

Against Wage Cuts!

For a Workers' City!

For Unemployment Relief!

WORKERS MASS DEMONSTRATION

UNION SQUARE

SPEAKERS

TODAY, SATURDAY, OCT. 31, 2 p. m.

NORMAN THOMAS, WILLIAM KARLIN, ALGERNON LEE, McALISTER COLEMAN, JACOB PANKEN, FRANK CROSSWAITH, THEODORE SHAPIRO, HENRY JAGER, N. CHANIN

Auspices: Socialist Party, Trade Unions, Workmen's Circle

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

On the Picket Line—Strong Arm Control of Jobs—
Communist Contradictions—MacDonald as
Window Dressing—Socialist Pre-
dictions Verified

LABOR RACKETEERING

THESE paragraphs are written ahead of time and are likely to be short. The morning I usually give to them will be spent in Paterson, New Jersey, in police court. After a long delay our trial comes up for picketing the John Hand mill during the big silk strike. There is no charge that the picketing was not absolutely peaceful, but it was arbitrarily forbidden by a judge who coolly ruled that although there was a big strike in Paterson there was no strike in John Hand's mill! If this kind of ruling stands it will be a new and very successful trick for suppressing picketing. No election campaign and no Timely Topics can be as important as to fight this case.

I should like respectfully to call the attention of those people who deliberately or through misunderstanding seek to imply that my opposition to racketeering in labor unions is opposition to labor unionism that I have more than once proved my faith in the necessity of labor organization by facing arrest in defense of the right of the workers. That is more than some officials of the Central Trades and Labor Council have done in recent years.

DESTROYING LABOR MORALE

LET'S get this matter straight about labor racketeering. Of course the employers began the use of gangsters and racketeers. Doubtless at first the use of strong arm men was purely in defense, but that time has passed. Today hired strong arm men, control of jobs, and other methods of intimidation are used in various degrees and in various ways in some unions not against the mercenaries of the bosses, but as means whereby a labor bureaucracy keeps itself in power. That is racketeering which completely destroys the morale of the one force we have for building the future. You can no more fight the bosses and practice that kind of racketeering than you can fight Tammany Hall by the methods employed by the notorious Colonel Carrington.

COMMUNISTS AND REFORMS

COMMUNISTS are always denouncing Socialists for being reformists. Yet they themselves more unscrupulously endorse certain reforms or certain measures of help to special groups than we ever did. A few years ago they endorsed the McNary-Haugen Bill without explanation or reservations. Whatever the emergency merits of that bill it was a long way from anything the Communists would have tried if with or without revolution they had got public office. More recently the Communists organized a demonstration of ex-service men to demand the full payment of the bonus. Good politics if all you want is to capitalize discontent like a demagogue. But can anyone imagine a Communist government paying World War bonuses in full to war veterans? As a matter of fact, the advocacy of this payment has the practical effect of making it harder to get a full measure of unemployment relief. It is the veterans and victims of the war against poverty who have first claim on us. Still more recently the Daily Worker misquotes, or only partially quotes, a letter which I wrote to a meeting of the depositors of the Bank of United States. In that letter I wrote that I believed in socialized banking and as a transitional measure in the proper guarantee of bank deposits. I said that I believed that directors and stockholders of the Bank of United States should be made to pay every possible penny to the depositors. I then said: "Any balance still owing to depositors may constitute something of a claim against the state in proportion as the degree of criminal negligence of the Banking Superintendent and his responsibility for the failure can be established." I added, however, that "I do not think under the present system depositors who picked the wrong capitalist bank are entitled to indemnification out of the public treasury," except of course, if direct responsibility of the state can be proved. I said that the needs of the unemployed come first. No Communist government with or without a revolution, could take a different position. Yet it would seem that the Communists are deliberately trying to bribe the unfortunate depositors of the Bank of United States to support them by making reckless promises that they know they will never have a chance to fulfill.

Such a policy may be defended if you have no faith at all in political action except to use it as bait to catch suckers who may then stick to you when your revolutionary opportunity comes. But Socialists although they have never expected to save the world simply by parliamentary means, believe that political action honestly and intelligently thought out, can like labor union action, have direct and immediate benefits in the direction of the Socialist ideal. We cannot therefore afford to be demagogues and promise what we know cannot or should not be fulfilled.

THE BRITISH ELECTION

ONE of my regrets in writing these paragraphs so early in the week is that I shall not know the results of the British election. If the so-called National Government wins it will be a victory of reactionary conservatives with poor MacDonald thrown in for window dressing. Whatever is happening today, any future there is for England belongs to labor. Whether in office or opposition I hope that labor will strike out on bold, imaginative, and intelligent lines for immediate progress toward socialism.

SOME SOCIALIST FORECASTS

IN a suffering world it is almost a melancholy thing to have as an everlastingly right as we Socialists have been in some of our predictions. We warned the country that the Wall Street boom could not last and that we should have a program for the immediate relief of unemployment. Our warning was disregarded. The result is a depression even worse than we had predicted.

Go farther back. We opposed the war and said that it would not be a victory for democracy because no party to the war was sincerely struggling for democracy. History has pronounced us right a thousand times over.

We opposed the Peace of Versailles and said that no League of Nations could atone for its injustice and folly. Again we were right.

With the passage of the years we said that the Kellogg Pact might do a little good and that the League of Nations had possibilities as an organ for internationalism but that neither the Kellogg Pact nor the League of Nations would be much but a monument to hypocrisy unless there was a growth of international socialism and a decline in nationalist rivalry all over the world. The lack of success of the League of Nations and America thus far in the Manchurian crisis gives sorrowful proof to our contention. In Europe the questions of disarmament and economic cooperation are still unsettled. Maybe the meeting between Laval, who once was almost a Communist, and Hoover who once fed Belgian babies—but is deaf to the cry of the children of the unemployed in America—did some good. But everybody knows that it settled nothing. Only international socialism can teach the secret of international peace and prosperity.

THE BROOKLYN FORUM

WORKERS living in and about New York who are interested in the matters discussed in this column have a rare treat in program announced for the Brooklyn Forum under the auspices of the Socialist Party in Brooklyn. Read the announcement elsewhere in the New Leader and remember that this Forum may be a splendid builder for the Socialist Party.

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From Capitalism to Socialism

*The Gulf that Yawns and that Must Be Bridged by
The Army of Socialist Builders*

IN ONE vivid picture the artist on this page portrays humanity at the apex of centuries of human progress. All our achievements since the ancient days of our shaggy ancestors unfold before us, the progress of knowledge, the advance of science, our limitless resources, and incalculable wealth.

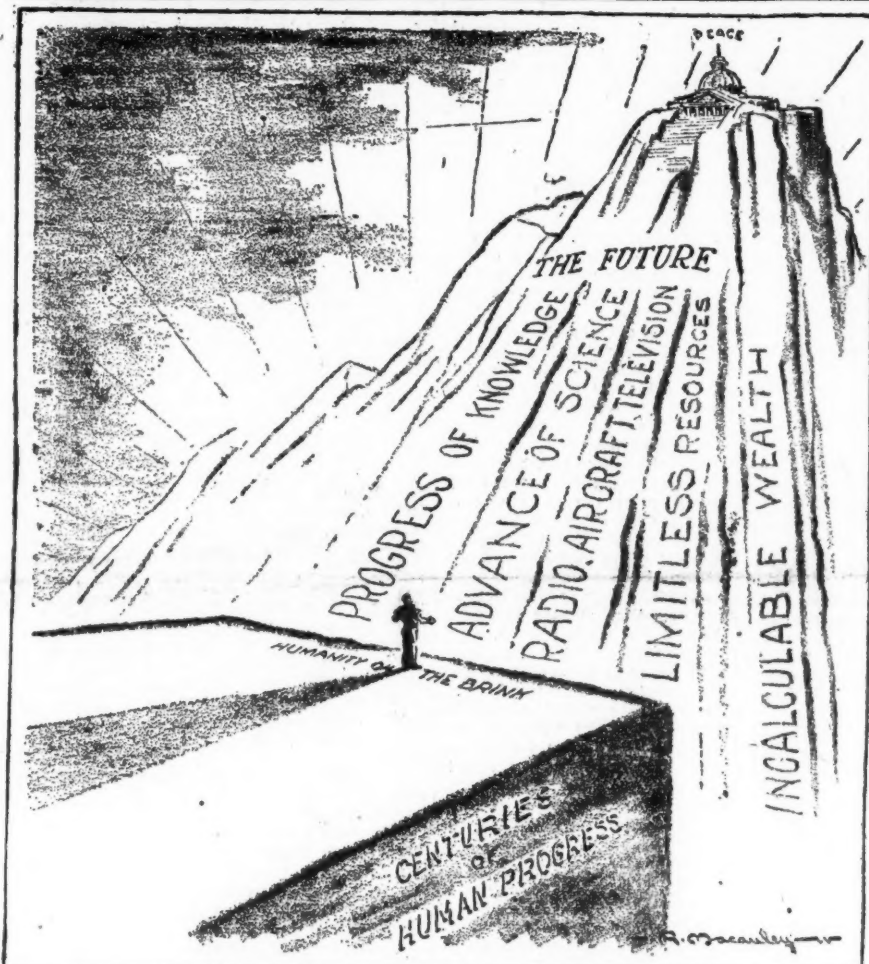
We have conquered our physical environment and we stand gazing at the future which this progress unfolds. At the summit of human achievement is visioned the Temple of Peace, a warless world; peace in industry, peace in society, class antagonism a memory, and fraternity in all human relations.

Man stands a pigmy before the results of his handiwork. Between the brink on which he stands and the future which rises like a mountain peak before him is a yawning gulf which he must bridge. To make the picture more accurate that gulf should be labeled Capitalism. It must be bridged before humanity can march over to inherit the achievements of all the centuries that have passed.

By his side is the working farmer of the countryside, vegetating in a misery that has overwhelmed him and his fellows. His huge crops that should be a blessing to all have been transformed into a curse. They mock him in his misery. He needs the products of the city worker, the city worker needs the foodstuffs the farmer produces, and each is deprived of what the other can provide. Both lack power to serve each other. Both are plunged into the social abyss at the base of that tower of human achievement.

Capitalism stands between us and our heritage. The capitalist class rules the world and rules it with the consent of the disinherited. That is why the millions of the jobless and the starving lack power. That class has perverted knowledge to its private gain. It has cultivated the physical sciences to pile up mountains of wealth for itself. It has gathered our limitless resources for itself. It has underwritten two political parties to do its will. It has transformed the editor, the journalist, the politician, and the statesman into vassals to protect its power, its ownership, and its privileges against the assaults of those in the abyss. It can only

The Heights to Be Conquered



McCauley in the Brooklyn Eagle

rule by deceiving those whom it rules.

The Socialist movement is building a bridge from that brink to the future over which the millions of the disinherited will march into their own. To this work it summons the workers of the nations, the builders of a society in which unmerited poverty will not face billions of unearned wealth.

The only thing certain in this decaying world of capitalism is universal uncertainty for the

workers. Unlimited power to serve their own welfare is within their grasp when they decide to take it. We are millions, they are few. When enough of us decide to build that bridge no power on earth can stop us. Governments will be transformed and armies will divide into mercenary Swiss Guards on the one hand and into liberators on the other. The scientist, the engineer, the teacher and the statesman will then have an opportunity to contribute their

knowledge to this marching host of humanity.

The bridge is already building. The Socialist builders are at work all over the world. Out of the mines and the countryside, out of the factories and stores, out of the great plants of production and from the ranks of the millions of the unemployed, the Socialist builders are being recruited. Eventually they will cross the gulf of Capitalism, they will march on to the top of that peak of Human Achievement, they will possess it, and leave Capitalism a hated memory of the ruin brought to humanity all over the world.

One skirmish in this long struggle for emancipation from the dominion of Capitalism is coming to a close. The Socialist Party has waged a campaign which will close at the election next Tuesday. It has made a fight against great odds. Its resources have been small but it has carried the struggle into every sector of the war it could. It has appealed to the working class and all who share in the ideal portrayed by the artist to help build the bridge.

The Socialist Party indulges in no illusions. It knows that the liberating army cannot endure the hardships of the march with empty stomachs. The army must live, it must be disciplined, informed, acquire experience and be trained while it is building the bridge, so it has its program for the period of the march while it looks forward to reaching the heights of human achievement. While on the march we will take every measure of power we can conquer, and write it into legislative relief for the disinherited workers.

But that ideal of scaling the heights must ever guide our steps and influence our every action. If we neglect the ideal we are in danger of being swallowed up in that gulf of capitalism that yawns at the brink.

So we make this last appeal to our readers before this skirmish in the world battle against Capitalism comes to a close. Vote for the Socialist candidates, the advance couriers of liberation from a wrecked world of capitalist production.

The seats of power are in the hands of the corrupt, servile, and illiterate agents of a two-party system of capitalistic power. That power, can be taken. Take it!

Vote for the candidates of the Socialist Party and move forward in the labor struggle for emancipation!

DRIVE THE VERMIN OUT OF THEIR SEATS OF POWER

By William Morris Feigenbaum

THE WORKERS of New York City are faced with a challenge. The insolent vulgarians who plunder our city have been smoked out. They are shown in their true colors. The mask has been stripped from them. They stand naked and ugly, clutching their tin boxes and bankbooks, the only things dear to them in this life.

The facts were suspected long ago. Only the exact amount of "savings" of the Farleys and the McQuades, of the Perrys and the Cruises, remained to be determined. Mr. Seabury has rounded out our knowledge.

The workers are challenged.

What is there to be done? How can we cleanse our city of this vermin?

The poor, feeble Republican party, long ago surrendered its integrity, long ago revealed itself as the jackal to the tiger. Today, in the very borough where Maurice Connolly and Jack Phillips plundered, in the very borough where today Register and would-be Sheriff McQuade banked a half million dollars in ten years, his "savings" on his \$15,000 salary, the Republicans have delivered themselves hog-tied to their rivals by accepting as

their own the infamous Democratic judicial slate, including the nomination of "Sonny" McCooey.

THE CAPITALISTS of the country inaugurate a nationwide drive of wage-cutting, to hammer the standard of living down to a level of serfdom. The capitalists of the nation conspire with the capitalists of Britain to destroy the social services there and to drive out the government of the Labor party. The capitalists of the country are uniting in a national anti-trade-union drive.

Bread-lines are lengthening, and coffee is being tossed into the sea. Men are starving, and fruit is being fed to the hogs. Mechanics clamor in Detroit for an opportunity to work on automobiles, and troops are sent to keep down the flow of oil in Texas. Farmers are in distress because there is so much wheat that they face starvation. People shiver while Southern states plan to destroy a year's cotton crop.

THE WORLD needs leadership. The masses clamor for a way out.

And the two "great" parties sit on their fat haunches and

whack up the plunder, considering politics nothing but a racket, nearly as fruitful as beer running and hi-jacking.

The masses have placed the two old parties where they are by their votes. The masses have given the McCooeys and the Steinbrinks, the Farleys and the Perrys, the Cruises and the Crewses a blank check, a ticket to go ahead. The masses, not knowing what else to do with their votes, have placed vulgar thieves in political power, where they have run riot with what has been placed at their disposal.

The masses have voted for them, for they have not known what else could be done with their votes.

The masses have not been aware that with votes something can be done to meet the assaults of the wage-slashers; that with votes something can be done to meet the specter of unemployment; that with votes something can be done to unite the useful people of all the world into a resolute army to remake the world.

WHEN the masses start voting for themselves, when they start meeting their own problems with their votes, when they start electing their own class interests to power, that mo-

(Continued on Page Four)

TOWN
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Closing Campaign Rally

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HEYWOOD BROWN
HARRY W. LAIDLER

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNEL
DR. SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN

Saturday,
Oct. 31,
8 p. m.

Washington Socialists Organized

State Convention Adopts Platform and Plans Extensive Work of Organization Next Year

SPOKANE, Wash.—Socialists of Washington have organized on a state-wide basis and have laid plans to conduct the most extensive campaign for membership and votes ever waged in the state. Three full-time organizers have been chosen by the party, and efforts will begin at once to meet the requests of several cities for leaders and speakers.

A Levin of Los Angeles, Will Everett of Spokane, and A. C. Vall of Yakima, are the organizers chosen. Meetings have been called by the state committee, at the request of local members at large and sympathizers, to organize new locals at Longview, Wilson Creek, Everett, Bellingham and Yakima. "Starting at once, we shall organize for Socialism in every section of the state and will have, in 1932, a candidate for every county, state and Congressional office," said Everett, who was elected chairman of the state organization.

"We Expect to Elect"

"Furthermore, we expect to elect our candidates. This may sound like an impossibility. I know it sounds ambitious. But in talking with many people I find the state in rebellion against the economic system now, and there is an absolute vacuum of ideas on any possible relief."

"With this attitude, I know the minds will crystallize on some definite program. My conviction is that with the growing lack of confidence in capitalism the world over, this convergence of common opinion will, in the early part of 1932, force leadership in economics directly into the only group which has a definite program. That group is the Socialist party."

Platform Gives Aims

The platform contains the following points:

Repeal of the criminal syndicalist law; unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press and free assembly; unconditional release from prison of all victims of capitalist greed and political prejudice; especially Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings; abolition of military training in educational institutions.

State or national insurance for working people in cases of accident, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the progressive reduction of hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to increase the share of the worker in the product of labor; socialization of the medical and dental professions.

"Holding now, as always, to the principle of collective ownership and democratic control of natural resources and basic industries," the platform continues, "we pledge ourselves to support all constructive action for rapid and systematic socialization of industry."

Complete Organization

John M. Glenn of Spokane, was elected state executive secretary, and H. O. Fuhrberg of Seattle, national committee man.

Members elected for the state executive committee are: W. A. Werth, D. F. Stanley and W. E. Kilgore, Spokane; Stella K. Garrison and A. R. Kline, Seattle; A. C. Vall, Yakima; Leo Welsh, Newport.

Headquarters will be maintained at West 819 1/2 Riverside avenue, Spokane.

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Thomas Campaign Gathers Momentum As He Exposes Old Parties Failures

Record Vote Looked for—Carrington and Levy Under Withering Fire

NORMAN THOMAS' Socialist campaign for president of the borough of Manhattan in the last week of the fight has taken on the appearance of the closing days of his famous race for Mayor of New York in 1929 when he polled the record Socialist vote of 175,000. In the last week of the campaign, Thomas addressed over 25 outdoor and indoor gatherings, meeting with enthusiastic receptions wherever he went. Coming down the home stretch, three events stand out on the campaign schedule:

1. Saturday afternoon. Anti-war cut and campaign rally in Union Square at 2 p. m.

2. Saturday night. Closing campaign rally under auspices of the Non-Partisan Committee for Norman Thomas at Town Hall.

3. Monday night at 9:45 p. m. Thomas will broadcast a final message over WOR to the voters of New York and vicinity.

The great aim of the party is to score for Thomas and the others on the Socialist ticket a substantial increase over the 37,316 votes given Thomas in Manhattan in 1929 when he ran for Mayor. The change in public sentiment in the last ten days has been markedly in Thomas' favor and if the votes are counted honestly there is little doubt the increase will be obtained.

An indication of the sweep to Thomas was the endorsement of him by George W. Wickersham, head of the Hoover Law Enforcement Commission, and one-time Republican Attorney General. Wickersham's endorsement was unqualified. The revelation that Thomas' Republican opponent, Col. Edward C. Carrington, tried to use Tammany influence to fleece the city on the sale of a pier has caused widespread disgust with the Republican nominee.

Fills in Pier Story

Thomas Tuesday revealed that the now famous Pier 32 which Col. Carrington tried to sell to the city for \$3,177,000 was assessed for each of five years up to 1929 at \$633,000.

Later in the day Thomas turned his attention to Borough President Samuel Levy, his Democratic opponent. The Socialist candidate declared Mr. Levy's speeches "consist mostly of vague and mostly impossible promises of public improvements." Specifically, he attacked Mr. Levy as sharing with Mayor Walker responsibility for the failure of the Chrysler-Forsyth housing development; for making false promises of subway construction on the east side; and for promising to build twelve playgrounds in Manhattan when the last year has witnessed the construction of but one Manhattan playground out of 26 advocated by the controller.

Referring to the now famous pier, Mr. Thomas pointed out that Col. Carrington appraised this property at being worth over \$3,000,000 when he tried to sell it to the city, but accepted the assessment of \$633,000 for the years 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928 and 1929 as a basis for paying taxes. The Socialist leader pointed out that property in New York City is assessed "very close to the market value."

The New York State Tax Commission has reported that assessments of New York City's property average about 90 per cent of the actual value of the property.

Dock Commissioner Cosgrove was willing to have the city pay \$2,534,417.20 for the pier which the city for five years had assessed at \$633,000. Mr. Thomas pointed out, assailing Col. Carrington as a sham opponent of Tammany, Mr. Thomas at the same time denounced Borough President Samuel Levy as an accomplice in maintaining the Tammany system.

Charged Dangerous Delay

Thomas Sunday evening discussed the budget. He charged about 10 per cent waste due to unnecessary political employees, exorbitant condemnation and contract costs. He charged that the Delany plan is being saved by dangerous delay in subway construction and still preserve the five cent fare. Mr. Thomas also asserted that the budget hearings had closed with nothing done about expediting work on 191 million dollars of public contracts which might give full time work to about 100,000 men.

Thomas told the Loose Milk Commission on Monday that the reduction in the price of bottled milk announced last week by the large local companies was inadequate. He demanded a further cut. At the same time, the Socialist leader outlined steps which he felt were necessary in any complete inquiry into the sale of loose milk.

Talks Over WABC

In a radio broadcast from the local studio of WABC, Mr. Thomas took the opportunity of an address on "What the Socialist Party Has to Offer to Youth," to make reference to the local political fight. He charged big business was respon-

Tune In THOMAS on WOR
Monday, Nov. 2, 9:45 p. m.

"A FINAL WORD TO THE VOTERS"
Tune In and Invite Your Non-Socialist Neighbors In to Hear This Socialist Message

able, in the final analysis, for corruption within the ranks of the two old parties. Graft in politics is of a piece with "the same sort of racketeering spirit which permeates business," the Socialist candidate asserted.

Over station WABC, Thomas said: "For the most part both parties are political brokers for big business interests. They exist to amuse, divert, intimidate and control the voters. There is no essential difference between them except that one is out and the other is in. Everybody is aware of the fact that Col. Carrington, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan on the Republican ticket, who poses as an anti-Tammany reformer, by his own confession in the Seabury inquiry hired Judge Olvany, then Tammany boss, in an effort to hold up the city in condemnation proceedings. Across the river in Long Island Republicans and Democrats created a lot of unnecessary judgeships for the pleasure of dividing them up as thieves divide up the loot. In events like this, by no means confined to New York City, you have a picture of the relation of the parties to each other and of both to the profiteers, political and economic."

"It is an orthodox American belief—a belief which is a delusion—that there is something especially corrupt about politics and not about business. The trouble is that politics is corrupted by the holders and seekers of privileges. From municipal graft up to the oil scandal you have merely the crude expression of the same sort of racketeering spirit which permeates business, which lies behind the relations of banks to their affiliates, the commissions of brokers, million dollar bonuses to business executives, and the wild gambling of the stock market. It is not essentially political democracy, it is not even politics, but your whole system which is at fault. The jungle of our civilization arises from the essential nature of that civilization, from the insane and wholly unethical notion that private individuals should run those basic resources and enterprises made valuable only by the labor of others upon whose proper management and development our common life depends."

Wants Bureau Consolidated

Thomas Wednesday charged Levy with running a campaign of evasion. Thomas listed five issues of importance which he charged Mr. Levy has refused to discuss. The Socialist candidate followed this with a direct attack on the Tammany candidates on the ground of inefficiency in administration of his office.

Mr. Thomas demanded to know why Mr. Levy keeps "as second in command in charge of public works none other than that Tammany hack, Warren Hubbard." "Mr. Hubbard's last previous job," Mr. Thomas declared, "was as nominal branch manager, really political contact man for the maddening City Trust Company whose head is now in jail. Mr. Hubbard, to be sure, kept out of jail; but more than that ought to be required even of a Tammany politician who holds this important job."

The Socialist candidate, discussing the administration of the Borough President's office, urged the consolidation of the five borough building bureaus into one, as well as the consolidation of the five borough highway and sewer departments. The only reason Tammany seeks to continue maintenance of separate bureaus, he said, is that of "practical politics."

Arraigned in Paterson

Thomas took some time out from his campaign yesterday to go to Paterson, N. J., to stand trial on a charge of having violated an injunction growing out of the recent textile strike there. The strike, organized by the United Textile Workers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, was a protest against wage cuts.

An injunction issued against the strikers by County Judge Forster Freeman had placed a ban on picketing the John Hand mill. The strikers viewed the injunction as arbitrary and enlisted the aid of Mr. Thomas to test the validity of the injunction. The Socialist leader felt that the injunction created a dangerous precedent inasmuch as it forbade picketing a mill which the court ruled as not on strike, although the union was attempting to win the mill's employees to the strike.

One aim of education should be to cure people of the habit of believing propositions for which there is no evidence.—E. D. Russell.

There is no fiercer hell than failure in a great object.—Kant.

Hoan Refuses Olympic Chair as Mooney Protest

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan has just refused the position as honorary city chairman of the American Olympic Games Committee. He has declined to serve or have his name used in connection with the Olympic Games in California in 1932 because of the railroadings of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings to prison and their continued incarceration after they have been abundantly proved innocent.

Mayor Hoan is following the lead of the Labor and Socialist Sports International which has refused to have anything to do with the Olympic held in California.

A Correction

In the story of the great Eugene V. Debs memorial meeting held by Local New York City on Tuesday evening, October 20, in the Washington Irving High School, there was an omission that should be corrected.

Two very brilliant young artists volunteered their services and came through the courtesy of Herman Epstein, friend of Eugene Victor Debs. These artists were Ralph Oxman, cellist, and Mary Katz, who accompanied on the piano. They rendered two numbers that were appropriate to the occasion and beautifully played. The audience responded warmly.

The Women's Committee of the Rand School is fortunate in having obtained "The House of Connelly," which is being given at the Martin Beck Theatre. The theatre party will take place Wednesday, November 11. The house is very moderately scaled at prices from 50 cents to \$2.50. In view of the fact that all the funds raised by the Women's Committee are used expressly for the benefit of the Rand School, all comrades and friends of the school are urged to arrange to see the play on Nov. 11.

Tickets are on sale in the office of the Rand School. In seeing the play which J. Brooks Atkinson of The New York Times concedes to be one of the best of the year, party members will have the occasion to spend a pleasant and profitable evening and at the same time, aid the school.

The Workers Disarmament Campaign Goes Forward

Organized Pressure by Socialist Parties and Trade Unions All Over the World Is Now On

CHICAGO.—The joint disarmament campaign of the world-wide organization of labor is gathering momentum, according to addresses received from Zurich and Berlin at headquarters of the Socialist party of America. The International Federation of Trade Unions, representing 14,000,000 organized workers, the Labor and Socialist International, representing 9,000,000, the Socialist Youth International, with over 250,000 members, and the Labor and Socialist Sports International with over 2,900,000, are cooperating to bring pressure on the 1932 Disarmament Conference.

The resolutions which are being adopted by workers' organizations all over the world call for "complete, universal and controlled disarmament at the earliest possible time." The Joint Disarmament Council of these organizations hopes to be able to get the resolutions adopted by every labor and sympathetic organization in the world, and sent both to the government of the country, and the president of the Disarmament Conference.

Henderson Will Preside

Arthur Henderson, leader of the British Labor party, was elected president of the conference, and he probably will serve, since he was elected as an individual, and not as British Foreign Minister. This will assure the workers that their petitions and resolutions will be given more attention than if a reactionary were chairman of the sessions.

The nationalists of France have lost no time in starting a campaign against the Disarmament Conference on the ground that it is to be "directed by the Labor and Socialist International," and that Henderson will take the workers' viewpoint.

Labor Support Vital

Copies of the resolution have been sent to all local organizations of the Socialist party of America, and shortly will be sent to a long list of sympathetic organizations. "Although many of our business leaders and politicians are now talking as if they are opposed to war, they refuse to take the drastic steps that will prevent war," says the national headquarters bulletin. "Only the knowledge that the vast mass of the people are determined upon complete disarmament in line and assure some results from the Geneva conference."

"If this conference is not a success, the labor movement will find it a hundredfold more difficult to fight against the increasing menace of armaments and nationalist and imperialist pressure for war. As a matter of international solidarity as well as of self-interest American workers should join this campaign to throw off the burdens of militarism."

Copies of the resolution may be obtained from the Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.

A New Socialist Forum Opens in the Bronx

The long felt need for a radical forum in the West Bronx has at last been met through the efforts of the Educational Committee of the 8th A. D. Branch of the Socialist party.

Beginning Nov. 8, and every succeeding Sunday, at 11 a. m. sharp, the forum will launch a series of lectures, debates, symposiums and discussions on social, political, economic and philosophical questions in the Burnside Manor, corner Burnside and Harrison avenues.

Preceding the main lecture, our able comrade, Samuel Orr, will review the events of the week. A musical program will also be arranged at every forum.

The speakers for November will be Elliot White on the part the churches should play in radical movements. Dr. Wolf Adler, a well known and able lecturer, will discuss the trend of modern thought. Comrades Coleman, Thomas, Blanshard and various others have signified their willingness to lecture.

The forum will be known as the "West Bronx Socialist Forum" and judging by the eagerness with which the masses are listening to our speakers at the open air meetings, we are encouraged to believe that the public of the West Bronx will respond generously to our call and will cooperate with us by their large attendance at our forums.

Panken to Meet Democratic and Republican Opponents

On Sunday evening, Nov. 1, Jacob Panken, candidate for justice of the Supreme Court, will meet a Democratic and Republican opponent in a symposium arranged by the Harlem Forum of the St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, Madison avenue at 126th street.

The speaker for the Democratic party is Winter Russell, for the Republican party, Colonel Edward C. Carrington, candidate for Borough President.

Jacob Panken will be the concluding speaker of this symposium. The subject is: "The Moral Issues in the Coming Election."

All Harlemites are to take notice. An enjoyable evening is promised. Everybody welcome.

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Socialist N.E.C. Will Meet in Boston Nov. 7

Members to Speak at Propaganda Meetings—Socialists Active in Lawrence Strike

BOSTON.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party will meet here November 7 and 8. The meetings will start at 10 a. m. Saturday morning and will be held at the Hotel Bradford, 275 Tremont street.

Members of the committee are participating in propaganda meetings on their way to Boston, and meetings have been arranged by Alfred Baker, Lewis, New England district organizer, for surrounding towns. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, will speak in Washington, D. C., on November 2; Wilmington, Del., November 3; New York City, November 4, 5 and 6, and Springfield, Mass., November 8.

James H. Maurer will speak in Providence, R. I., November 6; Morris Hillquit in Worcester and Lillian Wilson and Clarence Senior in Boston the same night. There will be a banquet under the auspices of the Boston branch and Y. F. S. L. Sunday evening.

"Red" Mike Shulman and Sam Bakely of Philadelphia, together with Leonard Green, have been making history in the Lawrence textile strike. They had 15,000 people on the picket line around the Arlington mill last Tuesday. This is on the estimate of the reporter from the Boston Post. Such a picket line is believed to be the largest in the history of labor struggles in the United States.

The following among the Communists in Lawrence is very small, but they seem to have performed a very useful function in making the United Textile Workers ready.

The question of relief is now the most burning problem to meet. Funds for relief may be sent for the Lawrence strikers to the Socialist party headquarters, 21 Essex street, Boston.

Socialists of 18th A.D. B'klyn In Final Literature Drive

The Socialist workers in the 18th A. D. of Brooklyn, where Harry W. Laidler is the candidate for Alderman in the 43rd district and Joseph Viola for Assemblyman in the 18th A. D., have arranged a big meeting in Public School 219, Clarkson avenue, and East 95th street, for tomorrow, Sunday, at 2 p. m. The speakers are Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon and August Claessens. Dr. Simon Frucht will be in the chair.

This will be the last big meeting of the campaign but a final drive for watchers and literature distributors is also being made. An appeal is made to all members and sympathizers to volunteer as watchers and also to distribute literature. There are from 15,000 to 20,000 leaflets on hand and it is planned to distribute all on Saturday and Sunday.

Joe Viola will lead the distributors on these two days. Volunteers should call at the headquarters, 303 Albany avenue.

Laidler—Falk Debate

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, will debate with Edwin Falk, New York attorney, and author of "Fighting Bob Evans" over Station WOR on Sunday, Nov. 1, at 3 P. M., on the subject: "Resolved, that a Larger Navy Is Necessary for the Peace and Security of the United States." Dr. Laidler will take the negative.

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Muskrat, Raccoon, Black Cat, Seal, Silver Muskrat, Hudson Seal, Lapin, others Russian Pony Natural Squirrel (dyed Muskrat). Other Fur Coats \$25 to \$500

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Instructions to Voters by The Socialist Executive

How to Vote on Machine, Rights of Voters, and
Socialist Position on Amendments Outlined
by Party Executive

ONE of the final acts of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in New York as the campaign closed was to issue instructions that will be helpful to voters on Election Day. The statement gives important information on how to use the voting machines, the legal rights of voters, what the voter can do in certain emergencies, and the position of the party on six proposals that have been submitted to the voters. If on Election day any voter desires further information he or she will find a list of Socialist headquarters on page 7 to visit or call by telephone.

The instructions to voters follow:

Vote Straight Socialist Pull All Levers in Section C, Third Row

Qualified voters who have registered during one of the days of registration and have not moved since are entitled to vote.

Polls will be open from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., but voters who are at the polling place and in line at 6 p. m. are entitled to vote.

The safest way is to vote early. You not only are sure that you have voted, but that no repeater or flake will vote for you, which is often the case when the voter is late.

VOTE EARLY!

The process of voting:
Go to the polling place where you are registered and get in line with the voters waiting to vote.

When you reach the inspectors at the table, give your name and address, then sign the voters' register, the inspector will compare your signature with that of registration.

How to Vote on a Machine

After you have been found to be a qualified voter, you will be admitted inside the railing.

If the machine is not in use, the curtain around the machine is open, you enter inside of the curtain, surrounding the voting machine on the top of the left of the machine is a large handle, take that handle with your right hand and swing it from the left to the right of the machine.

When the big handle at the top of the machine is moved to right it closes the curtain around the voter so that no one can see how the voter votes.

When the handle on the top is moved to the right and the curtain is closed, the machine is ready for voting.

On the face of the voting machine are several rows of levers. The top row contains the Amendments to the Constitution to be voted on this year.

Below this are the candidates for public office. These rows are designated by letters beginning with A.

Row A contains all the candidates of the Democratic Party.

Row B contains the candidates of the Republican Party.

In New York, Row C contains the Socialist Party candidates. (In some up-state counties, the Law Preservation Party has candidates and will appear in Row C, while the Socialist candidates will be in Row D. Up-state voters should make sure before they move the little voting levers that the candidates are marked "SOCIALIST" and that the emblem, the Arm and Torch appear next to the name).

TO VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET move the pointers or levers in the third row downward. Be sure to move all levers in the third row (Section C) down.

Before you move the big handle on top of the machine, make sure that you have voted right. If you have made a mistake, all you do is move the pointers back to the original position and bring down the pointers you want to vote.

But to avoid mistakes, move down all pointers or levers in the third row from top (Section C).

When you are sure that you have voted right, take the big handle on top of the machine (red handle) and move it from right

Socialists in a Close Race for City Council

Martinek Making Spectacular Campaign in District Where Big Vote Was Polled Last Year

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND, Ohio.—With the local councilmanic election campaign drawing to a close, Joseph Martinek, running in the 4th district on the Socialist ticket, will make a very good showing. Martinek is well known in Slovenian circles and has been endorsed by several Slovenian lodges. Fifteen thousand copies of the municipal platform have been distributed, and 6,000 leaflets announcing rallies; 15,000 copies of a special leaflet on local issues will be distributed from house to house two or three days before election.

In the 2nd district Joseph Martinek is making a spectacular campaign. He has been endorsed by the Cleveland Press, the Plain Dealer, the local Federation of Labor, many Bohemian fraternal lodges, and declared "qualified" by the Citizens' League. In the district where Martinek is running there are ten other Bohemian candidates, about three of them put in the race to get some of the votes away from Martinek, who was almost successful two years ago. But this plan of the bosses may turn out to be a boomerang, because Martinek's supporters are almost all Socialists, not Bohemians, while the votes of the ten other Bohemians will be split.

Martinek has been speaking several times a night. The 2nd district campaign committee has meetings and rallies arranged right up to election day. He has also been speaking at the street meetings held by the Yipsels, where he has been received very well by the workers. On the night before election, an automobile parade will be held. Twenty or thirty autos, covered with signs and banners, will wind in and out of the streets in the second district, stopping at important corners for meetings. The parade will form at the American Labor News office, 4732 Broadway, at 7:30 p. m. sharp.

It is generally conceded throughout the city that Martinek has a very good chance to be elected to the city council. At the election two years ago, many of Martinek's votes were stolen from him. According to the election code, there is only one watcher allowed at the counting for every five candidates. As we are running only one candidate, he has to make arrangements with four independent watchers.

Therefore, we can have only Socialist watchers in one-fifth of the booths. Our watchers, however, will be stationed in those precincts where Martinek polled his biggest votes in the last election.

Brooklyn Party Forum

A new forum organized by the Socialist party of Kings County will hold its sessions in the large hall of the Brooklyn Academy of Music every Sunday evening. It will hold its formal opening on Nov. 8, 8 p. m. A very fine program of debates, symposiums and lectures has been arranged.

Every Socialist and sympathizer in Kings County has been solicited for cooperation to make this huge undertaking a great success.

The first event on Nov. 8, will be a debate between Charles Solomon and Congressman Hamilton Fish on the subject, "Is Capitalism Worth Saving?"

Admission charges range from \$1 to 25 cents. Reserved seats are on sale and also tickets can be obtained for such seats for the full subscription for ten Sunday evenings.

Those interested in obtaining seats in advance can apply at the box office of the Academy of Music or the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street.

Free Youth

VICTORY DANCE.—Brownsville Yipsels are inviting all other Yipsels and their friends to join with them on Saturday evening, Nov. 7, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackett street, Brooklyn, to participate in their large victory masque ball and dance. The entertainment will include the play "Grippers" by David Pinski, fortune telling by a Hindu fakir and music by Lou Ross and his radio orchestra (heard regularly over WABD). The admission will be merely 25 cents and 60 per cent of the profits will go to our national paper, Free Youth. Make this affair big and enjoy yourself with other young comrades, while you help fill the coffers of Free Youth.

BERNSTEIN LECTURE.—Circle Five Juniors of the Bronx, announces a lecture on "Communism or Socialism," by Jacob Bernstein, for this Friday, Oct. 30, at 8:30 p. m., at its headquarters, 4215 Third avenue, near Tremont avenue, Bronx. Questions and discussion will follow. All are welcome.

CIRCLE FIVE SENIORS, KINGS.—The Boro Park Young Socialists will hold a Halloween party Saturday evening, Oct. 31, at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street, Brooklyn. The admission will be only 10 cents.

BRONX YIPSELS.—A huge demonstration and parade will be held this Saturday evening in the Bronx. All Yipsels are urged to participate in this affair. All Yipsels are to report at the city headquarters at 12 o'clock Saturday, Oct. 31, for final instructions for the huge unemployment demonstration which will be held at Union Square. A large committee is being organized on the various com-

Election of Crosswaith to Aldermanic Chamber Will Aid Harlem Negro Workers

By Arthur C. Parker

THERE are many reasons in my mind why cosmopolitan Harlem should elect a colored Socialist to represent its interests in the city government. He is the candidate for Alderman in the 19th District of Manhattan.

As a man Frank R. Crosswaith stands head and shoulders above any of his opponents in this political campaign. His love of the right, the good and the true, his daily unselfish sacrifice of money, time and ability to help his fellow man without the slightest hope or desire of ever receiving any financial remuneration, and his devotion to the cause of downtrodden humanity makes him the candidate of the workers whether they appreciate his qualifications or not. Crosswaith is a Socialist. Socialists stand for the very things for which colored Americans have been fighting for fifty years. A Federal anti-lynching law, national compulsory school laws, anti-Jim Crow and segregation laws, and in all, equal opportunity for all men regardless of color and creed.

As a Socialist, Crosswaith and the party he represents stand for a federal law confining Congressional representation by state to the number of votes cast rather than to population, so that Southern states that disfranchise their colored citizens will be denied at least 50 per cent of their representation in Congress, which will give fairer Northern and Eastern states an overwhelming majority to enact legislation guaranteeing to colored Americans those constitutional rights and privileges so long denied them.

I have one criticism to make of my party, the Socialist party; heretofore, we have not given the colored group and their potential political economic importance the amount of consideration and concentration necessary to assure the party a understanding welcome by thinking colored people.

Frank Crosswaith ran for the Assembly in 1927 and again in 1929-30 and despite fused opposition from Democrats and Republicans, the daily press and other agencies he polled a tremendous vote. Thousands of dollars were spent by the party for the campaign, conducted by Thomas Parken and Brown, and although Crosswaith nearly fought his battle unaided, he was well up among the leaders in the number of votes received. This record most certainly merits party approval and wholehearted party support in this campaign.

Frank Crosswaith, as national organizer of the Socialist party, has a herculean task to perform and the man has proven himself bigger than the job. Men high in the esteem and confidence of the party will not deny that Crosswaith does his job and more.

Colored people need Socialism. The Socialist party needs the colored people. Democrats and Republicans have been for years the Greeks bearing gifts in recognition of the importance of the colored vote. These two old parties, one the renegade sold-out party of Lincoln, the other party of the

shameless hooded beasts of the night, the Ku Klux Klan and the original and present slave holders of the "solid South."

I wonder if certain prominent New York Democrats who laboriously confine their fostered race hatreds and antipathies to refusing to eat with intelligent colored men, would not be stylish replicas of Cole Bease, the lily-white, if they, too, were in mob-ridden Democratic South Carolina.

Democrats and Republicans, the Slaves Twins, who are indirectly responsible for over 3,000 charred and bleached bones of helpless colored men and women, those who writhed in torments of death, wrake again their glendorous appeal for the support of a people they consistently allow to be massacred, mobbed, robbed, raped and lynched.

Did our fathers, our mothers, our grandparents die in vain? I write in agony with the mere thought of myself or my people raising these butchers, these Judas priests, to greater positions of power. For what? To see ourselves increasingly segregated, oppressed, persecuted? To see an ever greater number of our university trained youth denied every human right to succeed, progress, or to even live? To see our fathers and brothers thrown out of old jobs and replaced by fairer hired Democrats and Republicans?

Take heed, colored Americans, before it's too late. Repudiate these two-tongued hypocrites before greater damage is done. Make them right some of the insufferable wrongs done our people ever since the Emancipation Proclamation. Remember the colored boys beaten and lynched in the Southland in 1919 even while they wore the uniform of the United States Army. Remember our "friend of the colored man," a Republican government sending Gold Star Mothers of dead colored heroes to France to view their lonely graves, in cattle ships, while white Gold Star Mothers sailed on the best ocean liners and were given the best of everything the land could afford.

It's time to rebuke these prejudiced and politicians, who only recognize us as men and citizens at election time or when they want something we might have, from our daughters to our lives.

Start your campaign back to true manhood by electing Crosswaith to the Assembly and standing solidly behind the entire Socialist program which stands for the emancipation of the working class. Let us help build a society and a United States of which we can feel proud, of which we can justly feel ourselves an integral part, and a society fit for men to live in.

Student Socialist Co-op

As the result of a project successfully conducted by a student Socialist club, University of Wisconsin students now have the opportunity to sell and buy their books through a cooperative book exchange. The club conducted a non-profit exchange for students who wished to sell their books.

Street Rallies in N. Y. Campaign

MANHATTAN

Lower East Side, 1-2-4th A. D.—Various corners. Speakers (report at 204 East Broadway). Morris Goldman, S. Louis Lieberman, M. Markshied, S. P. Ulanoff, Joseph Leventhal.

Lower West Side, 3-5-10th A. D.—Various corners. Speakers (report at 130 Charles street). Eliot White, E. M. Feigenbaum, M. Rosenberg, P. Gottlieb, L. C. Kaye, J. W. Hughan, I. W. Salert.

8th A. D.—Various corners. Speakers (report at 26 Avenue C). William Weinberg, N. Riesel, M. Weingart, N. Gottlieb, H. Taubenschlag.

8th A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 227 East Ninth street). William Karlin, H. Rosner, E. Levinson, M. Mandel, G. Gelman, A. Meyers, S. Stein, W. Dearing (Friday). West Side, 7-9-11th A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 100 West 72nd street). McAllister Coleman (Friday, Saturday).

10th A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 123rd and 7th street). William Karlin, H. Rosner, E. Levinson, M. Mandel, G. Gelman, A. Meyers, S. Stein, W. Dearing (Friday). West Side, 7-9-11th A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 100 West 72nd street). McAllister Coleman (Friday, Saturday).

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BROOKLYN

1-3-8th A. D. Friday, 8:30 p. m.—Clark and Henry streets; Wyckoff and Smith streets. Speakers, D. M. Cory, Marjorie Dorman, B. Young, S. Safraff, S. Knebel, Frank Klein, Glass.

2nd A. D. (Midwood)—Meetings Friday, Saturday, Monday. Speakers (report at 137 East 17th street). W. M. Feigenbaum, M. Rosenberg, P. Gottlieb, L. C. Kaye, J. W. Hughan, I. W. Salert.

15th A. D.—Saturday, Oct. 31, 8:30 p. m.—64th street and 20th avenue. Speakers, I. Corn, S. Levine, L. Chertoff, Monday, Nov. 2, 8:30 p. m.—69th street and Bay parkway; 84th street and Bay parkway. Speakers, W. E. Peck, H. Haskel, B. K. Apollan.

15th A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 303 Albany avenue). Harry W. Laidler, J. F. Viola, C. Sunarski, D. Levick, Max Krublik, N. Cohen, Margulies, Rosinski, Sarason, Sidney Rothenberg, Sam Ewing, Ann Gould, Ben Howe, Carl Parsons.

21st A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 55 Snyder avenue). Theodore Shapiro, Anne Gould, A. Kaufman.

22nd A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 218 Van Stieken avenue). A. I. Shiplacoff, D. Breslow, H. Davis, C. Schuchman, S. Black.

23rd A. D.—Meetings various corners. Speakers (report at 218 Van Stieken avenue). A. I. Shiplacoff, D. Breslow, H. Davis, C. Schuchman, S. Black.

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Mayor Hoan to Speak in New York Nov. 4-5-6

Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee to Speak at Series of Educational Meetings

The Socialist campaign never ends. It begins the day after election. At least three New York branches have undertaken large mass meetings immediately following Election night.

The principal speaker at these meetings is Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee. Comrade Hoan is on his way to the N. E. C. meeting in Boston and is making a number of stops across the country.

New York Socialists have been fortunate to obtain his services for three evenings. Hoan will give an intimate account of the work of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee. There will also be an opportunity to meet this splendid comrade.

The first meeting will be held on Wednesday evening, Nov. 4, in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackett street, Brooklyn. A. I. Shiplacoff will be chairman. This meeting will be held by the 23rd A. D. Socialist Party Branch and the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Association.

On Thursday evening, Nov. 5, Mayor Hoan will speak for the 3rd and 5th A. D. branches, Bronx County, in the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, the Bronx. Here he will be the speaker of the opening of the Forum conducted in the Hollywood Gardens.

The third and final meeting will be held on Friday evening, Nov. 6, in the auditorium of the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses at Mosholu Parkway and Sedgewick avenue, Bronx. This gathering is arranged under the auspices of the Socialist Party Branch of the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses.

There is an admission charge of 25 cents to cover expenses at all of these meetings.

Forums

ADVANCED EDUCATION LECTURES

The Institute for Advanced Education announces that the following lectures will be delivered at the Roerich Museum Branch, 310 Riverside drive, corner 103rd street, Friday, Oct. 30, at 8:45 p. m.: "Confucianism, the Oldest Ethical Culture," by Charles Francis Potter, Sunday, Nov. 1, 8:45 p. m., Paul E. Anderson will speak on "The Art of Communication for Readers, Writers and Speakers," Nov. 4, at 7:30 p. m., "Arthur Schnitzler, A Study in Viennese Literature," by Dr. S. Lipzin.

INGERSOLL FORUM

Representatives of the various political parties will take part in a symposium, "The Way Out of the Depression," to be held under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum in Pythian Temple, 130 West 70th street, Sunday evening, Nov. 1, at 8 o'clock.

LABOR TEMPLE

"The Pope and His Encyclicals" will be the subject of the address by Dr. G. F. Beck, Sunday, Nov. 1, at 5 p. m. Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee will speak at 8 p. m., his subject being, "Will American Capitalism Survive the Present Crisis?" Stanley A. Day will render an organ recital at 7:45 p. m.

BRONX FELLOWSHIP

Upton Sinclair's "The Wet Parade" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening, Nov. 1st.

At the 9 o'clock Open Forum, Professor Grover Clark will speak on: "Conflicting Interests in the Far East." The forum speaker was formerly professor of English Literature in the National University of Peking; consultant on Far Eastern Affairs and lecturer for the Foreign Policy Association. He has lived twelve years in the Orient.

Questions and discussion from the audience will follow the Forum address and a musical program by Genevieve and Zelma Kaufman has been arranged.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED EDUCATION

310 Riverside Drive, 103rd St. Friday, Oct. 20th at 8:15 P.M. "Confucianism: The Oldest Ethical Culture." DR. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER. Sunday, Nov. 1st at 8:45 P.M. "The Art of Communication for Readers, Writers and Speakers." PAUL E. ANDERSON. Wednesday evening, Nov. 4th at 7:30 "Arthur Schnitzler, A Study in Viennese Literature." DR. S. LIPZIN.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The Latest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence
75,000 MEMBERS
\$5,000,000 ASSETS
100 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$5,000
Each benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5, \$10, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$5 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$500 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.
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Ex-Lax is the ideal family laxative, because it is a pure, delicious chocolate, combined with a harmless and tasteless laxative which is being prescribed by noted physicians. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

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The Chocolate Laxative

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK

Thirty-fourth Season Opens
At COOPER UNION

8th Street and Astor Place
Friday, November 6th

CIVILIZATION AND THE LIFE OF REASON: A SYMPOSIUM

OPENS ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, with a lecture on "What the Einstein Theory Means to Us: The Special Theory of Relativity," by PROFESSOR WM. F. MONTAGUE.

ETHICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
OPENS ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, with a lecture on "The Human Use of Art," by JOHN ERSKINE.

SCIENCE AND MODERN THOUGHT
OPENS ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10th, with a lecture on "The Structure of Man," by DR. HENRY J. FRY.

All Lectures at Cooper Union at 8 o'clock
Admission Free

The School of the People's Institute

Opens at the
MUHLBERG BRANCH LIBRARY
209 W. 23rd St.—Wednesday, November 11

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11th: Discussion Group. A course of sixteen discussions on Medieval Thought, led by Professor Richard McKee.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12th: A course on THE FOUNDATIONS OF SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY, Professor E. G. Spaulding. Lectures at the Muhlberg Branch Library at 8:30 o'clock.

DEBATE!

BERTRAND RUSSELL vs. ANDERSON

Chairman JOHN B. WATSON. Noted American Psychologist WILLIAM E. GRADY. Foreword by MECCA TEMPLE. SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1st. 8:30 P.M. Tickets are still available, 75c to \$2.50—Discussion Guild, 15 East 40th Street, N. Y. Rand Book Store, 7 East 10th St.—Columbia Book Store, 400 Hudson Building.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Now meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street
8 P.M.—MR. HARRY DANA, just returned from Russia
"THE SOVIET THEATRE IN RUSSIA"
11 A.M.—DR. EDWARD HOWARD GIGGS
"The New Humanism in Business and Industry" ALL WELCOME

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

Announces a Series of Four Lectures on
"SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY AND TOMORROW"
By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
November 12-19—December 2-10
Single admission, 50 cents; course tickets, \$1.50; a few front reserved rows, \$1.00. Apply, Church Office, 4 East 76th Street.

Brooklyn Forum

Brooklyn Academy of Music
Lafayette Ave. near Flatbush Ave
EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT

Debates Lectures Symposiums

Beginning Sun., Nov. 8, 8:30 P. M.
Is Capitalism Worth Saving?
Hon. Hamilton Fish, Jr. Says YES
Charles Solomon Says NO
Nov. 15, 8:30 P. M.
Symposium, "Russia"
MATTHEW WOLL—NORMAN THOMAS
H. V. Kaltenbach—Prof. Geo. S. Counts
Dr. Henry Neumann, Chairman

Other debates and lectures to follow
Morris Hillquit vs. Geo. Gordon Battle
Heywood Brown vs. Michael Gold
Scott Nearing vs. Norman Thomas
Alexander Woolcott, Prof. Leroy Bowman, Clarence Stein, Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff, Dr. Henry Neumann.

Best seats are reserved in advance
Tickets 25c, 50c, \$1
Subscription for Series of Ten
\$2.50—\$3.75—\$7.50
Reservations accepted for entire course of ten or single admission tickets at Rand Book Store, 7 East 10th St., N. Y. and at Brooklyn Academy of Music Box Office, 39 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Auspices: Socialist Party of B'klyn

Judge Jacob Panken

Speaks last for Socialists
SYMPOSIUM
120th Street Forum
(N. E. cor. Madison Ave.)
SUNDAY, NOV. 1st, 1:15 P. M.
"Issues in the Election"
Winter Session for the Democrats
Col. E. C. Carrington for Republicans
ADMISSION FREE

LABOR TEMPLE

book, subject is so far a stranger to me, and I am not, which I wrote that he does not in the least perceive what there was new in my book. As to his Russian dromedary, he is not even aware that all Russian Socialists see it just as I do. We all know that it is only a skin stretched over a bare skeleton, without flesh or blood. I do not expect what I have written to convince Sinclair. But possibly it may incite him to stir the Russian Socialist literature on the subject. If so, he will get more correct notion about his animal.

From the Side Lines

TEACHERS of public speaking stress the importance of the peroration. The last words of a speech should be inspiring and impressive. The following words from the speech of a spell-binder in a German district during a Chicago municipal election, is a good example of his kind.

"Tomorrow las de day ven ve shoudt say mit Patrick Heinric, 'Vy do ve stand here mitout doing something about it?' In dis election if effer demoret does his duty, ve vill knock de schubican party so far into de future dot de reeblick of Reep Von Vinckle vill sink into insignificance beside it."

Another peroration by the same orator began with the words: "As I look up on the shars und shtripes," while slowly his eyes would gaze heavenward on a flag hanging from a window overlooking the truck from which he spoke. One night, just before he reached this part of his patriotic outburst, the gust of wind blew the flag from the window. The shtripes und shtripes" climax came to an abrupt pause with the orator excitedly whispering to a committeeman, "Say, vot in hell became of dot flag?"

"Now are there any questions?" asked the Socialist speaker at the close of his address.

"Yes," exclaimed a voice quivering with indignation. "Can there be a more glaring example of the hypocrisy of a political party that claims to represent the workers than to have one of its leaders living in a swell apartment that has two bath tubs, Mister Speaker. I demand an answer."

He was evidently a professional panhandler, neatly dressed and of good appearance. There was no whine in his voice as he walked up to a pedestrian with an "Excuse me, sir, but could you help a fellow out with—"

"Sorry but I've been pounding the pavement for seven weeks myself."

"No foolin'?"

"Wish I was."

"Sure tough, ain't it?"

The panhandler opened a flat. On the palm lay a dime.

"I can help you out with this'."

"No. Thanks just the same, S'long."

"S'long."

A few socialists and wobblers in a western city had "organized" the unemployed. Meetings were held nightly and speakers with a "message" were invited to address the sessions of the forum.

On one occasion, just before a speaker on the single tax was announced, one of the members of the board of strategy, a wobbler, rushed up to a socialist member. "What about this single tax?" he asked.

"The single taxers advocate a tax on land only. They maintain that the basis of our industrial ills are caused—"

"Do they believe in doing away with the wages system?"

"Well, not exactly. They believe that—"

"That's enough. That's all I wanted to know."

The wobbler rushed to the front of the hall and during the discussion period bombarded the single tax wittingly and vociferously with his quickly acquired knowledge.

On another occasion the single taxer referred to in the above incident was requested to deliver an address at the funeral of a man unknown in the little eastern Colorado community in which he passed away.

"My friends," the single taxer began, "we are gathered to pay our last respects to the stranger who has died in our midst. Like practically all of us, he was compelled to pay tribute while he lived, to the landlord class. Under our present taxation system land ownership is the mother of all monopolies. Will that monopoly relax its tentacles, now that this mortal has gone the way of all flesh? It will not. After we have placed the remains of the victim of our dishonest taxation system over yonder in God's Acre, tribute to the landlord will continue to be exacted."

"My friends, only by the adoption of a single tax on all land values will the blight of landlordship be forever removed."

For a full hour the speaker held forth on the advantage of the single tax, closing with an eloquent, sentimental outburst on the tribulations which the departed stranger had endured. There was not a dry eye in the assemblage.

Nor was there a single volume left of the fifty copies of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" which the speaker sold at a dollar each to those who had gathered to pay their respects to the remains of the stranger in their midst.

Ben Blumenberg.

Eugene V. Debs

When you died
The sky was draped in clouds of darkness;
The winds were hushed and the air was laden
With dismal sadness.

When you died
A million hearts were torn asunder,
And eyes were red and the tears were many.

Reluctantly
We said goodbye, and placed you down
Within the earth; and then with tenderness
And trembling hands we covered you and left
You to your loneliness.

The countless years
Have come and gone their winding way
Through all the corridors of Time.

The countless years
Have borne their battles in the bitter strife
That mankind may survive and live in peace.

Dear Comrade,
Know we carried on the work you left undone.
We carried on the standards of the life you led.
We carry on!

Then
Rest in peace while we go forward onward,
Ever holding high each pledge we made
When you died.

DOUGLAS B. KRANTZOR.

Socialism does not mean that you will have to surrender your privacy. On the contrary, it means that you will have an opportunity to regain the privacy which you have already surrendered.—M. Work.

Antagonism may exist in society without a struggle being waged by the workers, either as they are suppressed, as in our company strikes, or because the workers are not conscious, but the conflict of interests is

... a delicate method of meeting the jobless. Unemployment insurance is

Results of the British Election

Election Manifesto Promises "Bold" Action

(The text of the British Labor Party's campaign platform for the general election of last Tuesday, follows:)

DECISIVE opportunity is now given the nation to reconstruct the foundations of its life.

The capitalist system has broken down even in those countries where its authority was thought to be most secure. It falls to give employment to many millions of workers.

It accumulates vast stocks of commodities which it is unable to distribute.

To re-establish its position, capitalism now demands from the unemployed and wage earners the surrender of their hard-won standard of life and seeks to force the government of this country to restrict and abandon those social services which the Labor party believes an essential condition of democratic society.

The Labor Government was sacrificed to the clamor of bankers and financiers. Because it placed the needs of the workers before the demands of the rich, a so-called National Government was installed in its place to wrest from Parliament the authority to satisfy them.

That Gold Standard

The policy of that government has proved a disastrous failure. Formed to maintain the gold standard, which it declared in panic-stricken accents to be an indispensable condition of national safety, within less than three weeks it has abandoned that standard with the insolent explanation that industry would benefit by the change.

Having failed completely in its original object, it now seeks from the electorate a mandate for the impossible task of rebuilding capitalism. Composed of men who differ profoundly on all the main principles of public policy, unable to agree upon any essential methods by which to restore prosperity, this ill-assorted association of life-long antagonists seeks a blank check from the people for a purpose it is unable to define. Acutely divided within itself, headed by two men who now are acting in direct contradiction to their own previous convictions, certain in the near future to split in fragments, it makes the shames of pretense of being an instrument of national unity.

We must plan or perish. The Labor party seeks a majority from the electorate upon the basis of a coherent, definite program. It reaffirms the conviction that socialism provides the only solution for the evils resulting from unregulated competition and the domination of vested interests.

"Bold, Rapid Action"

It presses for the extension of publicly-owned industries and ser-

vices operated solely in the interests of the people.

The Labor party recognizes the present situation calls for bold, rapid action. The decay of capitalist civilization brooks no delay. Measures of Socialist reconstruction must be vigorously pressed forward.

The Labor party is convinced, in the light of experience since 1925, that the banking and credit system of the country can no longer be left in private hands. It must be brought directly under national ownership and control. The Labor party is further convinced of the need to form a national investment board with statutory powers to control domestic and foreign investments. It would seek powers from the new Parliament to effect this transformation.

Aiming at a monetary policy to stabilize prices, the Labor party condemns either currency inflation or the new disastrous attempt at deflation to force sterling back to gold parity.

It will take a vigorous initiative in calling an international conference to arrive at a concerted monetary policy. It will seek thereby to make the resources of civilization available for the people who today in the new world as in the old are starving in the midst of plenty.

The Labor party has never failed to insist upon the intimate relations of war debts and reparations to the economic depression. It believes the general acceptance of President Hoover's moratorium on war debts permits reconsideration of the whole question. It seeks the immediate reopening of negotiations by the signatories of the Young Plan and the United States with the view of attaining conditions in which interwarred war debts and reparations may be canceled.

Laborites Go Down In Defeat in Tidal Wave of Reaction

AFTER some amazing shifts in British politics, including the former leaders of the Labor Government, the election on Tuesday resulted in a landslide for the National Government headed by former Labor Premier, J. Ramsay MacDonald, with the Conservatives having a big majority in Parliament over all other groups. The returns from only eight constituencies were missing and these will make no change in the relative standing of the party groups.

The outstanding facts in the election are that the Labor Party has suffered a stinging defeat in a heavy loss of the popular vote

Details at a Glance of British Election Tuesday; 29,523,692 Eligible to Vote in Filling 548 Seats

The principal facts relating to the British general election are as follows:

Contending groups: Government—Prime Minister MacDonald's few National Labor followers, the entire Conservative party and the Liberal adherents of Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir John Simon.

Opposition—Arthur Henderson leading the Labor Party, comprising virtually the entire Parliamentary Labor party, and the Liberal adherents of David Lloyd George.

Independents—Sir Oswald Mosley's New party and unaffiliated candidates.

Total membership of the House of Commons—615.

Seats filled by acclamation: Government, 61 (49 Conservative and 12 National Liberal); Opposition, 6 (Labor).

Make-up of last House of Commons on election, May 30, 1929: Labor 287, Conservative 260, Liberal 59, Independent 9.

Standing of last House of Commons on dissolution, Oct. 7, 1931: National Government—Conservative 263, Labor 13, Liberal 58, Independent 4. Total 338.

Opposition—Labor 267, New party 4, Independent Labor 3, Irish Vacant—Labor 1.

Women members, 15, of whom all were seeking re-election except Lady Cynthia Mosley.

Number of voters, 15,614,947 women; 13,908,745 men; total, 29,523,692.

and in members of Parliament; MacDonald heads the new government, a leader without a party yet expecting to place himself at the head of the Labor Party which he fought when the present self government groups dissolved; Henderson, the new Labor Party leader, is defeated with other leading Laborites; Snowden, after a bitter fight against his old Labor associates, retired, and will make no change in the relative standing of the party groups.

The returns show the following results.

NATIONAL GROUP

Elected In Last Tuesday House

Conservatives 470 263

National Liberals .. 66 13

National Laborites .. 68 58

Independents 2 4

Totals 551 338

OPPOSITION PARTIES

Elected In Last Tuesday House

Labor 52 270

Lloyd George Liberal 4 0

New Party 0 4

Irish Independents .. 2 2

Totals 58 276

Total seats in House 615

Necessary for majority 308

The MacDonald Government will have a majority of 500 members in the House of Commons, in which the total membership is 615.

With the returns of only eight districts missing, the government's total is now 551 seats, while the

Opposition has only 58.

There is no precedent for such unbalanced party proportions in the modern records of the British Parliament. To get the nearest approach to it, it is necessary to go back to 1832, when the Liberal party had a majority of 300, with 479 seats against 179 held by the Tories.

The Coalition majority in 1918 was only 259 and the Conservative majority in 1924, following the "Zinovieff letter" election was 223.

Labor, according to The Daily Herald, organ of the Opposition party, has had "what the Duke of Wellington called a damned good hiding, but nobody knew better than the Duke that if you can take a good hiding without losing morale, you can win out in the long run."

The first step in preparation for recovering from the disaster, The Herald says, is to face the facts and this "calls for ruthless intellectual honesty."

"The plain fact is we have been beaten at every point," it continues. "The Conservatives, with the aid of their allies, have beaten us in organization, in propaganda and in generalship. That means there must be from top to bottom of the Labor party a thorough searching of consciences and a thorough overhauling of machinery. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of proper preparation for the next fight."

Laborites Lose 214 Seats

The final election returns received have served only as a mopping up process after the massacre of the Labor party indicated by the results. The Laborites lost 214 Parliamentary seats and gained none.

Seven former Cabinet Ministers

lives, devoted themselves at the same time to an earnest study of economics in order to be ready to substitute any other government where everyone will be happy and content. It became their ideal, their religion, for which it was worth while to risk their lives. When they came in possession of the government, they exerted all their energies to their ideal shall become a success. Where the American capitalist system put up the ideal-dollar in the horizon to look up to and succeed, or to become a total failure. Even to increase the circulation of that excellent paper, The New Leader, was necessary to offer prizes where in old Russia it would be an insult to offer prizes for circulation of revolutionary papers at a risk of life.

GEORGE SHULMAN.

Los Angeles, Calif.

TWO QUESTIONS

Editor, The New Leader:

Kindly answer which of these two cases is legal.

1. A man after being out of a job for about twenty months decides that the only thing to do is to go to work for a living, to be a bank or something.

2. A boss who started a business with a man thousands of dollars hires a workman for \$25 a week to run the business. The business picks up after a while and after twelve years is worth \$50,000 and the worker is then getting \$50 a week. The boss, however, is getting \$500 a week, if not more. Then the boss decides, after learning the business, to fire the workman and teach his son who isn't married and hasn't a family to support. The worker is now on the breadline. This is a true case.

A READER.

The answer to the first question is that robbing a bank is illegal unless you are one of the insiders and have a powerful "pull." In this case you make take a chance. Otherwise, don't do it.

The answer to the second question is that it is legal and legitimate in a capitalist society. The only way that you can get even with that chap is to vote for Socialism. That will end his career as a boss.—Editor.

Man can make himself master over much, hardly can necessity and length of time subdue his spirit.—Goethe.

SOCIALISM

Editor, The New Leader:

Consolidated capitalism is going to prepare a state of cooperative affairs on a large scale; only they will own it instead of the people. When the transitional moment has come, it is essential that the Socialist should have a ready-made plan of the form of their government. H. W. Laidler in his excellent paper, "The Meaning of Socialism," asserts: "By Socialism the Socialist does not, of course, mean a rigid centralized industrial mechanism under which all industry is owned by the state." True he is against centralized control of indus-

try, but instead of removing the ownership of industry from all the people and hand it over to a municipality or to a cooperative unit, better get rid of the center; we need no President, Cabinet, Senate, Congress or a Supreme Court. The motive of selfish grabbing will be removed when everyone will get what he has need of. Bureaus should be established, foreign, transportation, exchange, planning, building, agriculture, forestry, mining, employment, production, distribution, etc., with efficient experts in each branch. Each bureau will be answerable to the people; if they are honest, in their endeavor, they should be left in their places as long as they submit to corrections by a committee of the people when necessary.

Mr. Laidler proceeds: "The (Socialist) has in mind an evolving social order in which the principal industries of the country are socially owned by municipal, state, national and other community units and by voluntary consumers and producers cooperatives with functional control and as much decentralization as compatible with efficiency."

I will reduce it to facts. In Boston either the municipality or a corporation of workers will own the production of shoes; Fall River, New Bedford will own a produce exchange, etc. Each cooperative, naturally, will produce (they are very efficient and solicit assistance from the central government to reduce freight charges, etc.) Each cooperative, naturally, will try to gain its own advantages. The result will be waste, wire pulling, bickering and as much Socialism as we have at present. Socialism means that all means of production (that is machinery and the place where it is installed) transportation, natural resources shall belong to all the people. The Massachusetts cotton mill, shoe factories will belong to the people of California as much as to the people of Massachusetts. Mills, factories, large agricultural centers will function under the control of the workers' and consumers' (the people's) committee; bureau of production will regulate the production of each, etc.

He further asserts: "Under a cooperative order such as the Socialist visualizes, there would probably be a residuum of private ownership in agricultural industries, in beginning industries." New industries will be owned by the people's committee (engineers) planning bureau.

The nominal value of a commodity for exchange purposes will be the time (the hours) that it takes to produce it. Small farms will be forsaken for the value of their products will be measured by the time it takes to produce them by the cooperative farms. They will be put to work to build roads, parks, beautiful homes, etc., for the people.

I don't contradict myself by recommending to avoid a centralized government for America, while claiming a successful future for Russia with their central committee's government in control of everything. Russia's revolutionary intelligentsia for a hundred years, while striving to rid themselves of the despotic government at a risk of losing their freedom and their

HARRY S. DAVIS.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

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The Chatterbox

More Sonnets

Let us not grieve for having spent so much,
Leaving ourselves too poor to carry on.
Suppose the thrill has vanished from our touch,
And the soft magic of our phrases gone.

At least we sensed a lift of living nerve,
When love went fluting and our beings reeled.
For now that we retrace with dulled reserve
We have no dread in what the records yield.

There are no sins to hide, no shame to share,
The mummied memory of having kissed
Retains a rigid pose, and who should care
To be intrusive on a vanished trust . . .

And who are we to rate the precious stuff
Of love . . . or know if ever we can pay enough . . .

Now get me straight, fellows and lady friends,
I'm not for leaving any sour taste in your gullets,
Especially during these days of trying to roll up
a big party vote. But, this guy Ramsay MacDonald
sticks to his gizzard like a fishbone, that just won't
choke out. Two years ago, this here Elijah of yours
filled up the whole column with a snooty sort of
letter to his right honorable ribs. Even so level-headed
a lad as Louie Waldman bawled me out for
having done a "lurid and sensational thing . . ."
Just as I get razed every now and then for just
seen'things.

I tell you pals, this here "power complex" has
a right powerful slam in it, especially when old
men take too much of a swig of the fearful stuff.

Now don't worry, but read right ahead. I'm
through for the while poking into ancient carcasses.
There's too much of a job ahead for all of us to
waste fingertips and space on what is growing too
old for our high purposes . . . But Ramsay just keeps
eating me up even when I make a real try at being
"nonchalant . . ." There isn't a coffin-nail made by
the tobacco trust to calm me sufficiently when I
think of that bozo. And when I read his campaign
speeches, warning the voters to keep away from
the Labor party and vote for the National Hash
Pot of Stalwarts for the Pound, I pinch myself to
make sure that I'm really here . . . and that it just
isn't a nightmare.

With what's happened in England, anything can
happen here. Well . . . here's pooh-pooh, and a
double five from my nose at all the MacDonalds in
the world . . . I'm ten minutes late now for my
meeting at the corner of 159th street and Jamaica
avenue. Socialism has survived worse turncoats and
their deeds against the cause . . . So why worry?

And to show you I'm not terribly upset, I'll tell
you a story about another great soothsayer who
used to hold forth in Hoboken. A business man once
told a friend about Pooh-Bah, the world's greatest
mind reader and teller of the future . . . "Goeh, that
man's a wonder, he actually knows what's going on
in your mind while you talk to him." The friend
was just skeptical.

"Well, for ten dollars, he guarantees to tell you
that, or no pay," insisted the believer. "Then let's
go over the river, and I'll show him up . . ." sug-
gested the doubter. The two tradesmen went forth
to Jersey.

Right before the august and sombre Presence,
The two dough-chasers were ushered. "I hear you
can tell what's in my mind right now," said the
faithless one . . . "In the name of Allah the Imper-
ishable, the Inevitable, the Inevitable . . . I am so
blessed . . . And only ten rupees . . . or what you
pagans call bucks are the tribute I exact from those
who do not believe . . ." intoned the turbaned
figure. "Well, here's the ten spot, old wis, and let
'er go," offered the seeker.

A few slow waves of long-sleeved arms, a hocus-
pocus muttering, and the lips moved slowly as they
spoke slow words of revelation. "Sahib, you are
thinking now of finding a large store somewhere in
Hoboken, filling it up full of baubles and worthless
goods, insuring it all for a large sum against de-
struction by fire . . . and then making a confagration
 . . ."

"Stop right here, your highness," interrupted the
client. "Honest to Gawd, I didn't have no such
thought in my mind at all. But the suggestion is so
good, you can keep the ten bucks . . ."

And the two men of affairs out of Gotham went
forth merrily from the Chamber of the Truth . . .

Which brings up thoughts on some of my own
recently bright ideas. Take that Poetry Class at
the Rand School for example. Some two and a half
dozen poets and poetry lovers gather there now
every Tuesday evening at 8:30 p. m., on the top
floor in a blue room, and a good time is being had
by all, except those who just don't give a hoot about
poetry anyway.

We read our own poems, we have them scalped,
scalped and shredded by one another, we agree
upon most things that are to be corrected, and
praise the stuff that's good without stint.

Socrates or Theocritus never had such genuine
hallelujah in their charmed half-circle . . . There
still is room for a half dozen more to fill the
room to capacity. And even if you don't write poems,
meet those that do and learn how they do their
stuff and how well . . . As they still say, on Mac-
Dougal Alley, and in the East Bronx . . . it's inter-
esting. See Reba the Radiant at the Rand School
office and join the course. There are still four lec-
tures to go.

To an Altruist in Beauty

Confessed dispenser of illusions, you!
Deft fingered in your self-appointed task
Of exquisite persuasion, you unmask
And hail the secret face seen by so few.

You garner pregnant lines to fill my needs,
Sow singing rhythms—yet not all your lore
Can still the question at my voice's door:
"You want no blossoms here—then why fling seeds?"

Note this: I can untangle stars myself,
And send them boomeranging back unheard;
Housed in the quiet feathers of a bird,
I have stepped softly past a preening elf.

Television—New Entertainment at Moss' Broadway

Moves to the Hippodrome



Sally Blaine has the feminine lead opposite Lew Ayres in "The Spirit of Notre Dame" the football picture made in tribute to the late Knute Rockne.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

NO WONDER!

"Wonder Boy." By Edward Chodorov and Arthur Barton. At the Albin.

No wonder the movies are at the intellectual level of 12-year-olds, if such are the men who make them! And I am assured, by some who have survived Hollywood, that there is little exaggeration in the swift-moving maniacs and morons (to exaggerate but little) who control film-festivals in "Wonder Boy." The actor is no better than the producer, and the public—the public produces them both, gives what it is, and gets what it desires and deserves. (Except for propaganda, which is outside the scope of this play.) The only intelligent group (no authors are shown) in the publicity department; here everyone is wise and cynical, except the girl whom play of the bewildered boy-who-is-to-be-a-star betrays into something like love, and who for her moment defies the magnate himself.

In a breath-taking first act, "Wonder Boy" gives a sense of the waste and confusion that, until recently, was characteristic of motion picture production. The firms that do not succumb to present conditions may rise to greater efficiency; but there has always been a fairyland glamor—everything on a gigantic scale, as though wrought by a genie—about motion picture producers, plays, and players. The speed and the topsy-turvy tumult of this magic are captured in "Wonder Boy."

The play is not only deftly set and produced; it is well acted by a large cast, headed by Gregory Ratoff as the magnate; William Challee who seems natural as the bewildered boy who would rather be a dentist than a star; Barbara

Bulgakova as the dancer who have none of the dentist but gripped so firmly at the rising star that she replaced him; and Jeanne Green, who has an excellent moment encouraging the boy before his maiden speech, as the one person who will prefer the dentist to the star. Hazel Dawn, in the closing minutes, carries a titling part to the magnate's discomfort; but movie-magnates (like truth itself) seem somehow to rise again. And the play, which has slackened with the magnate's defeat, speeds up at his closing revival.

SEXCHANGE
"THE SEX FABLE." Translated by Jane Hinton from the French of Edouard Bourdet. Produced by Gilbert Miller. At the Henry Miller's.

It is the ghastly end of a de-caying social order that comes to us in "Le Sexe Faible" at Henry Miller's. The title is translated to keep the sound, but not the meaning, of the last word; presumably, its point is that it is a fable that women are feeble. For, in the play, that degenerate stage of society is pictured in which men consider it ignoble to work; the sisters go out to earn their own living (perhaps fortunate enough some day to be able to maintain a gigolo) while the anxious mother raises her sons to marry wealthy women from America (the United States, or the Argentine). Failing marriage, they rent themselves out (as temporary stallions) to fading old Parisian dames.

The efforts of this mother to "marry off" the last of her sons, and the struggle of another son's wife to hold her husband, make the plot, which is but the frame for the picture of life deftly and dammingly drawn. Apt lines, and an excellent company—from Helen Hayes (not Helen Hayes, her first American appearance) as the mother of the Leroy-Gomez brood, through all her family, to Ronald Squire as the observant and obliging maitre d' hotel, and Mrs. Patrick Campbell as the unsated Countess Polak—give pointed power to a searing play of the new Gomorrah.

MUSIC

The Society of the Friends of Music
ARTHUR BUDANSKY, Conductor
Walter Wabbe, Chorus Master
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
Second Concert
Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 8
8:00 P.M. (Stelway)
at four o'clock sharp

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY
ERICK KLEIBER, Conductor
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
THIS AFTERNOON AT 3:00
INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM
Malipiero, Tchaikovsky, Strauss, Berlioz
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Nov. 5 at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, November 6 at 3:30
Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 8 at 3:00
Soloist: JOSE ITURBI, Pianist
Jeddy, Tech. Mozart, Wagner
Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., Nov. 11 at 8:45
SPECIAL CONCERT
Benefit Orchestra Pension Fund
Tickets Now on Sale at Box Office
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SCHILLING, Conductor
Children's and Young People's Concert
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Soloist: ALFRED WALLENSTEIN, Cello
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Stelway Piano)

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Program contains new SPANISH, RUSSIAN
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"The CISCO KID"
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WARNER BAXTER, EDMUND LOWE
—and on the Stage—
ABE LYMAN
in person and his BAND
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WONDER BOY
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OPENS TUESDAY NIGHT AT 8:25 SHARP
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'The Other Fellow' Due at Maxine Elliott's Theatre Next Week

The Actor-Managers, Inc., will present at Maxine Elliott's Theatre during the week beginning November 9 a new American comedy by Cutler Hatch entitled "The Other Fellow."

The New York cast will include Walter Kingsford, Donald Blackwell and Marc Loebell, and Margaret Sullivan.

Miss Sullivan seen in New York last season in "A Modern Virgin" has been loaned to the Actor-Managers by the Shubert Theatre Corporation.

'Terra Madre,' ('The Motherland'), Italian Film With English Titles, at the Cameo

Sunny Italy visits Broadway this week with the opening of "Terra Madre," ("The Motherland"), an Italian romance with English sub-titles at the Cameo Theatre.

The story, a conflict between modern ideas and ancient traditions of the land so rich in the latter, begins with the return of Duke Marco to his estates after years of reckless living in the cities and abroad. Then the new owner's superintendent arrives and the Duke is forced to admit that he is selling his estates, that plans are afoot to modernize the village, doing away with old traditions and landmarks. What follows then are some unexpected and interesting episodes which serve to make "Terra Madre" worth while seeing.

our civilization is preparing for destruction.

LIVING A LIFETIME

"TWO SECONDS." By Elliott Lester. Staged by Egon Brecher. At the Ritz.

Sitting on the electric chair, condemned to die. Too late for reprieve: the signal! Buzz of electricity; shock and lapse to death. In two seconds life has gone out of him.

But in those two seconds one can relive a lifetime, and nineteen excellently staged steps in this riveter's journey to the chair trace the manner in which life compels him to this end. There are two respects in which this play is exceptionally admirable: the smooth, swift flow of it from scene to scene, after the prologue blends neatly into the riveting; and the matter-of-fact tone and level of its story. Here, especially in the first part, is no high pitched emotional melodrama, but a play that moves, simple and authentic, with plain people in natural situations. The gradual degradation of the riveter is well shown; and, though the final scenes are cruder (sired by "Able's Irish Rose" and damned by "Machinal"), "Two Seconds" is a sound achievement of the theatre.

GILBERT MILLER presents.
"The most distinguished cast and the most exquisitely balanced acting ensemble of many seasons. In the writing 'The Sex Fable' is smoothly, brightly, brilliantly phrased. In the acting it is as near perfection as acted plays can be."
—BURNS MANTLE, Daily News.

"The SEX FABLE"

A Comedy by EDUARD BOURDET with
MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL, RONALD SQUIRE
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 W. 43 ST.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
Evenings at 8:30 sharp

"The most remarkable character actor New York has been privileged to see in years."
—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.
GILBERT MILLER presents

PAYMENT DEFERRED

A New play by Jeffrey Dell with
CHARLES LAUGHTON
LYCEUM THEATRE, 43 St. E. of B'way
Evening at 8:30
Matinee Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

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Two Good Reasons Why Peter Arno's Musical Should Prove Successful



"Here Goes The Bride" Peter Arno's Musical Comedy which opens at Channin's 46th Street Theatre Tuesday Evening, will have in its big cast, two far famed comedians, Clark and McCullough.

'The Spirit of Notre Dame' Moves to Hip; Vaudeville Bill Includes Many Fine Stars

"The Spirit of Notre Dame" at the RKO-Hippodrome marks its third week in Times Square and stamps the approval of the people of the city of New York on this screen tribute to Knute Rockne. The same players who brought added glory to Notre Dame in this contest—Frank Carideo, the original Four Horsemen, Miller, Layden, Crowley and Struhldreher, Bucky O'Connor, Moon Mullins, John Law and others—hit the line again, harder than ever before in making "The Spirit of Notre Dame" worthy of their departed, much loved friend and leader, Knute Rockne.

Another big eight-act vaudeville bill holds the stage with Harry Savoy, Manny King, Sylvia Froos, Wally Jackson and Homer Romaine.

'Das Floetenkonzert' Remains for 3rd Week

Owing to hundreds of letters pouring in from leading German teachers in New York City and adjoining boroughs, the management of the Ufa Cosmopolitan has agreed to hold over this historical romance of Frederick the Great in order to afford opportunity for the members of all the German classes to attend. To date 1,000 students have witnessed this educational and delightfully entertaining film.

"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram
"Broadway has not heard lovelier music do all its life."
—Gilbert Gabriel, American
A Musical Love Story by
JEROME KERN and
OTTO HARBACH
GLOBE THEATRE, B'way & 46 St.
Evenings at 8:30
Matinee Wed. & Sat.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.

Evenings 8:30, Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 to 3:30

GEORGE WHITE'S 1931 SCANDALS

with Ethel MERMAN
Body VALLEE
Willie & Eugene HOWARD
Everett MARSHALL
GALE QUADRUPLETS
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW GIRLS ON THE STAGE

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

8th Edition—All New—with
LILLIAN WILLIAM
MAHONEY LOTH OSMARETT
Mitchell & Durant
Vitty Notable Principals and a
Company of 200 Featuring
75 of the most beautiful
girls in the world
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Bal. 50c
Mats. Tues. Wed. Thurs. Entire
Orch. \$2, Sat. \$2.50, Bal. 50c.
SEATS FOR 6 WEEKS AT
BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL THEATRE, 7 Av.
B'way & 30th St.

LAWRENCE LANGNER'S New York Repertory Company

in
'STREETS OF NEW YORK'

DOROTHY GISH
ROLLO PETERS
Romney Brent, Moffet Johnston,
Fania Marinoff, Jessie Busley,
Frank Conlon
44th St. Thea. 8:30 to 10:30 Pop. Mats.
B'way Thurs. & Sat. 2:30 to 3:30

44th ST. Thea. W. of B'way.

Matinee Sat. & Election Day, 2:30

The first successful attempt to link the Guild Theatre and the Broadway Theatre which occurred on Thursday morning, October 22, marked the furthest development thus far in television which is bound to have a far-reaching effect on daily home-life throughout the world.

Hardly had broadcasting captured the imagination of the public when educators saw in it the possibility of enlarging their influence. But radio is blind. Lectures and talks had to be composed in such fashion that no reference to a picture was necessary. The limitation was serious. Languages might be taught but not the elements of electrical engineering. The Fifth Symphony of Beethoven might be dissected but not a painting of a Rembrandt.

So we may imagine the opportunities which are presented in bringing out the beauties of the fifteenth century Italian and Dutch painters, in dilating upon the architecture of Egypt, Greece and Rome, in tracing the history of costumes from primitive times to the present day. Pictures from books, photographs, drawings, can be held up in view. Diagrams can be drawn to elucidate a theory in science. A new animal or plant is described. It can actually be held up to view. It is not too large. The eye is thousands of times more effective than the ear in the absorption of knowledge, and that is why television is bound to play its part in education.

Complete Bill Held at the B'way

So active has been public interest in the current triple bill at the Broadway Theatre that the entire program will be held over for a second week. Television entertainment, the headlined attraction, being offered for the first time in any theatre, is said to be largely responsible for the crowds that have daily thronged the Moss playhouse, with the new Varieties Revue on the stage and Eddie Quillan in "The Tip-Off" on the screen vying with this amazing and novel presentation for popularity.

The stage portion of the bill at the Broadway features Barto and Mann, Bernice Claire, Jans and Whalen, the Darling Twins, Albertina Rasch's dancers and others.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy

"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

Composed of 3 plays
"Hecuba," "The Hunted,"
"The Maids"
All 3 plays will be presented on one day, commencing at 5 o'clock. Dinner intermission of one hour and a quarter at about 7 o'clock. No matinee performances.
PRICES: Orchest. & Mezzanine, \$6. (Includes Balcony, \$5, \$4, \$3 and \$2. 3 plays.)
GUILD THEATRE, 524 Street, West of Broadway

The Group Theatre Presents

The House of Connolly

By PAUL GREEN
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE THEATRE GUILD
Martin Beck THEA. 45TH ST.
Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Exciting play of a man who killed his faithless wife to save his soul—

TWO SECONDS

with Edward Pawley
CAST OF 56—21 STIRRING SCENES
RITZ THEA. 48th St. W. of B'way.
Eves. 8:30, \$1 to \$3
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—Best Seats \$2.00

ROXY THE WORLD'S THEATRE

7th Av. & 50th St.

"The YELLOW TICKET"

with ELISSA LANDI
LIONEL BARRYMORE
Last of "FOOTBALL THRILLS" series: "BACKFIELD STRATEGY"
—On the Stage—
"Rhapsody of Time"
Roxettes—Singing Ensemble
Ballet—Orchestra

MORRIS GEST presents Nikita Balieff's

New Chauve Souris

At the Ambassador Thea.
FIRST TIME AT POP. PRICES
Eves. 8:45, 50c to \$3, Mats. at 2:45, 50c to \$2
SEATS NOW AT BOX OFFICE
Mats. Election Day and Sat.

COSMOPOLITAN

BROADWAY and 10TH STREET
Where Americans Enjoy the Best Continental Pictures
A Bit of Berlin in New York

"The Flute Concert of San Souci"

German Film Romance of
Frederick the Great
Cent. 12:30 at 11:00

In Max Gordon's New Musical, "The Cat and the Fiddle"



Bettina Hall, above, has the support of a fine cast, and Jerome Kern's excellent music in "The Cat and the Fiddle" at the Globe Theatre.

Last Week of 'Soir de Rafle' at the Little Carnegie Playhouse

Leo Brecher announces the last week of the French talking picture "Soir de Rafle" at the Little Carnegie Playhouse in West 57th street. This production which features Albert Prejan and Annabella has found increasing favor among non-French speaking audiences because of the graphic development of the story and the vital performances of the leading players.

BROADWAY THEATRE, B'WAY & 53rd St.

SECOND BIG WEEK SANABRIA GIANT TELEVISION

ENTERTAINMENT
An Amazing Show in Itself
Featuring CARVETH WELLS and Celebrities! And on the Screen
EDDIE QUILLAN in the TIP-OFF with Ginger Rogers Robert Armstrong "The Hit"—News
up to 1 p.m. 65c
35c
COVINOUS NOON TO MIDNIGHT
Last Screen and Television Show
Starts 10:30 P. M.

EDWARD G. ROBINSON

in "the finest talkie of the season"—
"FIVE STAR FINAL"
Louis Weitzenkorn's bombshell drama!
Winter Garden
Broadway & 50th Street
B'KLYN STRAND
Fulton & Rockwell

1931's Best Performances in a 1932 story!

"Platinum Blonde"

with LORETTA YOUNG
ROBERT WILLIAMS
JEAN HARLOW
STRAND
BROADWAY & 47TH STREET
Continuous—Popular Prices

Italy's Greatest Contribution to the Talking Screen—

TERRA MADRE

Can be readily understood and thoroughly enjoyed without knowledge of Italian
R. K. O
Cameo 42ND ST. & B'WAY.

Alfred Lunt Lynn Fontanne

In a picture of their greatest stage success
The Guardsman
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's triumph with ROLAND YOUNG, ZASU PITTS From the play by FERENC MOLNAR
ASTOR 4TH ST. & B'WAY.
Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30
3 times Sun. & Hols. at 2—4—6:30.
Mats. (exc. Sat

NEW LEADER

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

James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Harry W. Laidley, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley, Louis Waldman.



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

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1931

The British Labor Party

THERE is no doubt of the decisive defeat of the British Labor Party on Tuesday and it does not come as a surprise to Socialists. It is the penalty paid by the Labor Party because of its drift to an opportunism that had for its aim remaining in office at the sacrifice of principles and aims. This tendency has been apparent since the Labor Party took office. There are times when situations face a Socialist movement that has power or partial power when it is its duty to step back a pace or two and even to compromise temporarily to avoid something worse. Even Lenin had to teach this to many Communists in Russia but at no time, we believe, was there any situation in Great Britain that justified the continued course of the Labor Party while in office. Its duty was simple where in some other countries it involved a maze of complexities and dangers that have tested the judgment of veteran Socialists.

Even the one object of the opportunist policy, holding office at any price, has collapsed in disaster. It was hoped to keep the enemy out of power and the enemy has more power today than at any time since the hysterical election that returned Lloyd George in 1918. Moreover, the policy brought the strangest event that has ever happened in the Labor and Socialist movement. A number of prominent leaders rode the opportunist policy right into the camp of the enemy and became soldiers in that camp!

However, the sweep towards Conservatism is too extreme to be permanent. We are confident that the tide will turn back to the Labor Party, a party enlightened by its experience, informed by a solidarity of class vision, and fighting for the aims that had been forgotten.

Capitalism in Agriculture

AGRICULTURE has always been a puzzling problem for Socialists in all countries, because, in many ways, it represents the survival of individualist production in a highly organized capitalism. The farmer clinging to a few acres of land is neither a wage worker nor a capitalist. In politics he has been a radical according to his lights during a drouth or a depression but a heavy rain or an upward trend of prices a month or two before an election has sent many of them to the polls to vote for his enemies.

The revolution in American agriculture shows marked trends of wiping out the small farm and the small owner. Mechanized farming and corporation farming are making steady advances. The individualist view of the farmer is certain to recede as this continues. An article in the October number of the *Monthly Labor Review* of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics is informing in this respect. Its statistical study shows the conquering march of capitalist production in agriculture. "Within the next few years," we are told, "practically all wheat produced in this country will be grown under conditions existing in the Great Plains region and the Northwest—that is, on large farms, with big hook-ups of the most modern machinery, a maximum of mechanical power, and a minimum of man labor."

That this form of production is beyond the resources of the individual farmer is obvious. It requires large capital which he does not possess. For many reasons the advance of modern capitalism over the countryside will be slower than in modern history, but that the farmer is to directly face the capitalist system as the wage worker does there can be little doubt.

Japan's Teachers

IT BECOMES more and more evident that Japanese capitalism is determined upon a course which means imperialist control of important raw materials in Manchuria. It is also obvious that in her present attitude Japan is following the course she followed in 1915. The im-

perialist Powers were then involved in a bloody war and Japan took that opportunity to force her 21 demands upon China. She now feels that the Powers are too occupied with their own grave problems to check her through the League and she insists on direct negotiations with China.

There is some grim humor in all this when it is considered in the perspective of history. Both Japan and China down to fifty years ago were sleeping in the folds of an old feudalism, isolated from the capitalist world, and determined to remain isolated. Later the Powers partitioned China as booty among themselves and shrewd Japanese politicians observed in the fate of China the fate of Japan if the latter did not recognize and meet the menace of an expanding capitalist world.

Rather than be the victim of the international thugs Japanese statesmen decided that Japan should turn thug herself. They turned to the task of abolishing the old feudal fetters and a hothouse program of building capitalist industry began which was fostered by the government. It took several decades for Japan to reorganize on a capitalist basis and to build a modern army and navy.

For more than a decade now Japan has been an apt pupil of the international thugs. She was taught by them and instead of being robbed she has turned robber on her own account and it is this that gives the imperialist powers so much concern. They have raised a child in the ways of the criminal and they are peeved at their own handiwork.

Sick French Capitalism

THE Scandinavian countries and France have not been much affected by the economic crisis until this year but they are now facing an increasing number of unemployed workers. The French ruling class has followed an extreme reactionary policy in relation to Germany and has subsidized a string of small states in Europe as French vassals to serve French policies. By bleeding Germany it was hoped that French capitalism would be served but the unemployment disease is now making headway in France.

Official figures, compiled by the Ministry of Labor on the basis of reports from 8,453 establishments employing more than 100 persons each, show the number of employees has been reduced 218,000 since 1930.

The same figures show 856,000 with only partial employment at present.

As pointed out by the Socialist leader, Leon Blum, these figures do not take into consideration the unemployment among small firms employing less than 100 persons, and he estimates unemployment in France at present—those completely without work—at 650,000, with the partially employed at 2,500,000.

Capitalism is a world system that is linked by many ties and a capitalist nation can no more be immune from general prostration than individuals can avoid contagion in a region where yellow fever rages. This elementary truth is now coming home to the French ruling classes long after intelligent men and women had learned it. They have bled Germany white and now they must face the consequences.

This situation will certainly strengthen the French Socialists who will know how to use their increased power should "whirlwinds of rebellion" shake European capitalism in the months to come.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

Capone's Misfortune

We have managed to restrain our enthusiasm over the conviction of Al Capone. He was engaged in racketeering and gangsterism and his fault lies in coming too late on the scene and failing to take the precaution to have enough political representation to validate his racket. There are huge fortunes in this country that have their origins in rackets more extensive than ever dreamed of by Capone. The possessors had their opportunity during and following the Civil War when they swiped vast riches in the West. They had their allies in Congress and some of them shared in the looting. Had Capone appeared on the scene in those days he would have founded one of our "best families" and his virtues would today be sung by those who cherish "rugged individualism."

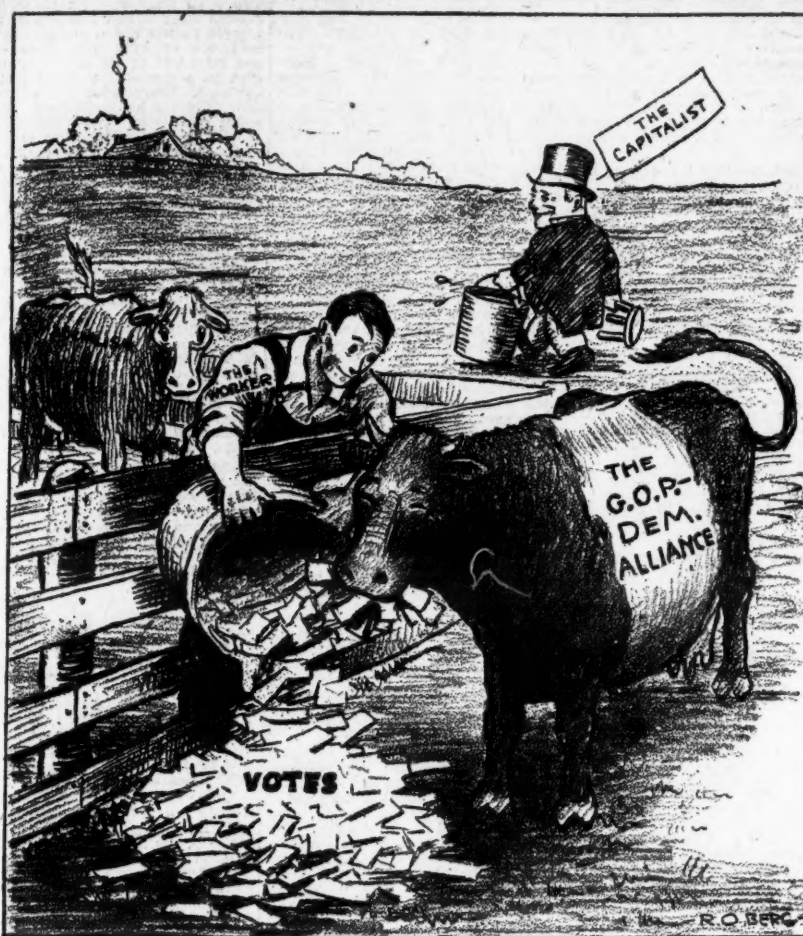
Our Essential Industries

Among our essential industries that flowered in the post-war period is the speakeasy and an ex-dry chit puts their number at 220,000 throughout the nation. New York State leads with 42,000, Illinois is second with 40,000, and Pennsylvania trails third with 20,000. In the lower range of this industry there are 30,000 peddling bootleggers and the business as a whole is fairly well stabilized. We may add that the industry is a godsend to politicians in search of jobs. Any empty head who knows nothing about the collapse of capitalism and its problems can get a hearing by talking wet or dry. This also is an essential industry of a rotting capitalist civilization.

Socialist Tactics

A comrade informs us of a friend who is convinced that fundamental social change must be accomplished by force and that the Socialist party should shape its course in accord with this view. This is a view associated with the infant days of the movement. We are not for peace at any price nor for force at any price. We follow the course of peaceful agitation and organization not because we are positive that peace will accompany the final phases of social revolution. We are positive of nothing about that future struggle but we do know that any movement that advocates force cannot survive during the preparatory period of education and organization. The final phases may come "shod in the iron sandals of revolution," as Lassalle once said, and in that event it would be folly not to fight. Every movement in nations where peaceful agitation and organization is permissible has paid in sterility by agitating force and agents of the ruling classes have entered such organizations to encourage such tactics. Methods are determined by the changing capitalism in which we live, not by abstract theorizing about what may happen in the future.

Why Doesn't He Feed His Own Cow?



By R. O. Berg

TAMMANY AND LABOR

Alliance of Few Leaders With Democratic Machine Enriches Them, But Brings Misery to Workers

By Edward Levinson

Socialist Candidate for Assembly in 8th District

WHEN His Honor the Mayor, James J. Walker, feeling the pinch of poverty, declared an emergency to exist and jumped his pitiful salary of \$25,000 a year to \$40,000, two public spirited citizens alone came to the fore to endorse the thoughtful act.

First came a sycophantic representative of the New York Real Estate Board who appears early and often before the Mayor to ask favors. The other representative of an appreciative public was the rotund Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council, spokesman for the organized workmen and women of the city. Labor is in favor of higher wages, said Mr. Ryan; therefore it was a good thing that Mayor Walker and his tireless co-workers on the Board of Estimate should boost their own pay.

Joseph P. Ryan has always been sensitive to the needs of the Tammany administration. When Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman on behalf of hundreds of thousands of jobless New Yorkers embarrassed the Walker regime by suggesting the Mayor and his board might be as solicitous for the unemployed as they had been for themselves, Mr. Ryan edged to the front of a crowded public hearing and advised the Mayor to ignore the suggestions. When the doddering Crain was being subjected to the merciless exposure of investigating Sam Seabury, Mr. Ryan rushed into print to say that District Attorney Crain was alright with organized labor.

In their public exchange of bouquets, Mr. Ryan and his fellow Tammany lieutenants in the labor movement have set no new style. Between certain chosen labor leaders and Tammany Hall there has for years been the time-honored practice of fellow-marauders, "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." But the back-scratching ends with the chosen labor leaders. For the rank and file of the workers in the trade unions, Mayor Walker and Tammany more often extend the kick-in-the-pants than the slap-on-the-back.

Tammany's Rewards

The rewards of Tammany allegiance are admittedly hard to trace. It takes more than a staff of lawyers, accountants and gun-shod men to delve through the intricacies of the bank-accounts, real-estate holdings, public concessions and city contracts of cousins, sisters, uncles, aunts and just good friends to lay the finger on the final repositories of Tammany's favors. But in the case of labor lieutenants of Tammany Hall it is not necessary to go further than the public record to discover the well from which love and devotion spring.

Hanging around the club-rooms of the Joseph P. Ryan Association, where prohibition never shows its blue nose, one might run into James P. Holland. Mr. Holland was president of the State Federation of Labor until he felt the call to a larger sphere of public service and found himself seconded on the Tammany payroll as a commissioner of the ill-odored Board of Standards and Appeals at a salary of \$7,500 a year. Another occasional visitor to the club house might be John H. Delaney, head of the Board of Transportation who

roge to his eminence from the ranks of the typographical union. Except when it is convenient to refer to his labor past, Mr. Delaney is thoroughly faithful to his second love, Tammany Hall. Thus he has not hesitated to hold up hundreds of thousands of dollars of subway contracts while unemployed workers have pleaded for a chance to earn a few weeks' pay. And under one of the tilted derbies in a backroom, one might swap stories with former alderman, now wealthy, Edward P. Kennedy. Kennedy, a walking delegate of the steam-fitters helpers, retired from public office when the revelations of the Brindell hold-ups came too close to the Kennedy door-step. When the demands on his time by the Seabury committee do not interfere, one might encounter Sheriff Tom Farley, business agent of the Cement and Concrete Workers Union. Farley, in seven years has banked \$360,660 from his "savings" though his salaries in each of the years ranged from \$6,500 to \$15,000 a year.

What the Workers Get

These shining examples of Tammany lieutenants in the labor movement could be multiplied. But space is limited. Let us turn now to the rank and file of organized labor and see what they get out of the partnership.

A striking case in point is the strike of I. R. T. employees in 1926. Unappreciative of the generosity of the subway company, its workers went on strike for a little more pay with which to feed and clothe their families, and a shorter work-week so that they might have a chance to get acquainted with them. Strike-breakers were at hand. Mayor Walker looked on with complacency while thugs, gunmen and the drags of the gangster world were poured into the city to man the subway trains. The Tammany police department cheerfully supplied uniformed policemen to sit by the strike-breakers' side and protect them like so many priceless jewels. In the meantime, Mayor Walker interceded in the strike and gave the I. R. T. phoney promises the dignity of truth. The strikers were led back to work and the promises were immediately forgotten. As a final mark of sympathy, the Tammany police department sent its industrial squad down to strike headquarters in the last days of the walkout and gave strikers and their leaders a rough-housing in which broken shin bones, fractured skulls and minor injuries ran into the score.

One would think that this was sufficient display of friendship on Tammany's part. To believe that would be to underestimate Tammany's capacity for doing a thorough job. In September 1929 Mayor Walker agreed to shell out city money to pay for breaking the strike, gunmen and all; and to pay for financing the fake I. R. T. company union which is part of the subway company's year-round strike-breaking activities. Mayor Walker agreed to forego claims for \$3,257,530 which the city had been pressing against the I. R. T. The city, you see, is supposed to be partners with the I. R. T. The company, it was complained, had spent that much money without authorization. But on mature thought, Mayor Walker agreed to let the trifle go.

\$1,600,000 for Strike-breaking

In foregoing its claim against the I. R. T., the city paid out a total of \$1,682,876 to help fight unionism.

Tammany financing of I. R. T. strike-breaking is but an extreme illustration of a general practice. Consider the refusal of the city to pay the prevailing rate of wages as provided by law, to carpenters, painters and other groups of workers; recall the smashing of the Union of Technical Men and the discharge of hundreds of its members by Mr. Delaney; ponder on the Board of Transportation's successful lobbying against a bill aimed at protecting the life and health of the sand-hogs; study the wholesale arrest of peaceful strike pickets; observe the exploitation of firemen in city schools who work 10 and 12 hours a day for about \$25 a week.

Union men and other workers, try and figure these things out. See if you don't come to this conclusion: that it is high time the alliance between certain labor leaders and Tammany Hall was ended; that while a few of these leaders may get something out of it, the rank and file of the workers get nothing; that the working-people, who are the vast majority of all the people, ought to have a party of their own. If you do come to these things are true, your place is with the Socialist Party, which is the party of the workers first, last and all the time.

A Socialist administration in City Hall would be a labor administration. A Socialist administration would recognize trade unionism among city employees and give all aid and encouragement to the formation of trade unions in private industry. Under a Socialist administration any policeman who raised his club against a striker, would find himself on the carpet. A Socialist administration would be a model employer of labor, setting the highest standards of wages and hours. Socialist city administration, together with Socialists in the seats of government at Albany and Washington, would work with might and main to bring about the next step in the march of civilization—a republic of free workingmen and women from which poverty, tyranny and war would be banished.

The newspaper scale ran out July 1, 1929, and under the agreement it keeps going till another is signed. President Howard of the International Typographical Union has been of the opinion since the depression broke two years ago that it was better to let it go as is, but a month or more ago the union voted to have each of the 34 newspaper chapels elect one delegate. That committee is now framing a scale to be presented to the union for action.

The Journal of Commerce withdrew from the Publishers Association a year or so ago, and there has been much friction since. About two weeks ago two men were discharged, and the paper refuses to follow the procedure in such cases as attempts by three from each party meeting and settling the matter, and if they cannot agree, to call in a seventh man. So the union voted Sunday to fight it out if this was not followed.

Neither Song Nor Sermon

NEW types of legislation, prompted by recent economic developments, are raising pretty problems for the jurists. One of these has already been answered by the United States Supreme Court, but it would be rash to say that the answer given will be the final one.

Legislatures in several Middle Western and Southern states, heeding the outcries of the shopkeeper class, have passed laws intended to check the growth of store chains by imposing license taxes graduated according to the number of stores in a chain. In Indiana the owner of a single store must pay \$3.00 a year; a person or corporation owning more than one must pay \$3.00 for the first, \$10.00 each for the next four, and so on up to \$25.00 for each one above twenty. A certain Jackson, who has 225 stores in the state, and who is taxed \$5,443.00 on a business which would have to pay only \$675.00 if all the stores were separately owned, contested the constitutionality of the law. In May the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four (with Justices Brandeis, Holmes and Hughes among the five) upheld the law; and it has just now refused to reopen the case.

Of course a discriminatory tax amounting at most to \$22 on a unit is not going to put any chain out of business. Now the principle of discrimination has been sanctioned, however, it is expected that the laws will be amended so as to graduate the taxation more steeply.

States in the Wheat Belt may resort to similar legislation in an effort to prevent corporations from owning or operating chains of large farms. If so, there will probably be enough difference in the legal points involved to bring these laws also before the highest tribunal.

Another new line of legislation is connected with the desire to maintain the prices of certain commodities by limiting their production.

So far as I've observed, no recourse has been had to the courts against the action of the governor of Oklahoma in proclaiming martial law in the oil fields, and by military order closing all the wells for several weeks and then permitting them to be operated again only up to a certain percentage of their former flow. If such a novel and drastic use of martial law is long continued, it will hardly go unchallenged on grounds of constitutionality.

Most likely this method will be used only in emergencies. What is more to be expected is a whole crop of statutes limiting the production of oil, of cotton, and perhaps of some other mineral and agricultural commodities. Such legislation can scarcely fail to give rise to cases that will go to the Supreme Court.

It is not for jurists only, however, that these two kinds of legislation raise problems. We Socialists will have to know where we stand.

I'm fairly sure that, if every party member in the country were called upon to say, without waiting for discussion, whether we ought to support or to oppose such measures, we should find ourselves far from unanimous. It seems to me that there's something to be said on either side of the question. Maybe the right attitude for us would be neither unqualified approval nor pure and simple opposition. At any rate, we ought to think the matter out, for the question is by no means one of merely academic interest.

How short a time it is, by the way—not more than ten years, at most—since the unions were being accused of what was then the high crime and unpardonable sin of trying to curtail production. Did they demand a shorter workday? Did they object to "efficiency systems" and pace making and mechanical speeding devices? Did they in some cases oppose the introduction of machines to do what had before been hand work? They were violating the first commandment of the capitalist decalogue: Thou shalt produce!

And here within the last week the papers have carried big stories about an international conference of capitalists to work out a plan for cutting down the output of copper, another to find means of restricting the production of automobiles, and several efforts of bankers and statesmen to stop overproduction of oil, of coal, of wheat, of cotton, of sugar, and of coffee.

If, with such object lessons in full view, we fail to make new Socialists by the tens and hundreds of thousands, it will be our own fault. And when I speak of making new Socialists, I don't just mean getting more votes for Socialist candidates.

If you raise the thermometer in a room, the thermometer goes up; and the rise of the thermometer tells you how much you have raised the temperature. It is possible, however, to make the thermometer go up by holding the bulb between your fingers; and in this case the rise of the mercury means nothing as to the general temperature. To my mind, the figures of the Socialist vote are valuable chiefly as a measure of our success in getting people to understand the fundamentals of Socialism. To work for votes rather than for such an understanding, is as impractical as to mistake the thermometer for a heating plant.

Yes, I've got so far without mentioning gangsterism on the industrial field. And now my space is filled. Well next week is also a week.

—A.L.

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