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# The New Leader

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Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and La-  
bor Movement.

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# LA FOLLETTE AND THE LABOR PARTY

## SOCIALISTS GIVE U. S. SENATOR SUPPORT

**Momentous Action Taken  
by Enthusiastic National  
Convention of Party**

By MARX LEWIS

CLEVELAND, O.—By a vote of 115 to 17 the Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention in this city, Monday, ratified the action of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action in endorsing the candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette for President of the United States on the platform submitted by him and approved at the meeting of the Conference held here on July 4 and 5.

The Socialist convention, by the same vote, authorized the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to endorse, in its discretion, the candidate for Vice President of the United States to be chosen by the Conference for Progressive Political Action at the next meeting of the National Committee to be held in Washington, on July 18.

A separate platform to be adopted by the Socialists before the adjournment of the convention will reiterate fundamental Socialist principles, and Socialists throughout the nation will be called upon to "cooperate wholeheartedly" with the Conference in the national elections and in all such State and local elections in which independent Labor candidates are nominated with the cooperation of the State and local Socialist Party organizations.

A telegram from Eugene V. Debs, five times Socialist nominee for the presidency of the United States, chairman of its national executive committee, and now confined to his bed as a result of his fight to rebuild the Socialist organization, declaring that he considered it wise for the Socialists to make no nominations under the circumstances but to keep, at the same time, the party intact and the red flag flying, was received during the animated discussion which preceded the convention vote, and helped to make the action almost unanimous.

The vote to endorse Senator La Follette came on the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Relations to Conference for Progressive Political Action. The majority report, signed by Morris Hillquit of New York, Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, George E. Roemer, Jr., of Massachusetts, G. A. Hoehn of Missouri, Thomas M. Duncan of Wisconsin, Leo M. Harkins of New Jersey, George H. Goebel of New Jersey, James O'Neal of New York, Joseph E. Cohen of Pennsylvania, Lena Morrow Lewis of California, John M. Collins of Illinois, Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, and Cameron H. King of California, was approved, receiving 115 votes.

The minority report signed by William H. Henry of Indiana and W. R. Snow of Illinois, declaring that the Socialist Party is willing to cooperate to build a Labor party, but that the promise made by the Conference to form a party next January was too vague to justify the party's refusal to nominate its own candidates, recommended that the convention proceed to nominate its own candidates for President and Vice President, and to conduct its own campaign. It received 17 votes.

A substitute offered by Judge Jacob Panken of New York, which would have made the endorsement of Senator La Follette contingent upon the nomination of a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States who would be satisfactory to the Socialists, was proposed to avoid the possibility of the C. P. P. A. choosing as its candidate one who is a candidate on an old party ticket. It was defeated when it was made clear that no such action would be taken by the C. P. P. A.

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## La Follette Landslide Predicted by Hillquit

Morris Hillquit, Socialist Party National Committeeman, commenting on the nomination of John W. Davis by the Democrats, said:

"I am well pleased with the nomination of Mr. Davis. It will draw a clear cut line between the two old parties, both represented by ultra-conservative candidates, and the third party headed by La Follette. It will create a clear cut issue between progressivism and reaction, between the interests of the workers and the farmers on one hand, and big business on the other. With Mr. Davis heading the Democratic ticket and Mr. Coolidge heading the Republican ticket I look for a landslide for La Follette."

## SOCIALISTS RAP KU KLUXERS

**Fascisti Condemned in Resolutions Adopted at the National Convention.**

The following are the more important resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party National Convention in Cleveland:

### Resolution on Emigration and Immigration

The Socialist Party of the United States considers emigration and immigration international problems which can be solved only by international conferences, not by each country for itself. The Socialist Party will bring this problem to the attention of international Socialist congresses.

The Socialist Party opposes all measures that brand certain nationalities with the stamp of inferiority. It also opposes all movements to pass and enforce laws which handicap, oppress or exploit immigrants. It denounces so-called Americanization plans which merely conceal hatred of Labor and Socialist ideas among immigrants without making for better American citizenship. It combats any registration of immigrants which would place them under police supervision and mark them as felons.

The Socialist Party favors measures for the protection of immigrants against official chicanery and private swindlers. It demands that political exiles not guilty of felonies shall find a refuge in America if they seek it.

The Socialist Party offers to instruct immigrants on American principles, customs and conditions, and support all genuine efforts to make good citizens.

### Resolution on Berger's Bill to Restore the Economic Balance

RESOLVED, that the Socialist Party renew its endorsement of bill H. R. 4081, introduced by Congressman Victor L. Berger for the purpose of restoring the economic balance between America and Central Europe by a revolving credit of \$1,000,000,000, to be extended to private industry.

### Hillquit, Lee and O'Neal Will Report Cleveland Conference Here Tuesday

A full report of the two Cleveland conventions will be made to the Socialist Party members of New York, Tuesday, July 15, at a meeting in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East Fifteenth street.

Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken, Louis Waldman, James O'Neal, Algernon Lee and others will discuss the actions of the delegates.

Admission will be by membership card, and no one but good-standing party members will be admitted. Financial secretaries will be on hand to receive dues from members, however.

The meeting will be called for 8.30 p. m., sharp.

## Onward to Victory!

**Independent Political Campaign by Labor is  
Victory for Socialism—The Great  
Opportunities Ahead**

THE Conference for Progressive Political Action has made a nomination for President independent of and opposed to the nominations made by the capitalist parties. It has called another convention to meet in January to consider the organization of a Labor party. It has adopted a platform embodying the demands of powerful trade unions. In these actions this conference of political and economic organizations of workers has for the first time in American history taken steps which Socialists have been urging for a generation.

The candidate is not a Socialist. The platform is not a Socialist declaration. The unions are not Socialist organizations. But the organized groups that met in Cleveland are organizations of the working class. They responded to the appeal of the Socialist Party, and its national convention had soberly to decide whether to go with these workers or to resume our old isolated position, conscious that if we refused many decades would pass before we would ever have another opportunity to march side by side with great hosts of organized workers.

Moreover, the Socialist Party in making its decision did so not on any score of expediency. It did so solely on the matter of Socialist duty. THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ALL COUNTRIES HAS TAUGHT THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IS TO ASSIST THE ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS TO LEAVE THE PARTIES OF CAPITALISM AND ORGANIZE A PARTY OF THEIR OWN.

A Labor party has not been organized in name. One has been organized in fact, loosely held together and yet to be bound into organic union in the January convention. Wherever in cities, districts and States the Socialist Party can cooperate in electing candidates of the workers on tickets independent of the capitalist parties it will do so. Where such cooperation cannot be effected the Socialist Party will nominate and work for its candidates. IN ALL CASES THE INTEGRITY, AUTONOMY AND POLITICAL STANDING OF OUR PARTY IS TO BE PRESERVED.

These are the decisions of the Socialist convention after hours of discussion by delegates from all parts of the country. Our party remains the Socialist Party, but for the first time in its history it enters into intimate, trusted and fraternal relations with large sections of the organized working class. It ceases to be a political sect adopting resolutions affirming its philosophy. It has become a party of action and service. It will be called upon to place its experience at the disposal of the organized workers to make this Labor coalition a success.

FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS CARRIED THE BANNER OF INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS ALONE. WE DO NOT DROP THIS BANNER NOW. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ASSOCIATE SEVERAL MILLIONS OF ORGANIZED WORKERS WITH US IN HOLDING IT ALOFT.

COMRADES of the Socialist Party! We are stepping back a pace or two to meet the main army of Labor and then to march forward together. It is our solemn Socialist duty, a duty which British Socialists gladly welcomed more than twenty years ago, to welcome those who have broken with the parties of capitalism. We face new tasks, new problems, new duties and a new era.

LET US BE WORTHY OF OUR WORKING CLASS HISTORY AND TRADITIONS. LET US RENDER DEVOTED SERVICE TO THIS POLITICAL REVOLT OF LABOR. LET US BY OUR CONDUCT, OUR LOYALTY AND DEVOTION TO OUR CLASS WIN THAT CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW PARTY NEXT JANUARY. LET US BE WORTHY OF THE GREAT SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, THE HOPE OF THE WORLD!

## Socialist Party Greets British, French Comrades

Greetings to J. Ramsay MacDonald, Socialist Premier of Great Britain, and to the Socialist Party of France, were cabled by the convention of the Socialist Party at Cleveland on Monday. They read as follows:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends its fraternal greetings to you and through you to the Labor movement of the British

Isles. We hail the rise to power of British Labor, not only for what it means to the workers of the British Isles, but because of its significance for world peace and the international Socialist and Labor movement."

To the Socialist Party of France:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends its fraternal greetings to you and acclaims your recent victories as an outstanding augury for the early establishment of an enduring world peace and an inspiration to the Socialists everywhere."

## FOR PRESIDENT



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

## DEBS OUT FOR LA FOLLETTE

**Veteran Leader Gives Party  
Stand His Full Approval  
in Chicago Interview.**

CHICAGO, Ill.—"The action of the convention has my hearty and unqualified support." This is the statement of Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman, to the O'Neal, Henry and White Committee of the recent National Socialist Convention to convey personal greetings and affection to him.

Debs was all smiles as he greeted the committee at the Lindlaur Health Resort, Wednesday afternoon. Debs said it was his conviction that the party would have thrown away the greatest opportunity of a generation if it had made independent nominations and refused to cooperate with the great organizations of the working class. The conference had done all that the Socialist Party could have expected.

He added, "There is no compromise in going with the working class when it breaks with the old parties. There is only compromise when we concede anything to the parties of capitalism. It is our duty to march with our brothers in this struggle and by loyal cooperation show that we can work together in a Labor party which should be organized in January."

Not a single reservation to his support was made by Debs in endorsing the actions of the party. He will follow with a ringing statement later to the members urging devotion in this campaign.

Debs' health is slowly improving but it requires much care to recover fully.

## Isaac A. Hourwich, Socialist Scholar, Dies; Was 64 Years Old

New Leader readers will be grieved to hear of the death of Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, one of the contributing editors to this paper, who died Wednesday at the Mount Sinai hospital.

Dr. Hourwich, scholar, statistician, lawyer, author, lecturer, journalist and for a time college instructor, was one of the most picturesque and lovable characters in the American Socialist movement. Rarely in agreement with the majority of his comrades in the Socialist Party, he always had something original to contribute to the discussion of current problems.

Isaac A. Hourwich was a native of Russia and was 64 years old. There will be an extended notice of his life and work in next week's issue of The New Leader. We will also print an article by Comrade Hourwich in next week's issue, intended for this issue but crowded out by the news of the Cleveland convention.

## U. S. LABOR PUTS OWN NOMINEE IN FIELD

**Conference Also Decides to  
Hold Labor Party Con-  
vention After Elections.**

By JAMES ONEAL

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Robert Marion La Follette for President! A party independent of both old parties, based on the enlightened self-interest of producing masses.

That is the result of the great July 4 convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Senator La Follette was nominated by acclamation, after his nomination had been seconded by Morris Hillquit and Harriot Stanton Blatch of the Socialist Party and representatives of the big railroad unions. Hillquit received an ovation, when he arose to speak, fully as enthusiastic as that accorded La Follette.

The nomination of La Follette was endorsed by the Socialist Party at its convention held at the Hotel Winton here, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, and plans for cooperating in the launching of a great national party enthusiastically pushed.

Senator "Battle Bob" sent a communication accepting the nomination tendered him by the La Follette for President Committee, expressly stating that the two old parties were bankrupt and that the time was ripe for a great new party of the masses.

The party will be formally launched at a national convention to be held January, 1925, when it is expected that a great delegation of Congressmen and Senators, elected in November, 1924, will aid in giving it giant political strength.

Meanwhile, the 1924 campaign will be waged by the Socialist Party, by the political committees and local parties already launched, and by the great unions.

There was much sentiment for the immediate launching of a party, but considerations of expediency caused the adoption of the plan to postpone such action until next January.

Two significant facts stood out in the first day's session of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The first is the reception given to the "keynote" address of Chairman Johnston and the second was the ovation extended to Morris Hillquit in the afternoon when he rose to oppose a hasty motion made by an over-enthusiastic delegate.

What stood out in Johnston's address was the frequent satirical references to the two capitalist parties, both being charged with representing the exploiting interests. The paragraphs stigmatizing the two parties as alike and being enemies of the workers were greeted with thunderous applause. The delegates of the unions have apparently advanced in political education since the first conference two years ago in Chicago. There it was generally assumed that the two parties of capitalism had got into the hands of bad men. Here the parties themselves are considered bad and any reference to their union in iniquity brings forth hearty cheers.

The occasion of the Hillquit demonstration followed the reading of the statement of Senator La Follette by the latter's son to the convention. An inspired delegate immediately moved that the conference proceed to nominate La Follette for President. The conference was not organized yet and had not adopted any rules. Hillquit obtained the recognition of the chair but before he could speak the delegates rose to their feet and indulged themselves in long cheering. The greeting to Hillquit was just as hearty and spontaneous as that which had been given to La Follette when his address was read to the convention. On a point of order from the floor

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# U. S. WORKERS LAUNCH INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGN

## Presidential Ticket is Placed In Running at Cleveland

(Continued From Page 1.)

the motion of the enthusiastic delegate was ruled out of order.

Hillquit, however, had succeeded in explaining that the committee on Organization and Campaign should be heard before nomination could be taken up in logical order.

Every sentence of the La Follette address was listened to with rapt attention. What was uppermost in the minds of the delegates was what he could say regarding organizing a new party. This was of special importance to the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, trade union and other delegates who stand for a Labor party.

The address in this respect went further than the conference anticipated. It welcomed a new party but left the time of its organization to expediency and evidently the will of the organizations represented in the conference.

The frequent reference to the necessity of a new party and the scathing terms in which La Follette condemned the Republican and Democratic parties indicate that the Wisconsin Senator has burned his party bridges behind him. This is the sentiment on all sides.

At the same time the address will have an influence on many of the trade union delegates who have not willing to think seriously of independent party organization.

As predicted last week, William Mahoney of St. Paul was refused a seat in the convention. All information brought by delegates from Minnesota also indicates that the Communists have brought dissensions into the Farmer-Labor party of that State. The unity of the party is threatened and it will be fortunate if it is able to hold its gains because of the St. Paul convention.

It was not until Friday noon that the delegates of the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor party and of unions standing for a Labor party knew what had transpired in the important committee on Organization and Campaign of which Morris Hillquit was a member. All day Thursday, late that night and into the wee hours of Friday morning the committee was in session. A few hours sleep and the committee was again in session until noon Friday. Not until after the noon recess of the

last day of the conference did the delegates know the decision of the committee regarding a third party. Even then it was uncertain as Comrade Hillquit left the committee still discussing the matter.

The lack of information, which was inevitable under the circumstances, left our delegates and friends unable to adopt a policy. Not until we returned for the final session did we know that the committee had voted to call a special convention later to act on the matter of forming a Labor party. This recommendation was adopted without a dissenting vote.

In the committee and in the conference there were divergent views on the matter of a Labor party which were reconciled by this decision to hold a special convention.

There are some delegates of the shop crafts who felt obliged to support McAdoo if he was nominated because of his assistance to them as Director-General of Railways during the war. They are Labor men and their obligation to McAdoo made them lukewarm to La Follette.

Then there are the Labor lobbyists stationed at Washington, living in an atmosphere far removed from the Labor struggle. Most of them are sincere men but afflicted with an astigmatism that renders them naturally conservative. The sudden reaction of Washington tends to blight all original thinking.

A third group represents cautious leaders who have learned much since the first conference was held two years ago. They are not now prejudiced against a Labor party but they have doubts. They preferred that a decision should not be reached at this conference because they believed that the campaign should have all their attention while the problems of organizing a Labor party would divert attention from it.

It was conceded on all sides that if the issue was raised on the floor, the proposal for a Labor party would be carried by a substantial majority. On the other hand, it was certain that a few of the more powerful unions would not go along if the resolution carried but that they would regard it more favorably if it is considered in a special convention after the November election.

It was this factor that induced all the delegates favoring a Labor party

to refrain from pressing the matter on the floor. They did not want to hazard a split even if a majority of the delegates carried the proposal.

Moreover, our delegates and friends considered the fact that experience in the campaign would convince the wavering ones that a campaign cannot be waged without an organization. That organization must assume most of the characteristics of a party. In many states an electoral ticket cannot be placed on the ballot without selecting a party name.

The Socialist and Farmer-Labor party delegates reached the same conclusions in separate caucuses. The delegates from the big progressive unions of New York also agreed to this course. The result was that no motion was made from the floor to organize a Labor party when the committee on Organization and Campaign reported in favor of a special convention to organize a party.

Another incident indicates the drift of opinion since the first conference. It was generally conceded that James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, would be the logical candidate for Vice-President. Maurer was even acceptable in the committee where he was discussed. He could have been nominated on the floor but out of consideration for a few who were doubtful whether this should be done without consulting La Follette the nomination was not

## Committees Represent Groups of Labor and Progressives

All interest in the Conference for Progressive Political Action on Wednesday was concentrated on the work of the National Committee which has been working behind closed doors for two days. As the day dragged out it became a matter of common knowledge that the question of a Labor party was before the committee as well as matters of organization.

Selection of the three committees of the convention was completed in the late afternoon. These were as follows:

**Rules**  
T. C. Cashen, president Switchmen's Union; F. J. Fjoldal, president Maintenance of Way Employees; James O'Neal, Socialist Party; Arthur J. Lovell, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; V. S. Gauthier, International Machinists' Union; Mrs. Burch, Women's Committee on Political Action; Arthur G. Hays, Committee of 48;

**Organization and Campaign**  
E. J. Manion, president Telegraphers Union; Vance Monroe, Colorado Conference for Progressive Political Action; Ed. Keating, Washington, D. C.; Morris Hillquit, Socialist Party; Herman E. Wills, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Sidney Hillman, president Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Bertha Hale White, Socialist Party; B. M. Jewell, Railway Department; A. F. of L.; H. F. Samuels, Progressive party of Idaho; F. Finson, Maintenance of Way Organization; A. E. Gordon, Conference for Progressive Political Action of Indiana; D. W. Holt, Brotherhood of Signalmen; Miss Laura J. Wylie, Women's Committee for Political Action; John Brophy, United Mine Workers; Mrs. B. M. Manly, Women's Committee for Political Action.

**Resolutions**  
Donald G. Richberg, Chicago; Elizabeth Hauser, Girard, Kans.; D. B. Robertson, president Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; L. E. Griffing, grand chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; O. E. Jennings, Electrical Workers; Benjamin C. Marsh, Farmers' National Union; Mrs. George B. O'Dell, Women's Committee for Political Action; Victor L. Berger, Socialist Party; Mrs. Glenn E. Plumb, Women's Committee for Political Action; George F. Irvine, California Conference for Progressive Political Action; Judge C. J. Searles, Illinois Conference for Progressive Political Action; Basil M. Manly, Washington, D. C.; Julius Kespohl, Quincy, Illinois; Charles Kutz, Farmer-Labor Party, Pennsylvania; Miss Elizabeth Christman, Women's Trade Union League.

The committees were fairly representative of the various groups represented as well as the varying opinions regarding a Labor party. Socialists were represented on each. With them were one or more who were either in favor of organizing a Labor party or who were open-minded and willing to be convinced by the discussion in the conference.

The Organization and Campaign Committee was the most important because out of it was to come some recommendation regarding a Labor party and possibly a majority and minority report. Of the 15 members of this committee, Morris Hillquit, Sidney Hillman, Bertha Hale White, J. H. F. Samuels and John Brophy favor a Labor party. A. E. Gordon, of Indiana, was for a number of years a member of the Socialist Party in Indiana.

**Socialists and Farmer-Laborites Meet**  
Anxious to learn of the situation in the various sections of the country and to compare views regarding problems that will face the conference, the Socialist and Farmer-Labor

## British Labor Greet C. P. P. A. and Urges an American Labor Party

The following cable was received by the Conference for Progressive Political Action from the British Labor party, signed by C. T. Cramp, Chairman, and J. S. Middleton, secretary:

"British Labor party executive sends greetings to Conference for Progressive Political Action and hopes that its proceedings will lead to the assertion of political independence by American Labor and formation of an American Labor party."

The Independent Labor party, the Socialist propaganda organization of the Labor party, sent the following message, signed by A. Fenner Brockway, secretary: "British Independent Labor party rejoices in union of workers and farmers of America for clean politics, social justice and peace."

Messages from Toronto, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles and other points congratulated the convention on Senator La Follette's acceptance of its request that he run as a Progressive candidate.

pressed. Maurer himself urged his friends to abandon the proposal to nominate him.

party delegates each held informal conferences Wednesday night.

Both groups, in order to avoid waste of time by speakers in the conference, selected floor committees for the guidance of their respective delegates.

The Farmer-Labor party National Committee met to consider the action of its national officials in practically abandoning the organization a few weeks ago. It was ascertained that this decision was based upon a tie vote of the committee members—8 to 8—and further investigation revealed that two members did not vote. They are opposed to abandoning the organization.

**F. L. P. Moves to Denver**  
The committee voted to continue the party organization. It has moved headquarters to Denver and sought representation in the conference.

The informal Socialist conference was attended by over 100 Socialists. Reports were obtained from many States which showed that despite the admitted loss in party members since 1919, the party vote is not only practically retained but that prospects are good for the party in all but a few of the States reporting.

Naturally, chief interest centered around the question of what action the Socialist delegates should take in the conference on the Labor party. There was unanimous opinion that delegates should work and vote for a Labor party but uncertainty as to action should a Labor party resolution be defeated in the conference.

One view was that the party should go along even in this event if it did not carry with it abandonment of our organization and independence in State elections. It was pointed out that in England what is now the Labor party was for a number of years the Labor Representation Committee and that it did not completely break with the Liberal party in the beginning.

It was held that so long as the Socialist Party was permitted to function independently in the States, it is our Socialist duty to remain with the organized workers in their first break with the capitalist politics.

## DETECTIVE AGENCY PADDED PAYROLL OF STRIKE THUGS

**ROCHESTER, N. Y.**—The head of a strike breaking detective agency cannot escape prosecution for padding payrolls on the ground that a fraud against a railroad is not a fraud against the Government.

Through this technicality, John J. Ascher, head of the Ascher detective agency, together with others, attempted to escape from the clutches of the law, but they were balked by Federal Judge Hazel.

Ascher, together with Edward J. Miles, former chief of the New York Central police, and others, are charged with having conspired to defraud the Government of more than \$100,000 by padding payrolls during strikes on the New York Central at Buffalo, in April and May, 1920.

Government officials declare Judge Hazel's ruling makes the Ascher case one of the most important that has been tried in years. The decision, it is stated, paves the way for prosecution of scores of men who defrauded the Government of millions of dollars during the administration of the Transportation Act of 1920.

## 157 DELEGATES AT SOCIALIST CONVENTION

Twenty-two States, Five Foreign Language Federations, Represented in Cleveland Gathering.

**CLEVELAND.**—One hundred and fifty-seven delegates from twenty-two States, three organization districts, five foreign language federations, and the Young People's Socialist League, were present at the National Convention of the Socialist Party.

The complete roster of delegates follows:

**CALIFORNIA**  
Cameron H. King, Alexander Horr, Walter Thomas Mills, Lena Morrow Lewis.

**CONNECTICUT**  
Louis Krah, Mrs. Louis Krah, Walter E. Davis, Wm. Cahill.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**  
Marx Lewis.

**ILLINOIS**  
Tilden Bozarth, Katherine Claus, John Collins, Wm. A. Cunnea, George Koop, Morris Siskind, W. R. Snow, John T. Whitlock, Dave Woodhouse, John Swan, John Frank Danis.

**INDIANA**  
Emma Henry, Wm. H. Henry, Severino Pollo, Wm. Fogelson.

**KENTUCKY**  
John Thobe.

**MARYLAND**  
S. M. Neistadt, Wm. A. Toole, James L. Smiley.

**MICHIGAN**  
M. Wagnan, Louis Wise.

**MINNESOTA**  
Lynn Thompson, D. Shier, J. G. Bastis.

**MISSOURI**  
W. L. Garver, W. M. Brandt, G. A. Hoehn, B. Cohen.

**MONTANA**  
James D. Graham, James L. Wallace.

**NEW JERSEY**  
Leo M. Harkins, George H. Goebel, Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, George Bauer, Herman Niessen, Alfred Alterm, James B. Furber.

**NEW YORK**  
May Harris Mainland, Charles Solomon, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, August Claessens, William Karlin, Jacob Panken, Morris Berman, Jos. D. Cannon, Julius Gerber, Louis Waldman, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Alexander Kahn (Alt.), S. John Block, Simon Berlin, James O'Neal, A. I. Shipiloff, J. A. Whitehorn, W. W. Passage, Joseph F. Viola, Jacob Bernstein, Henry Feuer, Patrick J. Murphy, Joseph Kooperman, Edw. H. MacDonald (Alt.), Herbert M. Merrill, Warren Atkinson, Irving M. Weiss, Ray Whitlock, Edwin D. Ladd.

**NORTH CAROLINA**  
M. E. Edson.

**OHIO**  
Joseph W. Sharts, Oscar K. Edelman, John G. Willert, Joseph Martinek, Anna Kiel, Nick Weltlich, John Ojala, Thomas C. Devine, J. H. Bjorn, Theodore Johnson.

**OKLAHOMA**  
O. E. Enfield.

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
William Adams, J. Aulenbach, Cora Bixler, Joseph E. Cohen, Harry Eckard, Darlington Hoopes, H. Levine, Alfred Baker Lewis, P. A. McGowan, Charles Sehl, Frank Silvis, Geo. S. Snyder, Sidney Stark, J. Henry Stump, Wm. J. Van Essen, Anna Van Essen, John Weisberg, Louis Zeff.

**WEST VIRGINIA**  
I. G. Miller.

**TEXAS**  
Robert M. Young, C. T. Stopper.

**WISCONSIN**  
John Bauernfeind, Victor L. Berger, William Coleman, Dr. Karl L. DeSombre, Mrs. Pauline Deuss, H. M. Seidelman, Daniel W. Hoan, Thomas M. Duncan, Paul Gauer, Herman O. Kent, Edmund T. Melms, Henry Ohl, Leo Kryzcki, Joseph A. Padway, William F. Quick, Charles C. Schad, William F. Schulz, J. J. Hadley, John Doerfler, Jr., Arthur Shutkin, Henry Sievenhaar, Aron Rosenthal, Herman Tucker, Ernest Untermann, S. Ziebelman, Mrs. Victor L. Berger.

**NEW ENGLAND STATES ORGANIZATION DISTRICT**  
A. J. Parker.

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., Helena Turitz, Albert Sprague Coolidge.

**RHODE ISLAND**  
Peter Marcus.

**MOUNTAIN STATES ORGANIZATION DISTRICT**  
O. A. Kennedy.

**NORTHWESTERN STATES ORGANIZATION DISTRICT**  
Emil Herman, F. M. Dwyer.

**YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE**  
Alber. Weisbord, Oscar Albrecht, Harry Bordman, Morris Novik.

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# SOCIALISTS HAIL LABOR'S POLITICAL REVOLT

## La Follette Indorsement Is Voted by Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

the thrills of the old days' debate, which was admitted by delegates on both sides to have been one of the most interesting and instructive ever heard at a Socialist convention, when Henry of Indiana, defending his minority report, declared that no matter what the decision of the convention, he, along with all other Socialists of the minority, would return to their respective States to fight for the success of the Socialist candidates and to carry out the party's mandates. He was given an ovation which could be heard throughout the large Hotel Winton, where the convention was held.

The convention was again thrilled when Morris Hillquit, all but exhausted from the days and nights of conferences, discussions, struggles and debates in both conventions, rose to conclude the debate in favor of the majority report. The convention's devotion to its champion in all of its struggle was testified to by the tremendous applause, which greeted his appearance at the close of the day's session. It ratified his achievement by a vote that was almost unanimous.

The convention got under way at 10 o'clock in the morning. Roberto Haberman of Mexico, fraternal delegate, delivered a short address on conditions in Mexico where the Labor party has just succeeded in electing its own President of the Republic. Following his talk, in which he expressed the good wishes of Mexican Labor for the success of the Socialist convention, a resolution was sent to the Mexican Federation of Labor congratulating the Laborites of Mexico on their victory.

During the day messages were also sent to Premier Ramsay MacDonald and to Jean Longuet, leader of the French Socialists, congratulating them on the recent victories of the British and French workers in paving the way for an international of working class governments.

Louis Waldman of New York, reporting for the Committee on the Constitution, endeavored, during the morning session, to present the committee's report, but when it became evident that the constitutional changes recommended were based upon the assumption that the convention would endorse Senator La Follette's candidacy, it was decided to postpone it until the decision of the convention on the La Follette candidacy had been made.

The convention concluded the morning session with a decision to begin, upon reconvening an hour and a half later, the majority and minority reports. A rule to allow to each side fifteen minutes to open and fifteen minutes to conclude the debate, and to restrict speeches to five minutes, was adopted to expedite consideration of the reports.

At the afternoon session, Cameron H. King of California, speaking for the majority report, opened the debate and declared that there was one thing upon which both reports agreed, and that was upon the need of a Labor party. The only difference occurred as to whether it should be taken, such as it is now, as the majority recommended, or to detach the Socialist Party from the first genuine attempt upon the part of Labor to form a party, as the minority proposed.

"The minority," King declared, "wraps its cloak about it, draws away from this effort of Labor to strike out for itself, and assumes a 'holier than Thou' attitude. We see in the action of the C. P. A. the formation now of a skeleton for a Labor party, and its actual creation next January."

Reading from the letter Senator La Follette sent to the C. P. A., King showed that La Follette had severed all connections with the Republican party, had burned all the bridges behind him and was prepared to make the blow that would crack both old parties and form a new alignment after the elections.

"What better assurances could we have?" King asked. "We have the decision to make now: Either to stand upon the outside, an onlooker from the gallery, while Labor begins its march to political independence, or we can get into it, help build it, and lead it on to victory."

Snow of Illinois opened for the minority. He declared that La Fol-

lette had assumed to dictate his own platform and would dictate his running mate, while all others had to accept his dictation. He conceded that the fight for the minority report was hopeless, but expressed a hope that the discussion would be none the less fair and thoroughgoing. Some States, he said, would be benefited by the Socialist endorsement of La Follette while others would be injured.

"So far as I am concerned," he declared, "I never voted a Republican or a Democratic ticket, and I never shall."

He was followed by Hoeft of Missouri, who pleaded for the adoption of the majority report. He traced the struggles of Socialists to unite in years gone by, and how there were always those who were afraid to strike out because of the fear of contamination.

It was at this point that the telegram from Debs was read, and its appeal for unity, coming from one who for more than twenty-five years had inspired the Socialists of the nation and led them to greater successes, made a profound impression as the message was read.

Judge Panken then offered his substitute. Declaring that the Socialist Party must join the forces of Labor in this campaign, he declared that to accept the nomination of a Vice President who may also be a candidate on the old party ticket—he referred to Major Berry of the Pressmen's Union, who is soliciting

## Berger Praises La Follette's Record During World War

For more than five hours the friends of the two reports had it out. May Mainland of New York, Sidney Stark of Pennsylvania, who made a valiant fight for the minority report, William F. Quick of Wisconsin, Socialist nominee for Governor of that State, who bolted the Wisconsin delegation to support the minority report, Ernest Untermyer, Socialist scholar, writer, and for many years a leader of the Socialists; Walter Thomas Mills of California, noted as a leading orator in the Socialist cause; Collins of Illinois; P. A. MacGowan of Pennsylvania; William Karlin of New York; Koop of Illinois and a host of others joined in the debate, practically all of them for the majority report.

Victor L. Berger, at the head of the Wisconsin delegation, and only Socialist member of Congress, joined in the appeal for the endorsement of La Follette, admitting that he was doing this to help the national political movement at the expense of the Socialists of Wisconsin who had resisted the La Follette movement successfully.

"I need not tell you I am a good Socialist Party member," Berger declared. "I helped organize it, and no matter what happens, I shall not give up my Socialism."

"I know La Follette, for I have fought him for 26 years. He stood true in the supreme test—the World War."

"In Wisconsin we need no Labor party. The Socialist Party is the Labor party. It is the second party in the State. And we have more and better Labor legislation in Wisconsin than in any State."

"If I thought that this endorsement would injure the Socialist Party, I would resist it with all my might. But I know it will rejuvenate it."

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, was granted the privilege of the floor. In an eloquent appeal the veteran Socialist editor urged the adoption of the majority report.

"I am going to vote for La Follette," Cahan declared, "because he can make the crack that will split the old parties wide open. For 25 years we were following the wrong path. I know we are on the right one now."

Julius Gerber of New York, expressing the sentiments of the largest Socialist organization in the country, Local New York, pointed out in what way the present political situation differs from previous attempts at progressive political action by showing how the present

## La Follette O. K'd in Debs' Message to the Cleveland Convention

Elmhurst, Ill., July 7, 1924. Bertha Hale White, Hotel Winton, Cleveland, Ohio.

Love and greetings to our delegates. Answering your inquiry.



I hesitate at this instance to intrude upon deliberations, especially as I have full faith in the loyalty and judgment of our delegates, and shall willingly abide by the action of our convention. I think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances but at the same time to hold the Socialist Party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles and keep the red flag flying. I hope above all there will be no division but that all will unite loyally in carrying out the program adopted by the convention. I need not assure you that my heart is with you in this crisis, as in the past. The Socialist Party is the party of the working class and faces the future with absolute confidence and without fear.

Yours for Socialism,  
(Signed) EUGENE V. DEBS.

the Democratic nomination—would be to violate all Socialist principles.

movement is rooted in the class struggle itself.

Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, one of the bitterest opponents of the proposal to indorse Senator La Follette in the State convention of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin several weeks ago, became one of the leading proponents of the majority report. Speaking for its adoption, Hoan declared that the C. P. A. had gone far towards perfecting a national political organization and that to reject the plan now would be to throw the process of development back several years.

James Oneal, of New York, devoted his talk to an analysis of the various obstacles that disruptionists in every decade have reared to prevent the creation of a Labor political movement.

Summing up for the minority, following the rejection of Panken's proposal to permit an indorsement of La Follette if the candidate for vice-president was suitable to the Socialists, Henry declared that no matter what action is taken, he, and he hoped all others of the minority, would return to their constituencies to work for the carrying out of the decision.

"I believe the majority of the rank and file are opposed to the majority report," Henry said. "For a long time we have taught them that our position was 'no compromise—no political trading.' To adopt the majority report is to sacrifice our party membership."

Delegate Herman of Washington, when casting his vote for the majority report said: "In casting my vote for the majority report I wish to say that I do so merely because I realize that nothing can be done under the circumstances without severing our connection with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and that we cannot afford to do."

Henry then admitted that the minority is not opposed to indorsing La Follette if a Labor party is organized, but said that he doubted whether such a party could be formed in the near future. In the meantime, he added, the Socialist Party must continue to make its fight alone. A tour he has just completed, he stated, convinced him that the farmers and workers are ready in larger numbers to support the Socialist Party.

"I don't want any comrade to go away with anything except the fixed determination to fight for the Socialist Party as they never fought before," Henry said, in conclusion.

Hillquit prefaced his remarks by a statement that in the face of a situation so vital both majority and minority opinions were voiced with a desire for harmony which augured well for the decision of the party and its action.

"We can be one of two things," Hillquit declared. "We can either stay with the C. P. A. or we can get out of it."

"In considering which we are to do, we must think of the great general principles involved, and not of the petty questions which have in the past delayed or prevented the creation of an independent party of Labor in this country."

Hillquit declared that he did not agree with those who urged the acceptance of the majority report merely because they thought they could not do better. "I consider it

the greatest achievement in the history of the American political movement," he said.

If there are a few who will be dissatisfied with the action of the convention, there are thousands who will hail the event and hasten to resume their place in the ranks of Socialism.

"What is it that we are looking for in the Socialist Party?" Hillquit asked. "Is it just for the salvation of our souls, to serve our conscience, that we are in the Socialist Party?"

"I believe that the Socialist Party is a realistic, a concrete movement for the organization of the workers for political action. In doing that, we must build with the material we have at hand. These workers are not revolutionary, not class-conscious, not Socialist, but they are the workers. Shall we ask them whether they believe in the materialistic conception of history, the surplus value theory? Or shall we take them as they are, depending upon the inevitable development of society, the very logic of the case, to lead them into Socialist paths."

## Labor Party is Certain, Morris Hillquit Declares

"In our connections with the C. P. A. we never concealed the difficulty of our task. Yet, in the two years that have intervened, the C. P. A. has moved infinitely faster than I ever anticipated. Injunctions, Teapot Dome, the victory of British Labor—all of these things, and others, contributed to the success and progress of the C. P. A."

The gathering of representatives of millions of workers and farmers and of the Socialist Party, under one roof, to formulate a program of their own, was the revolutionary act, not the nomination of Senator La Follette, Hillquit said. Yet, outside of the Socialist Party, no one could be the nominee as well as Senator La Follette, who for thirty years has fought for the rights of the plain people, in peace as well as in war. Since we could not have nominated our own a Socialist, La Follette was the most acceptable, Hillquit declared.

After three months of working side by side with trade unionists, farmers, progressives, a Labor party will be assured, Hillquit said.

If we should withdraw, he added, we will never again gain admission. We would be detested as much as the Communists, with as little chance of even having our name mentioned in Labor circles. Petty haggling will forfeit the esteem in which the Socialists are now held.

During the day, a resolution demanding the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia was adopted unanimously.

### TUESDAY'S SESSION

Most of the Socialist convention morning session Tuesday was devoted to a consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution, Louis Waldman reporting for the committee; and to the election of a National Executive Committee.

During the session a committee consisting of Bertha Hale White, National Secretary, William H. Henry and James Oneal was elected to visit Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman, who is now confined in a hospital, and to convey to him personally the affection of the delegates and the greetings of the convention. The committee was further instructed to serve in the same capacity in calling upon Otto F. Bran-

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what longer and carrying the same meaning but mentioning no organization. The Lee resolution was adopted by a vote of 58 to 15. Morris Hillquit thereupon made a motion that the incoming National Executive Committee publish a leaflet defining the Socialist position on the racial and religious "issues" that have been raised in this country to divide the workers. The motion was adopted unanimously.

Another resolution was adopted without debate which declares that "differences of races, color or creed" should not bar unity in the struggle of all workers for emancipation. "Not until the non-Socialist white workers realize the truth of the Socialist position," it continues, "will the Socialist movement and the trade unions acquire the power and influence that they need to do their work effectively."

The convention had reached the evening dinner hour and quite a number of delegates were compelled to leave for their homes. The few remaining resolutions were referred to the incoming National Executive Committee.

One important document remains for the National Executive Committee to consider at an early date. This is a stirring address of the convention to the Socialist Party membership regarding its actions and the new era in Socialist Party history, which the prospect of a Labor party brings. This document was ready for the consideration of the delegates but they were too tired to consider it and willingly trusted its final form to the new Executive.

As the convention closed a group of Yipsels in the rear of the hall started to sing the "Red Flag." The delegates joined in the singing and then broke up into groups discussing the results of their labors. On all sides there was optimism, a new spirit and an enthusiasm that indicated a new epoch in the Socialist movement of the United States.

One of the surprises of the convention which was generally observed by many in the hotel lobby, was that the delegates had discussed and acted on the most momentous question that has ever faced the Socialist Party, yet there was not that passionate challenging of motive which had so often occurred in other conventions on matters of lesser importance. The utmost of good feeling prevailed and not a pessimistic note was sounded at the close of the convention. This augurs well for the future.

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# SOCIALIST PARTY SOUNDS CALL TO THE WORKERS

*Declaration of Principles Unanimously Adopted by the Socialist Party Convention in Cleveland, July 8.*

AMERICA today is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few. These few are the rulers of America. They are few in number but they dominate the lives of their fellow men. They own our jobs and determine our wages; they control markets and fix prices; they own our homes and fix rents; they own our food and set its cost; they own the press; they own the Government and make our laws; they own our schools and mould the people's minds. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

The bulk of the American people are workers of hand and brain; men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ways of modern civilization. They produce the nation's wealth but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no voice in their management. They constitute the majority and can right all these social wrongs whenever they learn to use the power of their numbers.

The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing that system.

THE Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It urges the workers to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, not to establish themselves as a new ruling class, but to abolish forever all class divisions and class rule.

To do this the workers must be united in a political party of their own, without regard to sex, race, creed or color. The Socialist Party strives to win political power and use it to enact such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression; and ultimately to transfer to the people ownership of large-scale industries, beginning with those of a public character such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation, communication, and the trustified industries, and extending the process as rapidly as conditions will permit to the end that the exploitation of Labor through rent, interest, and profit may finally be abolished.

THE Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a system of cooperative and publicly owned and managed warehouses, markets and credits to promote direct dealing between farmers and city consumers at the cost of the service in their mutual interests. This will reduce the cost of living, will assure to the farmers a proper compensation for their labor, and will enable them to escape from the twin curses of tenantry and mortgaged serfdom.

The socialization of industry, as Socialists conceive it means more than is commonly understood in the term government ownership; it includes democratic administration through the elected and responsible representatives

of the workers in the respective industries and of the people as a whole.

THE workers of town and country must be strongly organized on economic as well as on political lines. The ceaseless struggle of the labor unions and the constructive work of cooperative societies are absolutely necessary, not only for the immediate defense and betterment of the material and social condition of the producing classes, but also to equip them with the knowledge and the habit of self-discipline which they must have in order to administer efficiently the industries of which they are to win control.

It is the bounden duty of every Socialist wage-worker to be a loyal and active member of the union of his industry or trade, and to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade-union movement. It is the duty and the privilege of the Socialist Party and it press to aid the unions in all their struggles for better wages, increased leisure, and better conditions of employment.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods, and depends upon education and organization of the masses.

THE Socialist Party stands for the mass of the American people. But its interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous, happy and free while its neighbors are poor, miserable and enslaved. The ties of international solidarity are particularly vital among the workers. In all advanced countries the working classes are engaged in an identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is reflected upon the fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism and war. Modern wars are caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

THE Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of civilization. The Socialist Party cooperates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, cooperating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

## SOCIALISTS RAP KU KLUXERS

(Continued From Page 1.)

vate individuals without profiteering and under safeguards insuring protection to the citizens of both nations.

### Resolution on the Fascisti

The National Convention of the Socialist Party unites with the Labor and Socialist movement of all countries in protest against the regime of terror and assassination that prevails in Italy under the rule of Mussolini and the Fascisti.

The murder of Socialist Deputy Matteotti was the logical culmination of this rule by violence and terrorism.

If our Government at Washington were sincere in its professed opposition to Governments which secure and maintain their power by violence and terrorism, it would immediately send home the Italian ambassador and break off relations with the Mussolini Government.

### Resolution on Sex Discrimination

RESOLVED, that the Socialist Party favors the removal of legal discriminations against women by specific measures not prejudicial to women's Labor laws or other social welfare legislation.

### Resolution on Economic Organizations

Whereas: The present is an age of organization, organization of all classes irrespective of trade, profession, business or calling, and

Whereas: The unions in the various trades and industries furnish the workers with the only means of protection for themselves on the job, the machinery to better working conditions and the power to hold or to increase their wages to meet the all too frequent increases in living costs. Unionism, in fact, is one of the institutions on which they can rely for redress of grievances and the economic protection without which they would lapse into a condition of industrial peonage. Therefore be it

RESOLVED: By the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, this seventh day of July, 1924, that we again clearly and distinctly reiterate that it is the duty of all Socialist wage earners to become active members of their industry in order that they, as a united body of Labor, will be fortified in their economic struggle to obliterate the many wrongs and injustices perpetrated on the workers by the employers of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED: That it is one of the fundamental principles of the Socialist Party, that it becomes the duty of all Socialists, whatsoever their occupation or calling, to give loyal support to organized Labor in its struggle to maintain and better conditions of employment or wages.

### Religion and the Workers

Strikes in northern Ireland and increasing solidarity of Protestant and Catholic workers have induced the Labor exploiters to raise the religious question. The Voice of Labor, Dublin, offers the following observation on this issue:

"The Orange capitalist gang have sent post haste for Lord Carson, of evil memory in Ireland, to come and raise a smoke screen, to distract and rend the Orange workers with non-Labor passions—to stimulate and to fan the dying embers of sectarian hate into a living blaze of bigotry. This man Carson was the first man to advocate bloodshed and violence in the years before the Great War. He released forces which subsequently stained the streets of Belfast and Derry with blood. His record is evil; he has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing during the troubled years of a World War and an Irish civil war, and with a recklessness and a ferocity of a hired formentor of strife, he is now actively engaged in spreading old fables and forgotten falsehoods. We wonder will the workers of Derry, of Belfast and of Armagh fall once more into the snare being now set by this wicked old man, who has been sent from London to split them and to confuse them and to break them once more. If they resist him and reject his bait, then the Irish working class will have advanced one gigantic step nearer full and complete emancipation. It is the duty of the workers in the remainder of Ireland to refrain from any act or speech which would help Carson in his vile attempt to confuse the real issue, which is now before the 'Northern' workers—freedom or Capitalism."

office on his ear. Spending his declining years "decoding" Windy Linde's 10,000 word confession.

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nia because when he is asleep he can't be conscious of how much he hates the Socialists and of his fervent crusade against them. Arrested in California as a horse-thief! Anybody else want to enter the lists as crusader against Socialism?

## An American Plan for Outlawing War

By NORMAN THOMAS

We have repeatedly argued that the primary conditions of peace lie in economic cooperation between peoples, the end of national jingoism, and the death of economic imperialism, rather than any legalistic or political machinery. For instance, we should like to see an American Labor party offer to cancel Allied debts to us as part of a plan of economic readjustment and disarmament. Nevertheless, legal machinery emphatically has its place, particularly machinery for outlawing war. We are proud that a Committee of Americans, headed by Professor Shotwell of Columbia, has, entirely unofficially, drawn up a plan which the Council of the League of Nations has voted to distribute to the Governments concerned. And this after its own Commission has failed.

Aggressive war is declared to be "an international crime." The World Court is to be the judge. Aggressive war is thus defined:

"In the absence of a state of war, measures of force by land, by sea, or in the air taken by one State against another and not taken for purposes of defense or for the protection of human life shall be deemed to be acts of aggression. Any signatory which claims that another signatory has violated any of the terms of this treaty shall submit its case to the Permanent Court of International Justice. A signatory refusing to accept the jurisdiction of the court

in any such case shall be deemed an aggressor within the terms of this treaty."

Penalty for it is not war by the League of Nations, but action by individual States, according to the following agreement:

"All commercial, trade, financial, and property interests of the aggressor and of its nationals shall cease to be entitled, either in the territories of the other signatories or on the high seas, to any privileges, protection, rights, or immunities accorded by either international law, national law, or treaty."

## A Garland of Patriots

America has been blessed with a choice collection of patriots since 1917, each one of whom has taken it upon himself to tell the world how blood-thirstily he hates the Socialist and trade unions.

Here are the bright and shining records of a few of the men who gallantly entered the lists to smite down the dragon and to win eternal fame: ARTHUR GUY EMPEY, raider of Socialist buildings and assaulter of women and children. Totally forgotten. Likewise BARNEY DREYFUSS.

CALVIN COOLIDGE, author of articles against Socialism that made even the babies laugh. Achieved noteworthy leadership in Government—out of three big measures that he urged his party followed him in all but three.

CLAYTON R. LUSK, the noblest patriot of them all. But don't mention silverware in his presence. You know, one doesn't speak of rope in the home of one who has been hanged.

HARRY MICAJAH DAUGHERTY, plumed knight in the war against trade unionism, and "radicalism." He's the bird who told 'Gene Debs that he hoped he wouldn't capitalize his notoriety. Poor Harry!

ALEXANDER MITCHELL PALMER, lawbreaker extraordinary in the war against Socialism. Ask the holders of chemical patents what they think of him. Also ask Mister McLean.

WOODROW WILSON, jailer of 'Gene Debs, and chief of Mr. Palmer in his most lawless days. Referred his record to the people in 1920, and the people answered him.

THOMAS WATT GREGORY, Wilson's Attorney General who told us to "obey the law and keep our mouths

shut," on Sinclair's oil companies' payroll.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON, Secretary of War under Wilson, and strike-breaking anti-union receiver of the B. R. T. On Mr. Doheney's payroll.

GOVERNOR McCRAE of Indiana, said he would be happy to lead a mob to lynch 'Gene Debs. In Atlanta—but not for Debs' "crime." He's there for swindling.

ALBERT BACON FALL, one of the hard-boiled "patriots" in the Senate during the war. You remember him, don't you? Indicted for bribery.

TEDDY ROOSEVELT, son of his father and heir to his vocabulary of abuse of people whose ideals he is n. t. mentally fitted to understand. Director in Sinclair's oil companies, and was responsible for taking oil lands out of his own department and putting them under Mr. Fall's jurisdiction so that M. Fall could turn them over to Mr. Sinclair for a \$100,000 "loan."

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES (Tara-Tyaaaaahh!). Embattled foe of the Soviets because he doesn't like the way they don't obey the kind of laws he believes in. Hughes made up one of the delectable party that viewed the Dempsey Carpentier fight pictures in Washington, when he knew that transporting them across a State line was in violation of the law. But maybe he thinks they were taken by a long distance movie camera from Washington to Jersey City! This patriot was also attorney for that noble statesman, Truman H. Newberry.

WILLIAM J. BURNS, the great detectiff. Eats a bolshevik for breakfast every day, and lights his pipe with Socialist papers. Gosh, how he hates them! Kicked out of public

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# LABOR PARTY CONVENTION SET FOR JANUARY

## THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

**Socialist Principles Call for Endorsement of R. M. La Follette, Majority Report Declares.**

### REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS TO CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

The Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which has just concluded its work was the most significant gathering of American Labor for common political action.

It represented about three million of organized workers, substantial sections of the working farmers, several independent progressive political organizations and the Socialist Party through its national and State committees. It adopted a progressive Labor platform. It took an important step to cut loose from the old political parties by nominating an independent candidate for President of the United States and finally it issued a call for another convention to be held next January for the express purpose of taking action on a proposal to form a permanent independent political party for national and local elections upon a progressive and Labor platform.

The main practical object of the Socialist Party is the organization of the workers into a political class party. With that supreme object in view the party has always encouraged and supported every genuine movement of Labor towards independent politics. The Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized with the assistance of the Socialist Party and our party co-operated with it in its work and its development.

The presidential campaign of the C. P. P. A. will develop into an insurgent political movement of Labor. It will be supported by the advanced workers of the country. The Socialist Party takes its stand with these workers. During the four months to come, the Socialists will have an unparalleled opportunity to work with the organized workers of this country, side by side, as comrades in a common cause.

Our cooperation with the forces of the Conference for Progressive Political Action has already resulted in much good, and during the campaign will, in our opinion, vastly facilitate the formation of a genuine Labor party next January. The Socialist Party with its political training and experience, its clear social vision and ideal and its devoted membership, will be called upon to give the new movement substance and direction, and to play in it a part as important as that which our sister party in England plays in the political Labor movement of that country.

The integrity of the Socialist Party must be preserved, and its membership and activities increased not only for the good of the Socialist movement as such, but also for the character, growth and success of the political Labor movement of the country.

Our committee therefore recommends:

1. That this convention concur

## Organization Report of the C. P. P. A. Endorsing La Follette for President and Fixing Time for Labor Party Convention.

To the Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action:

Your committee on organization and campaign recommends:

1—That this convention endorse the candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette for President of the United States upon the platform submitted and read to this conference.

2—That it authorize the national committee, in cooperation with the La Follette for President committee, to name a candidate for Vice President of the United States.

3—That the present national committee be continued in office with instructions to increase its membership to not less than fifty.

The members of the national committee shall be as representative as possible of the various groups and geographical sections represented in this convention, and shall have the power to add to its members from time to time.

Your committee recommends that the national committee, if it deems it advisable, may change the location of the headquarters and establish branch offices in other places.

During the coming Presidential campaign the national committee shall function as the campaign com-

mittee of this body. It shall have the power to appoint a campaign manager and such clerical help, organizers and employees as shall in its opinion be necessary, and to undertake such other actions as will insure the proper and efficient conduct of the campaign. It shall also have the power to choose officers and subcommittees, including an executive committee.

The national committee shall also be charged with the task of securing the nomination and election of United States Senators, Representatives to Congress, members of State legislatures and other State and local public officers who are pledged to the interests of the producing classes and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and Government, and shall as soon as practical organize State and local campaign committees to conduct the campaign within their respective territories under the supervision and direction of the national committee.

A meeting of the national committee shall be held on Friday, July 18, 1924, at 10 o'clock a. m., at the headquarters of the organization, and each meeting of the committee shall fix the date and place of the succeeding meeting.

4—That on November 29, 1924, the national committee shall meet and issue a call for a special national convention to be held in the latter part of the month of January, 1925, at such place and such definite date as the committee may decide.

The object of the convention shall be to consider and pass upon the questions of forming a permanent independent political party for national and local elections upon the basis of the general principles laid down in the platform adopted by this convention, and for the transaction of such other business as may come before the convention.

The basis of representation and voting at the convention shall be the same as adopted at the St. Louis meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action for the Cleveland convention of July, 1924.

(Signed): E. J. Manion, chairman; J. A. Phillips, Vance Monroe, Edward Keating, H. E. Wills, Sydney Hillman, Robert M. Lovett, H. F. Samuels, F. Finnison, A. E. Gordon, D. W. Helt, Laura J. Wylie, John Brophy, Marie Manley, Bertha Hale White, G. C. Leibbrand, George M. Harrison, Morris Sigman, Morris Hillquit, secretary, committee on organization and campaign.

## Labor Party Idea Marks Passing of Gompers' Leadership of Labor

By EDWARD LEVINSON

"Nobody but the members of the Non-partisan Committee of the American Federation of Labor has the right to speak for Labor in the matter of politics."

Within a week after President Samuel Gompers had issued this court announcement in New York, there appeared an article in the American Federationist, under President Gompers' signature, saying American Labor wanted no third party now or any other time.

On the day the Federationist article appeared and was wired through the nation, 4,000,000 organized workers met in the Cleveland progressive conference, launched a third party Presidential movement and

made plans for a permanent Labor party in America. Of the 4,000,000 workers represented in Cleveland, 3,000,000 came from President Gompers' own organization, the American Federation of Labor.

The startling truth of the situation appears to be that President Gompers is losing his leadership as American Labor's spokesman in the realm of politics. Further, and more important, the growth of the idea of independent politics is also marking a slow, but sure, wresting of Labor leadership, politically and industrially, from the Gompers group to the railroad Labor group. This latter personified by Grand Chief Warren Stone of the Locomotive Engineers.

The conflict of leadership between Gompers and Stone precludes the growth of the Labor party idea. The growing importance of Labor in politics has accentuated the conflict. When a group of influential railroad Labor leaders in New York last week announced themselves for McAdoo, or, failing his nomination by the Democrats, La Follette, Gompers immediately countered with the above statement.

The Non-Partisan Committee of the A. F. of L. will be asked by the railroad leaders to endorse La Follette, but they will probably be turned down. It appears to be the present intention of the Non-Partisan Committee to merely print the Labor records of all presidential candidates and let the matter go at that.

The rail Labor heads will make their appeal before the committee August 5th at Atlantic City.

Aristocrat, capitalist, ambitious lawyer, will tolerate anything and everything save the claim of the common people to rule.—Keir Hardie.

Party, and other advanced groups; to be separate and distinct from and opposed to the Republican, Democratic, and other capitalist parties, with a complete national, State and local form of organization and upon a platform adopted by the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action held in Cleveland, July, 1924.

Fraternal submitted,

MORRIS HILLQUIT, Chairman,

VICTOR L. BERGER,

THOMAS DUNCAN,

GEORGE H. GOEBEL,

JOSEPH E. COHEN,

JOHN COLLINS,

GEORGE E. ROEWER, JR.,

G. A. HOEHN,

LEO M. HARKINS,

JAMES ONEAL,

LENA MORROW LEWIS,

JOS. W. SHARTS,

CAMERON H. KING, Secretary.

Dismissing:

W. R. SNOW,

WM. H. HENRY.

## A NEW PARTY IS NEEDED, SAYS LA FOLLETTE

**Candidate for President Says Both Old Parties Fail in Obligations to Common People.**

CLEVELAND.—It was in the same hall in which his platform had been booed and hissed by the reactionary Republican party convention that the La Follette-for-President movement was launched that will mark a new era in American politics.

Amid great enthusiasm, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., read his father's statement to the Conference for Progressive Political Action in reply to their request to him to lead the forces of Labor, agreeing to make the race for the Presidency. In his message, Senator La Follette repeatedly declared both old parties were hopelessly reactionary and corrupt and that a new party must be formed. He said, in this connection: "In the most momentous crisis which has confronted the nation in our time you have called me to accept the leadership in a national campaign to wrest the American Government from the predatory interests and to restore it to the people."

"I realize this summons comes to me in no sense as a mere personal tribute. The American people are thoroughly awake to the real issue with which they must deal, and recognize the failure of the two dominant parties to meet them."

"They know that the principles involved in the campaign are greater than any individual or any political party. It is only in so far as my public record squares with those principles and meets those issues that I can be of any substantial service in the progressive movement."

"I conceive it to be the first duty of any political party and of every candidate to state plainly and specifically to the American people the terms upon which their suffrage is invited. The Republican and Democratic party have failed in this obligation. The progressives must deal honestly and openly with the people."

"After long experience in public life and painstaking consideration of the present state of public affairs I am convinced that the time has come for a militant political movement, independent of the two old party organizations and responsive to the needs and sentiments of the common people."

"The necessity for an independent progressive movement lies in the failure of the two old parties to purge themselves of the influences which have caused their administrations repeatedly to betray the American people."

### Cal. Farmer-Labor Party Backs La Follette, Quits Communists

SAN FRANCISCO.—The California Farmer-Labor party, which was represented at the St. Paul Communist-run "Labor" conference, has renounced its allegiance to the organization formed there and will support La Follette for President, it has been announced here by Chairman George G. Kidwell.

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**Being 'Double-Crossed'**

**At St. Paul Meeting**

ST. PAUL.—Complete dissatisfaction with the St. Paul conference, which organized the Communist-dominated National Farmer-Labor party, is expressed by President Fred Starkey of the St. Paul Trades Council, in his report as that organization's delegate to the convention.

Starkey reveals the fact that William Mahoney, leader of the party until he was deposed by the Communists, admitted they had "double-crossed" him. In speaking of a caucus of Minnesota delegates, Starkey reported: "Mr. Mahoney spoke next, stating the Communists had double-crossed him; that they had called in all their members they could; and he told of one delegate coming to him with a letter from the Communists reading as follows: 'You are instructed to get to St. Paul, June 17, and receive your instructions there.'"

## LA FOLLETTE FOR PRESIDENT PLATFORM

FOR 148 years the American people have been seeking to establish a Government for the service of all and to prevent the establishment of a Government for the mastery of the few. Free men of every generation must combat renewed efforts of organized force and greed to destroy liberty. Every generation must wage a new war for freedom against new forces that seek through new devices to enslave mankind.

Under our representative democracy the people protect their liberties through their public agents.

The test of public officials and public policies alike must be: Will they serve or will they exploit the common need?

The reactionary continues to put his faith in mastery for the solution of all problems. He seeks to have what he calls the "strong men and best minds" rule and impose their decision upon the masses of their weaker brethren.

The progressive, on the contrary, contends for less autocracy and more democracy in government, and for less power of privilege and greater obligation of service.

Under the principle of ruthless individualism and competition, that government is deemed best which offers to the few the greatest chance of individual gain.

Under the progressive principle of cooperation, that government is deemed best which offers to the many the highest level of average happiness and well-being.

It is our faith that we all go up or down together—that class gains are temporary delusions and that eternal laws of compensation make every

man his brother's keeper.

Program of Public Service . . . 10 pt fr

In that faith we present our program of public service.

### Private Monopoly

(1) The use of power of the Federal Government to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

### Civil Liberties

(2) Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

### Public Works

(3) Public ownership of the nation's waterpower and creation of a public super-power system. Strict public control and permanent conservation of all national resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people. Promotion of public works in times of business depression.

### Taxation

(4) Retention of surtaxes on swollen incomes; restoration of the tax on excess profits, on stock dividends, profits undistributed to evade taxes, rapidly progressive taxes on

large estates and inheritances and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life, and of nuisance taxes on consumption, to relieve the people of the present unjust burden of taxation and compel those who profited by the war to pay their share of the war's costs and to provide the funds for adjusted compensation solemnly pledged to the veterans of the World War.

### Banking

(5) Reconstruction of the Federal reserve and Federal farm loan systems to provide for direct public control of the nation's money and credit, to make it available on fair terms to all, and national and State legislatures to permit and promote cooperative banking.

### Collective Bargaining

(6) Adequate laws to guarantee to farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, through representatives of their own choosing, for the maintenance or improvement of their standards of life.

### Government Marketing

(7) Creation of Government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer, and to assure farmers fair prices from their products and protect consumers from the profiteers in foodstuffs and other necessities of life. Legislation to conduct the meat packing industry.

### Cooperation

(8) Protection and aid of cooperative enterprises by national and State legislation.

(9) Common international action to effect economic recovery of the world from the effects of the World War.

### Railroads

(10) Repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law. Public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation, with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control.

### The Courts

(11) Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of the courts, including the practice of nullifying legislation in conflict with the political, social or economic theories of the judges. Abolition of injunctions in Labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Election of all Federal Judges without party designation for limited terms.

### Child Labor

(12) Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry. Removal of legal discrimination against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare.

### Waterways

(13) A deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea

### Foreign Policy

(14) We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless Governments to a trading outpost of those interests and concession seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles Treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendums on peace and war.

In supporting this program, we are applying to the needs of today the fundamental principles of American democracy, opposing equally the dictatorship of plutocracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We appeal to all Americans without regard to partisan affiliation, and we raise the standards of our faith so that all of like purpose may rally and march in this campaign under the banners of progressive union.

The nation may grow rich in the vision of greed. The nation will grow great in the vision of service.



# PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF U. S. SOCIALISM

## REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, CLEVELAND, JULY 6, 1924

During the past year the National Office has paid particular attention to the need of coordinating the work of the organization, and as an aid to that end gave carefully prepared reports to State and local offices.

In accordance with plans formed at the last convention, the work at National Headquarters was divided. Comrade Branstetter took charge of the Debs speaking tour, arranged all details of the meetings, and later travelled with Comrade Debs. The Assistant Executive Secretary, Comrade White, had the management and conduct of the National Office, including the organization fund drive and membership campaign.

Following the termination of Comrade Debs' lecture tour, Comrade Branstetter tendered his formal resignation as Executive Secretary, which was accepted on February 9, and Bertha Hale White was elected Executive Secretary to succeed him.

### International Relations

Comrades Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Jacob Fanken and Morris Berman were selected as delegates from the Socialist Party of the United States to the congress composed of the parties affiliated to the Second International and the Vienna Working Union of the Socialist Party and other parties, which met at Hamburg, May 21, 1923, and formed the Labor and Socialist International.

Comrades Mrs. Berger and Mrs. Hillquit were our representatives at the Socialist Women's Congress, which also met at Hamburg on the same date.

Comrade Bertha H. Maily represented the Socialist Party of the United States at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, which met at Luxembourg, February 16, 1924.

### Conference for Progressive Political Action

In the universal chaos and confusion following the war, with broken lines of communication between the Socialists of this and other lands, it was difficult, if not impossible, to function as an effective section of the international movement. It appeared that the most definite service the Socialist Party of the United States could render the working people of all the world was to build up and strengthen the forces for Labor in this country. In furtherance of this purpose, at the National Convention held in Detroit, 1921, this committee was instructed to conduct a survey to ascertain the degree of readiness to be found in liberal, progressive, and radical groups for independent political action. While the survey was being made, other sympathetic organizations were moving toward the same objective, and the Socialist Party was invited to attend a meeting in Chicago on February 20, 1922, at which time the Conference for Progressive Political Action was formed.

The position taken at the first conference has been consistently

maintained. The conference met in St. Louis on February 11, 1924, at which time the Socialist Party was represented by Morris Hillquit, Birch Wilson, Leo M. Harkins, W. R. Snow, W. M. Brandt, Otto Branstetter, and Bertha Hale White. Your delegates approved the platform adopted by the conference upon which the July 4 convention was called. State secretaries were notified that each State Committee of the Socialist Party was entitled to two representatives, and delegates were elected by the State Committees from California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Northwest Organization District. Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, and Bertha Hale White were elected to represent the National Socialist Party.

### Membership Campaign

The coast-to-coast tour made by Comrade Debs and the correspondence campaign were the methods used by the National Office during the last half of 1923 to increase the membership. In connection with the Debs tour, the following organizers were sent into the field either to perfect arrangements for the meetings or to strengthen the local organizations after the meetings were held: George H. Goebel, August Claessens, W. R. Snow, George Koop, Esther Friedman, Elizabeth Goldstein, Robert A. Hoffman, Abraham Tuvim.

As a result of the Debs tour, new locals were organized in Ohio and in the Western States. Great interest and enthusiasm was aroused, and there was an urgent demand for other speakers, particularly in the West.

A campaign to stimulate interest in the party was conducted by correspondence, in which approximately 100,000 letters were sent out and nearly 500,000 pieces of printed matter were distributed. Lists of registered Socialist voters and sympathizers were furnished by local organizations. Where the plan was followed, favorable results were had. While the definite returns from this work were less than what we had hoped, it had a very surprising effect upon the correspondence of the National Office. Not only was there an immediate increase, but the volume of the correspondence has steadily grown, and for the past three months has heavily taxed the National Office to handle adequately without an increase in the office force, which was not desirable until the convention was over and the campaign actually begun.

Six years ago, as a direct result of the war terrorism, the number of organized places throughout the country was cut from more than 3,000 to less than one. It followed that organization tours became extremely expensive, since every organizer had to be sent into some unorganized places where it was impossible to get advance preparation and advertisement which would make such meetings financially suc-

cessful. In consequence, the National Office could not send organizers, when requested, into very promising fields, and in many instances the newly formed locals, without direction and encouragement in the work, failed to function as effective organizations. For a while it appeared that this result would follow in the West after the great enthusiasm of the Debs tour had waned. The requirements of a national campaign made it urgently necessary that every local be kept together, and the National Office was forced to disregard the possibility of a deficit in field work in the section comprising Montana, the Rocky Mountain States Organization District, and the Northwestern States Organization District.

Three National Organizers have been toured at intervals of a month, with very satisfactory results.

Emil Herman made a very successful tour, beginning February 1 and lasting through March.

On April 1, Esther Friedman began work in this territory and put in three months' unbroken organization work in Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana and Idaho, and will spend July and August in Washington and Oregon, after which she will be routed back across the country, finishing the campaign in the East.

On May 1, William H. Henry followed Comrade Friedman. New locals were organized, old ones built up and strengthened, State Committees for the campaign formed, and every line of work greatly stimulated.

Emil Herman filled a number of dates on a second tour on his way to the National Convention, and will complete the circuit upon his return West.

We are assured that the field work is in excellent condition and has decidedly contributed toward putting our ticket on the ballot in this year's election. Due credit for this result should be given to Comrade James D. Graham, who took charge of the Montana campaign on February 15, when he was notified that the State charter of the Montana Socialist Party had been restored and himself appointed State Secretary.

### The Socialist World

The only sure income to the National Office is dues. While literature is sold at an apparent profit, it is only apparent. Many of our publications do not find a ready market and remain indefinitely upon our shelves, listed as assets, and printers do not publish books for us upon a sales-contingency basis.

A situation has arisen in which it is for the first time impossible to determine the number of active party members. Heretofore, the average sale of dues stamps has been accepted as the average membership of the party. At this time it would appear that there are about 20,000 men and women carried upon the membership records of locals and branches as active members. This conclusion is due to the following circumstances:

The Socialist World is intended for every dues-paying member of the party, and the names to be entered on the mailing list are furnished by the secretaries of State and local

organizations. Not all names sent to the National Office are entered. Except when specifically requested, only one member of a family at the same address is put on. This eliminated the dual membership and a considerable number who do not use dual stamps. Many of the foreign language branches do not furnish lists, as their members cannot read English.

A check-up of the mailing list has shown that many secretaries have not furnished lists at all for their locals and branches. Despite these facts, which would indicate that the mailing list of the Socialist World does not carry more than half the names of our actual membership, we have more names on the list than the entire average membership of the basis of dues stamps paid.

At present, 12,300 party members receive the World. Names once entered on the list are not removed unless specifically directed to do so by local or State secretary. The Post Office ruling requires that the list shall be revised at the beginning of the year and all names not certified as good-standing members dropped.

### Department of Literature

#### Summary of Literature Sales

The book sales in 1923 totaled 93,593. Of these, 70,000 were sales at Debs meetings. The number of books sold on regular order in 1923 was 23,593. The total number sold on regular order in the first five months of 1924 was 24,104, or 500 more than were thus sold in the entire year of 1923.

The total distribution of leaflets in 1923 reached 700,000. Of these, 500,000 were distributed free and 200,000 were sold on regular order. In the first five months of 1924, 58,525 leaflets were sold on regular order. During the first three weeks of the sixth month, June, 1924, the sale of leaflets averaged 30,000 per week.

On May 1, we issued a call for advance orders for a new 'big' leaflet. This, written by George R. Kirkpatrick and entitled "Silence!" was not put on the press until about six weeks later, by which time we had received orders for 80,000 copies, which were shipped out as fast as we received them from the printers. This leaflet, much larger and printed upon a better grade of paper than used for National Office leaflets heretofore, is sold at \$4 per 1,000, with a slight reduction on quantity orders. The price was fixed upon an estimate of actual cost plus probable carriage charges. While there is some slight profit on short haul orders, shipments to the Far West increased the cost so materially that there will be little or no profit on the edition of 100,000. A second order for a 100,000 edition is now in the hands of the printer.

The tryout of a better, more carefully prepared and more expensive leaflet has proved that our workers will pay the extra cost for general propaganda purposes. Of the 700,000 leaflets distributed last year, only 200,000 were paid for, and that number includes both four and two page leaflets, at \$2 and \$1 per 1,000.

Another example of the desire for a more attractive kind of literature is the distribution of the speech de-

livered by Congressman Berger on February 16. Documents printed by the Government cannot be offered for sale. They may be obtained by paying the cost of printing. The Berger speech cost \$4.50 per 1,000.

The National Office mailed less than 100 copies of the speech to a selected list of hustlers, with a letter of explanation. There was a fifty per cent response. Our secretaries and organizers sent in a total of forty-one orders, which was forwarded to Washington, and a total of 55,000 copies were distributed as a result of this one letter to less than 100 of our active workers; and in addition to these, the National Office mailed out 12,000 single copies to party members which were furnished us without cost to the National Office by Comrade Berger.

During this campaign we will be forced to depend very largely upon literature. The number of speakers is far below what is required, and some system of weekly distribution of carefully planned leaflets seems to be the most effective method available to us.

While we hope to make the monthly "big leaflet" a permanent feature, shorter and less expensive leaflets will be needed. The lateness of our campaign makes it imperative necessary that arrangements be made for manuscripts before this convention adjourns.

### Our Present Stock of Literature

"Socialism: What It Is and How to Get It," is one of the most popular publications ever issued by this office. Our stock is exhausted. Oscar Ameringer, the author, has volunteered to revise it and bring it up to date, if we desire to republish.

Plates: On hand are "The Trinity of Plunder," by Claessens; "Think or Surrender," and "The Slander of the Toilers," both by Kirkpatrick (a recent gift to the party by Comrade Kirkpatrick).

James Oneal has tentatively agreed to furnish a manuscript on "Graft Scandals in Government." It has been suggested that a leaflet on "War Graft" be issued for the campaign. I have asked Mr. Basil Manley to send us the data necessary for its preparation.

I should like the committee to consider the possibility of reprinting "Mental Dynamite," by Kirkpatrick. We particularly need a pamphlet of this character. Comrade Kirkpatrick is quite willing to revise it slightly; it might be well to republish it, if at all, in a more convenient size.

### What We Need

In promoting our propaganda we need, of course, what are commonly called our "classics," and other similarly extensive presentations of the several phases of Capitalism, Socialism, history and related matters. It is not practicable for us at present to publish such works, and it is not necessary for us to do so, since we can easily secure small supplies, as needed, from regular publishers.

### In Leaflets:

It is practicable to reach an audience of 200 people effectively with a total expense of \$1 invested in leaflets. The amount of information lastingly conveyed to the reader, the distinctness of impression made, and the extent of persuasion accomplished by means of a happily illus-

trated leaflet on an important theme, with an attractive title, are, in the case of the average man or woman, very nearly or quite equal to the total results achieved by means of a speech on the same subject. Even if this estimate is fifty per cent too high, it would still seem to indicate that the leaflet is our best weapon for our propaganda.

### Some General Suggestions

That our National Platform be so cast as to make our fundamental reconstructive proposals stand out as distinct propositions, and these should be numbered and printed in distinguishing type.

That always, when officially printed, our platform should have these proposals thus emphasized, and that our Socialist press be urged to print our platform always in this manner.

(This would help immensely in enabling the undiscerning average reader realize the difference between the Socialist program and the program of a "radical" capitalist party.)

That where at all appropriate or admissible, our booklets and leaflets should have one or more pictures.

That our speakers be allowed a part of the profits on literature. In some cases this would improve the "literature speech," and result in larger sales, usually—and that is what we need.

### Foreign Federations

Attached is a membership report, showing the monthly distribution of stamps by each federation for 1923 and the first five months of 1924.

### Average Membership for 1923

Finnish .... 2,706 Jewish .... 516  
German .... 217 Jugo-Slav .. 703  
Italian .... 462 Lithuanian ...

Total average membership, foreign federations: 4,803, 1923.

A comparison of membership for the first and last quarters of 1923 of the Finnish, Jugo-Slav and Jewish Federations shows an increase of 158, 137, and 141 respectively.

The Italian Federation shows a downward trend in membership for the year, the average for the last quarter being slightly less than for the first. This decline has continued. There have been some organization difficulties, and during 1923 there were different translator-secretaries.

### Average Membership for First Five Months of 1924

Finnish .... 2,731 Jugo-Slav .. 637  
Italian .... 446 Lithuanian .. 139  
Jewish ..... 950

Total average membership, 4,903.

The Italian, Jewish, German and Lithuanian federations have been permitted to retain 9½ cents from each stamp instead of paying the full amount and then receiving a rebate for organization purposes. It is of no importance, perhaps, except that our total receipts for dues should be a higher figure than is reported, and the amount spent for organization should be correspondingly increased. For instance:

A total of \$1,725.88 was retained during 1923. Our total dues for 1923 should be \$14,085.44 instead of \$12,359.56, and the amount rebated to federations should read \$3,449.61 instead of \$1,723.73.

## THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

### NATIONAL

The national organization of the party had its eyes on Cleveland all week. Full reports of the convention appear in this issue.

### NORTHWEST NOTES

We are wondering how many Socialist Locals can say, as Local Eugene, (Oregon) can, that every member is paid up to date, and some in advance. Local Eugene is not new, but the members are all "live wires," and intend to make the 1924 campaign a memorable one in Socialist Party annals.

The second week of Comrade Esther Friedman's tour of the State of Washington begins at Auburn, Monday, July 14. Dates following are: 15, Seattle; 16, Mukilteo; 17, Everett; 18, Stanwood; 19, Mt. Vernon; 20, Sedro-Woolley; 21, Sumas.

Much interest is being manifested in the arrangements, and comrades along the line are looking forward to a genuine intellectual treat.

Consignments of "Silence," the "new big leaflet" just off the press, have been received by many locals and comrades, as well as by the District Office. They are exciting favorable comment wherever shown.

The Washington State Campaign Committee expects soon to issue the 1924 Campaign Booklet, which will contain, among other pertinent matter, the platform adopted by the party in this State, a statement of the party's position in relation to other working class political organizations, and a list of Socialist candidates.

### CALIFORNIA

The following resolutions of Local Los Angeles have been received: WHEREAS, The Los Angeles Harbor district has at several times recently, and more especially on June 14, last, been the scene of serious and disgraceful demonstrations of mob violence, and

WHEREAS, The Socialist Party,

while it disavows the program of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose members have been the victims of these mobs, stands at all times for the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly, and the impartial protection of all persons in their exercise of these rights; and

WHEREAS, The public authorities have been shamefully negligent in supporting these constitutional rights in the instances mentioned, and have otherwise neglected their sworn duty in repeatedly permitting such mob violence to openly proceed in their illegal acts of terrorism and violence;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party of Los Angeles, in convention assembled, condemns those public servants immediately responsible for such neglects as unfit for their offices, and demands of the City Council, the City Prosecutor, the City Police Department, the District Attorney, and the Grand Jury of the county, a complete investigation of the mob demonstrations recently staged at the Los Angeles Harbor, the immediate arrest and prosecution of persons found to have participated in them, and steps which shall secure impartially to all persons and organizations full support and protection in further exercise of their legal and constitutional rights within this city; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the above named public officials and bodies and to the press.

### WISCONSIN

Victor L. Berger has been named to run for Congress in the 5th district, and if he is elected, he will win his fifth triumph in that district of Milwaukee. Leo M. Krzycki, general organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and former Under-Sheriff of Milwaukee County, will run in the 4th district, comprising half of Milwaukee.

Edward T. Melms, former sheriff

and president of the council, will run for sheriff of Milwaukee County, George Mensing will be candidate for district attorney, Max E. Binner will be candidate for city clerk, and Casimir Kowalski will be candidate for county treasurer. Richard Elsenor is candidate for register of deeds; John Polakowski is running for clerk of courts and Dr. N. S. Franklin for coroner.

Senator Joseph Hirsch is renominated, and Otto C. Peterson was named for the 8th Senate district. A full Assembly ticket was also named.

### NEW YORK

The State convention will be held Saturday and Sunday July 26 and 27. The following rules and order of business have been adopted by the State Executive Committee, and ordered printed in the party press:

Rules for State Convention, 1924.

1. A chairman and a vice-chairman shall be elected at the beginning of each day's session.

2. The State Secretary of the Socialist Party shall be ex-officio secretary of the convention with power to appoint such assistants as he may deem necessary.

3. A permanent sergeant-at-arms and two assistants shall be appointed by the chairman.

4. The following committee shall be elected; each committee to consist of not more than five members, no more than three members to be from the same county, and no delegate to serve on more than one committee:

Committee on Organization and Propaganda.  
Committee on Constitution.  
Committee on Political Cooperation and Coalition.

Committee on Resolutions.  
Committee on Ways and Means.  
The Platform Committee of the convention shall be the committee appointed, pursuant to Article II, Section 7 of the State Constitution, by the State Executive Committee.

5. Discussion shall be limited to

ten (10) minutes for each speaker; chairman of committees to have twenty (20) minutes to report. No delegate, or committee member with a voice in the convention, shall speak a second time on any motion until all desiring their time shall be heard.

6. The sessions of the convention shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m., and from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m.; night sessions as ordered.

7. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern, with the exception that when a motion for the previous question is carried on each side may speak for five (5) minutes. The previous question may be called by majority vote.

8. Each delegation shall select, in the absence of any delegate, the alternate to fill the vacancy, but such selection shall be from the list of duly accredited alternates.

9. Members of the State Committee and State Executive Committee, who are not delegates, shall have a voice but no vote in the convention.

10. The endorsement of candidates for public office shall be by majority vote, and when more than one candidate has accepted the nomination the vote shall be by roll call. When there are three or more candidates in the field, and when none has received

(Continued on Page 9)

### STREET MEETINGS IN N. Y.

Monday, July 14: 6th A. D., 7th street and Avenue C; speakers, E. Steinberger and Jewish speaker. 8th A. D., 2nd street and Second avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. 4th A. D., Pitt street and Rivington street; speakers, Alex Schwartz and Jessie W. Hughan. 17th A. D., 112th street and Lenox avenue; speaker, Henry Jager.

Wednesday, July 15: 6th A. D., 4th street and Avenue C; speakers, E. Steinberger and Jewish speaker. 1st A. D., East Broadway and Jefferson street; speaker, Alexander Schwartz and Jewish speaker. 16th A. D., 79th street and First avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian.

Thursday, July 16: 18th A. D., 106th street and Lexington avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian.

Friday, July 17: 8th A. D., 7th street and Second avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. 18th A. D., 116th street and Lexington avenue; speaker, Samuel Beardsley. 4th A. D., Columbia and Rivington streets; speaker, Henry Fruchter and Jewish speaker. 6th A. D., 5th St. and Avenue B; speaker, William Karlin.

Saturday, July 18: 16th A. D., 86th street and Third avenue; speaker, Richard Boyajian. Afternoon, 1st A. D., Rutgers Square; speaker, Henry Jager.

## RUSSIAN GARDEN FESTIVAL and DANCE

20 Russian Artists From Imperial Opera

— DANCELAND —

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18

20th Street and Surf Avenue CONEY ISLAND

Jewish Socialist Verband

Workingmen, When Buying Your HATS Look for THIS LABEL



YOU WILL FIND IT UNDER THE SWEATBAND  
United Hatters of N. A.  
Rm. 418 Bible House, N. Y.  
MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary

Sold and Guaranteed direct from the Manufacturer  
**O.W. WUERTZ CO.**  
PIANOS and PLAYER PIANOS  
COLUMBIA and Victor PHONOGRAPHS  
COMPLETE STOCK RECORDS ALL LANGUAGES  
THIRD AVE. NR 85<sup>th</sup> ST. THIRD AVE. NE COR 152<sup>nd</sup> ST.



## THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

The New Leader is—as we remarked last week—less than six months old. Indeed, this issue completes the first half year of our paper, and take it from the staff and boosters and friends it has been a great time.

We started out to be a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist and Labor movement. That was our objective, because we felt that that sort of a paper was urgently needed.

And then we find that we've become a sort of Original Source for students; we find that we are quoted as an authority on the Socialist and Labor movement all over the world.

When *The New Leader* was going to press for its very first issue, Comrade Ramsay MacDonald was taking office as Premier of the British Empire, and naturally, we gave a great deal of attention to the British Labor Government from the first number.

The New Leader had, therefore, been used by many colleges and schools as a source of information on the British Labor Government.

"I am much interested in, and appreciative of, the way *The New Leader* handles the news about the British Labor party and Ramsay MacDonald," writes Julia Ellsworth Ford.

Indeed, the London Times, the National Unionist Association of England (that is, the official Tory party organization), and a number of British journalists have subscribed for *The New Leader*—presumably to try to get something "on" the British Labor party. But they have learned what American workers think of that party, instead.

Now for an agile leap 6,000 miles to California.

The State executive committee of the Socialist Party in the State of the late lamented Mr. McAdoo passed a motion at its last meeting that every member of the State Committee is to be supplied with a New Leader subscription. That is, to keep them au courant as it were, with what's what. That's French, and it means in the know.

At the same time, the State office of the party sent *The New Leader* a list of the Socialist Party members for us to circulate them with sample copies. Watch our California circulation grow!

Now for Massachusetts!

The New Leader: "Enclosed find one yearly sub for our Leader. Can each comrade and subscriber get at least one new subscription a week? Sure, it is as easy as eating pie."

"Just think, comrades, what that would mean. In one week our circulation would double up, in another week quadruple and so on and on until every son of toil reads *The New Leader* and receives its message of working class emancipation."

"I find no difficulty in getting subscriptions. Every one approached seems ready with his money for a half or yearly sub. They are eager, in this line up of reaction on one side and progressive Labor and Socialism on the other, to learn the attitude of the Socialist Party on political and economic problems of the day."

"The Socialist Party must be brought back to its pre-war position, and the best way to do it is to build up a strong and widely circulated Socialist press."

"Yours for 100,000 circulation, DR. LOUIS VICTOR, Boston."

And you don't think we can get along for a single week without a message of cooperation—backed up by a fatfull of subs—from Helena Turris, do you? Well, we can't. This week, Helena sends us the names of 22 Bostonians with cash to match, who will shortly become regular boosters for *The New Leader*.

Tom Flynn, the fighting Irishman of Buffalo, is just a length behind with 18.

We have a list as long as your arm of comrades from all over the country sending in subs for other people. And when a reader has been getting *The New Leader* for a while, and then goes out and hustles subs from his friends, that means the paper means something to him. And that's a tribute we wouldn't trade for a truckload of piastres.

William Adams, Pittsburgh; one; Alice Eddy, Los Angeles, one; Joseph Stein, Brooklyn, three; Joseph Mazimilian, Niagara Falls, two; August Claessens (you can't keep August from boosting *The New Leader*, no matter where he's working for socialism); three; Fred Schwartzkopf, Bridgeport, three; while M. D. Altman of Butler, Pa., has ordered ten copies a week for several weeks to introduce the paper to his friends. And then he will increase to 60 a week.

And finally, there are singles from every corner of the country.

But we get plenty of subs, too.

from people who subscribe themselves.

Here is a list of some of the cities they come from:

Morral, Ohio; Cheyenne, Wyo.; Hobbs, Ind.; Duquesne, Pa.; Chinook, Alberta, Canada; Brooklyn; Cincinnati, Ohio; Portland, Ore.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Dawson Springs, Kentucky; Hardin, Kentucky (that's the place Abraham Lincoln was born, by the way); Foley, Ala.; Rock Springs, Mont.; Marion, Conn.; Boise, Idaho; Merrimac, Mass.; Utica, N. Y.; Chicago; New Darien, Conn.; West Chester, Pa.

Well—how's that? Now, get a sub to keep that big list company.

AND DON'T FORGET TO RE-NEW!

## From Our Readers

### Radio Propaganda

Editor of *The New Leader*: I note with pleasure that there is a project on foot for the establishment of a Socialist broadcasting station. Thinking radio fans are nauseated with the paid and unpaid drivel sent out by the present radio stations. It is well known that no speaker is allowed to broadcast unorthodox views at present.

Should you see your way to start a "drive" to collect funds for a free radio broadcasting station I should be glad to head the list with twenty-five dollars.

—Reader.

New York City.

### For a Leaflet

Editor of *The New Leader*: Your editorial "Hard Boiled, Corrupt and Contented," hits the nail on the head. What do you say, shall a million be printed and sold to the various locals and branches? If so I will pay for ten dollars' worth and distribute them in the strong Republican wards of Buffalo.

Print this letter if you wish and let's start an old-time literature campaign.

—Buffalo Jimmie Higgins, Buffalo, New York.

### The Y. P. S. L.

The Young People's Socialist League

Editor of *The New Leader*:

Every young man and woman who sympathizes with the Socialist aims, who wants to develop in an organization that gives all of its attention to development so that its members may fit themselves for more useful service in Freedom's cause, and who wants to do some good work for that cause will want to join our organization. We have circles all over the city that would be glad to welcome you into their ranks.

Our summer activities consist of outings, hikes, inter-circle tournaments. For July 20, we have arranged for a field day to be held in Pelham Bay Park.

Our other activities consist of discussions, lectures, debates and other features of educational value. Our motto is "Organization, Education, Solidarity!"

—Nat. B. Appel.

## PEN SKETCH OF "HELL AN' MARIA"

By CONGRESSMAN VICTOR BERGER

To give our readers an idea who is the great Mr. Charles G. Dawes, who was nominated as Vice-President on the Republican ticket after a few other men refused the honor, we will say:

Charles G. Dawes is fifty-nine years old, is the son of General Rufus R. Dawes, and was born in Marietta, Ohio. He started as a lawyer in Lincoln, Nebraska, but was not successful.

In 1894 he abandoned the law to tackle a job supplying gas to Evanston, Illinois. Later he dabbled in the gas business both in La Crosse, Wis., and Seattle, Wash.

Dawes was a backer of McKinley in the 1896 campaign, when that great and good man Mark Hanna won the national election, partly by buying and partly by scaring the American proletariat and the "farm-eriat," and especially also the "white collar salariat," of the country.

Incidentally, that election was the greatest effort in corrupting the American electorate known—until then.

Dawes served on the national executive committee in the McKinley cause. It was a great school of Big Business politics.

When McKinley went to the White House in 1897, Dawes was made Comptroller of the Currency, holding the post three years.

After that he went back to Chicago as president of the Central National Trust Bank of Chicago.

On America's entry into the World War, Dawes became a major in the Engineering Corps. In June, 1917, he sailed for France as a lieutenant-colonel.

Three months later he was on Pershing's staff, as chairman of the general purchasing board and general purchasing agent of the American Expeditionary Forces, with the rank of Brigadier-General.

Dawes also served on the Liquidation Commission of the Allies—when more money was wasted, stolen or given away than on any previous

occasion, especially also American money.

For these wonderful war services it is not at all surprising that General Dawes, who is an old friend of that incomparable warrior, Jack Pershing, won the Distinguished Service Medal, the Order of Leopold of Belgium, and the Cross of an officer of the French Legion of Honor.

Dawes won his "Hell an' Maria" title, however, when he confronted a Congressional committee which was investigating war extravagance.

"Hell an' Maria!" he told them; "we were fighting Germans over there, and I would have paid the price of horses for sheep."

Dawes was the first man who took that attitude toward a Congressional investigation committee that was curious and daring enough to investigate war thievery and gigantic corruption.

Since then that attitude has become common.

As a matter of fact, William H. Vanderbilt had h—l in mind when he coined that well-known expression "The public be d—d." But Vanderbilt referred to the press, not to Congress.

Since Big Business owns the big papers of the country, however, "public opinion," so called, had ceased to have any terrors for the capitalist class.

Nevertheless, somebody had to tell Congress not to become too officious with investigations.

General Charles G. Dawes did it. And to him Big Business owes a debt of undying gratitude. General Harry M. Daugherty and his brother "Mal" simply followed in Dawes' footsteps.

If Coolidge is really elected, and God forbid, should be collected to his forebears, there will be General Dawes to tackle the job with vigor and plenty of "Hell an' Marias."

## The New National Executive Committee

The following Comrades constitute the new National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party:

MORRIS HILLQUIT, one of the founders of our party, and member of the N. E. C., with the exception of two or three years, from the beginning.

VICTOR L. BERGER, Milwaukee. First Socialist Congressman and one of the founders of the party; editor of the Milwaukee Leader and veteran of 45 years of incessant toil for Socialism. Member of the N. E. C., with the exception of two or three years, from the beginning of the party.

JAMES H. MAURER, Reading. President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and for six years Socialist Assemblyman. Socialist Party worker for quarter of a century or more. Member N. E. C., off and on, for a dozen of years.

GEORGE E. ROEWER, Jr., Boston. Incessant worker for Socialism for more than quarter of a century. Defended workers in the courts 'upon innumerable occasions. Member of N. E. C., with exception of one year, since 1919.

JOHN M. COLLINS, county chairman of Socialist Party in Cook county, Illinois. After 30 years or more of party work as organizer and speaker, he is still as enthusiastic and peppy as a Yipsel. Works as a machinist in the Illinois Central shops.

JOSEPH W. SHARTS, Dayton. Orator, novelist, lawyer, editor of the Miami Valley Socialist, one of the rarest souls in the Socialist movement. If he were not so devoted to party work, he would have had a national reputation as a novelist and poet. One of the lawyers who defended Debs in 1919. Candidate for Governor of Ohio; and spending his summer in a "Red Special" touring the State.

LEO M. HARKINS, Camden, N. J. Just the type of man Ben Hanford was thinking of when he wrote of Jimmie Higgins. Member of N. E. C. last year.

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman, is—DEBS.

## Convention Delegates Rain Checks on National Office When Wild Enthusiasm Stampedes Local Cleveland Banquet

By JAMES ONEAL

CLEVELAND.—Gathering at the Hotel Winton Sunday night at banquet arranged by Local Cleveland of the Socialist Party, there occurred a demonstration as surprising as it was gratifying. Earlier in the day the Socialist Party convention had elected a committee of fifteen to consider the relations of the party to the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The committee consisted of Morris Hillquit of New York, Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, G. A. Hoehn of Missouri, Lena Morrow Lewis and Cameron H. King of California, Leo Harkins and Joseph E. Cohen of Pennsylvania, George E. Roewer, Jr., of Massachusetts, George H. Goebel of New Jersey, William H. Henry of Indiana, Thomas Duncan of Wisconsin, W. R. Snow and John M. Collins of Illinois, Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, and James Oneal of New York.

When the committee adjourned in the evening for the banquet, it had agreed upon a report with two members dissenting. The substance of the report was to accept the decisions of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, including the endorsement of Senator La Follette, building up the Socialist Party and retaining its integrity and autonomy as an organization.

Political expediency did not enter as a factor in the decision. It was solely a matter of Socialist principle and duty. We had been urging the organized workers for many decades to desert the capitalist parties and organize a party of their own. We had always assured them that we would carry the independent banner by ourselves, but so soon as they repudiated the old parties and decided in favor of independent working class politics all we would ask would be the privilege of carrying

the banner with them. In the Communist Manifesto of 1848 the founders of the Socialist movement had declared that the Socialist Party is not a sect separate and apart from the Labor movement, but an active and vital section of that movement; that it has no interests opposed to the movement, and that when any large section of the organized workers responds to our plea for independent party action we would be false to our Socialist duty and to Socialist principle if we drew back.

The C. P. P. A. voted for independent nominations for President and Vice President, and voted to call a convention in January to organize the new party. It did all that we asked for, except to organize the party at the conference; and careful consideration showed that there were many difficulties in the way of organizing a party during the campaign.

It was with knowledge of the character of the committee's report that the dining room of the hotel was packed by Socialist delegates and local comrades. A few delegates had expressed their firm conviction that the party was about to make a terrible mistake. They believed that it would dampen the spirit of the party members and lead to early dissolution of the party.

A few who favored the report as in accord with Socialist duty also feared the effect on the delegates and the party.

After Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee, National Secretary Bertha Hale White and Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger had spoken, Toast-

master Shiplacoff paused to announce that Local Cleveland had presented a check for \$200 to the National Office for the campaign. The "lid was off." There began a demonstration of enthusiasm, such as Socialists have not seen in many years. Consciousness of the fact that a new era faced the party we all love so dearly, that a new and greater opportunity for service to the workers of the nation had come, inspired the whole assemblage.

The irrepressible George H. Goebel gave momentum to the demonstration by challenging the comrades to make their enthusiasm count by translating it into terms of money. Immediately there was rivalry from all parts of the hall. Alexander Halpern, M. Weinstein and Henry Feur sent checks for \$100 to the chairman, while bills and checks rained into the baskets passed around. But the passing of the baskets was only the beginning of the demonstration which continued to a higher pitch.

Morris Berman of New York obtained the floor to announce that he had made a loan of \$500 to the National Office and that if \$1000 was contributed by the audience he would cancel the loan. The enthusiasm that followed exceeded the previous demonstration. More checks came from the floor, among the largest being Local Milwaukee, \$100; Milwaukee Leader, \$100; Morris Hillquit, \$50; Jacob Panken, \$50; Joseph Rathway, \$100; S. John Block, \$25; Leo Kryzcki, \$25; Alderman Shiplin, Milwaukee, \$100; Central Branch, Chicago, \$100; Alexander Kahn, \$50; Jewish Branch, Detroit,

\$55; Comrade Dexter, \$25; Boston Central Branch, \$25; Local Canton, Ohio, \$50.

When the demonstration subsided and Toastmaster Shiplacoff announced the results, it was learned that the National Office was \$3,177 to the good, including the cancellation of the Berman loan. It is probably the largest fund ever raised by the Socialist Party from the same number of Socialists. It is all the more remarkable when contrasted with the collection taken in the great auditorium when the C. P. P. A. was in session. With at least 5000 people present the collection there was about \$2,300.

One incident stands out conspicuously at the banquet. Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh was one of a few delegates who shared what little pessimism prevailed before the delegates entered the banquet room. He had threatened to go home, but he also caught the enthusiastic infection. Comrade Stark was on his feet no less than eight or ten times pledging his own contribution, that of his wife, of his son and of various branches in Pittsburgh. He seemed intent on matching every fourth or fifth contribution or pledge by one of his own. Several other delegates also followed the example set by Comrade Stark.

The banquet concluded at midnight but the delegates were so filled with the inspiration of the evening that they crowded the hotel lobby for an hour or more chattering like magpies, laughing, shaking hands, renewing pledges of devotion to the great movement which they believe has reached the most promising period of its history. It was conceded on all sides that a new spirit has entered the Socialist movement and that the infection will be carried into all parts of the country and be fruitful of glorious results.

The experts did not fix any total sum that Germany has to pay, but fixed up a scheme to keep Germany forever, together with the most devilish device of stripping a nation completely that was ever concocted in the history of the world.

Only it cannot succeed. White men will not stand for it.

And now Dawes was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the Wall Street ticket in Cleveland.

He is, undoubtedly, the right man for the place. To be really sincere, we must admit the ticket should read the other way: Dawes for President, and Coolidge for the second place.

For General Dawes, beyond any question, is the born leader of the Iron Heel Brigade of Big Business.

## Minority Reports at the Convention

### MINORITY REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN ON RELATIONS WITH THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

#### Preamble

The Conference for Progressive Political Action which has just adjourned in Cleveland, in spite of its significance as a gathering of progressive and Labor forces, has failed to launch an independent party of Labor, or even an independent third party; but is rather the crystallization of the vague sentiment of unrest around the personality of one man, and that man, a life-long Republican who has never attacked the fundamental foundations of capitalist society, viz. the private ownership of the tools and instruments of production and distribution and its consequent division of society into two distinct economic classes, the greatest single fact that exists in the social relations of mankind today.

The Socialist Party is willing today, as it has always been, to work for the upbuilding of a strong political party representing the useful producing classes. But we cannot submerge our identity and lose all we have gained in forty years of painful effort that has meant the self-sacrifice of thousands of workers for some hazy indefinite promise that seven months from now a Labor party may be formed, or sign a blank check for a Vice Presidential nominee not yet named.

Neither can we subscribe to a platform so delightfully vague and indefinite as to the fundamental causes of social injustice, that any forward looking exploiter of Labor, Democrat or Republican, could subscribe thereto. A platform so meaningless that it might have been written by W. J. Bryan thirty years ago. Shall we surrender ourselves to forces that can well wipe out the last vestige of organized Socialist movement for many years to come?

In order to preserve the identity and usefulness of the Socialist Party and the Socialist movement, and make possible its usefulness in the future battles of Labor,

We, the Minority Committee, recommend:

(1) That this 1924 Convention of the Socialist Party proceeds to nominate its own candidates for President and Vice President of the United States;

(2) That we proceed to conduct our own campaign on a platform

and with a program that states distinctly the fundamental problems that confront modern society.

Fraternally submitted,  
Signed: Wm. H. Henry,  
W. R. Snow,  
Committee.

### Proposition by Delegate Panken

The main practical object of the Socialist Party is the organization of the workers into a political class party. With that supreme object in view the party has always encouraged and supported every genuine movement of Labor toward independent politics. The Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized with the assistance of the Socialist Party, and our party cooperated with its work and development.

Our cooperation with the forces of the Conference for Progressive Political Action has already resulted in much good, and during the campaign can, in our opinion, vastly facilitate the formation of a genuine Labor party next January. The Socialist Party with its political training and experience, its clear social vision and ideal, and its devoted membership, will be called upon to give the new movement substance and direction, and to play in it a part as important as that which our sister party in England plays in the political Labor movement of that country.

The integrity of the Socialist Party must be preserved, and its membership and activities increased not only for the good of the Socialist movement as such, but also for the character, growth and success of the political Labor movement of the country.

The convention specifically declares that the Socialist Party firmly adheres to the principles of Socialism as set forth in the Platform and Declaration of Principles adopted at this and previous conventions of the Socialist Party.

Resolved, That the incoming National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meet on the 20th day of July, 1924, at a place to be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

That the Committee is instructed to indorse the candidates for President and Vice President of the Committee for Progressive Political Action, provided the candidate for Vice President is not also the candidate of either the Democratic or Republican party and is satisfactory to the National Executive Committee.

That the Committee is instructed in the event it will not be able to endorse the national ticket of the Committee for Progressive Political Action to cause a call to be issued for a conference of representatives of the Socialist Party State Organizations.

That for that purpose each State delegation represented in this convention is required to designate a representative of the State to act in such event.

That the Socialist Party request an increased representation on the enlarged National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

That in the coming campaign the Socialist Party cooperate wholeheartedly with the Conference for Progressive Political Action in the national elections and in all such State and local elections in which independent Labor and farmer candidates are nominated with the cooperation of the State and local Socialist Party organizations.

That the Socialist Party send a full representation to the convention to be held in January, 1925, for the purpose of considering the formation of a permanent and independent new party and do everything in its power to make that convention as large, representative and successful as possible.

The representatives of the Socialist Party to the January convention of 1925 are hereby instructed to vote and work for the formation of a party separate and distinct from, and opposed to the Republican, Democratic and other capitalist parties, to be composed of economic organizations of Labor, working farmers, the Socialist Party and other advanced groups, with complete national, State and local form of organization and upon a platform containing as a minimum the planks of the platform adopted by the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, held in Cleveland, July 1924.



# UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.

Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 3500  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
LOUIS HOKOWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Office 331 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 11, I. L. G. W. U.

Office and Headquarters, 219 Seckman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0883  
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

## CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416  
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 7:30 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY EVENING, at the Office, at 7 P. M.  
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. HELLER, Secretary.  
ABRAHAM BELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

## DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 14 West 21st St. Watkins 7980  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 331 E. 14th Street. Lexington 4540  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—147th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 11 A. M.  
B'klyn—105 Montross Ave. Jersey City—16 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINYO, Manager-Secretary.

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 1471  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11014, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.  
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President.  
ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
L. D. BEIGER, Manager.  
LOUIS FICHS, Bus. Agent.

## Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 7748—Watkins.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

## WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.

117 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 7106-7  
A. SNYDER, Manager. MOLLY LIFSHITZ, Secretary.

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 2602  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
Z. I. FREEDMAN, Pres.  
M. M. ESSENFIELD, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager. Sec'y-Treas.

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715

Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4  
STUDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

## CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

790 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9511  
JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."

Office: 44 East 13th Street. Stuyvesant 5508.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East 55th Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.

OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1357  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

## Children's Jacket Makers

Of Gr. N. Y., Loc. 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
MAX B. ROYER, Chairman  
A. LEVINE, Sec. Sec'y.  
SAM COHEN, Bus. Agent.

## Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3800  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

## Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 19, A. C. W. A. Section "B"  
Office 335 Bushwick Ave. Bklyn. Stuyvesant 10150  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.  
J. Berowitz, L. Feldman, Chairman. Sec. Sec'y.  
J. Portnow, A. Kaufman, Bus. Agent. Fin. Sec'y.

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arlon Pl. Bklyn. N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTON, Chairman  
H. TAYLOR, Sec. Sec'y. LEON REICE, Fin. Sec'y.

# International Federation of Trade Unions Again Proposes Plan for Unity of World Labor

VIENNA.—The doors of the International Federation of Trade Unions are to be again opened for the admission of the Russian Labor organizations and they are to be invited to come in and form part of the real world-wide Labor International, provided they wholeheartedly promise to live up to the rules of the Amsterdam body and abandon their affiliation with the Red Trade Union International. This was one of the decisions reached by the 173 delegates from practically every European country and Canada, South Africa and Palestine, at the Third Regular Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in the Austrian capital from June 2 to 6.

Another resolution unanimously adopted by the congress called upon the some 17,000,000 workers belonging to the affiliated national organizations to continue their anti-war campaign and to go so far as to halt the international transportation of munitions and declare economic boycotts and the general strike if it became necessary to prevent war. It was emphasized in the resolution that it was the duty of all Labor organizations to agitate constantly against militarism and to carry on propaganda in favor of the substitution of compulsory arbitration and international law for international violence.

Considerable time was devoted to the Russian resolution, due to the existence of two quite different opinions on this matter. The English delegates, with A. A. Purcell and Fred Bramley as spokesmen, and Edo Fimmen, General Secretary of the International Transport Workers, supported the idea that the wild pronouncements of the Red International were not to be taken too seriously and that if the Russian unions were taken into the Amsterdam International they would probably soon shed most of their fanaticism and settle down to real international union work. Many of the delegates, however, led by Grassman and Sassenbach of Germany, pointed out that as long as the Red Trade Union International made destruction of the Amsterdam body one of its aims, and the Russian unions accepted such a program, further negotiations with them would be useless. After lengthy discussions and a detailed report by the Bureau of its exchange of views with the Russian Federation of Trade Unions, in which it had been brought out that while seeking to get into the International Federation through affiliation with the various International Trade Secretariats embraced in the Federation,

the Russian union leaders had shown no signs of dropping the tactics of disruption ordered by the Red International, it was finally decided to give them another chance anyway, and the following resolution was adopted:

"After having listened to the report of the negotiations between the Bureau and the All-Russian Trade Union council, the congress voices its regret at the fact that the Russian trade unions, because of their refusal to recognize the statutes and constitutional regulations of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which are recognized by the authorized representatives of the most important unions of the whole world, are still outside the International Federation of Trade Unions. In so far as it is possible to do so without lowering the dignity of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to continue its efforts to bring about the incorporation of the Russian trade unions into the international trade union movement on the basis of the statutes and regulations of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

That the International doesn't intend to stand for Communist interference in its work of organizing the workers of the world, was also made clear through the adoption of a resolution on the relations between the economic and political internationals, reading, in part, as follows:

"The Trade Unions must be politically independent. Of all political parties, thus far only the independent Labor parties that proclaim their faith in political democracy and Socialism have resolutely defended the demands of the trade unions in legislative bodies. Therefore, the Social Democratic parties are the closest to the trade unions."

"The Communist parties strive for domination over the trade unions. They wish, according to the dictum of the Communist International, to seize the leadership of the unions in order to use the organized working masses for their party purposes. They reject the trade union struggle of the working class, they slander the trade union movement and balk at no methods in their fight against the labor movement in numerous countries, with its strengthening of economic and political reaction, is principally their work. The Communist International created the Red Trade Union International in order to war upon and destroy the International Federation of Trade Unions."

"The trade unions in all countries

are forced to adopt defensive measures against this. They must defend themselves against having the trade union organizations destroyed through the system of Communist cells and the attempts at division of the Communist or any other parties and allowing the working class to be thus robbed of its best weapon against capitalism and the reaction."

Among the many resolutions adopted by the congress was one calling for renewed activity in defense of the eight-hour day, now menaced in many countries and especially in Germany in connection with the Dawes reparation plan. It was also decided to urge the Socialists and Labor members of the various Parliaments to do their best to get their respective Governments to ratify the pro-Labor conventions agreed upon at the different conferences of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labor Office, was among the visitors who addressed the delegates and he assured them that his organization was doing its best to defend the interests of the world's workers and was by no means a mere tool of the capitalists and Governments.

The high mark of the anti-militarist campaign this year will be reached on September 21, according to reports of the Bureau which said that the preparations for the international anti-war demonstrations on that Sunday, were indicative of a great success. The Socialist and Labor International, the International Cooperative Alliance and the Young People's Socialist International, whose principal representatives at the congress were Friedrich Adler, Dr. Karl Renner and P. Voogd, respectively, are all lined up with the Amsterdam organization for the anti-war demonstrations.

Among the changes affected by the congress in the working rules of the International was one fixing the dues to the International at twelve Dutch guilders (about \$4.80) per year per 1,000 members, with leeway for exceptions in special cases, while another provided that three of the secretaries of the twenty-eight international trade secretariats should become members of the Management Committee of the International. In case any of the secretariats feels the need of a modification of the new International's rules for the admission of national unions to the secretariat it is to submit its views to the Management Committee.

On the last day of the congress the officers were elected and it was

decided to hold the next congress in Paris in 1927.

The new Bureau consists of A. A. Purcell (England), President; Leon Jouhaux (France), C. Mertens (Belgium) and Th. Leipart (Germany), Vice-Presidents, and J. W. Brown (England), Jan Oudegeest (Holland) and Johann Sassenbach (Germany), secretaries. The members of the Management Committee are Bramley (England), Lenoir (France), Stenhuis (Holland), D'Aragnona (Italy), Hueber (Austria), Grassman (Germany), Tayerle (Czechoslovakia), Massen (Sweden), and Caballero (Spain).

The delegates and visitors were made to feel thoroughly at home in this Socialist city and their time between sessions of the congress was well taken up with all sorts of sight-seeing trips, meetings and entertainments. The high-water mark was touched on June 5, when more than 25,000 well-trained Socialist guards, followed by scores of thousands of trade unionists and members of Labor athletic bodies, marched through a driving rain for hours to show the visitors how well Vienna was prepared to defend the Austrian republic and the Socialist municipality against any coup d'état that might be lurking in the back of the heads of the Hapsburg sympathizers and anti-Semitic followers of the Austrian emulators of Hitler and Ludendorff. So impressed were the delegates that on the closing day of the congress, A. A. Purcell, the permanent chairman, asked Dr. Deutsch, former Socialist Minister of Defense and principal organizer of the Socialist guards, to tell the congress how it was done. Dr. Deutsch explained that the Austrian Socialists had early recognized the need of being able to take care of themselves and their Republic against possible attacks from within or without and had merely taken the logical course of combining trade union and military discipline, with the results shown.

Upon the suggestion of Chairman Purcell, the congress voted to present a banner to the Vienna Socialist Guards, and the convention was adjourned, to the singing of the Internationale in a dozen different languages.

Place the total population of the United States in groups, 100 in each group. On the average, one person in each group will own more than all the other ninety-nine. (Charles B. Spahr's "Distribution of Wealth in the United States.")

## LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

### Austrian Unions Stood Hard Test

The year 1923 was a hard one for the Austrian trade unions, due to stabilization of the currency and the unemployment caused by the wholesale discharge of public employees under the financial rehabilitation plan of the League of Nations, but they came through with colors flying, according to data from the annual report of the central commission given in the Arbeiter Zeitung of June 1. While the membership on Jan. 1, 1924, was only 896,763, against 1,049,949, on the same day of 1923, the unions' ranks were solidly there and their financial position excellent, despite the fact that they had to pay out about 14,000,000 crowns (\$200,000) in unemployment benefits, or 19 per cent of their total expenses. The receipts in 1923 totaled 96,203,000,000 crowns, against 29,942,000,000 in 1922, and the cash reserves, not including the special defense fund, the figures of which are not made public, rose from 9,536,000,000 to 36,668,000,000 crowns. Now that the worst of the crisis is over and unemployment materially

cut down, the Austrian union officials look for a rapid recovery in membership.

### Palestine Labor Bank O. K.

According to a report of the first year of the Labor Bank established with the aid of the organized workers of Palestine, quoted by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the bank has made good and was very successful in 1923. Tobacco raising has made such gains in Palestine that it is said to be rapidly absorbing the unemployed workers. Consequently, the formalities for the immigration of Jewish workers have been simplified.

### Twelve Greek Workers Killed

A report from Saloniki received by Le Populaire, of Paris, on the recent clash between the locked-out tobacco workers of that Greek port and firemen and troops, twelve workers were killed by a volley from the soldiers. Three soldiers were wounded during the fight. The big tobacco warehouses in Saloniki are owned principally by Americans, and an Associated Press dispatch from Athens said that the American Consul had asked the Governor General to protect this property.

### New International Planned

At a meeting held in Vienna June 12-14 of the temporary management committee of the international organization of State officials which was decided upon in principle last July, plans were made for the holding of a regular organizing congress in Paris, October 27-31, and the name of the organization was broadened to the Officials' and Teachers' International. According to a report of the Vienna meeting found in Het Volk, representatives of officials' organizations were present from France, Germany, Austria, Holland and Czechoslovakia and it was stated that England, Belgium and Portugal would probably soon come into the new International. This organization seems to be intended to take care of State, provincial and municipal minor officials and semi-officials who can hardly be classified as public service employees or clerks, both of which groups already have their Internationals affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. It is understood that efforts by the Amsterdam Bureau to promote the organization of a Teachers' International have not been very successful, partly because of the existence of the Paris Teachers' International, which is under Communist control. The new body by putting the teachers and the other State brain workers together in one International, is expected to facilitate the task of uniting these great masses of intellectual toilers

## Austrians Stand Test—Palestine Labor Bank—Greek Workers Killed—A New International Planned—Women in Conference.

into an organization worthy to rank with the biggest international groups. The temporary headquarters is in Vienna, with Janicki as secretary. It was stated at the meeting that 70,000 teachers in France, 7,000 in Germany and 5,000 in Austria had already pledged their adherence to the new International.

### Correction On Czech Unions

Through the omission of a couple of lines of type in an item on the status of the Czechoslovak Federation of Trade Unions, printed in this column, June 28, a sentence was made to say that "several weeks ago it was reported that the membership was around 650,000," when it should have stated that the membership was that figure before the Communist split some years ago. At present it is about 340,000.

### Women Unionists In Conference

At a conference of women trade union leaders called by the International Federation of Trade Unions and held in Vienna on May 31, immediately preceding the congress of that organization, not one of the forty-four delegates from half a dozen countries expressed herself in principle as in favor of separate trade union organizations for women workers. It was pointed out by some delegates, however, that there were certain obstacles to be overcome before the ideal state of organization could be reached and that special conferences for working women were of benefit to the general trade union movement. The results of the discussion were embodied in the adoption of the following resolution: "The International Conference of Women Trade Unionists, consisting of representatives of the national trade union centers and of the International Federation of Working Women, takes note of the declaration of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to the effect that the latter is prepared to convene a conference of working women when necessary, if possible before the biennial congress of the I. F. T. U.; to examine the question of the appointment of a committee of working women for the purpose of cooperating with the I. F. T. U. and to formulate the principles adopted, and to consider the subsequent appointment of a special woman secretary for propaganda among women. The delegates to the conference of working women take note of the reports submitted by the various countries and undertake to inform their organizations of them. They declare it to be their duty to give the most earnest support to propaganda among the working women in their respective countries." The conference was opened by Johann Sassenbach in the name of the I. F. T. U. and presided over by Anna Boschek.

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
2 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7078  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, Pres. N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Razano, Vice-Pres. Treas.  
LEO SAFIAN, Bus. Agent.

## CAP MAKERS

of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.  
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9860-1-2  
Council meets every 1st & 3rd Wednesday  
Jacob Roberts, B. Eisenstein, L. Baehr, Manager. Rec. Secretary. Fin. Sec.

## Local 1 (Operators)

Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board Every Monday.  
MORRIS GELLER, Organizer

## Local 2 (Cutters)

Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday. Executive Board Every Monday.  
G. M. SPECTOR, ED. SASLAVSKY, President. Vice-Pres.  
SOL HANDMAN, L. BAER, Rec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y.  
All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21<sup>st</sup> East 5th St.

## INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 63  
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.  
ANDREW WENDEL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

## JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager  
SAN COHEN, President. ADOLPH LEWITZ, Rec. Sec'y. WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Vice-Pres.  
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, Sec. Pres.

## FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.  
A. SOFFER, Chairman.  
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

## FUR NAILERS' UNION

LOCAL 10  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.  
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman.  
C. ZORENBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

## FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.  
WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Chairman.  
I. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. FISCHKOFF, Secretary.

## FUR OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 8  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.  
H. BEGOON, Chairman.  
M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL OFFICE: 62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. POEIT WALINSKY, General Manager



## Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6)

ceived a majority, the candidate receiving the lowest vote shall be eliminated in each successive roll call.

11. On Sunday, July 27, if the endorsement of candidates has not been reached by 2 p. m., all other business shall be suspended and the convention shall proceed with the endorsement of candidates for public office.

12. The convention shall adjourn not later than 7 p. m., Sunday, July 27.

13. All resolutions offered from the floor shall be referred, without discussion, to the proper committees, provided, however, such committees have not made their final reports.

14. Fifteen (15) delegates may demand a roll call on any question, and when such demand is made by the required number the chairman shall order the vote taken by roll call.

15. The order of business of the convention shall be as follows:

**Order of Business**  
1. Election of Temporary Chairman, 2. Roll Call of Delegates, 3. Adoption of Rules, 4. Election of Permanent Chairman and Vice-Chairman, 5. Election of Committees, 6. Report of State Committee, 7. Report of Delegates to Convention of Conference for P. A., 8. Report on State Platform, 9. Report of Convention Committees: Committee on Political Cooperation and Coalition, Committee on Constitution, Committee on Resolutions, Committee on Ways and Means, Committee on Organization and Propaganda, Select Committees: 10. Communications, 11. Unfinished Business, 12. New Business, 13. Endorsement of Candidates for Public Office, 14. Good and Welfare, 15. Adjournment.

### SMALLWOOD TO TOUR STATE

Joseph R. Smallwood, of St. Johns, Newfoundland, will shortly tour the State for the State committee. Smallwood is a talented speaker, and large audiences are assured for him everywhere.

## Yipsel Notes

A general meeting of the Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York, will be held Saturday evening, at 8:30 p. m. in the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Room 508. The order of business includes a report of the Cleveland conference and convention. Reports by the League officers, plan of work for the fall and probably a talk by Comrade Lee who directed the Yipsel Week Conference in Camp Tamiment. Those present were Morris Novik, Emanuel Switkiss, Anita Merkin, Miriam Milgrim, Ben Belsky and Nat B. Appel. Members are requested to bring their due books with them.

A meeting of the Central Committee of Greater N. Y. Y. P. S. L. will be held Saturday afternoon in Room 609 of the Rand School at 4:30 p. m. All delegates are requested to be present as matters of great importance will be taken up.

All members of the Y. P. S. L. who didn't make out their entry blanks for the League field day to be held on Sunday, July 20th, at Pelham Bay Park are asked to get the blanks from their athletic directors and fill them out immediately. Medals will be given to the winners and a surprise prize to the winning circle.

Circle One, Bronx, will meet this Friday evening, at 1167 Boston road. The Circle will have a tea party for its members and friends. The Circle will be officially presented its charter at this party which admits them as members of the Y. P. S. L. of America. Nat B. Appel will give a report on the Yipsel week conference held at Camp Tamiment under the direction of Comrade Lee.

Comrade Morris Novik will report on the Cleveland Conference and Socialist Party convention at the General meeting.

### The Merger Referendum

Editor of The New Leader:  
Having been a member of the joint committee which worked out the proposal for merging the New York locals into one, and having been chairman of the city convention which by a heavy majority approved the plan, I feel that I must, in justice to myself, disclaim all responsibility for the manner in which it has been submitted to the membership. I never saw the ballot till after it was printed and sent out, and was astonished when I did see it. The State Executive Committee has, in my opinion, gone far beyond its proper functions in printing on the ballot a one-sided statement of facts and conjectures, carefully calculated to influence the members against the proposal. This used to be the fashion before July 10, 1899. I am sorry to see it revived.

ALGERNON LEE.

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## The Challenge of Socialism

### VIII. Public and Private

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

When the New Yorker, sweltering in the tropic heat that ever and anon swoops over this metropolis in the summer, seeks to escape from the fierce rays of the sun, he finds that he is subjected to the benefits and advantages of individual enterprise in its most violent form. He must swelter and sweat in a jammed street car or subway train, get into the wild, insane Bedlam by the sea called Coney Island, and stand in line for hours for the privilege of being robbed by a beach concessionaire who rents him for what he thinks he can get a vile, evil smelling, insanitary closet, wherein he disrobes and from which he bathes in a small segment of the ocean.

When the same spell of torridity smites Chicago, one may take a street car to one of the numerous municipal beaches on Lake Michigan, stand in line for a very few moments, pay ten cents, disrobe in a clean, sanitary, cemented place, and bathe on a fine, clean beach, very often to the music of a good band, furnished free.

The Coney Island way is individual enterprise, and it is the best way for the men who have the stretches of beach to rent. The Chicago way is a better way, for the men and women who need the refreshment of bathing during the hot days of summer. It is the better way for the people who cannot afford to spend a full day, and several dollars (very often, more than a day's pay) for a few hours' bathing.

The Coney Island way is based upon the proposition that nothing matters except the making of profits. And since the men who own the beach concessions, and men who are in similar business elsewhere, and their friends, are the men who sit in the Legislatures and the city councils, nothing can be done about it.

The Chicago way is based upon the proposition that it is more important to give wholesome and decent recreation to men and women than it is for beach hogs to make profits.

Now, Chicago has other municipal enterprises; New York has many, and so has every city in America. In many cities, it is considered the proper thing for those who manufacture gas and electricity to make as much money as they can; service to the people is a secondary, minor consideration. In many other cities it is considered proper for the water supply to be in private hands, because of private enterprise; in such cities, the need of the people for clean and wholesome water is subordinated to the needs of stockholders and their balance sheets.

### The Education of Our Children

Today, it is generally agreed that the educating and the training of our children is of concern to all of us. Therefore, education is a public function. It wasn't so long ago that it was the concern of each family. Today, the public health requires public sanitation. Not so many years ago each one took care of his own—with dire results.

Today, it is the common understanding that many things are common concerns. That is why water, schooling, lighting, heating, recreation, housing, health, and many other common concerns, are public functions in one place or another.

New York supplies free water, regulates the price of gas and electricity and car fares, gives free text books, and tells the rent hogs to go to the limit. Chicago charges for text books, gives free water, and lets the rent hogs go to the limit. Detroit gives a beautiful island park to all the people, with inexpensive bathing, tennis, baseball, and other amusements, and lets the rent hogs go to the limit. And so on, and on, and on.

Socialists say that private initiative has been a brilliant success—for certain elements of the population; but it has been a dismal failure for the people. It has placed the emphasis upon making money, and not the welfare of people.

New York will defend its private enterprise in bathing houses at the beaches, but it will apologetically say that schools are needed and they cannot be left to individual enterprise. Each city will defend private enterprise in principle and explain that there are exceptions.

Socialists assert that there are no exceptions. All life, all industry is public concern. It is the concern of all people how the people live, what kind of homes they have; what their conditions of labor are, what they eat, and how wholesome their food is. It is the concern of all the people how the world is run.

### The Demand

The Socialists, then, make their great demand for socialization. That is, that the things that are used in

common should be owned in common; that is, for common enterprise.

The bits of municipal enterprise we have today are accidents. They touch one point or another point. They solve one little section of the problem. But the big problem is left untouched.

As the evil is due to individual enterprise, as it is due to private ownership of public things, so the remedy is public enterprise, so the remedy is common ownership of public things.

Socialists say that this common ownership of public things is the

## FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader with reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

## WHY I AM A SOCIALIST

By FRANCES E. WILLARD

I WOULD take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the 400 years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practical—indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without it than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

### See That Your Milk Man Wears

### The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. B. of T.

Office

605 Hudson St., City.

Local 584 meets

on 3rd Thursday

of the month at

ASTORIA HALL,

62 East 4th St.

Executive Board

meets on the 2nd

and 4th Thursdays at the

FOURWARD BUILDING, 135 East

Broadway, Room 3.

F. J. STERNHINKE, Pres. &amp; Bus. Agent.

NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

remedy of all the ills of today. Socialists say that collective enterprise, collective interest in things that concern all, is the remedy.

Enemies of Socialism object, and say that those who are on top today earn what they have; that they deserve to be; that they render service; while those who have nothing render no service. They say that our system today is equitable and fair in that he who renders service gets the proper reward.

Socialists, in their indictment, assert that Labor produces all wealth and should get all that Labor produces. Enemies of Socialism say that Labor gets all it produces, and that a system of public enterprise, such as the Socialists favor, will penalize brains, enterprise, initiative, and put a premium upon laziness, shiftlessness, and lack of initiative.

Which side is right?

## It's Up to You!

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You, who have no reason to be against us, could and should help us. This is very simple for you to do, does not cost you any extra money or efforts. Just make up your mind not to eat scab bread—Ask for the Union Label!—That is all.

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LABEL!



DEMAND  
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Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 169 and 305

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 239 EAST 84TH STREET  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS CAHILL, President  
THOMAS PORTER, Sec. Secretary  
EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST ST. Telephone ME 8764.  
THOMAS DALTON, President.  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y.  
CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.  
JOHN CLARK, Sec. Sec'y.

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President.  
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres.  
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent.  
WILLIAM GARDNER, Sec. Secretary  
CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 386  
4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Sec. Secretary James Dugan, Fin. Sec'y  
Victor Sault, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas Nobis, Business Agent  
Board of Trustees—Jos. Hess, Louis Schmidt, E. Giew

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America,

LOCAL UNION No. 806  
Office and Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening.  
JOHN HARKETT, President.  
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President.  
SYDNEY PEARCE, Sec. Secretary.  
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary.  
HENRY COOK, Treasurer.  
CHARLES FRIEDEL, Business Agent.

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1488. UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA.  
Office: 11 St. Mark's Place.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
MICHAEL ERIKSON, Vice-Pres.  
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## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. B. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 227 E. 84th St.  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JOHN MCQUINN, Vice-Pres.  
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JAMES MORAN, President.  
JOHN McFARTLAN, Fin. Secretary.  
MAT. J. HANSON, Bus. Agent.

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres.  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y.  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Sec. Sec'y.  
JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY, JOSEPH LAMONTE, Business Agents.

## Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall  
23 ST. MARKS PLACE at 6:30 SHARP  
JOSEPH HARKOW, Secretary-Treasurer  
J. ROTTER, President  
WOLF ALPER, Business Agent

## Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 104th Street  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, Financial Secretary  
J. HENNEFIELD, Recording Treasurer

## NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 230  
Office and Meeting Room:  
106 Seventh Avenue Phone CH 12549  
Regular Meeting Every Monday  
Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 p. m.  
GEO. B. HOVELL, President  
J. J. COOGAN, Sec. Secretary  
D. J. NAGLE, Fin. Secretary

## PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 802  
Office and Headquarters: 216 E. 59th St.  
Tel. Regent 3521  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening  
John Barry, President  
Peter Goldie, Vice-President  
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## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY  
Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City  
EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.  
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4478

## International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
JOHN E. BURKE, President-Secretary, 163 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board Meets Every Saturday 12 Noon  
R. GINSKIN, Chairman  
H. ABRAHAMSON, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Sec. Secretary

## JOURNEMEN PLUMBERS

Local Union 418  
Of Queens County, New York  
Meets Every Wednesday Evening at 230 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City  
MICHAEL J. McFARLANE, President; WM. PIPOTA, Fin. Sec'y; JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Sec'y; CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE PLANAGAN, Bus. Agents.

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 254, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A.  
170 E. 17th St., New York  
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday  
AL GRABAL, President  
L. KORN, S. JACOB, Sec'y.

## CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

of Greater New York  
Office and Meeting Room:  
175 E. Broadway Phone Orchard 6646  
Regular Meetings Every Monday at 8 p. m.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday  
J. EFFRAT, D. HOFFMAN, Manager Secretary

## SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place, New York 4534  
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 131 Clinton St., N. Y.  
Chas. Garfinkel, Pres. N. Kaplan, Sec.

## WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & R. C. I. A. & B. I. L. of A.  
Office & Headquarters 170 E. 40 St., N.Y.  
LENOX 1274  
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.  
Meyer Schachter, Bus. Agent & Sec. President

## JEWELRY WORKERS

UNION, LOCAL 1, I. J. W. U.  
Office: 63 Park Row  
Beekman 4934  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday in the office at 8 P. M. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday, Room 206, 63 Park Row, New York City.  
S. E. BEARDSLEY, LEON WILLIAMS, Organizer Sec'y-Treas.

## WAITERS' UNION & Allied CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, H. & R. C. I. A. & B. I. L. of A.  
Office & Headquarters 170 E. 40 St., N.Y.  
LENOX 1274  
Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.  
Meyer Schachter, Bus. Agent & Sec. President



## D R A M A

## Actor-Proof

Those who, like the present writer, are strongly opposed to the star system that builds our American theatre into so striking a contrast with such organizations as the Moscow Art Theatre or the great French theatres, must bear certain considerations in mind. There would be no possible objection to permanent stock companies, if all the members of the cast were as capable, and as willing to subordinate their prestige to the assigned part—however small—as the players in our great revivals (like the recent "She Stoops to Conquer"); in other words, if every actor were a star. But we are just as likely to face a stock company in which every actor is a ham.

Plays themselves may seem, in a measure, to dictate the nature of the cast, so far as brilliancy of stars is concerned. "Cyrano," for example, is a one-man play; although there is some complaint that Hampden has scribbled in the other parts, unquestionably the play has but the one real person: Cyrano. Playwrights, of course, frequently write with a particular actor in view; yet this will not inevitably produce a starring vehicle. Barrie wrote for a single actress, Shakespeare wrote for a whole company, but built star parts, often in pairs; Moliere, also writing for a company (in which he, like Shakespeare, assumed a role), more evenly distributes the acting honors. But, beyond the destination in the mind of the author, the general character of a play may determine whether or not there will be a star. Mystery plays, bedroom farces, pieces in which there is rapid flow of action, plot for the sake of the excitement or the amusement to be derived from plot alone; these are unlikely to call for the single predominant figure a character play will demand. The mind of the audience is directed in a single current, with the rapid succession of incidents, or the bewildering maze of events; the spectators are too busy enjoying the thrill or the fun of the moment, or wondering how the characters will extricate themselves from the confusion, to insist upon the polish and self-conscious poise that usually accompanies the idea of the star. For this reason, attention being turned wholly toward the movement of the plot, good plays of this type are said to be actor-proof. It is assumed that almost any professional can play adequately enough not to be conspicuous for his failings.

This attitude crumbles when faced with such a situation as prevails at, let us say, the Cherry Lane Playhouse, where "Mud," a play not excellent indeed, yet capable of alteration into a really good comedy and even now not void of merit, is "done dirt" by the cast. The influence of good acting is clear from the case of Helen Sping, who enters and begins very poorly, but becomes much more effective as soon as she plays opposite William S. Rainey, the one actor in the cast. . . . When a critic refers to a play as actor-proof, it must be understood that while a professional cast, assembled and directed by a man who has learned the ways of the theatre, will often be unable to put across unlikely material, even the best of plays may be irreparably ruined by inept handling.

J. T. S.



BESSIE LOVE

in Thomas Ince's, "Those Who Dance," the screen feature at the Broadway.

### "Sweeney Todd," and "Bombastes Furioso"

Wendell Phillips Dodge announces the American premiere of the most famous of all old English melodramas, "Sweeney Todd, the Theatre of Fleet Street, or, The String of Pearls," in the Frazee Theatre next Wednesday evening, to be followed by the first American production of the oldest burlesque opera in the English language, dating back to the time of "The Beggars' Opera."

This "extra added attraction" will be the light musical standard-bearer of the 18th century, "Bombastes Furioso." Both plays will be presented by Mr. Dodge exactly as originally produced

## THE NEW PLAY

WEDNESDAY

"SWEENEY TODD," an old English melodrama, by George Dibdin Pitt, will open at the Frazee Theatre, Wednesday night. Wendell Phillips Dodge is the sponsor. "BOMBASTES FURIOSO," a burlesque opera, will be on the same bill. The latter was written by W. Barnes Rhodes.

The cast to appear in both plays includes Robert Vivian, Edward Jephson, Elwyn Eaton, Charles Penman, Frank Hubert, William A. Evans, Herbert Radus, George Sydenham, Percy Baverstock, Mercedes Desmore, Venie Atherton, Raphaello Ottiano, Jeanie Beggs, and others.

Byron Bidwell staged the production, Signor Icilio Sadun, an Italian composer, is the musical director.

## Two New O'Neill Dramas

### Provincetown Players Will Do Rostand's "The Last Night of Don Juan"

GILBERT and SULLIVAN operettas done in the manner and spirit of the seventies are to be given next season, just as "Fashion" was presented this spring as it was played here in 1845.

This interesting announcement comes from the offices of the Experimental Theatre, Inc., a new organization just chartered to take over the management of the Provincetown Players in the management of the Greenwich Village Theatre next season. The directors of the new concerns are Kenneth Macgowan, Eugene O'Neill, Robert Edmund Jones, James Light, Stark Young and Cleon Throckmorton.

The first play of the new season at the Greenwich Village Theatre under the Experimental regime will be Eugene O'Neill's "Desire Under the Elms," a new work he has just completed.

Then will follow Edmund Rostand's last play, "The Last Night of Don Juan," which Arthur Hopkins once had an ambition to produce uptown; "The Saint," a play of the Southwest, by Stark Young; "The Brothers Karamazoff," a dramatization by Jacques Copeau, the play was seen in Russian, performed by the Moscow Art Theatre here during the winter; and a revival of "Much Ado About Nothing."

"The Provincetown Playhouse," says an explanatory note from the management, "is not a public theatre and admission will be to subscribers only and their guests. The Greenwich Village Theatre, however, is open to the public, but season subscribers will be given preference in location of seats."

A single permanent company of actors will be installed at each of the two houses under the management of Macgowan, O'Neill and Jones, the Provincetown will remain an experimental theatre in every sense of the word. Five plays will be given at the Provincetown to the subscribers and a cer-

tain number of productions will be especially subscribed for. Among these pieces will be: "The Great God Brown," by Eugene O'Neill; "The Collonnade," a play of Southern life, by Stark Young; "The Murder in the Whistler Room," by Edmund Wilson; "The Book of Revelation," adapted from the Bible by Eugene O'Neill; "The Colonnade," a man expressionist drama by Walter Hasenclever, and a revival of the Restoration comedy, "Love for Love," by Congreve.

Subscription books to both houses are now open.



EMILY STEVENS

plays the alluring "Cousin From Budapest," in "Fata Morgana." Ernest Vajda's comedy celebrated its 150th performance Friday at the Lyceum.

## Which Way?

### "Her Way Out," at Gaiety

Of course, no author could tell far enough in advance that the convention was going to bring a theatrical frost, so it is natural that many plays should aim at the delegates. With a Democratic gathering during a Republican administration, what more natural than to set the play in Washington, to speak of political pinheads, to show a few instances of petty grafting or favoritism, and to lard the play with general political concerns? The author, by the way, missed one obvious retort; speaking of government by blocs, he should have said—either by blocs or by blockheads. However, the rest of the play seemed to miss few such opportunities.

The movie throwback device, made famous on the stage in Elmer Rice's "On Trial," is revived in one act of "Her Way Out," to tell the story of Her past to Her lover, the dashing young progressive Senator from the West. He is a typical stage progressive, with flaming idealistic diction, yet a master of men, and of course, superior of Her heart. But the author's chief method of indicating character is to have one person sing the praises of another, so that at times the play sounds like a keynote or a nomination address, each in turn doing the speaking, each in turn (with a few exceptions, who encounter brickbats instead of bouquets) receiving the glorification.

After telling the story that must forever, though one cannot see quite why, separate Her from the man she loves, Her way out is to take poison. Unfortunately, he comes into the room at that exact moment, so she cannot adopt her way out, but must marry him after all. . . . The play seems also to be a plea for the fallen woman, laying the blame upon fate. Like the Irishman who made his broth with a stone, the author has begged a little here, borrowed a little there, perhaps stolen a suggestion elsewhere, and boiled them together to make an unnecessary WILLIAM LEA.

## Andrew Jackson in Drama

AFTER nearly 100 years, Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States, is to be one of the central figures in a play founded upon certain incidents in the famous American's life.

The play, not yet titled, is the work of John Farrar, editor of "The Bookman," and Stephen Vincent Benet, young American poet and well-known writer of short stories, who have for over a year been working diligently on the drama in cooperation with William A. Brady, who is to be the producer.

Mr. Brady has for years been interested in the subject, and has secured the dramatic rights of the novel named "Peggy O'Neal," written by Alfred Henry Lewis, creator of the famous "Wolfville" stories. The subject matter of both the novel and Messrs. Farrar and the Benet's play deals with the "O'Neal Malaria" as Martin Van Buren expressed it.

Peggy, the daughter of a Washington inn-keeper, marries John Eaton, who was Secretary of War in Jackson's cabinet. Because of her common origin, she was spurned by the haughty cabinet ladies, who slandered her every turn because of her beauty that

made her the toast of the town. She fought a woman's fight against the malice and hypocrisy of society, and Andrew Jackson, the first man of the common people to be elected President of the United States, stood by her side.

Had it not been for her, Jackson's first cabinet would never have been dissolved. Had it not been for her, perhaps, it is possible that the name of John C. Calhoun might have been on the roll of our Presidents. Had it not been for her, some believe, Martin Van Buren, the fox of Kinderhook, might never have succeeded Jackson in the Presidency. Had it not been for her, the brittleness and incapacity of a certain social set that tried to rule the capital then, as it tries to rule it today, might never have been exposed.

It is around these extraordinary political incidents that the play has been woven.

The piece will be given its first performance at the Garrick Theatre in Detroit, on July 14, by the Jessie Bonstelle Company, under the direction of Miss Bonstelle and Mr. Brady. It will have its first New York presentation August 10.

**PALACE**  
Henry Bull and Edna Hibbard and Company, Van and Schenck, assisted by Josef Martin, Ben Meroff and his Symphonic Band assisted by Frank and Milt Britton; Moran and Mack, Harry Holmes and Florrie La Vere, Marguerite Padula and others.

## RIVERSIDE

Santley and Sawyer, Craig Campbell, Wells, Virginia and West; McLaughlin and Evans, Mann and Strong, Earle and Bell, Zelda Brothers.

## Notes

"The Fake," the new Frederick Lonsdale drama now at the Apollo in London, will be produced here by A. H. Woods next season. Godfrey Tearle, the English star, will have the leading role. Lonsdale's play, with its brilliant murder scene, has proved a sound success, passing its 150th performance, without ever having "played to a losing week."

"The Grand Street Follies," the jolly revue at the Neighborhood Playhouse, has decided to continue its run throughout July—maybe longer. The roof garden is now open, where dancing follows after the performance.



RAMON NAVARRO

plays the leading role in Edgar Selwyn's, "The Arab," at the Capitol Theatre, beginning Sunday.

## T H E A T R E S

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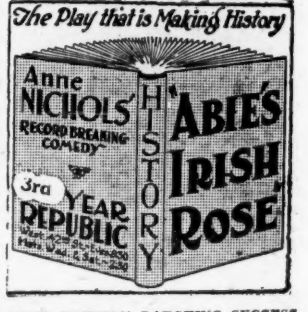
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Presentations by ROTHAEL (ROXY)

## August Bebel

Womenkind have made great strides within the past decade or so. You don't have to be told about it. All you have to do is to look.

Today, every woman and girl does things as a matter of course that would have caused her to be considered daring or fast only ten years ago. The clothes they wear, the liberties they take, the professions they enter, the pleasures they indulge in, would have given collective heart failure to the generation just past.

Bobbed heads are an outward sign of the revolution. Knickers for hiking, comfortable—and abbreviated—bathing suits are a sign of it. Women's entry into virtually every profession is a sign of it. Women in politics is a sign of it. Even the multiplication of women smokers and of divorces are signs of it.

But the substance is that to a very large degree women have won their freedom from a thousand slaveries that shackled them for centuries and up to a few years ago.

The woman question has been next to the bread-and-butter question in importance with generations upon generations in all countries.

Men wrote about it; they idealized women—and used women as slaves. Poets sang to women and called them angels—and kept them in "their place." A few women struggled with their problem, and were hooted and denounced as "strong minded" and told they were brazen huzzies. But they persisted and they won their place at last.

Of all the men who wrote on the woman question in the earlier years there was just one who came closest to the position of decency, of understanding. Just one of the thousands of men who wrote on the woman question who had heart and understanding—and background—enough to explain why many things were so, and what was the way out of women's slavery.

That man was August Bebel, the great German Socialist thinker and leader, who devoted his whole life to trade union and political leadership, parliamentary statesmanship, political theorizing—and had enough time left to write "Women Under Socialism" in his spare time.

Bebel was born February 22, 1840, and he died August 12, 1913, mourned as the greatest working class statesman of his time. Early in life he was weak and puny and consumptive and inclined to be dreamy and poetic. But a stiff jail sentence in 1871—for voting against the Franco-Prussian war credits in the North German Parliament—brought him face to face with reality and he came out a stronger man, physically, and a sounder man intellectually. He shared the leadership of the party that he founded with Wilhelm Liebknecht, until that great man died in 1899. From that date until his own death Bebel was the undisputed leader of the world Socialist movement, its greatest orator, its noblest soul.

German Socialism was practical, and since women didn't vote, the party, alas! did not pay enough attention to the women of the working class. But Bebel was not only a statesman—he was a man, a husband and a father, and he gave deep thought, and much study to the woman question.

His greatest book appeared in 1879, under the title of "Woman and Socialism." Under the anti-Socialist laws of Bismarck, when Socialist propaganda was forbidden, edition after edition came out under the title of "Women in the Past, Present and Future." In 1913, a jubilee 50th edition appeared under the original title, and was translated into almost all the languages in the world. There is a remarkably fine English translation by Meta Lillenthal.

Of all the oceans of material on the so-called women printed since 1879, nothing is clearer, cleaner, finer and saner than the book of this simple wood turner who became a great world statesman.

W. M. FEIGENBAUM.



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### Woman and Marriage

"The corruption of marriage increases at the same rate at which the struggle for existence grows more severe, making matrimony more and more an object of mercenary speculation. As it is becoming increasingly difficult to support a family, many men choose to refrain from marrying; and so the declamations about it being woman's duty to practice her natural profession of wifehood and motherhood, are just so many meaningless phrases. On the other hand, these conditions are bound to foster illegitimate relations and to increase the number of prostitutes."

### Woman in the Future

"The social conditions under which we live are even more important than the conditions of family life. But when the social conditions of development will be the same for both sexes, when there will be no restriction for either, and when the general state of society will be a healthful one, women will rise to a height of perfection that we can hardly conceive today, because until now no such conditions have existed in human evolution."

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### Short Reviews

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK. By Enos A. Mills. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.

This is a book that every nature lover, every "hiker" will enjoy reading. Enos A. Mills lived nearly all his life in the Rocky Mountains, and through his untiring efforts Estes Park, Colorado, became The Rocky Mountain National Park. It is interesting to read how this student of Nature tramped over the wild country of the mountains, never carrying a weapon of any sort. He refused to shoot the wild animals and birds. He refused to pick the beautiful flowers. His food on the long trips he took was always raisins and whole-wheat bread. It seems an irony of fate that this man, who lived in and loved the wild, open country, should have died from the results of an accident in the New York Subway.

Robert W. Johnson contributes an appreciative foreword.

REPUTATION. By Elinor Mordant. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.

A study of three generations of women. Each age thinks that the preceding one knew nothing and lived in utter darkness. A well-written and well-told story.

THE GREEN ARCHER. By Edgar Wallace. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.

A mystery story. The versatile author of "The Angel of Terror" and other thrillers gives us something new to make our hair stand on end. Good summer vacation reading.

A NEW WORLD THROUGH OLD EYES. With Reminiscences From My Life. Mary S. Ware. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The author of this book is a very old lady, now in her eighties. In 1921 she visited twenty-one continental countries, including the Balkans and the Near East. The book is in the form of letters to her family. The last half of the volume is given over to her reminiscences as a young girl during the Civil War. This is an interesting picture of the yesterday.

THE WRATH TO COME. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.

Mr. Oppenheim, who is always giving us best sellers, has turned out another one that will bring delight to his many readers. This is a mystery story dealing with world politics in the year 1950. We are, according to the author, headed for another war. He concludes that wars will never be stopped; but even with such an unhappy outlook there is plenty of mystery, intrigue, spies, beautiful but wicked women, etc., enough to make a vastly entertaining yarn.

### Music and Concerts

#### Stadium Concerts

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ARTHUR JUDSON, Mr. Steinway Piano  
PRICES 25c., 50c., \$1.00

Nothingism of the attack against the foreign born for being foreign born," writes Dr. Kallen, "or in

## MUSIC

### Beethoven's Ninth at Stadium

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, with a chorus of 200 picked voices from the Oratorio Society, will be one of the features of next week's Stadium concerts by the Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Willem Van Hoogstraten. This performance will take place Friday evening. The soloists will be Ruth Rodgers, soprano; Helena Marsh, contralto; Charles Stratton, tenor; and Fraser Gange, baritone.

The programs of next week follow:  
Sunday—Symphony in D Minor, Cesar Franck; Overture to "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Mendelssohn; Chaconne in D Minor (orchestrated by Raff), J. S. Bach; Tone Poem, "Death and Transfiguration," Richard Strauss.  
Monday—"Scheherazade," Rimsky-Korsakoff; Overture to "Tannhauser," Wagner; Tone Poem, "Finlandia," Sibelius; "Italian Caprice," Tchaikowsky.

Tuesday—"Symphony No. 2, in C Minor," Tchaikowsky; Overture to "The Bartered Bride," Smetana; Symphonic Poem, "The Isle of Death," Rachmaninoff; "Ride of the Valkyries," Wagner.

Wednesday—"Symphony in C Major," Schubert; "Symphonic Poem, 'Hungaria,' Liszt; Pantomime from 'Hansel and Gretel,' Humperdinck; Waltz, 'Artist's Life,' Johann Strauss.

Thursday—Symphony, "From the New World," Dvorak; "Siegfried's Rhine Journey," Wagner; "Salome's Dance," Strauss; Nocturne from "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Mendelssohn; "Marche Slav," Tchaikowsky.

Friday—"Leonore" Overture, No. 3, Beethoven; Symphony No. 9, Beethoven.

Saturday—Dance Program. "Invitation to the Waltz," Weber; Dance Fantasy, Op. 35, Julius Weismann; "Melphisto Waltz," Liszt; Waltz, "Frueh-

lingstimmen," Johann Strauss; "Nutcracker" Suite, Tchaikowsky.

The seventh week of the Goldman Band concerts, under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman, on the Mall in Central Park, begins next Monday. The program that evening will honor Bastille Day with the works of French composers. The first part of Wednesday's program will be devoted to symphonic music including the Andante from Haydn's "Surprise Symphony" and Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony." Friday's program will be devoted entirely to the works of Wagner and Tchaikowsky.



LOWELL SHERMAN

will be starred in "The Vamping Dog," a new play by Leopold Marchand and Paul Armont, due here about October.

### OZYMANDIAS

By PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

I met a traveller from an antique land  
Who said: "Two vast and trunkless legs of stone  
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,  
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,  
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,  
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read  
Which yet survive, stamped on those lifeless things,  
The hand that mockt them and the heart that fed:  
And on the pedestal these words appear:  
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:  
Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!'  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare  
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

### Diagnosing a Sick Nation

A Review by James Onal

CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES. By Horace M. Kallen. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$3.

Given a people with a fundamental charter of government having its origin in the last two decades of the eighteenth century and revered as the last word in political wisdom, what is its psychology and its democracy in this the twentieth century? This is the question that faces many who are trying to fathom these United States. We welcome any man interested in the patient and who honestly tries to diagnose the case. Dr. Kallen offers an interesting contribution in this book, a collection of articles written at various times and each one bearing on some phase of the problem.

His object is not an attempt to go back to historical origins and trace the succession of phases of American culture and democracy; he only claims for his work a series of reflections upon the nature of culture and of democracy, upon their bearing to one another in the United States, and upon their underlying dynamics in the nationalities, the cultural traditions, the political forms, the economic pursuits, and the social and spiritual endeavors of the many peoples striving toward life, liberty and happiness amid the varied settings of the American scene.

Dr. Kallen understands the cultural phases of the past twenty years and especially since the beginning of the World War. Our social alienists understand that the development and expansion of the great industry, the failure of the Protestant sects to make headway against the materialism of a mechanical age, and the influx of immigrants from new and backward regions of the old world, followed by the shock of our entrance into the World War, have aroused fears and apprehensions of a population unfitted by education to adapt itself to a changing world. Hereditary prejudices, veneration for old formulas, confidence in this the best of all nations have been shaken. Hundreds of organizations, with their magic potions, have appeared to guard the sacred portals of the home against the invasion of queer ideas. One hundred percentism, bedsheets and hoods, memorizing the sacred Constitution, are charms invoked by the natives against any exotic influences.

"Whether in the general Know Nothingism of the attack against the foreign born for being foreign born," writes Dr. Kallen, "or in

the general alarm of exploiting Capital in the attack against liberal practice and opinion in politics or the economic life, or in the general passion of debate in the attack of traditional religious orthodoxy against the compenetration of science and higher criticism with religion which is called Modernism, the burden is the same: The old values that rule the common life are in danger. Arm, arm, lest they be destroyed."

The war did not cause this apprehension; it only released the gathering forces of fear which had been accumulating for many years. For the moment the holy war bound all in ties of forced solidarity against the "enemy," but once restrictions on conduct and action were abandoned the fears and superstitions found expression in the mummeries of the Ku Klux Klan and the flag waving of the 100 percenters. This infantile mood ran amuck and fools engaged in the pleasure of pulling down the best of those traditions for which they affected a profound reverence. The old tolerance of free utterance and sympathy for peoples of other nationalities, races, colors and creeds was supplanted by an American Kultur noted only for its lack of culture and democracy.

Sane men could only look on this as they would upon an unkind mother—pity, not hate her. The author, looking on the scene, asks what do we will to make the United States "a union, singing the old British theme 'America,' the America of the New England School? or a harmony, in which that theme shall be dominant, perhaps, among others, but one among many, not the only one?" The latter, he believes, must be the answer, for the "United States are in the process of becoming a Federal State, not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a co-operation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures."

As sanity returns and education and knowledge become more widespread, Dr. Kallen has hopes of the realization of a more rational behavior and a more sensible ideal. This cannot be better presented than in his own words:

"As intelligence and wisdom prevail over 'politics' and special interests, as the steady and continuous pressure of the 'inalienable' qualities and purposes of human groups more and more dominate the confusion of their common life, the outlines of a possible great and truly democratic commonwealth become discernible. Its form would be that of the Federal republic; its substance a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions in the enterprise of self-realization through the perfection of men according to their kind. The common language of the commonwealth, the language of its great tradition, would be English, but each nationality would have for its emotional and involuntary life its own peculiar dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms. The political and economic life of the commonwealth is a single unit and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each nation that composes it and of the pooling of these in a harmony above them all. Thus 'American civilization' may come to mean the perfection of the co-operative harmonies of 'European civilization'—the waste, the squalor, and the distress of Europe being eliminated—a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind. As in an orchestra every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form; as every type has its appropriate theme and melody in the whole symphony, so in society, each ethnic group may be the natural instrument, its temper and culture may be its theme and melody and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all may make the symphony of civilization."

The temptation to quote is persistent and space forbids further consideration of this notable book. It is profoundly helpful in understanding the American malady and it should help in restoring the patient to a normal life.

### Self Revelation

THE CREATIVE LIFE. By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.50.

Ludwig Lewisohn has seized the literary heavens like a star that, after twinkling for time untold in far-off recorded space, suddenly blazes into the first magnitude. His autobiography "Up-Stream," his autobiographical novel "Don Juan," and his equally personal essay-group, "The Creative Life," all turn attention less to the work itself than to the personality behind it. This is, apparently, in accord with Mr. Lewisohn's wish, for between "aesthetic and pamphleteer" he chooses to sit emphatically with the latter. Mr. Lewisohn suggests the alternatives himself, overlooking the possibility of other benches; with equal emphasis he declares that the one purpose of his writing is to lessen the remediable moral suffering in the world. "If I write a criticism it is to further that supreme end." Mr. Lewisohn apparently overlooks, as well, the contradiction between this and his earlier phrase: "Before every work of art, however humble, I try to be passive, to discover what the author willed to do." Furthermore, in adopting this viewpoint of Goethe's, he leaves unanswered the question as to how one can discover a purpose from a product, and then, presumably, judge the product by its fulfillment of the so discovered purpose.

Mr. Lewisohn is usually as stimulating, and seldom as apparently unsound, as in these pronouncements; yet an other sentence from his prologue will perhaps aid in carrying us to use his phrase—under the skin of the volume, at least under the unwitting fraud of its author's rationalization. He glories in the charge that he is a radical in his notions about life and a classicist in his notions about literature; then he defines: "A classicist is one who has accepted the teaching of the history of literature that the fundamental character of art-form is determined by the medium and the nature of man." This reveals, first, a carelessness in the handling of words, slight, yet important in view of the author's insistence on intelligibility, and of the relation between clear writing and clear thinking; to ensure a proper association of the phrase "of man," a second "by" should have been added before "the nature." Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that the definition itself scarcely defines, delimits; it is so inclusive that hardly any may ponder the ways of literature, but by this canon they are classicists. Finally, in the definite implication that there is no possible interpretation of the history of literature save that teaching which the classicist accepts, Mr. Lewisohn suggests a dogmatism that may help us get under the skin.

When a man announces that he is writing to lessen the "moral suffering in the world," it is a safe assumption that his own moral suffering is the impelling force behind his activity. Mr. Lewisohn has made no secret of his indictment of America. In his cries for the freedom of the creative worker, in his protests against the bars of anti-Semitism, many have seemed to detect the whine of one who thrusts upon the world the blame for his own failure. (Remember that "Up-Stream," Mr. Lewisohn's first prominent work, is the voice of this protest, and that in this confession he considers his life-ends unrealized.) A man who feels himself unable to cope with the forces of life may, in extreme cases, imagine himself a hero or a god; in more moderate instances he will draw himself into comparison with the great: in the four and a half pages of his prologue Mr. Lewisohn claims as companions Plato, Euripides, Montaigne, Milton, Shelley, Goethe, Nietzsche, Isaiah, Euripides again, Hauptmann, Shaw, Lessing, and Swift. He refers to himself when he declares, "The plain truth is this: People in our time and country are not accustomed to have those who think know anything, and they are even less accustomed to having one who knows try to think." Just as a coward often masks his fear with a bold, bullying demeanor, so here limitations are being covered by a desperate throwing forward of the self.

The curious irony of the situation—an irony frequently repeated in life—is that the shield becomes the weapon, the excuse becomes the justification. Urged to these volumes in order to protect himself from the sense of defeat that was striving to gain his consciousness—fighting it down, not for the world, but in himself—Mr. Lewisohn bids fair to transform his feint into a victory, and out of the bricks the world seemed heaving at him to raise another pillar in the temple of art.

WILLIAM LEA.

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## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, July 12, 1924

### DAVIS AND BRYAN

AFTER two weeks of asinine blundering, the Democratic Convention made nominations that will be welcomed on all sides as the most fitting for that party.

Reaction, big business—and bigotry. John William Davis is a great lawyer, a great orator, and a Godsend to the plundering interests of America.

Cynically throwing aside the pretense that it stands for the masses, ignoring utterly the demands of that portion of the Labor movement that has clung to it, the party of Tammany Hall, of the Southern child slavers, and of the Ku Klux Klan joyously, unanimously nominates the man who is most closely identified with Sheriff Don Chafin of West Virginia. The party that has pretended to appeal to the masses cynically nominates the attorney for J. P. Morgan, the attorney for the Standard Oil, the attorney who has just won for the telephone companies a substantial increase in rates.

An able man, a fine man, a clean man—his ability, his fineness, his honesty make his services and his loyalty to the plunderers of the masses the more striking.

Charles W. Bryan is—his brother's brother. Nothing more can be said of him, and nothing worse. For thirty years his brother's closest associate, his manager, editor of his paper; today, he can appeal to no one except to those who hail William Jennings as a leader.

The poor, flaccid boom for Major Berry was swept aside, delegates instructed for him voting for Bryan in a wave of enthusiasm for the man who must stand publicly for narrowness, for bigotry, for intolerance. As Vice-President, Charles W. Bryan will give weight and national importance to his brother's demand that the study of science be outlawed, that teachers who use their own brains be driven from their profession. His nomination is a triumph for the Ku Klux Klan.

How do you like it? How do the Labor men who have patiently waited for something from the jackass party, like it? How do they like the contemptuous ignoring of the request for the nomination of the weakest, the least liberal and advanced, of all the Labor men?

The Republicans have a strikebreaker and a union smasher on their ticket.

The Democrats a big corporation attorney, an associate of the bitterest enemy of the workers in his State.

Down with both of them! Drive them out of public life!

Onward to a party of our own; onward to victory under the banner of Labor and Socialism for a world made free!

"The success of the Progressive movement," the New York Commercial quotes Senator La Follette as saying, "lie in the failure of ETAOIN." ETAOIN, as every printer knows, is the "pi line," or jumbled type. Then the printer tries again, and we learn that he tried to write "two old parties," and the machine just pried on him. Which shows that the Mergenthaler Linotype machine in the office of the Commercial has more brains than the editor.

### TWO STRIKES

THE NEW LEADER heartily congratulates the Amalgamated Clothing Workers upon their victory in the recent strike, and rejoices that members of its staff had the privilege of contributing to their triumph. The outcome was never in doubt, but that fact spurred the leaders and friends of the workers to greater efforts for a quick ending of the battle.

Now the cloakmakers are walking out to enforce their standards. The New Leader again places itself and the members of its staff at the disposal of the workers, with full confidence of a gallant fight and a quick victory.

When the workers leave their jobs to engage in a battle with their employers, all other tasks are laid aside and the whole Socialist movement has the one job, to help the workers win.

Long live the needle unions!

Considering certain church resolutions against war the Times observes that to expect results from resolutions alone is to "expect that an abstract denunciation of burglary would put an end to burglary." Yes. Also like those who would have us join a league of burglars to put an end to the profession.

### GEORGIA VOTES FOR CHILD SLAVERY

WELL, as was to have been expected, Georgia voted against ratification of the Child Labor amendment. Hardly a vote was cast against the resolution of rejection in the Legislature. "We don't want to go back to slavery," the statesmen said—slavery, in their minds, being a prohibition of child slavery.

Sure. You don't expect the Georgia Koo Koo "Democracy" to vote for anything decent, do you? Or the Alabama Democracy? Or the Democratic—or Republican—parties of any part of the country, if they can get away with it?

You will remember that Georgia is solidly, incurably, hopelessly Democratic; that no one but a Democrat ever gets elected to any office there; that Georgia is the State where they lynch Negroes for not staying in what the Georgians please to call "their place," where Leo Frank was lynched for being a Jew; that Georgia has a high death rate, a high illiteracy rate, a low Socialist vote, little trade unionism, and a solid 100 per cent white Protestant Nordic ruling class. No other need apply.

That's Georgia. That's 100 per centism run wild. That's what our K. K. K., our latter-day Know-Nothings, our A. P. A., our white-sheeted Black Hundreds, would make of every part of our country, if they could. Black reaction. Ignorance. Stupidity. Tyranny. Darkness. A nightmare State.

There is progress and light, and decency and tolerance, and education and Labor legislation, and a bit of humanity, exactly in proportion as Ku Kluxism and 100 per centism dies down and withers away. Those sections that remain longest in the grip of such intolerance and darkness will yield last to the onward march of progress. Do you like it?

When the Republican Convention bungled and floundered and made a gosh-awful fool of itself, everybody thought it was the Farthest North in political stupidity. But you can never make a final report until the Democrats are heard from.

### TEN-NINETY-EIGHT JACKASSES

THE Emblem of the Democratic party," wrote a correspondent to one of the New York newspapers after the 1,098 delegates in the Garden had failed to agree for the umpteenth time, "should be changed from a jackass to 1,098 jackasses."

Righto, old top. But not for this particular convention alone.

One Saturday night, 1,000,000 years or so ago (or at least it seems that long ago), the Democratic Convention debated the Ku Klux issue. Close to half the delegates—within a few fractional votes—were willing to condemn the Klan by name. A shade over a half of the delegates demurred. For hours the debate raged, and the visitors

could see before them an actual picture of what the Democratic party really is.

Narrow-minded, bigoted ignoramuses like William Jennings Bryan spoke for the Democracy as representing a native white Nordic Protestantism, a fundamentalism that is best expressed by that great Voice of God, Rev. Dr. William A. Sunday—and they won. The Democratic party is what they said it is, a political party of reaction, of hatred of progress, of suspicion of learning and thought. It is a blight upon the nation.

The huge minority revealed what they really are when they cast their blocks of votes in favor of naming the Klan; large city Tammany Halls, under the ban of the Klan because of their own religious and racial make-up.

The majority of the Democratic party—by a narrow margin—would outlaw all Irish, Italian and German Catholics, all Jews and all Negroes. They would drive them out or grind them down, and the minority of the same party is composed of the huge Irish bloc, the Jewish vote, the German vote, the Italian vote, and in New York, to a certain extent, of the Negro vote!

In one party, mind you, seeking to win victories for what they are pleased to call principles!

The Democratic party honors as a leader Oscar Underwood, who is a thoroughgoing Bourbon; it honors John W. Davis, who is the political associate of Don Chafin and attorney for J. P. Morgan; it contains in the same faction William G. McAdoo and Senator Walsh, who showed him up; it contains the Georgia Labor-hating delegation, the child slavers, and delegations from other States who boast of the Labor legislation they have put through; it contains city corruptionists and would-be reformers; Newton D. Baker, who was attorney for the Cleveland open-shop drive, and Major Berry, who proudly boasts that he is head of a great Labor organization. Trade union delegates sit beside strike-breaking thugs.

What is this party that can contain Kleagle and Cardinal; Labor haters and those who play for Labor votes; lynchers and Negroes; Texas "Nordics" and Jewish district organizations?

And the answer is—that it is just that.

Like its brother party, the G. O. P., there isn't a principle that it can claim as its own—not an ideal, not an aspiration, except the unending hunger for public office. And since, by mutual tolerance, the corrupt city Tammany Halls and the narrow-minded Southern fundamentalists can get what they want, they have abided in the same party, passing laws against child labor and then strangling them, and only quarreling when political mismanagement brings them into conflict.

American politics can be redeemed only by a rebirth of idealism—by the upsurging of the masses who do the nation's work, in their own party.

## THE BRAINBOX

### What It Is and What It May Be

By G. G. DESMOND

WE can fill a jar with peas till it will not hold another. Then we can fill the spaces between the peas with sand till it will not hold another grain of sand. Then we can fill the spaces between the grains of sand with water and the spaces between the molecules of water with gas. Possibly, then we could remove the gas without disturbing the water, or the sand without disturbing the peas. We could not take out the peas without stirring the sand; still less could we take out the bottom pea or the farthest grain of sand without moving a great number of other particles.

A shopkeeper may have in a small warehouse a great number of different articles, and, if he is very gifted, may have a wonderful knowledge of where each article is to be found. The brain will, in fact, hold all that the room holds, but in a miraculous order. In the room the old things farthest from the door will take a long time to get out and many things must be disturbed to get at them. In the brain, the thing demanded is always at the top, and comes forth almost without commotion among the other vast and wonderful contents. Not entirely so. We can scarcely take out a treasure without one or two others clinging to it by "association of ideas," sometimes preceding it and leading to its discovery, sometimes suggested by its delivery. "Clover" brings "bee" or "cow," "gun" brings "partridge" or "spaniel," and so on. We can turn over the simplest idea and find it encrusted with values—historic, economic, philosophic, poetic—flocking to it from all parts of the warehouse in which it has been stored.

### The Cosmic Reservoir

The capacity of the largest warehouse is limited, but the capacity of the brain, with its less than a hundred cubic inches, has never been overtaken. It contains the earth and sea and all that in them is, the sun and its 1,000,000,000-mile distant planets, other suns 1,000 times as large and 1,000,000 times more far. Minute things, too, can be left there for 50 years, to turn up fresh as ever when called for, or more often, un-called for. It doesn't matter how often ideas acquired long ago have been overlaid by later learning, everything is equally accessible at a moment's notice, except that there is a store, and probably a vast one, that does not commonly respond at all to the waking unconscious, a treasure enjoyed only by the subconscious self, when we are asleep, perhaps, or in a trance. We attempt the solution of a problem by day and are baffled by the absence of some vital factor. While we are asleep and unconscious this is somehow rummaged out for us and we awake with the problem solved. We are gradually getting to know how to explore this unconscious hoard, so that nothing that enters the brain, however casually, need be lost. The author of "The Gate of Remembrance," the most remarkable testimony to this phenomenon that I know,

calls it "drawing upon the cosmic reservoir."

It is rather a book, an index of things we know about, that the brain resembles than a warehouse of actual things. It is a day book rather than a ledger. Is it written all over and over-written without any kind of order, or does everything get marshalled as soon as entered? Is it double and treble entered, so that you can get at the same idea by many different routes, or are ideas like molecules, in a stream constantly rallying in new groups and dispersing? At any rate, the mind is, by no means the whole brain. It is no more than the skin or bark of the grey mass parallel to the dome of the skull. But the crumplings or convolutions of that skin are so many and so deep that if they could be smoothed out it would give us a surface of some four square feet. The area has doubtless grown with the ages, which seems to show that the capacity of the brain is to be measured by somewhat the same rules that govern the capacity of a slate or book to hold writing.

The brain of animals has been divided by investigators into three definite "levels." The lowest, or third level, a mere knob of the spinal cord, controls only the so-called automatic actions of the body, breathing, heart-beat, digesting. When all the rest of the brain is removed, these functions go on, as well as reflex actions, such as the closing of the eye when something is brought very near it. The second level brain is above the third and below the first level, whose wonderful crumpled surface we have mentioned. The animal that has been deprived of only the first level can hear and see, and smell and taste, and stand up and walk about, but scarcely more. It is mentally defective, as might be imagined, for if the mind resides specifically anywhere, it is in the upper level of the brain. The animal that is without its first level does not remember anything that it has learned. The dog no longer fears the whip, though, on the other hand, it has no desire to steal, for it has forgotten the use of food. Nor can it learn these things afresh, for it has nowhere to put its learning.

Only the first-level brain, the highly crumpled cerebrum, can remember, can store the fruit of experience, can properly read the messages that come in from the outer world through the senses, can put two and two together, and take proper advantage of what the eye sees, the ear hears, the tongue tastes, and the fingers touch. When it is removed, the animal loses so much that we must say that it is in the cortex, or surface of the hemispheres, constantly endeavoring to extend itself by crumplings within the narrow confines of the skull, that the mind resides.

### Instinct or Prejudice?

Into the nose of the rabbit comes the smell of a fox; its ears, perhaps, have some other intimation of Reynard's presence; its eyes perceive the red beast crouching near. Then the first-level brain or mind comes

Drive the old parties out of the nation they have disgraced so long, and make America free!

### SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS!

IT was the great Socialist leader, August Bebel, who said that when he was praised by the enemies of the workers, he was afraid he was wrong; but when they attacked him, he knew that all was well.

The Socialist Party has taken a new stand; it has met a situation bravely, and with a cry of triumph it is going forward in the only way that it could go and remain true to its principles.

Instantly, the united capitalist press launches a broadside of editorials warning the Socialists that they have made a grievous blunder; that we had built up a great following in the country; informing us that hitherto we had been uncompromising in the advocacy of our principles, telling us that by such refusal to compromise we had won the admiration and the respect of the nation; and they conclude that we have thrown it all away by our new course.

Some of our comrades may be influenced by such editorials, but they needn't get excited. First, think of the accurate information they base their editorials upon; and then consider what warm and cordial support the capitalist papers used to give us before the opportunity came to us to work hand in hand with our brothers and sisters of the working class; and then give the advice the credence it deserves.

For example, for several days, several of the capitalist papers had been reporting that Socialists had been advocating the nomination of Major George L. Berry for Vice-President. The Hearst papers, particularly, stated that the party had offered Berry the place. The name of Judge Panken was specifically mentioned as one who said that if the Democratic Convention named Berry, the Socialists would be enthusiastic for him and would unanimously put him on the ticket.

What Comrade Panken said was this: "To accept the nomination of a Vice-President who may also be a candidate on an old party ticket—referring specifically to Major Berry of the Pressmen's Union, who is soliciting the Democratic nomination—would be to violate all Socialist principles." Panken then moved that the convention nominate a second man on the ticket without waiting for the La Follette conference on July 18.

Upon such information, and upon such "good" wishes, do the capitalist papers give Socialists their excellent advice.

Pay no attention to it. The capitalist press in general is either not enough interested to get its facts about Socialism right or is interested in weakening the movement in every possible way. Build up your own press!

into operation. Something is remembered about foxes not to their credit; the burrow is thought of as a safer place than the open field; legs receive an order that makes them shoot out and carry all the seeing, hearing, and smelling apparatus quickly out of harm's way.

It is necessary for the preservation of the animal that the upper brain should do more than act on what the lower brain may chance to be aware of. It must initiate inquiry, imagine desired or dreaded things to be looked for, resolve defective vision, as when the eye sees a gatepost and the brain says, "It may be a man. Look again." And so there are fibres arising from the second-level brain and piercing the hemispheres to the surface. They are of more importance as we go upward through the animal kingdom, and when we reach the monkeys the upper brain has so far encroached on the original function of the intelligence department that on its removal the animal goes blind and deaf, as a lower animal does when both first and second levels have been taken away.

It is difficult to see how an animal could have become rational to the height achieved by man except by taking the senses under the control of the mind. We need not only to see and hear things as they crop up, but to look for them, look out for them, attend to them in spite of other distracting and irrelevant sights and sounds, to select if we can the things we are going to remember, to add our previous knowledge of the thing seen to the mere reflection it makes through the eye, to see with the "mind's eye" as we could scarcely do if the mind had not frequently taken part in the act of seeing.

At the same time, this higher control of the senses may lead us into fallacies from which the more automatic, second-level control would save us. The mind being engaged in seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, can, by anticipating the sensation it expects, imagine a cause for it when it is not there. This is commonly known in mesmerism. The patient, being told that paraffin is syrup, tastes it and finds it sweet, and asks for more. We hypnotize ourselves into similar fallacies more often than we are aware of.

We are all of us ruled enormously by prejudice. We call it to ourselves God-given instinct, but it is often the result of upbringing or of constant suggestion from the race or class atmosphere in which we live, and it may just as well be wrong as right.

Every little boy or girl  
That's born into this world alive  
Is either a little radical  
Or a little conservative.

Instead of thinking a thing out, we start with a prejudice for it, and "rationalize," as it is called. Thus, the man who thinks he is a sardine, carries a piece of toast about with him to sit on. He wishes to bring everything into tune with his pet theory. That, of course, is a plain case of madness. Another man wants Protection; he knows not why, perhaps because another

## THE Chatter-Box

### SONNETS OF DESPAIR

It is no hate that stirs my tongue to this,  
Nor a despair that weighs the bearer down,  
But just the truth, that what was always,  
is:

The tent of fools has grown into a town;  
The weak are still the weak, the strong still bold,  
The poor are thin, the strong are wide  
in girth;

The Golden Rule is still the rule of gold;  
The meek have not inherited the earth.  
Above is revelry, below the moans,  
In London town, New York, or Babylon;

The slaves who sweated over Pharaoh's stones  
Heap pyramids of steel into the sun;  
The hordes who fattened Flanders with their bones  
Have marched with Xerxes and Napoleon.

My soul is not the blacksmith shop it was:  
The forge is cold, the bellows bag is torn;  
Through the dark, stillness throbs more clamorous  
Than angered hammers on the anvil horn.

The quiet and the ruin I have made  
Where once I shaped rebellion in the flame,  
And song to stir and thunder to upbraid,  
Arraign and jeer and spew me into shame.

But I have chosen with a wearied heart  
Between this torment and the thorny fame  
For shoeing beasts and mending every cart,  
And welding every broken thing that came.

I find I cannot touch the slimmest part  
Of what is shattered and of what goes lame.

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