complete without noting the fact that the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia withdrew its endorsement of Pinchot and endorsed our candidate for Governor, Jim Maurer. That act may be more significant for the future than a good many votes in the election.

WHERE WE LOSE VOTES

IT MAY be worth while in passing to point out a few things in New York City which tended to keep our vote down. I think we lose every year hundreds, if not thousands, of votes because voters who are ignorant or afraid of the voting machine are always instructed on a little dummy machine which does not even contain the name of the Socialist party. I understand this great unfairness is to be corrected next year. Of course we lose other thousands of votes by outright intimidation and by the practice of certain political henchmen of actually voting with and for ignorant and fearful voters. As we expected, I lost a good many votes in Brooklyn this year because of the unreasonable but strong tradition that a candidate should live in his district. A good many of us lost, I think, a substantial number of votes because, reasonably or unreasonably, in Jewish districts resentment at Lord Passfield's summary ban against Jewish immigration and purchase of land in Palestine was transferred to Socialists internationally. Frankness leads me to add that whereas the British labor record was a distinct advantage to us last year it was a distinct handicap this year. Whatever the reasons for the British Labor Party decision to hold office without power to carry out any important features of a Socialist program, the effect of that decision and disappointment at its Indian policy have unquestionably hurt us in advocating Socialism as a cure for the world's ills.

THE GREAT AMERICAN ELECTORATE IN ACTION

IT IS the futility and maybe the tragedy of American politics that voters who now calmly admit that there is no substantial difference between the old parties lack the imagination, the courage and the intelligence to get out of the endless cycle of using first the Republican stick to beat the Democrats and then the Democratic stick to beat the Republicans. Hoover and the Republican Party richly deserved defeat. But the Democratic Party did not deserve victory. If it were called on tomorrow to do anything but criticize Hoover it would be hopeless. It is not united on prohibition, the tariff, taxation, public ownership, unemployment insurance or a foreign program. Its record in New York State and New York City where it has had power is, to put it conservatively, no better than Hoover's in Washington.

Some good men got in in the landslide. Locally the voters often manage to choose the less of two evils. But we who believe that democracy is preferable to dictatorship and that it is capable of education have no reason at all to talk about the instinctive wisdom of the people. Still less reason do we have for saying that man automatically learn economic wisdom from hard times. The average voter is angry at Hoover and the Republicans not because they stand for an outworn and dangerous system but because they (the voters) lost out in this Wall Street prosperity in which they still want to believe. It is the bitter truth that in general poverty and unemployment make masses of voters more fearful and more dependent upon the city political machines which have power to threaten them with worse fate or to bribe them with a little charity just before election. To overcome this situation requires far more intensive education and organization than we have done.

THE N. Y. VOTE AND TAMMANY HALL

THERE is no reason for sorrow over Mr. Tuttle's defeat in New York. Sincere as he probably is in opposing Tammany corruption he was not an effective campaigner, he was probably more reactionary than Roosevelt on water power and unemployment insurance; and even stupid voters knew that they had no reasons to think the party of the oil scandals, the party of Vore of Philadelphia, or Harvey in Queens or the upstate Republican county machines was morally superior to Tammany Hall.

Nevertheless Gov. Roosevelt's unprecedented plurality will be interpreted by Tammany as an invitation to public plunder. By it automatically Tammany and McCooney have been cleansed and the courts made pure. Mayor Walker will recover the glamor and glitter that he said had gone. But in spite of this unfortunate fact I do not think Tammany's troubles are over or that voters who wanted to rebuke Hoover this year can never be aroused against Tammany under other circumstances when Tammany is somewhat more of an issue than in a gubernatorial election. The very magnitude of Tammany's "vindication" may prove disastrous by inviting even more brazen overconfidence.

Incidentally it will take more than this vote to restore Franklin Roosevelt's prestige in the national field. There Tammany is a tremendous liability and the Governor's friendship with the tiger will not help him.

THE LIBERALS AND DR. SIROVICH

A COMMENTARY on the futility of much respectable and well meaning liberalism is to be found in the action of New York papers which ought to have known better in endorsing Dr. Sirovich in the 14th Congressional district. Since these papers were not Socialist one cannot blame them for not applying Socialist principles. But one may justly blame them for outright endorsement of a man who made the most contemptible campaign in New York. This Congressman, endorsed by liberal newspapers, did not hesitate to use the most despicable misstatements and the basest sort of appeals to racial and religious prejudice in his campaign for re-election. He even tried to make an issue of the place where Mrs. Panken bought her meat!