

POLITICAL BABBITS LEAD HOSTS AT HOUSTON

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President

BETWEEN the weather and the sporting news, including all the ballyhoo about the Houston circus, you may be overlooking some important developments. There is, for instance, Secretary Kellogg's final draft and explanatory statement of the treaties for the outlawry of war. The treaties or, rather, the treaty which is submitted to many nations for signature, and the explanatory note are reasonable and convincing as far as they go. The nations are asked to outlaw or, more accurately, "to condemn and renounce" war as "an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." It is understood that the right of self defense remains. Any nation which pleads its obligations to the League of Nations as a reason for not signing or substantially modifying this treaty will thereby clearly make the League an instrument of war rather than peace in world affairs. If this treaty is generally signed it will be an important first step to the abolition of war. So vital is the abolition of war with its untold possibilities of destruction in our modern world that we cannot afford to overlook, ignore or reject any step toward peace.

Nevertheless if this outlawry of war by treaty is not followed, and promptly followed, by other steps our last state may be worse than our first. We may fall into a false sense of security from which we shall not awaken till the near approach of new war makes our awakening come too late. The original plan for the outlawry of war called not merely for a treaty such as this but for the codification of international law and the establishment and recognition of a world court. These are minimum essentials to the outlawry plan.

But they are not enough. It seems to me that the following propositions are self-evident:

1. It is not only ethically hypocritical but practically impossible to outlaw war and keep imperialism. The rivalries of imperial powers and the resentment of exploited people will inevitably lead to new war, treaty or no treaty. You cannot outlaw war but say "we won't count the little ones like the war in Nicaragua." That war, by the way, is anything but a little war for Nicaragua!

2. It is not only ethically hypocritical but psychologically impossible to outlaw war and to keep big armaments. In particular any Administration stultifies itself which talks of the outlawry of war and then advocates a big navy and pulls its choicest youth into military training in colleges and summer camps. If we are able to outlaw war we cannot teach acceptance of the military idea in our colleges and in summer military camps—which ought instead to be training camps in citizenship.

3. Any feasible plan for the outlawry of war must, as even Secretary Kellogg recognizes, be all-inclusive. This means, as Secretary Kellogg does not seem to recognize, that it should include Russia. It is absurd to suppose that a nation of the size and of the significance of Russia can be calmly ignored in any plan for the establishment of peace.

4. It is not enough to outlaw war by setting up a code of international law and providing machinery for the adjustment of disputes. "Law not war" is an attractive but dangerous slogan. Law, especially international law, today has less to do with justice than with the might of the strong powers. It is out of the injustices of present day treaties that wars are likely to arise. There must therefore be machinery not merely to interpret law but to change law. That is to say, to keep the peace we must have an approach to world government.

We shall not get this program at once. It will be a real gain if the nations agree to renounce war as an institution. But with the adoption of these treaties the fight will only have begun.

Here is China knocking at our doors with demands that illustrate how far we are from being able to buy peace at the cheap price of adopting a treaty outlawing war. The Chinese National forces having captured Peking and brought about, at least for the time being, a greater unity than China has enjoyed for many years, want to know how

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THE AL SMITH COMPANY AND HIS UPLIFT CHORUS



In Al's Green Heaven: "How Happy Are We, With the New Tammanee, In Al's Green Heaven!"

Drawn by Art Young for The New Leader.

Vis. Socialists To Re-elect Victor Berger

Local and District Tickets in All Parts of State—State Picnic August 19—Thomas to Speak

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—The momentum gained for Socialist activity during the State Convention has not diminished. In fact it is becoming more and more intensive. This is indicated by the many requests which come to the state secretary for speakers and literature. Wisconsin can use a few more Socialist organizers who are also able to make good speeches. Any Socialist who feels that he is qualified should communicate with Al Benson, 528 Juneau avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

Nomination papers are being sent out to many parts of the state. Many county tickets will be placed in the field. Candidates in assembly and senatorial districts are busy perfecting proper organizations to get out a large vote in the coming election.

Every effort will be made to send Congressman Victor L. Berger back to Congress. This will require a lot of money and work. Friends who want to help in this battle are urged to send whatever money they can. The Socialist Party referendum is now in progress here in Milwaukee County. Our candidates for all county offices will be announced during the first week in July.

Our State Platform will soon be off the press. Plenty of pep and punch will be found in the preamble and demands. Many thousands of this and the National platform will be sent out throughout the state.

Sunday, August 19th, is the date of our monster State Picnic at Pleasant Valley Park. This annual affair is attended by thousands of people from all parts of the state. Every effort is being made to secure our candidate for President, Norman Thomas as the main speaker. A cordial invitation is extended to all Chicago Socialists have pledged a large delegation. Make your plans now to be present at this monstrous picnic.

'Al' And Histr'y The Great Features At Houston Conclave

The Backstairs Spokesman

HOUSTON, TEXAS.—Lynching, liquor and languor greeted the Democratic delegates on their arrival here and then the "boys" were prayed over and had their histr'y lesson from that upstanding young Democrat, Claude Bowers, himself a newspaper man, no other. And the lad that can sling the Jefferson-Jackson line as pretty as ever Al Smith flipped a fish in the Fulton Market.

The lynching was the only impromptu part of the program. The Houston Chamber of Commerce got real peeved about it, and sent a couple of State troopers out to ask who did it. At this writing, everybody who was asked, said he didn't.

As for the liquor, everyone is in on the party except the New York delegates. They were all lined up before they left the Hall, and told that if anyone so much as tipped a wink at the white mule that circulates more freely around the hotel lobbies here than a vice-presidential campaign manager looking for votes, they would get a black mark opposite "Conduct" on their report cards.

The Histr'y Lesson

As for the histr'y lesson, it was spelled out very nicely for the delegates by Mr. Bowers, who had the great advantage (which any other orator would envy) of being able to tell his audience something apparently new to them all. To be sure, some of the Southerners had heard of Andrew Jackson, but to most of the Tammanyites present his life and deeds were about as familiar as the works of Thorstein Veblen. Until Bowers told them, they weren't quite sure whether "Old Hickory" was the brand name of a chewing tobacco or of nationally advertised children's garters.

But Bowers sold them Old Hickory one hundred per cent, and now they are all confirmed Jacksonites.

Judge Olvany, unfortunately, had mixed his historical drinks by announcing that the Democrats were going to nominate "an Abraham Lincoln from the sidewalks of New York," and several

Democrats had been around cheering for Lincoln until the horrid truth was conveyed to them that Honest Abe was a Republican.

The principal bout in this show, like the one in Kansas City, hardly gives the fight fans their money's worth. The gong rings, the principals step out, and then—apart—one of them is flat on the floor, and the other is walking back to his corner.

The Mysterious Woolen
So you have to get what you can out of the preliminaries, seeing that the main feature is already fixed. And this, of course, means that you mill around wondering who is going to be picked for Vice-President.

Richard Oulahan, Washington correspondent of "The New York Times," says it will be either Senator Robinson of Arkansas or Evans Woolen of Indianapolis.

'Evens, who's Woolen?

Someone says he's a banker with a lot of jack, and considering the state of the Democratic treasury, a banker with a lot of jack is just the boy to run with Smith. Besides, this mysterious Woolen is a red-hot dry, and he can quiet the ladies and professionally dry Southerners, while Al is sending telegrams to Walter Lippman of "The World" assuring Walter that he is all for liquor.

5.30 p. m., Southern Drinking Time. Mayor James Walker of New York is sober.

But at that, it doesn't seem to get our

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Kansas City Socialists Get Down to Work

Two Cities Form Branches Following Cotton Belt Conference — Former Active Socialists Take Up Party Work

KANSAS CITY, MO.—The Cotton Belt Farmers Conference stirred up a wonderful Socialist spirit here. Feeling the necessity of crystallizing the spirit into active locals, a meeting was called for all interested both from Kansas City, Mo. and Kansas City, Kansas, to come to a meeting at the Snyderhof hotel. The response was unexpected. Murray King of New Mexico, Ross Magill of Kansas, and Karl C. Jursk, western campaign manager, addressed the meeting.

The result was that two locals were formed, one for Kansas City, Kansas, and one for Kansas City, Mo. The remarkable part was the fact that, due to lack of time, prospective members were called by phone the same day of the meeting. A total of twelve new members were taken in and more than that number is expected for the next new meeting.

Kansas City, Mo. local will have its next meeting Wednesday, June 27th, at the home of J. G. Hodges, 2720 Park avenue.

D. T. Snyder, owner of the Snyderhof and active for years in liberal and radical groups, joined the Missouri local. A fine sign of the trend to organization was the return to the Socialist Party of some who had gone to Communist ranks in years gone by, frankly stating that they have learned that Communist tactics can not succeed in the United States.

W. F. McAlister, former Denver Socialist, related how he had waited for this new Socialist spirit and revival and was elected organizer. An entertainment committee of five, Mrs. De Chaze, Mrs. D. T. Snyder, Mrs. Hodges, Mr. McCalmont and Mr. Lovejoy, was elected.

Comeback of Socialists in Minnesota

Undaunted by Peevish Criticism, Socialists Give Radicals Opportunity to Vote for Thomas and Maurer

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—The Socialist Party is proceeding with its organization work in this state without friction with the Farmer-Labor organization although the Union Advocate, an able exponent of the Farmer-Labor movement published in St. Paul, occasionally takes a narrow view of Socialist work.

The Union Advocate is edited by William Mahoney who for many years gave his services to the Socialist Party. A few weeks ago Mr. Mahoney declared that the Socialists should first build up movements in the states before venturing into the national field and recently he published a peevish editorial belittling the work of circulating petitions to place the names of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer on the ballot. Mr. Mahoney believes that "the Socialists must join with the Communists or with the Farmer-Laborites by adopting revolutionary or progressive tactics."

Socialists know that the Socialist Party has for nearly a year been organizing the states and that no farmer-labor elements have been doing or propose to do this work. So far have the farmer-labor elements declined outside of Minnesota that even in this state the Farmer-Laborites took no step to nominate presidential candidates. The Socialists in this state are therefore performing a decided service to real radical workers by giving the man opportunity to vote for Thomas and Maurer.

On the other we are wondering what "revolutionary or progressive tactics" may mean. Socialists in general understand that the program of an organization may be revolutionary or progressive, but how tactics can be one or the other is something we cannot understand.

The editor of the Union Advocate has not always been fortunate in his advice in recent years. It was Mr. Mahoney who insisted in 1924 upon the possibility of cooperation with Communists in spite of all warnings to the contrary.

Leaders At Auction For Pap and Pie

Smug Brokers Are Not Interested in Problems That Face Workers — Types of Leaders Who Manage the Show

HOUSTON, TEXAS.—Coming from Kansas City to Houston gives one an opportunity to size up the leading politicians of the two capitalist parties, although at the present writing the Democratic variety have not gathered in the convention hall. However, the hotel lobbies are filled with the modern heirs of the party founded by Jefferson and his radical allies who sympathized with the French Revolution. One cannot help thinking of the gulf that separates this collection of politicians who stood for the terror of Woodrow Wilson's Administration and the courageous men who gathered around Jefferson to fight the terror of John Adams' Administration.

There is little difference between the aggregation which in Kansas City nominated Hoover and Curtis and the politicians who are assembling in Houston. Those who come from the larger cities are of the same type and represent the mentality of the professional who gives his time to politics as a business.

In Kansas City and here in Houston I do not recall ever hearing heard one of these professionals utter a single sentence which would suggest that he was concerned with our national housekeeping. They are shallow and really have little knowledge and certainly no concern for the welfare of the great masses of the people who inhabit this country.

They are interested in winning an election and in nothing else, and they would sell their souls to realize this aim. One has only to stroll through the lobbies and listen to the conversation of the delegates to realize this. Neither at Kansas City nor here in Houston have I heard any conversation relating to the horrible mess in the coal industry.

Not Interested in Problems
I have heard nothing about the unemployed and the bleak prospects which face millions of the unemployed next winter. Nothing about the thousands of women and children subsisting on soup rations from day to day in New Bedford. Nothing about the war being waged in Nicaragua and the shameful stigma it has brought upon the United States. Nothing about the poisoning of the channels of publicity and education by the public utilities gang.

One may roam through the lobbies all will throughout the day and night and he will not come across a serious discussion regarding any of the great problems which face the American people. That was also my experience at Kansas City. These men are politicians and they are interested in politics and nothing else.

Occasionally something is said about agriculture and the plight of the farmer, but what is said relates to the prospects of the party and not to the prospects of the farmer. A solution of the grave problems of the farmer has no place in these conversations. The tillers of the soil are a topic of interest because they have votes and not because hundreds of thousands of them have lost everything in the past ten years. How to get those votes is a subject for discussion, but how to get the farmer on his feet is as foreign to these smug gentlemen as Sarsaparilla is to a Texas cotton seed.

And these are the politicians who rule the two parties. These slick and well-fed political babbits do not know their own country and its problems and they do not want to know. They are keen on strategy and experts in vendng hokum. They know how to handle the lesser delegates who come from less influential sections of the country. In short, eastern capitalism is running both shows.

Interests Represented
If there is a shade of difference between the two shows it is not one of interest to the farmer and worker. Kansas City represented the powerful financial plutocracy headed by the wheat Mellon and the greater industrial corporations of the nation. Houston is a clearing house for some of the commercial corporations that dislike tariff levies on commerce, the public utilities of the cities, and that remnant of the manufacturing class which has not been able to

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Amalgamated Wins Big Case In Milwaukee

Clothing Workers Get Decision in Important Picketing Case—Workers May Get Two Weeks Pay

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—An important victory was won by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers here when David Adler & Sons Co. was told to settle its difficulties with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and to return their jobs to the 850 former employees "of unusually fine caliber," who were locked out on April 17.

Circuit Judge Gustave Gehrz announced in an informal memorandum of findings at the conclusion of the trial of the Adler Co.'s petition for a permanent anti-picketing injunction against its former employees, that the plaintiff company had committed at least five breaches of contract it has with the Amalgamated before coming into court for equity, and that the union did not walk out or strike on April 16, but that its members were locked out unjustly by the company on April 17.

That such order may contain a clause stating that the locked out workers are entitled to two weeks' pay is a possibility which the court itself indicated earlier in the trial, which opened May 28 and continued with a few interruptions when summations of Atty. William F. Quick, counsel for the Amalgamated, and Atty. Leon Lamm from and associates from his office on behalf of the Adler Co., consumed the entire day.

So far as the formal decree will affect picketing, such provisions will not be drastic, it appeared from the findings of the court relative to the company's allegations of violence, upon which it based its petition for an anti-picketing injunction. Since April 30, expiration date of the contract with the Amalgamated, "such instances have been comparatively few and trivial in outcome, and since June 2, when the temporary injunction went into effect, there have been no regrettable occurrences," according to the findings.

The dismissal without warning by the Adler Co. on March 7, of six cutters which the court called "the first trouble in a sequence of events which brought the case into court," was found to be a discharge and not a layoff, and a violation of the agreement.

The contract which the Adler Co. signed March 26 with the L. Latin Co., Wisconsin Rapids Clothing firm, which provided for the making by the latter company of up to 15,000 suits; the closing of Shop 1, on April 2, with no subsequent rotation of layoffs between the workers of Shops 1 and 2; and the dismissal on April 13 of several shop chairmen and ladies were also held violations of the contract.

The Adler Co. furthermore, "on very short notice and without waiting for any expression of intention by the union, and without proper direction by responsible heads of management of the company, terminated the contract," on the day of the union meeting, April 16, the court found.

The contract Hoax
The Adler Co., to suit its own convenience and without consulting the defendants who had earned the wages, then arbitrarily put off pay day for 24 hours so that it could have individual contracts drawn up to present to the workers with each pay check, although the company was in no position to present such contracts until after April 30.

A Liar Spills The Power Trust Beans

By McAllister Coleman

"THE man who invented private ownership was a moral enemy of the human race."

Who said this? A soap-boxing Socialist on Union Square? A Hyde Park orator throwing out his arms under gray English skies? An agitator in a Russian factory?

No, friends, this came straight from the heart of John B. Sheridan. And you must know that John B. Sheridan is the director of the Missouri Commission on Public Utility Information.

Mr. Sheridan did not make this revolutionary comment while in his cups or in the back-room of some radical meeting-place. He made it to his friend, John W. Colton, editor of the American Electric Railway Association Magazine. It was the bitter cry of a man who for years had been employed to do everything in his power by threats, cajolery, bribery and down-right lying to persuade the people of this country that the private ownership of public utilities is the only system whereby the human race may find salvation.

Witness Near Collapse

Mr. Sheridan's confessional was the room where the investigators for the Federal Trade Commission are doing the job of finding out just how the present agents for the utilities (the privately-owned "public" utilities) are poisoning the press and its readers. Confronted with letters which he had exchanged with his fellow poisoner, (Mr. Colton), the unhappy man, speaking sometimes almost in whispers and at the end appearing on the verge of complete collapse, admitted that in these letters he had told the truth about the whole miserable, lying mess against which he had privately reviled but from which he saw no way out.

Old-timers in Washington have witnessed many dramatic scenes in the course of the investigations made into the conduct of Big Business in America. Some of them can recall the elder Morgan squirming on the stand before the Pujio Committee. There was the testimony of young Roosevelt that set Test-pot Dome a-boiling, and the sight of Charlie Schwab crying like a baby when a committee sought to find out how much he had personally profited from the war.

A Scene of Sheer Drama

It is doubtful that for sheer drama the scene in the Federal Trade Commission's room last week has been equalled in many years. There sat a man fifty-eight years of age, whose hand shook with emotion as he reached for glass after glass of water, who kept dropping his glasses hung by a cord, as he was forced to identify letters taken from his files; letters that showed that all the while he was working for the electric power gang, deep down in his heart of hearts he had nothing but contempt and loathing for his bosses whom he described as engaged in "lying, trimming, faking and downright evasion of trust."

As he went on, he knew that with every sentence, he was writing "finis" to his profitable connections with the power outfit. He knew that, as soon as they can do so without publicity, the bunch will throw him out on the streets for the things that he said and wrote about them. He knew that it was all over for him, John Sheridan, trusted employee, one of the inner circle of press-poisoners, now revealing to all the world the slimy secrets of the gang. He knew that he was squealing on his pals. And he must have known too, (for Mr. Sheridan had been around the world a bit), that the punishment for "squealers," whether they come from the ranks of East Side gunmen in Manhattan or the sleek offices of public utility press-agents in St. Louis, is swift and ruthless.

The Fate of a Squealer

Some dark night they pick up the gangster squealer with a hole in his head made by a sudden black-jack. Some fine day, Mr. John Sheridan, formerly director of the publicity boys for the Missouri power mob, will be finding out just how the big business black-list hurts fully as much as the little crooks' black-jack.

But he has to go on with it. There are the letters from his own files, there are the Commissioners bending forward in their chairs asking questions, questions that must somehow be answered. And he is said to the credit of John Sheridan, that he makes no attempt to renege on anything that he had written. No familiar "I don't remember. I can't recall," in his testimony.

"What about this pamphlet you wrote saying that utilities stock is controlled by widows and orphans?"

"That's nonsense," says Sheridan.

"You have urged that large sums be spent on advertising to influence public opinion have you not?"

"I can't remember individual cases but it is entirely possible."

"You prepared news releases and special articles for the papers?"

"Yes, sir, together with a monthly news bulletin."

"You also wrote the headlines?"

"Yes, that was for the convenience of the editors."

"Wasn't there some other reason?"

"We wanted to get the story across in the heads, if that is what you mean."

"Much of the work that you did on behalf of the utilities was out of line with your conscience?"

"Yes."

And then to show what Mr. Sheridan

was really thinking and feeling all the while he was making whoopee on behalf of his bosses, Robert E. Healy, chief counsel for the Trade Commission's investigation read the following letter from Sheridan to Colton who had shown faint signs of kicking against some of the more brazen power propaganda:

"As far West as St. Louis the fame of a protest made by a certain remote employee of large corporations (Colton) against a certain proposed plan to offset certain political movements affecting private ownership of public utilities has penetrated. May I modestly claim blood brotherhood with a little hammered down Yankee who has the intestines, the intelligence and the native honesty to make the protest?"

"You are a man, John Colton, and I am glad that there is one like you left. What profiteth it for a man to gain the whole world, if he lose his own soul?"

"From your action, as reported to me, I take renewed courage and renewed faith that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Again Sheridan wrote to Colton:

"Property Breeds Liars"

"A brave man is never foolish. If a man has no courage, what has he? Yea—no! Men are a little breed. Possession of property breeds liars and cowards. The man who invented private ownership was a mortal enemy of the human race."

"Hot dog, boy, I am strong for you. For thirty years I spoke as I felt. For five years I held my tongue. Now I mean to resume the greatest of human rights—that of free speech. Damn it, John, they never can make hypocrites and liars of all the people. To hell with them."

And then they read some of the replies that Colton sent back to the harassed man sitting around with his conscience in St. Louis. This, for instance: "I agree with everything you say, but I have found more honest people in the industry than you have. The trouble with them seems to be that they are so timid and fearful. Of course, the biggest of them are merely messenger boys of money. And all slaves of money are timid."

"The first thing with the boys is to hold their jobs. I suppose that is natural. They all have around them a dozen fellows crazy to get their jobs, so they must be careful of what they say and do."

"We are raising a lot of well-drilled 'yes-men' in the big corporations, who have no minds of their own, no opinions. As soon as the old individualists die, and there are not so many of them left, I think the corporations will have a lot of trouble getting good executives. After a man has served twenty to thirty years in one of these monstrous corporations, he is not liable to have much mind of his own."

And here's another lifting of the curtain:

"When I see these fellows (the utility executives) waving the flag, I am filled not only with disgust but rage, for they are anything but patriots."

In a letter marked, "personal and confidential," Sheridan says to a Nebraska press-agent named Browne, who is starting a campaign to boost electric lighting rates:

"I don't know that I can help you very much. What can we do when the financiers will inflate, overcapitalize, sell securities based on blue sky or hot air and rates must be kept up to pay returns on said blue sky and hot air?"

"The best public relations stuff in the world is a nice little reduction of rates. Do we get it? We do not. I know places where I believe a 13-cent top-rate would be 8 cents."

"A municipally owned plant, city of 8,000, pays all indebtedness on plant without recourse to tax funds, lights white ways, streets, etc., without getting money therefore, but it is charged on the books and has a top rate of 8 cents per kilowatt hour, 4 cents for power. B, 50 miles away from A, 8,000 population, better industrial town than A, better power lead, exacts a top rate of 15 cents per kilowatt hour, 8 cents for power."

"Reconcile these if you can. I can't. I don't pretend to. . . . As I see it there is nothing inherently sacred in private or public ownership. . . . We talk a lot about what private ownership has done, yet many municipal plants were built because no private parties would build them."

"If cities and States own and operate highways, schools, streets, sewers, water

Well-Drilled 'Yes Men' In Remarkable Confessions to Each Other—Jobs Detestable and Corrupt

Open Letter to John Spargo and Frank Bohn

On this page you may read the story of the confession made by John B. Sheridan, director of the Missouri Commission on Public Utility Information. You have probably been following Sheridan's testimony before the investigators for the Federal Trade Commission into the propaganda work of the utilities. It may be that these newspaper stories have worried you a bit and you are wondering what you are going to say when you are called to the stand.

May we suggest that for the sake of what conscience you two may have left, you come across as Sheridan did? To be sure, he was fool enough to write out what he really thought in letters to his friends. Neither of you would ever get caught like that. When you deserted the Socialist Party at one of the most critical periods in its history and went over to the enemy, you gave the world to understand that you had had an honest change of heart. You didn't suddenly switch to boost private ownership of public resources because of the money that was in it for you. Oh, no! You two saw a great light and solemnly resolved that you would share your vision with the readers of the capitalist press.

But it's hardly worth while now in view of all the testimony before the Federal Trade Commission to keep up this false front. Wouldn't it be sort of fun to be able to look in the mirror without wincing? You, Spargo, who have been so prolific with your articles against public ownership in *The New York Times* and the reactionary national magazines; you, Bohn, on the payroll of the National Electric Light Association, the propaganda headquarters for the power gang; why not come across clean, just for once? Poor old John Sheridan did it. Are we to understand that you two haven't between you even the honesty of a Sheridan?

The pages of this paper are open to you for anything you want to say about the inside workings of the power publicity racket,—if they don't get it out of you in Washington. Eddie Hungerford got \$15,000 for his book on the utilities that the school children up New York State are now studying. College professors from coast to coast go anywhere from \$1,000 to \$50 for speaking and writing against public ownership. How much do you get for an article from your bosses, over and above what the papers give you? How much for a lecture before a woman's club, a talk to a Rotarian meeting, a bed-time story for The Boy Scouts? Are you on piece-rates or does the pay-check come around every Saturday? We yearn to know. And here's the chance of a lifetime for you to tell.

The Editors of THE NEW LEADER.

supply, why not electric and gas plants?

"Soft for Bankers"

"I believe in private initiative, but I don't believe in subsidizing it 3 to 6 cents per kilowatt hour. The privately owned industry should be ashamed of itself to permit a municipally owned plant, operated on the square, to undersell it 4 to 6 to 7 cents per kilowatt hour. Don't say taxes? Taxes are less than .0023 per kilowatt hour in this State."

"Mr. Browne, the bankers in the electrical industry do not appreciate what a fat thing they have had in the past seven years. They do not appreciate the enormous value of the monopoly feature."

"Annihilate Thompson"

And all the while he was writing letters like these what was Mr. Sheridan up to?

Well, for one thing, he was engaged in an attempt to "annihilate" Carl D. Thompson, courageous leader of the fight for public ownership of public utilities. Thompson in 1924 had been engaged to speak on behalf of the Public Ownership League of America (and the plain people generally) on the Chataqua circuit in Missouri. Sheridan wrote:

"While I believe it would be most unwise to enter into any controversy with this gentleman (Thompson), I think we have to put up a pretty stiff fight and keep hammering on him through the local Chataqua committees. If it comes to a showdown and he gets gay, fight him, not upon the private versus public ownership question but on the Socialist, Communist, single-tax and land nationalization record. As I know the farmers of Missouri, they hate the Socialist, Communist, single-taxer and land-nationalist as they hate the devil."

Thompson had been comparing the rates in Ontario where the people have taken over power, with the rates in the United States and Sheridan advised everyone not to argue rates with Thompson. That would be fatal. "Don't talk rates," advised Sheridan, "hang the Bolshevik or Communist label on your opponents."

And then as Thompson went on telling folks the truth about the gouging utilities, Sheridan wrote: "The question now is, shall we annihilate Thompson—or modify him?"

They decided on annihilation. To the local editors of every town where Thompson was to speak they sent canned editorials attacking him. The managers of the small town utilities were ordered to make it plain to the Chataqua management that they didn't want Thompson around. Here were the instructions:

"Tactics will necessarily vary in every town. As a rule the Chataqua people begin to ask for guarantees for the next year the second night before the Chataqua closes. If the local committee showed hesitancy in renewing the guarantee or if they asked that a special clause be inserted rejecting any feature of the program that might be objectionable, I think it would have a very good effect with Mr. Vawter." (Mr. Vawter is one of the Chataqua managers.)

In general Sheridan worked through the Missouri Press Associations, the regional associations and the press associations of both the Democrats and the Republicans.

The Advertising Bait
Before the covetous eyes of the small editors of his territory he dangled the

point at any rate. So goodbye Mr. Sheridan. You'll probably never be heard of again. But no one can say that you were of no use in the people's fight for their own natural resources. You're to be pitied, of course. But you're to be congratulated as well. You got a lot off your chest and you came through and verified everything that radicals have been saying for years about your sort and your bosses. You've painted a memorable picture of that dirtiest of all dirty games which business plays—the game of propaganda against the people.

'Opening' of New Bedford Mills a Frost

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—The New Bedford textile mills opened up for operation Monday (June 25) at 6.30 in the morning. The bosses who had issued the brutal 10 per cent. reduction ukase on April 16 felt that they had starved the workers into submission and that they were ready to go back to work. Anyway, July orders are coming in and the bosses are nervous. They have got to start work soon or go bankrupt.

Over 7,000 workers of the 30,000 strikers got up early, enough to get to the mill gates at opening time. But not one of them entered the shops. They had come to picket, and to feast their eyes on the sight of the idle mills, converted into useless piles of brick and stone by their unwillingness to work at starvation wages.

The police were out to see to it that if any worker sought to exercise his constitutional right to scab he would not be interfered with. But nobody tried, and the picketing turned out to be just another of the magnificent demonstrations of solidarity that have characterized this amazing strike from the beginning.

"No Reduction" continues to be the slogan of the strikers. Speakers begin their addresses with the two words, "No Reduction," and the strikers roar approval.

The men and women are fighting

Thomas Plays Old Parties In Speech

Socialist Presidential Candidate in Massachusetts Address Declares Houston Will Match Kansas City

FRAMINGHAM, MASS. — Norman

Thomas, Socialist candidate for President addressing a gathering of the Workmen's Circle here last Sunday, said that the Socialist and labor party alone could furnish any sort of effective opposition to the two old parties at the coming election.

Mr. Thomas said: "The prelude to the Democratic National Convention in Democratic Texas was a hideous and wholly inexcusable lynching of a Negro. But what Massachusetts Republican who remembers Judge Webster Thayer, Governor Fuller, the Lowell Commission and their legal lynching of two alien workers can cast the first stone?"

"The floor manager for Governor Smith at Houston will be Mayor Jimmy Walker of Tammany Hall who has just added the scandal of the gift of the city's terminal market to the New York Central to the election frauds, the bus franchise, the sewer and paving scandals, the push-cart graft, the street cleaning frauds, the school building rascalities, the third degree police brutalities which have disgraced his administration and indicted the wisdom of Governor Smith who gave him to us. But what Republican, remembering 17th Republican patriots as the heroes of the oil scandals, and Senator Vane who turned the scales for Herbert Hoover, and your own notorious patriot, ex Attorney-General Reading, can cast the first stone?"

"One of these two old parties has already given us its platform of words without issues. The other will strive mightily in the heat of Houston to match the performance. The exigencies of our parties will compel Smith and Hoover to talk as nicely as possible like each other so as not to antagonize important factions of their own parties. Both will continue their policy of saying nothing if they can help it. Men will vote for or against them on personal likes and dislikes of the men or their religion."

gately, but the children need to be fed. Monday, 2,000 children received a bucket of soup and a loaf of bread each at Albion Hall, the clubhouse of the British workers. Money and food are urgently needed. Contributions of money and food should be sent to Wm. E. G. Batty, Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

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A Big Party Socialist Campaign In Weak States Promising To Assemble

Arrangements Complete For N. Y. State Convention of Socialists—Membership of Party Increasing

ALBANY.—Preparations for the big Socialist Party convention on July 14 were completed here Sunday when the State Executive Committee acted on reports made by sub-committees on Rules, Platform, Constitution and Convention Arrangements. G. August Gerber, Secretary of the Socialist Action Committee and National Campaign Manager, also sat with the committee. Convention rules were adopted and will appear in the party press.

Organizations sympathetic with the Socialist Party are already announcing their intentions of sending fraternal delegates to the convention. Among the organizations that have filed the names of fraternal delegates are the Y. P. S. I. of Greater New York, Plunkett Radical Branch 210 of the Workmen's Circle, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of Delongville and the Salem Church of Buffalo. Other organizations are expected to report fraternal delegates and locals of the party have been instructed to report their delegates not later than July 1.

State Secretary Merrill reported a general awakening of interest in the movement throughout the state and Socialists are joining as members at large where no local exists. Among those who have affiliated with the party in this way are Rev. Walter B. McNinch of Cincinnati in Cortland County; Daniel T. Hinkley of Wading River in Suffolk County, and Mr. and Mrs. John Garrett of Richmondville in Schoharie County. Letters have also come from all over the state showing interest in the campaign.

The receipt of these unsolicited applications and letters is only one indication of Socialist growth. State Secretary Merrill reported that the dues-paying party membership for the six months of this year promises to exceed by nearly 20 per cent the membership for the state during the corresponding period last year. When the speaking and literature campaign begins there is every expectation of a substantial increase in the party membership and organization of locals in many cities and towns.

The State Executive Committee gave Julius Gerber of New York City complimentary credentials to the International Socialist Congress which meets in Brussels August 5. The committee also decided that when the amended National Constitution becomes effective the choice of national committees will be made by the executive committee.

Locals Albany, Schenectady, Cohoes and other organizations have reported election of delegates and other reports will come in rapidly from now on. A local may elect as many delegates as it desires but its strength on roll call will be limited to the number of delegates assigned in the original call.

All delegates are urged to send in reservations for the banquet in the Ten Eyck Hotel as soon as possible. The price per plate has been fixed at \$2.50. The committee does not contemplate making any profit on the banquet.

Socialist Club Organized in San Francisco

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Socialists of this city have launched a Thomas-Maurer Campaign Club which promises to do big things before the November election. Twenty members have signed up, many of whom had been out of Socialist propaganda work for years. Some are new members.

Organization was affected by the election of W. F. Aberle as president, and Isaiah Minkoff as secretary. A committee consisting of the chairman and the secretary and N. Edward Sanford, was chosen to draft by-laws for the club. Another committee was appointed to secure the nomination of candidates in the 4th Congressional District and other assembly districts.

A motion was offered to propose the nomination of Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz for U. S. Senator at the Los Angeles convention. This was unanimously agreed to.

The club members expect to be active in arranging for a date for George Kilpatrick in July, and for Thomas in August. They will also throw their energy into making a big success of the picnic to be held in East Shore Park, on July 22.

Chicago L. I. D. Summer Camp Opens June 30th
CHICAGO.—"The Retreat," the summer camp of the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, will open for the third season on June 30th. The Executive Committee, consisting of Henry Duell, Mary Hall, Cynthia Smith and Eveline Whalley, secretary, are planning to surpass the successful record made last season.

The Sunday afternoon lectures will be continued. Leaders in education, progressive labor and Socialist movement will be secured as speakers. Rates will remain the same. Five dollars for the entire season or one dollar per week end which includes sleeping accommodations, swimming, Sunday lectures, dancing and boat rowing.

Reservations should be made not later than Friday of the week with Eveline Whalley, secretary of the L. I. D. Retreat, 4220 W. Van Buren street.

PROMISING the best, the most successful and the most fruitful campaign in the history of the Socialist party, G. August Gerber, national campaign manager, told *The New Leader* of miracles that have already been accomplished in lining up various parts of the United States for the Thomas and Maurer ticket, and of plans for future work.

Financed by the Socialist action committee and under the direction of the New York office, party organizers have invaded every section of the country, securing signatures for nominating petitions, organizing locals, carrying on party propaganda and in general stirring up the country.

Out of it will come, Gerber said, not only a magnificent response to our electoral appeal but also a rebirth of party organization. "We are going into this campaign," said Gerber, "a campaign committee. We will come out a party."

Enthusiasm for the ticket headed by Norman Thomas is tremendous, said Gerber. Demands for speaking dates are coming from every part of the country for Thomas and for James H. Maurer, Vice-presidential candidate. The following is a partial list of the cities that have already demanded Thomas and Maurer dates:

Want Thomas and Maurer
New York, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Hagerstown, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Superior, Wis.; Kenosha, Racine, Manitowish, Green Bay, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Waukegan, Janesville, Beloit, Madison, Wis.; East Clair, Wis.; Lacrosse, Duluth, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Peoria, Duquesne, Davenport, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kas.; Omaha, Sioux City, Arkansas City, Kas.; Alchison, Emporia, Hutchinson, Independence, Wichita, Oklahoma City, Denver, Boulder, Cheyenne, Rock Springs, Butte, Helena, Boise, Pocatello, Seattle, Spokane, Portland, Ore.; San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Reno, Tucson, San Jose, Calif.; Fort Worth, Dallas, Galveston, Houston, Little Rock, Fort Smith, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Biloxi, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Mobile, Louisville, Dayton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Piqua, Reading, Richmond, Chester, Va.; Winston-Salem, Charleston, S. C.; Savannah, Ga.; Atlanta, Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, Tallahassee, Worcester, Mass.; Boston, New Bedford, Portland, Me.; Manchester, N. H.; Providence, New Haven, Hartford, New London, Danbury, Bridgeport, Albany, Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester.

"That's pretty nearly a gazetteer of the United States," laughed Gerber, "but there has been a request for either Thomas or Maurer or both from every one of our states. And we have just started our work."

The National Campaign headquarters in New York has had direct charge of getting the ticket on the ballot in a number of the Western states, sending money into practically every state and putting men and women on the job. Here is a list of states, with a brief statement of party work under the direction of and financed by the New York office:

Roll of the States
Idaho—C. H. Cammans, C. H. Felton and George F. Hibner have formed a team to do old line, old time soap boxery. In an old flivver they have already toured the eastern and southern counties and now are doing the western tier. They are collecting signatures, carrying on propaganda and organizing locals. They report at least seven new locals formed, old members rejoining everywhere and new ones coming in.

Nevada—W. H. Cordill is getting ready to go out and get the necessary 1,541 signatures to get the ticket on the ballot. He reports excellent prospects.

Utah—O. A. Kennedy, district organizer, is doing a good job in the Mormon state.

Arizona—Laurence McGivern of Phoenix is getting ready to go out and organize the state. Beginning in July Murray E. King will join him.

Wyoming—Roy Nicodemus of Cheyenne is taking care of this state.

Emil Herman, whose success in other states has been sensational, will put in the last week in July aiding Nicodemus.

Colorado—T. J. Brown of Denver is taking care of the work here. In the first two weeks of July Herman will work in this state.

New Mexico has already been taken care of by W. F. Richardson and Murray E. King under the direction of the national campaign committee.

Oklahoma, thanks to the work of Murray E. King and Thomas E. Bule, under the direction of the New York office, is filed and safely on the ballot.

King has been at work in Kansas and Nebraska laying the groundwork for filing the ticket. In Kansas the job was done by Ross Magill, with the aid of the Oorn Belt Conference, organized by Western Campaign Manager Carl Jursek, and King. In Nebraska there will be a mass convention in August to file the ticket. Readers in that state please take notice and send names and addresses to Comrade Gerber, 15 East 40th street.

J. Mahlon Barnes has been sent by the National Campaign Committee into North and South Dakota to organize the nomination work and do other important organization work. Barnes, who was national secretary from 1903 to 1911, is one of the ablest of the party's organizers.

In Minnesota, Emil Herman worked under the direction of the Campaign Committee and thoroughly organized the state with John E. Sala as state secretary. New locals are springing up everywhere.

Funds to States
Comrade Gerber reports that money has been sent into Arkansas, where Mrs. Julia W. Pennington of Fayetteville is in charge of the work; into Mississippi, where W. C. Kennedy of Magnolia is in charge; into Louisiana, where W. F. Dietz of Lake Charles is in charge, and a little aid has likewise been sent to I. S. McCullis of Des Moines, Ia. In Missouri, W. L. Garver of Springfield is in charge and it is being taken care of satisfactorily.

William A. Toole of Maryland was sent into West Virginia, where in addition to getting the ticket nominated he aided John F. Higgins of Star City (state secretary) in organizing five new locals. Toole is now being sent into North and South Carolina to get the ticket on the ballot there.

Mary McVicar and Esther Friedman have been sent into Ohio to aid getting the ticket on the ballot there, while Wendell F. Farrington and "Long John" Brown, a veteran of many battles of labor, are working to the same effect in Maine. The campaign committee is taking care of New Hampshire through Edward B. Young, Vermont through Louis Clay, Rhode Island through Louis Rabinowitz and Delaware through Pierre de No. John Thobe, Esther Friedman and Mary McVicar are taking care of Kentucky and Tennessee. Toole is taking care of Virginia, John D. Mitchell is in charge of Florida, Alabama and Georgia are also being taken care of by the campaign committee. Emil Herman is to take charge of nominations in Oregon and Washington.

Conference in Houston
"The Oorn Belt Conference was a big success," said August Gerber. "Cards are pouring into the office offering all sorts of help in organizing the party in every part of the four states involved. The Conference certainly made good."

"Now, we are organizing a Cotton States Conference to meet at the Bristol Hotel, Houston, Friday, Saturday and Sunday of this week. Jursek and King are organizing it, with the cooperation of Comrades Richardson of New Mexico, Bule of Oklahoma, Pennington of Arkansas, Kennedy of Mississippi and Dietz of Louisiana. This office has sent out 5,000 invitations, and the success of the Kansas City conference will most certainly be duplicated, if not surpassed."

"And finally we have sent \$500 to the Labor World of Oakland, Cal., to help the California Socialists to improve that paper and to have it serve as the western campaign paper for the Thomas-Maurer campaign."

Connecticut Socialists Nominate

Convention Names Plunkett for United States Senator and McLevy for Governor—Platform and Resolutions Adopted

NEW HAVEN.—The Connecticut Socialist party held its state convention last Sunday at the Arbuter Maenmerch Park in West Haven and nominated Presidential electors and those who will run for State office on the Socialist ticket next Fall.

Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford was nominated for United States Senator, while the remainder of the State ticket was named as follows:

For governor, Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport; for lieutenant governor, Morris Rice of New Haven; for secretary, Ida B. Krahl of Meriden. Those nominated as presidential electors are Charles O'Connell, New Haven; B. Stein, Waterbury; F. Holdsworth, Norwich; Edward Brink, Hartford; George Moles, New London; Minnie Corderholm, Bridgeport, and Charles J. Allen, Wallingford.

70 Towns Represented
Over 150 delegates representing 70 towns were present at the convention and a state platform was adopted, setting forth the ideas of the party and advocating a program of constructive social legislation.

The platform advocates a system of State insurance for the workmen's compensation law, jury duty for women and old age pensions.

Resolutions were adopted protesting against the attempt at the revocation of Radio Station WEVD, erected as a memorial to Eugene V. Debs, endorsing the motion to Eugene V. Debs, endorsing the miners' and textile workers' strikes, protesting the propaganda of public utilities corporations in the public schools, and endorsing the demands of the Trolley-men's Union against the Connecticut Company.

The Banquet Saturday night in Fitzsimmons' restaurant was a splendid affair. Louis Waldman of New York and George H. Goebel of Newark, N. J., were the principal speakers.

Tammany Barbers Bus Privilege at "Hearing"

By Louis Stanley

WHILE the bus franchises in New York City look like a local matter, in reality they signalize the entrance of the New Tammany into the field of national politics and political corruption. The New Tammany is extending its influence outside of the state of New York. It is making more friends among Big Business. The New Tammany and Wall Street are growing chummers every day.

New York has a care-free, careless mayor. "Jimmie" Walker bears the burdens of his office upon other shoulders. At least so it seems, though anybody who has been following local politics closely, cannot but think that he is wise indeed. By his comings he puts over the jobs that the New Tammany wants done. Never is he funnier than when he registers righteous indignation, because some graft has been discovered in the city government. But in the franchise matter he has remained deadly serious, the one blemish upon his mayoralty career. The job was such a raw deal and it had such momentous implications, that even the merry "Jimmie" Walker could not laugh it through.

A Stage Hearing
About one year ago, on July 28, 1922, a hearing took place before the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment. At least it was supposed to be a hearing. Only the New Tammany politicians have recognized it as such.

They must have heard their master's voice. At this hearing objections were to be entertained with regard to the granting of a bus franchise to the Equitable Coach Company which was to cover the three boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens. The room was crowded with the competitors of the Equitable ready to prove that their bids were preferable. Then, suddenly the meeting was over. What had happened? The Mayor had brought his vaudeville training into play. In a stage whisper he had asked: "Is there anyone else to be heard?" And since there has been no rehearsal, nobody had paid any attention to this side remark. Hurdled the curtain was rung down. The hearing was over. The Equitable Coach Company had received the tri-borough bus franchise, variously estimated at from fifteen to fifty million dollars.

The buses are not yet running on the streets of New York. The rival capitalists have raised what is known as a "public out-cry." The New Tammany may wait until after election to consummate the Equitable deal along with others that have accumulated during an "Al" Smith presidential year. The unsuccessful bidders backed by Republican real estate interests have gone into the courts to annul the franchise. Tammany judges have ruled, first, that the hearings of July 28, 1922, were legal, because the minutes show that the Mayor did say: "Is there anyone else to be heard?"; secondly, that a court order should be obtained instructing the Board to change its minutes to indicate that objections had been present; and thirdly, that the Board of Estimate as a legislative body had sole jurisdiction over its minutes and no court could interfere.

Backing the Equitable
The rival companies have also opposed the Equitable Coach Company before the Tammany-controlled State Transit Commission which must give a certificate of convenience and necessity before buses may be allowed to run in fulfillment of the franchise. They have proven that the Tammany-riden Municipal Board of Transportation has been preparing the case for the Equitable—at the city's expense. They have shown that the Transit Commission has not even inquired into the financial backing of the successful bidder, as required, to ascertain whether it has the means of running the buses. In short, it has been demonstrated conclusively that the New Tammany has mobilized its forces behind the Equitable Coach Company. It remains to be seen why.

The exact origin of the Equitable Coach Company is shrouded in mystery. So far as is known, three Tammanities have had some connection with it. The vice-president, F. Van Z. Lane, is a former employee of the Board of Transportation. Taking advantage of his former affiliations, he conferred with city employees in preparing maps for use in the arguments before the Transit Commission. John A. Hastings is a state senator. The headquarters of the Equitable Coach Company were located in Senator Hastings office at 120 Broadway until May 1, 1922. The omnipresent Grover Whalen, chairman of the Mayor's Committee for the Reception of Distinguished Guests and a high official of John Wanamaker's department store, had something to do with the Equitable buses that ran between the Wanamaker establishments in New York and Philadelphia. It seems that the Equitable company was incorporated to secure the franchise, only to sell it.

At the present time the Equitable Coach Company states that its "sole" owners are F. R. Fagel, C. B. Rose, and William O'Neal, all of Akron, Ohio. The first is president of the Fagel Motors Company of Ohio, the second is vice-president, and the last is probably a dummy. The J. G. White Management Corporation has undertaken to operate the bus system covered by the Equitable franchise. W. H. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Company, issued a statement on January 9, 1922, in which he stated that his company had an understanding with the J. G. White Management Corporation that the American Car and Foundry was to furnish the necessary buses. He explained very carefully, however: "None of our company is financially interested directly or indirectly in the Equitable Coach Company."

"Al" Appears in Picture
Woodin is an enrolled Republican. He is president of the world's largest manufacturing and distributing organization of railway equipment. He is also the head of the American Locomotive Company. By some peculiar streak of generosity in him he contributed \$2,500 to "Al" Smith's campaign in 1922. This is officially reported by the Democratic committee. At the same time, he was chairman of a Citizens' Committee to raise funds for the lovable "Al."

Now it so happens that the American Car and Foundry Company early in 1926 acquired control of the recently reorganized Brill Corporation. The Brill Corporation controls through stock ownership the J. G. Brill Company and the American Car and Foundry Motors Company. The American Car and Foundry Motors Company has one hundred per cent. control of the Hall-Scott Motor Car Company and ninety per cent. of the Fagel Motor Company of Ohio. The Fagel Motor Company of Ohio produces the so-called "Fagel Bus" under a royalty agreement with the parent company, the Fagel Motor Company of California. On October 22, 1926, it was announced that F. R. Fagel was resigning as vice-president and director of the American Car and Foundry Motors Company.

What it amounts to is this: The American Car and Foundry Company indirectly will obtain the tri-borough bus franchise and directly the opportunity to supply the necessary buses. The New Tammany politicians have been raising a loud cry about the five-cent fare and public ownership. In the first clear chance they have had to prove their sincerity in these matters they have abandoned both principles. The Equitable Coach Company claims no more than an initial five cent fare with extra charges for transfers. Competitors were willing to offer a universal five cent fare but that did not suit the gang. Moreover, in Manhattan, the most important borough of the city, only cross-town lines are included. Naturally these short runs are the ones that bring in the largest amount of profits. It is difficult to calculate what this franchise is worth, but the Equitable is only paying a pittance for it. Certain it is that

other bidders were willing to pay the city much more.

The equipment in running the various bus lines will bring in a handsome profit, indeed. On July 29, 1927, the Equitable Coach Company announced that its 24 routes in Brooklyn would require 224 buses, and those in Queens 196. It was unwilling to make any estimate as to how many would be required for its eight cross-town routes in Manhattan. It is interesting to note that the Fagel buses were also supplied to the Surface Transportation Company, subsidiary of the Third Avenue Railway Company, which runs buses in the borough of the Bronx. The Fagel buses are equipped with Hall-Scott motors and the products of the Carter Carburetor Company, an American Car and Foundry subsidiary, which supplies a large percentage of the automobiles made in the United States.

A statement of W. H. Woodin in his annual report to the stockholders of the American Car and Foundry Company last year throws much light on the bus situation.

"The company is developing a field of its activities and the utilization of its experience and facilities more varied than that offered by the building of freight cars and passenger cars of the ordinary type, but nevertheless lying within the general domain of transportation and, therefore, calling for no departures from and underlying purposes of the company's organization. This particular field of endeavor is the manufacture and sale of automobile vehicles—motor buses, motor trucks, and motor-driven rail cars."

What seems perfectly plain is that the New Tammany is making the most of its opportunities to become connected with Big Business outside of the public utilities with which it has been dealing in the past. We know already of the \$2,500 contribution of Woodin, the Republican. We know also that Owen D. Young of the General Electric, already grateful to "Al" Smith for throwing the smoke screen of state ownership of waterpower in order to stop the encroachments of interests other than the General Electric, should make larger donations to the Democratic cause than formerly, because the Fagel buses receive their electrical equipment from the General Electric. The New Tammany with its eye upon the White House is broadening its usefulness to the Wall Street exploiters.

Mississippi Socialists to Be On Ballo

CHICAGO.—Word received by the National Office of the Socialist Party from W. C. Kennedy, state secretary of the Socialist Party in Mississippi, carries the information that Socialists and Republicans alike have been "up a tree" so far as knowing what their status as parties is under the state law. No definite information had been obtained from any responsible official as to how minor parties can get on the ballot up to a recent date.

Of course, the Democratic party does not want any opposition ticket on the ballot. Representatives of both the Socialist and the Republican party have been in Jackson, the State capital, and finally reached an understanding with the Secretary of State. Thus another southern state is assured of having a Socialist ticket on the ballot. Mississippi Socialists cannot understand the dilatory tactics of the state department on any other ground than of hope that the Socialists would be worn out.

After several months of delay the Socialists are now assured of a state convention to be held in Jackson some time in August. The date and place will be announced later. Every effort will be made to get every active Socialist in the state to the convention so that plans can be made for meetings and a wide distribution of Socialist literature.

Pa. Socialists To Hold Picnic At Reading

READING, PA.—Letters received from Socialist locals and branches in neighboring counties indicate that there will be several thousands of Socialists and unionists at the big Socialist picnic in Keller's Park, Sinking Spring, on Sunday, July 1. The latest delegation to inform the local committee of their intention of coming to Reading was Philadelphia. At least one truck will be chartered for that purpose by Local Philadelphia. "The Socialists of the Quaker City are eager to see how Reading does things and every day more names are added to the list of those who will make a pilgrimage to the Reading picnic," declares Secretary Hodgson of Local Philadelphia.

From Pottstown, Allentown, Newmansville, Lebanon, Chester and other small villages and hamlets throughout Berks and adjoining counties similar messages are arriving. The recent elections have aroused the interest of many people who are not Socialists. They are curious to learn for themselves what kind of people the Socialists are and are coming to Sinking Spring to find out.

Record Crowd Expected
The fact that Jim Maurer and the party's legislative, senatorial and congressional candidates will deliver addresses at the outing has been broadcast by circular letters and posters in all sections of Berks. This feature and the promise of the popular Philharmonic band is proving of sufficient interest to warrant the prediction that this year's initial picnic will be the largest ever held by the local Socialist organization.

The picnic will mark the opening gun of the Socialist campaign in Berks county and will give many rural people an opportunity to hear Socialist views at first hand.

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What seems perfectly plain is that the New Tammany is making the most of its opportunities to become connected with Big Business outside of the public utilities with which it has been dealing in the past. We know already of the \$2,500 contribution of Woodin, the Republican. We know also that Owen D. Young of the General Electric, already grateful to "Al" Smith for throwing the smoke screen of state ownership of waterpower in order to stop the encroachments of interests other than the General Electric, should make larger donations to the Democratic cause than formerly, because the Fagel buses receive their electrical equipment from the General Electric. The New Tammany with its eye upon the White House is broadening its usefulness to the Wall Street exploiters.

other bidders were willing to pay the city much more.

The equipment in running the various bus lines will bring in a handsome profit, indeed. On July 29, 1927, the Equitable Coach Company announced that its 24 routes in Brooklyn would require 224 buses, and those in Queens 196. It was unwilling to make any estimate as to how many would be required for its eight cross-town routes in Manhattan. It is interesting to note that the Fagel buses were also supplied to the Surface Transportation Company, subsidiary of the Third Avenue Railway Company, which runs buses in the borough of the Bronx. The Fagel buses are equipped with Hall-Scott motors and the products of the Carter Carburetor Company, an American Car and Foundry subsidiary, which supplies a large percentage of the automobiles made in the United States.

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Evolution of Party Conventions From the Days When Aristocrats Ruled To Tammany And Mellon

By the Editor

THE political conventions at Kansas City and Houston bear the ripe fruit of a century in the development of the American system of nominations for public office. The old colonial ideal of party nobles has been turned in this twilight era of American capitalism. One would think that a political oligarchy would be impossible where universal suffrage obtains because it was the extension of manhood suffrage which destroyed the colonial ideal of an oligarchy of political leaders.

At Kansas City the finance and corporation aristocrats of the nation were represented by men like Mellon and Butler with vulgarians like Vane playing conspicuous roles. It is a return to the era when the great slave owners of the South, representing the chief property interests of their time, went to the House and the Senate to legislate for the interests of their class. Now and then, like modern Mellon himself, they received appointments to the Cabinet.

The Democratic convention exhibits the same phase of party evolution. Tammany has become one of the biggest corporations in the United States. It is a business organization, a capitalist enterprise as much as Mellon's aluminum trust. Its business transactions in offices, franchises, and appointments will measure up to the United States Steel Corporation and it requires a skilled business manager.

In the past Tammany has been confined to New York State but, like the former slave owners, its system has expanded and it has acquired considerable respect even in the South where it has been hated by its allies. Chief Olney arrives in Houston and is hailed as a Warwick whereas his predecessor, Murphy, was denounced as a pariah by the late W. J. Bryan at the convention in 1912. Tammany's candidate was defeated at that convention, but the reception accorded to Olney at Houston shows how far the Democratic party has drifted into the hands of the biggest political corporation ever spawned by capitalism.

When "Gentlemen" Ruled
The colonial idea of office holding and political leadership was consistent with the restricted suffrage of the period. Practically all workers, farmers and laborers were disfranchised, which left voting and office holding to owners of property, their lawyers and the clergy. Nomination for office was a simple matter. A few gentlemen would gather in a parlor and agree on candidates. There might be rival candidates, but the rivalry was restricted to gentlemen of powdered wigs and silk breeches. Politics was largely a polite profession and monopolized by an office-holding class.

As population increased and spread westward the parlor caucus gradually gave way to the legislative caucus. That is, the members of city councils, state legislatures, and after the revolution, of Congress, met in caucus and selected candidates for public office. This practice produced an office-holding machine with the tendency of perpetuating job-holders in office. Presidents were nominated by members of Congress down to the year 1824 and governors were nominated by members of the state legislature.

This monopoly of nominations by an office-holding nobility could continue so long as the masses had no votes, but it is obvious that it would be shattered with a general extension of the franchise. However, many aristocratic politicians of the period were too thick to foresee the collapse of the legislative caucus as a nomination body when workers and farmers obtained the ballot. Like most

professional politicians, they were taken by surprise when a revolution swept them aside.

"Rough Necks" vs. Dandies
The turning point came in 1824 and the revolution four years later. By the year 1824 considerable opposition to congressional nominations had developed. Jeffersonians and Federalists had also become so much alike that there were no distinct party divisions. A mass of new voters had been added to the electorate since 1803 by the admission of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Maine and Missouri to the Union.

Now the voters in these states were "rough necks." They had no use for the aristocrat and the dandy. The polished politician with his pretensions to superior culture and social eminence, his assumption of the power to choose candidates for these "rough necks" to support, was an object of suspicion and dislike. In some cases legislatures were already adopting resolutions urging the nomination of a certain candidate for President. The revolt against the congressional caucus then passed on to local mass meetings where similar resolutions were adopted. This was a half-way stage in the revolution against the aristocratic party leaders.

In 1824, William H. Crawford of Georgia obtained the congressional nomination for President but quite a number of Congressmen, sensing the coming storm, declined to attend the caucus. The other candidates were presented by legislatures and mass meetings. The electoral vote was as follows: Andrew Jackson, 99 votes; John Quincy Adams, 84; William H. Crawford, 41; Henry Clay, 37.

Last of the Old Guard
Thus out of a total of 251 electoral votes the caucus candidate received only 41 while Jackson, who received the highest vote, was representative of the "rough necks" of the new states and some new voters in the older states who were being slowly admitted to the franchise. As no candidate had a majority the election was thrown into the House and Adams was chosen. Adams had received two votes in the caucus.

THE DRIVING FORCE OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

In the following article the New Leader presents the first English translation of chapter one of the ninth section of the fourth volume of Karl Kautsky's new and exhaustive work on the materialistic interpretation of history. The article will be concluded in a second instalment next week.

By Karl Kautsky

A—The class struggle in history

WE HAVE already considered the classic presentation of the materialistic conception of history given by Marx in his preface to his "Critique of Political Economy" in the final chapter of the third volume of this work. But we did not discuss all the details with which Marx presents his conception of history, but only the first passages, which lay down the general philosophy of historic materialism.

There we had to omit an examination of the passages that follow. They set forth the motive forces and the course of historic development as conceived by Marx when he wrote his book.

It would not have been the proper place to examine these passages as long as we had not pointed out what the course of actual history had been thus far. Now in the fourth volume we have surveyed this course. As, in the second volume we began with the transformation of the ape man into a human being, so now we have arrived at the threshold of the "State of the Future." Now we may also take up those passages of the Marxian preface which up to this point we had passed over.

Marx says: "At a certain stage of its evolution the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing conditions of production or, what is merely a judicial expression for it, with the property conditions, under which they had functioned thus far. From forms of development of the productive forces these conditions are transformed into fetters. Then an epoch of social revolution arrives."

Revolutionary Changes
"Together with the transformation of the economic base, the whole mighty superstructure becomes more or less rapidly revolutionized. In observing such revolutions one must always distinguish between the material revolution in the conditions of economic production, which may be verified according to the laws of natural science, and the juridical, political, religious, artistic or philosophical, in brief the ideological, forms in which human beings become aware of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what said individual thinks about himself, just so one cannot judge such a period of revolution by its consciousness, but must explain this consciousness through the contradictions in the material conditions, the existing conflict between social productive forces and conditions of production. No form of society goes down before the material conditions for which it is qualified have been developed, nor do new and higher conditions of production ever take their place before the material conditions of existence for them have been hatched within the shell of the old society itself. Therefore humanity always acts for itself only such tasks as it can perform, for, looked at more closely, it will be found that the task only develops where the material conditions for its solution are already at hand or, at least are in the process of coming into existence. Taken by and large, the Asiatic, ancient feudal and modern bourgeois methods of production can be characterized as progressive epochs of the economic formation of society. Bourgeois conditions of production are the last, antagonistic form of the social process of production; antagonistic, not in the same individual antagonism but in that of an antagonism grown out of the social living conditions of the individuals. But the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society are creating the same time material conditions for the solution of this antagonism. Consequently, with this social formation is ended the early history of human society."

We already drew attention to the last sentence of these remarks at the close of the preceding chapter. It is evident from this sentence that Marx does not give the law of all historical development in the above-quoted excerpt from his preface, but only that of history up to now, of the "preliminary history" of humanity.

Modifying Historical Interpretation
This passage, therefore, is essentially different from the one we consider at the end of the third volume. The latter form-

An Exposition and Criticism of the Historical Formulae Laid Down By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

ulates the basic principles of every "social, political and mental process of life in general." The one that we just examined, on the other hand, only analyzes the principles that, as Marx assumes, lie at the base of all history thus far. Consequently, Marx really does not give here the laws of the materialistic conception of history in general, but only those of recorded history that are obtained when one proceeds to examine it from the standpoint of this conception of history. Our conception of history can remain the same and still the laws established for history thus far can be modified if facts develop or become known, that were not at hand at the time of the former framing of these laws.

Now let us first observe the concluding sentences of the passage in question.

They say that "the bourgeois conditions of production are the last antagonistic (based upon antitheses) form of the social process of production, that, however, the productive forces that are being formed in its womb constitute the conditions for the solution of this antagonism and that, therefore, the history of society thus far is concluded with this social form. In other words, this means that Marx says here that recorded history so far, the "Preliminary History of Society," was the history of social forms based upon contradictions; indeed, as Marx adds, not upon individual, but upon social contradictions, of the antagonism grown out of the social living conditions of the individuals.

This is exactly the idea expressed by the Communist Manifesto:

"The history of all society to date is the history of class struggle."

In the same sense Marx remarks in the above-mentioned part of his preface: "Taken by and large, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois methods of production can be characterized as progressive epochs of the economic formation of society."

The Class Society
These four kinds of social formations coincide with the four great phases of class society that we have considered in the fourth volume. Marx doesn't say anything about the social forms that may have preceded these four formations of class society. Therefore, in his presentation of the mechanism of social evolution in 1859 he still had only the class society in view.

This view also dictated the opening sentences of the part of the Marxian preface that we are considering here. There it is assumed that the form of the movement of society, as it has existed thus far, is that of social revolution. This is to be occasioned because the productive forces of society, at a certain stage of development, clash with the traditional conditions of production, or property forms. These conditions become fetters on the further development of the productive forces. Marx continues: "Then an epoch of social revolution arrives."

Between this sentence and the preceding one there obviously is missing a link which Marx left out because it automatically follows from the context. As soon as property relations become fetters on the development of productive forces, the only thing that remains to be done in the interest of continued social development is to break these fetters. As soon as this is done an epoch of social revolution arrives.

Here Marx is always speaking only of conflicts between productive forces on the one side and production or property conditions on the other. The theoretical has the right, and often is forced, to deal with abstractions. But we receive a false impression and easily arrive at mystical conclusions if we do not always have in mind the concrete phenomena upon which the abstractions rest.

Producers vs. Owners
Productive forces and property relations cannot feel, desire or think. They cannot carry on conflicts among themselves in which one side defeats the other and thus unchains the social revolution. Marx himself says further on, what is indeed a matter of course, that human beings are the ones who become aware of these conflicts and fight them out.

And so, in reality, the conflict between

property relations and productive forces is a conflict between persons who have a property interest in the productive forces and those who use the productive forces and produce. Where the owners of the productive forces and their users, the producers and those who enjoy the products created by them, are the same persons a conflict between productive forces and property relations cannot arise. It takes different classes for granted. So the social revolution is a result of the overpowering of the class of the beneficiaries of the heretofore existing conditions of property and production by a class that uses the productive forces and feels itself constantly more cramped in their use and in the appropriation of the resulting products through the existing property and production conditions.

Therefore, here are also the same basic views that coined the sentence of the Communist Manifesto that says all history to date is a history of class struggle.

This was a view that one could still express, not only in 1847, but also in 1859, without coming into conflict with the science then valid. As has been noted already, Darwin's book on "The Origin of Species" only appeared in the year 1859. Shortly before, in 1857, the Neanderthal skull, the importance of which was long the subject of much dispute, was discovered. In 1854 one became aware of the first lake dwellings. From such discoveries and from observing the ways of peoples living in a more natural state there were slowly formed the elements of an early history of the human race which for a long time remained without connection with the written history that was regarded as the real history. Naturally, both parts of history

are closely linked with each other and the latter is incomprehensible without the earlier.

Engels Modifies Marx

Nevertheless, in 1872 Marx and Engels published the second edition of the Communist Manifesto without adding anything to the sentence that all history thus far was a history of class struggles. In the next decade, however, both were very busy with the study of the history of primitive man, as is clearly shown by Engels' work on the origin of the family, etc. Some years after Marx's death the fourth German edition of the Communist Manifesto was published. Here Engels observes that the sentence in question, when exactly expressed, should not signify that all former struggles, but all "history handed down in writing" is a history of class struggles.

This limitation announced by Engels applies to Marx's preface to the "Critique of Political Economy," as well as to the Communist Manifesto. We must assume that if Marx were to write this preface today he would make it less general, at least on this point.

And probably not on this point alone. Just since 1859, the year when the Marxian preface was written, the study of early history has revealed to us a great and rich social development before the beginning of class society and the class state, so on the other hand economic-historical research has thrown a great deal of new light upon the history of the ancient Orient and of antiquity which makes it easier for us to recognize the social peculiarities of both. This forces us to a further limitation. Even in recorded history, the law of social revolution does not universally apply, not

even always where tradition talks about the most violent class struggles and social revolutions.

We have seen that in the ancient independent cities, especially the Greek, it was not rare for class struggles to develop of such violence as to rise to the height of social revolution. The proletarians captured the power of the State and expropriated the owning classes, whose property they appropriated.

Revolving Backwards

But here in no case was there a forward development to new conditions of production. The social ideal of the revolutionists of ancient times lay in the past, created nothing new. It was the return to the domestic economy of free peasants, to the point where the State and class division began. In the most extreme cases the revolution went so far that the big estates were cut to pieces and turned into patches of land for peasants. This, naturally, did not signify any social progress. After a few years, or at the most a few decades, the old class divisions were recreated and the old state of affairs reestablished, merely with a change of personnel.

We have already explained the cause of this above.

The exploitation of the working classes, linked with increasing expansion of the State, consequently of the field of exploitation, and always greater riches in the hands of the ruling minority. This often resulted in a quite fabulous rise of industry, arts and sciences, and therefore of productive forces. But these increased forces of production were almost entirely devoted to satisfying the extravagance of the exploiters. Production for the maintenance of the masses was

changed but little. Therefore, no new material basis was formed for the work and the existence of the exploited which might have induced them to strive for new forms of production. For the masses these forms remained unaltered.

The better future for which they longed lay, not before them, but behind them in the happy days when they had not yet been deprived of their liberty and property. It is true that there was formed in the States of the Orient and in ancient times a very high civilization, but in every one of these States this civilization ended in a blind alley from which no social revolution ending with the rule of the State furnished a means of escape. Not a revolution from within, but an attack from without led out of this blind alley.

The conquest of the civilized territory by one or more barbarian tribes, which again breathed the breath of life into the old rotten State; it is true, under conditions that did not leave much of the traditional and, of course, falling civilization, and began a new social and political evolution just about where that of the conquered State had also begun.

The Historical Circle

So in this stage history resembles a constantly renewed circle of events, not a steady upward movement through social struggles, a circle that regains its impetus from without, not from within. Of course the circle is not absolutely closed. It is true that every State in the Orient and in antiquity had its period of descent as well as of ascent. But the point at which the former ended and was interrupted by a fresh barbarian invasion was not the same as the one where the ascent began, but a little higher. The technical and cultural heritage which the victorious barbarians took possession of became somewhat greater from the one event to the other, and so the society erected by the victors on the basis of this heritage was, in general, superior to its predecessors. Therefore, the historic circle of events is, when closely examined, a slowly ascending spiral.

This, and not social revolution, was the mechanism of social movement until the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Only when the German tribes occupied the Roman Empire did they find conditions at hand the further development of which by them made plausible a new form of social movement, that through social revolution.

Not a few historians are of the opinion that today also the social movement still follows the lines of antiquity and of the Orient, and that States are not capable of regenerating their society through social revolutions from within and that, consequently, every political being is necessarily condemned to decay and perish sooner or later, in order to be replaced by a new one. These historians are blind to the peculiar nature of European development since the Middle Ages.

But on the other hand we must not generalize the laws of this later development and raise them to the status of laws covering all social evolution thus far. What Marx, in 1859, regarded as the universal law of social evolution, presents itself today, strictly speaking, as only the law of this evolution since the rise of industrial capitalism. The development of productive forces, not so much for luxury as for mass production, and with it the revolution of conditions of production and the needs and living and fighting conditions of the working classes attain only through industrial capital a degree that makes these productive forces constantly more irreconcilable with traditional property relations. Since the end of the Middle Ages, for the first time in the history of the world, the new productive forces come into collision with the traditional property system. At first with the feudal property system, then, since the preceding century, with the system that is based upon the production of goods.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

One of the ways to make your open air meetings successful, is to sell The New Leader and solicit subs. The new reader is sure to look up future announcements of street meetings and other activities of ours. Don't overlook getting a bundle of papers for your next meeting.

Leaders At Auction For Pap and Pie

(Continued from Page 1)

ascend into that holy sphere occupied by the great masters of capital. Add to these groups the contracting corporations of the larger cities and the politicians who invest in them, as well as draw salaries as public officials, and you have a rough outline of the Democratic show in Houston.

Below the smug type of powerful leaders are the smaller type of cynics in the smaller cities of the North and West. They have a smaller field in which to ply their trade and for that reason they do not have the influence which the big leaders have. Nevertheless, they are the fighting squads from their respective communities and look to the national brokers for leadership in the convention. They will "go along" in any course that is mapped out for them.

New Southern Politicians

From the South comes a different type, one that represents a half-way stage from the demagogues of the Tillman and Vardaman variety to the more polished and modern politician. This latter type has been spawned by the rise of industries, corporations and other big enterprises in the South in the past twenty years. The Tillman-Vardaman politician appeared on the scene in the nineties and in the first ten years of the new century they displaced the old politicians who represented an aristocratic survival from the days of slavery.

Capitalist enterprise is rapidly transforming the South with the inevitable transformation of Democratic politics. The demagogues went so far in their Negro-baiting that hundreds of thousands of Negroes migrated to the North. This drain of the labor supply alarmed the employing class with the result that the politicians identified with the new enterprises have been edging the demagogues out of political life. The corporation lawyer of southern cities is coming to the front and his politics represent a friendly approach to the leaders of Tammany Hall. This more modern politician of the South is conspicuous at the Houston show but he, also, is interested in strategy and offices, not in problems which face the masses who produce the wealth of the nation.

The Nonentities

Below all these types are the nonentities, especially from quite a number of the agricultural states in the West where the Democratic party is so weak that in many counties and congressional districts it often does not nominate candidates. These delegates have no influence whatever and they will likely be delivered by their respective state leaders when they reach the war.

The powerful leaders who favor Smith are looking for a conservative candidate for Vice-President to insure support by "business interests." It is admitted that Smith has never given the business interests cause to be alarmed as Governor of New York, but the leaders declare that they want to avoid even any suspicion that the party is not safe for business. They do not want to even urge lower tariff rates because capital invested in southern industries wants the tariff nurse as much as capitalist enterprise in the North does. These considerations pave the way, these leaders think, to nomination of a known conservative for second place as a foil to any charges that the Democratic party is in any sense "radical" even on the tariff issue.

Senator Kendrick of Wyoming would fill this requirement and he is being prominently mentioned for the place. Then he comes from an agricultural state as Curtis, the Republican candidate, does, which is an important consideration.

So strategy and eagerness to get to the pie counter are the leading motives of this gathering. Principles, the state of the country, the grievances of the workers in the cities and on the farms, our dangerous foreign policy, superpower and other great questions are superfluous baggage which this party will not carry.

And this is the party whose leading candidate, "Al" Smith, has not even said a word about where he stands on these questions!

An Old Problem To Be Faced Anew

A Program for Organizing Socialist Women for Campaign Work and Building the Socialist Party

By Pauline M. Newman

WITH each campaign new problems

arise. Even Socialists are faced with new issues. They must be analyzed, interpreted and explained to the public. We, ourselves, must give thought and time to considering them, each in relation to our party organization.

There is one old problem which the Socialists have to face, and one that remains ever new—the task of organizing women in the Socialist party. It is an old story, I recall the many conventions at which this question was discussed rather heatedly. "Shall we, or shall we not, have a separate women's group in the Socialist party?" At that time I was for having one branch composed of men and women. I was young then. Experience, observation and life have taught me another story. It has taught me that, while no one will question the equality of the sexes in the Socialist party, it remains a men's party just the same. It is run by men; it is controlled by men.

They are fine comrades, these men. I have the highest regard for them. I worked with them for more than twenty years, and I ought to know. Some of them are able; others are less so, but they are placed in party positions by virtue of being men, not because of their ability.

No one who is close to the movement will deny the task of organizing women in the Socialist party has been dreadfully neglected! So as I know, nothing of practical value has been done lately to interest women in our work. To my knowledge nothing has even been done to encourage the interest of those who are in the party now. On the contrary, much has been done to discourage their ardent admiration for a party that accepts them as members on equal terms with men.

We have mass-meetings, political and otherwise. We have receptions, banquets, etc. At some of these, like the one at the time of the National Convention, there were as many as eight and women speakers, but not one woman among

them. Have we no longer any women who can speak for the party? I think there are still a few women left in New York who have spoken for the Party for many, many years, and are good speakers, at least as good as some of the men speakers, and in some cases even better. But the activities of these women members seem to be limited to talking up collections at tea meetings. A necessary job, to be sure, but there are plenty of youngsters who might do this work. Division of labor among the membership would, it seems to me, be a good method.

A Women's Committee has been appointed by the N. E. C. to cope with the problem. So far, so good. But, unless the Branches and the Party as a whole take a hand in this, I am afraid the committee's efforts will not bring the desired results. In the first place, from what I have been told, the Committee has been appointed and left to work out campaign plans concerning women. That is fine, but again, from what I have been told, the Women's Committee is reluctant to go ahead without instruction from the N. E. C.

The plans discussed at the first meeting of the Women's Committee do not indicate anything new. It was decided to publish five leaflets on Hydro-Electric Power; Peace and War; Public Ownership; To the Woman in the Home; To the Woman in Industry, etc. These leaflets are to be 6x4½, printed on both sides. I hope the Committee will enlarge the size of the leaflets and thus make them more attractive. The main point, however, is not the size, or contents, or the distribution of these leaflets. The point is how to conduct a campaign among women. Leaflets alone will not get us very far. Local committees, unless spurred on by something new, will not accomplish much. What then, can we do?

To answer this, I am submitting a few suggestions. If the National Office, State Offices, Local Organizations and Party Branches care to reach the women voters they will give these their consideration.

1. To invite one of our English women comrades for the entire campaign.

In addition to the comrades we have had here, I would suggest others whom I happen to know and who are spend organizers as well as fine speakers. These comrades to devote their time to the organization of women in the Socialist Party.

2. An Eastern conference of Socialist Party women, and those in sympathy with our movement, to be called some time soon.

3. As a result of the preliminary eastern conference, a National women's gathering to be called. This gathering to lay plans for state, county and city work. Country to be divided in districts. Each district to have a person, or persons, in charge of the work.

4. A group of experienced women speakers to be sent to every district, and preceded by an organizer, who, together with the local organization, will make every effort to get the women voters out to the meeting.

5. Every Socialist woman who can write, or who has connections with newspapers, magazines, etc., and is known to be in sympathy with our cause, to be used for publicity purposes—even if paying for such services becomes necessary.

6. The Socialist press, throughout the country, to devote more space to this question than it has heretofore. There are more, and other suggestions that one could make, but space will not permit elaborating on them here. Money, and lots of it, will be required to carry on a campaign among the women voters. But money is needed for the campaign as a whole, why stop at this juncture? It would be well to face this special problem, recognize it as such, and deal with it accordingly. And, may I add, the sooner the better for the party!

I trust that the above will not be considered as a criticism of the work of the present leadership in the party. I did not mean to criticize anything or anyone. All I want is for us to realize the seriousness of the situation. That is all. When a number of comrades will take up this problem for discussion, and will try to find a way by which to solve it, my task will have been accomplished.

climax there will be an organization in the districts to produce favorable results.

Maurer at July Picnic

Buy your tickets for the July 15 picnic at which our Vice-Presidential candidate, Jim Maurer, will deliver the inaugural address of the Western Pennsylvania campaign. Tickets are 35 cents, on sale at county office.

Reading

The County Committee has decided to start the active campaign of this year early in August. A sub-committee on speakers and program was selected. The services of every available speaker will be enlisted by the committee. An intensive drive in the rural districts will be made in an effort to capture Berks for the party candidates.

Massachusetts

Literature

State platforms can be obtained from the State Office, 21 Essex St., Boston. The price is \$3.50 per 1,000, but any local or members at large which can distribute but not pay for them should not hesitate to order as many as they can use.

National Platforms can be obtained from the State Office as a reprint from the Congressional Record. They can be mailed out free. Branches and members at large are asked to order as many as they can use and pay for them if possible at the rate of \$3.50 per 1,000; if they can use more than they can pay for not hesitate to order them.

Crosswalk's Meetings

Frank R. Crosswalk, one of the best orators in the Socialist movement, will tour Massachusetts for a month beginning July 8. Branches that want him

at open air rallies are asked to write at once to the state office.

Norman Thomas' Meeting

Norman Thomas spoke at the picnic of N. E. Verband branches at the Workers' Circle camp in Framingham. Despite threatening weather more than 1,000 attended.

Summer Festival

The Finnish Federation will hold its annual summer festival in Worcester on June 30 and July 1. Dick Wallhead of the British Independent Labor Party will be the speaker.

Minnesota

Emil Herman III

Socialists throughout the country will be grieved to learn that Emil Herman, who has done much excellent work in organizing the party in Minnesota, is in a Minneapolis hospital seriously ill. Herman has been one of the most devoted party workers for more than twenty years and his illness comes at a time when his services are much needed in the West.

Maryland

State Secretary Neidhart reports nominating petitions have been filed with the Secretary of State for electors and United States Senator; that they have been accepted and will appear on the ballot in November, also that tickets for congressional districts will be filed.

N. E. C. Meeting in Baltimore

The National Executive Committee will meet at the Emerson Hotel Saturday, July 7. Banquet is at 7 p. m. at the Emerson Hotel. Members of the N. E. C. and Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates will be present.

Mass meeting at the Hippodrome The-

atre at 2.30 p. m., Sunday. The meeting

to be used for campaign purposes and protest against the proposed amendment of the Federal Radio Commission in relation to WEVD station.

Kentucky

Louisville Organized

National Secretary called for and arranged a meeting of the comrades of Louisville and vicinity, and the result is a "good" local, which he describes as having "pop".

Oregon

A telegram has been received at National Headquarters stating that a new organization has been formed in Portland, and urgently request that they be given a Kirkpatrick date. Plans are under way for putting our state ticket in the field.

Rhode Island

The Rhode Island Socialists have gained a campaign committee and elected a state ticket headed by Fred Hurst for governor and Edw. A. Livermore for lieutenant governor.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill asks all delegates who intend to attend the banquet at the Hotel Ten Eyck during the safe convention to send in their reservations in advance. The price is \$2.50 per plate.

Local secretaries have also been informed of the desirability of endorsing candidates for public office at an early date and getting petitions for them ready to circulate for signatures. The first day for signing is July 3.

Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Build the Party

The national campaign is getting under way. State committees are being held, tickets selected and reported to National Headquarters with much enthusiasm. While we are beginning the big campaign, we must keep in mind that in addition to putting over our propaganda and securing a record breaking vote for our candidates, we must also build our Party organization.

West Virginia

Three New Locals

State Secretary Higgins reports that their state ticket has been filed with the Secretary of State and that everything is in proper shape. Comrade Toole, of Maryland, is speaking in West Virginia, and with the excellent help given by the comrades he will do good work in increasing the membership and creating a good sentiment among the voters. The first report of Toole's work shows three new locals, one each in Grant Town, Rueville and Monaghan, all in Marion County. These make five locals in this county. The Fairmont Local, organized

some time ago, reports 25 members and the Grant Town Local 19 members.

Wyoming

Organizing the State
The Socialists of Wyoming, which has been included in the Mountain States District, are now forming a state organization and selecting comrades from different parts of the state to carry on active work. Plans are under way for holding a state convention in Cheyenne early in July. Supplies have been ordered and mailed. From this time on Wyoming will be able to take care of its own affairs. We hope other states included in districts will follow this example.

Idaho

Seven New Locals
State Secretary Cammans reports that they have chartered seven new locals since June 2. Cammans keeps the National Office in touch with his work and the National Office has thereby been able to give him practical cooperation. He has sent in another order for dues stamps, charter application and literature. That's the kind of work that means most to the cause.

Nevada

Omaha Organized
Socialists of Nebraska are up and doing. They have their petitions out and are gathering names to place Thomas and Maurer on the ballot, and they are sure to get sufficient names. One comrade alone guarantees five hundred names. National Secretary Henry visited Omaha on June 17 and had a good meeting—not so large as it would have been had it not been for the heavy rain that started the night before and lasted dur-

ing the meeting. A healthy local was formed with eleven members, all tried and true. Omaha comrades expect to have a Thomas meeting and promise a big crowd.

Florida

The National Office has been informed by Comrade Edson that a good number of Socialists have written him, saying they would be ready to attend a state convention as soon as it is called. Florida has a large number of Socialists who are tried and true and know how to work. Our ticket will be on the ballot in that state.

Oklahoma

Thomas L. Buie, state secretary, reports that their state ticket has been filed and accepted by the Secretary of State. The members are now going to give their time to organization and propaganda. There is nothing wrong with the Socialists in Oklahoma. One by one they are taking the state by storm and into the active Party work and before the end of this year will have a strong movement.

Texas

Dallas Active
Dallas Socialists held their first public meeting June 17 at the Labor Temple with L. L. Rhodes of Grand Saline and Charles L. Breckon as the speakers. Breckon will be remembered as one of the editors of the Chicago Daily Socialist years ago. Both addresses were of a high order. Signatures were obtained to protests against revoking the license of Station W E V D. The state convention of the party meets in Labor Temple, Dallas, Sunday

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

AN ADDENDUM TO "THE BRASS CHECK"

I have before me a "symposium" which appears in the July issue of a magazine called "Personality." It seems that M. Andre Siegfried, the French sociologist, in his book, "America Comes of Age," said that the large circulation newspapers in this country "live by their advertising and are bound to come under the influence of big business."

Now I wouldn't expect any of you boys and girls to fall over dead from the shock of hearing this. You know something about newspapers; you have been around a bit, you have seen things and heard things, when you were on strike or engaged in some free speech fight or other, which may have convinced you that M. Siegfried made a very mild statement indeed. I didn't think any live adult in America doubted for one moment that the big papers were as fully under the influence of big business as a lush who has been drinking Scotch whiskey all day on an empty stomach is, what you might say, under the influence of liquor.

But by golly, you can't think how that gentle under-statement of the Frenchman roused up the ire of the newspaper proprietors and their hired hands, the editors. They went right into a huddle about it and came out with a symposium in this magazine full of deep damnations of M. Siegfried and wild protestations of their utter innocence.

All the way from Adolph Ochs of The Times, whose portrait in just gorgeous colors appears as a frontispiece to "Personality," to Senator Capper who has a string of manure media, there went up a wall of anguish over this unbearable gallic affront.

In fact the affable Adolph is so sure that he dares the French critic to come across and name a few papers that are under the influence of big business so that he (Adolph) can sue him for slander or something.

One and all they protest. Methinks the gentlemen do protest too much. One and all they plead not guilty at the very time when they are forced to print in their columns proof of their own guilt.

If you want to know what I am driving at, turn back and read in this issue of The New Leader, the story of one Mr. John Sheridan, publicity agent for the so-called "public" utilities of Missouri.

Among other things Mr. Sheridan, whose job it was to get propaganda for the power trust printed in the newspapers in the form of news, wrote in a letter to a newly arrived colleague:

"The Associated Press will prove invaluable to you. I think that word has gone down from headquarters to take care of the committees on public utility information. In any event the local managers are very warm to public utility information. Of course, there is a great advantage, and we do not press it too strong in Missouri. We avoid asking them to distribute anything but a real story."

Again he wrote in letters presented as evidence before the Federal Trade Commission:

"The Associated Press sends out practically everything we give them. They have thirty-five papers in Missouri. We get matter printed in from 1 to 25 newspapers on one story. Out of the 35 we will average about 13 newspapers printing stories sent out by the Associated Press. How does this average strike you?"

We don't know what answer he got but we would say off-hand that this average strikes us as hot-as-totsy. We have from time to time sent out stories of the people's side of the ownership of public utilities and if we ever battled as high an average as Mr. Sheridan's there would be no holding us.

But you see, we are not on the up-and-up with the Associated Press and the other old-line paper boys. We have never got to know them as well as Mr. Sheridan who writes: "I have spent as much as \$300 entertaining editors, etc. Some of them do enjoy a little drink. All of them are 'God's fools', grateful for the smallest and most insignificant service or courtesy."

Never, never have we been in the position of writing, as Mr. Sheridan wrote: "Utility advertising has increased to the extent of \$100,000 in three months." Or again, "I am sure that within a year you will develop a million dollars worth of business (advertising business) in Missouri."

Those of us who think it would be a swell idea for the people of this country to have a look-in on the ownership and control of things that naturally belong to them, can't wave any million dollars in front of the bedazzled eyes of editors, small and large. We can't spend a million in Missouri and \$38,000,000 a year in New York State alone as the private power push have been doing. Nor can we charge up the pitifully small amount we do spend for presenting our cause, to "operating expenses," as do the utilities, and soak the people for the privilege of being told that they don't know enough to run their own affairs.

Now it is interesting to note that in this symposium schmeer that I've been telling you about, Frank B. Noyes, President of the Associated Press said: "So far as my personal experience in the newspaper business goes, and this experience now runs close to fifty years, the charge of M. Andre Siegfried is so false as to be silly. In all this time no 'captain of industry' has ever sought to exercise the slightest pressure of the sort described and I can conceive of no worse method of attempting to influence the opinion of the editor of any established newspaper."

Oh, Frankie, ain't you the sly devil? Who ever said that "captains of industry" personally slip you anything? Not Upton Sinclair, not M. Andre Siegfried.

And now comes the big shriek of the whole business. Of course, the innocent Mr. Noyes and all the other symposium writing editors and owners were dreadfully upset when this testimony of Sheridan appeared. They went after him bow-wow-wow and very shortly the Associated Press sent out this story which a Washington paper headed, "Sheridan Admits False A. P. Charge." The lead is as follows: "A public utilities press agent who made a false statement about the Associated Press in a letter, apparently with the idea of impressing his associates, today had to admit on the witness stand before the Federal Trade Commission investigation of utility financing that the statement was a figment of his own imagination."

Now from that wouldn't you think that Sheridan had broken down and "confessed all"? You sure would. Well here is what he really said, as you will discover if you read a bit into the A. P. story:

"I only had an idea. I had no authority." Mr. Sheridan only had an idea that the A. P. would carry his stuff. Of course he had no authority. The A. P. is not a lunatic asylum. They are not giving out little slips to utility press-agents reading: "This is to inform you that you will have your stuff printed as is."

No, Mr. Sheridan only had an idea. But judging from the way his stuff was going, it strikes us that he had a pretty solid basis for that idea. And it further strikes us that Mr. Noyes is about as cheap a trimmer as the capitalist press has ever produced.

McAlister Coleman.

ANDREW JOHNSON, POOR WHITE

By James Oneal

IT is a significant fact that the two men who were tossed into the presidency in the Civil War period, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, came of the poor white stock of the South. No adequate biography has been written of Johnson and he has been much misunderstood. It has been assumed by some writers that the attempt to impeach Johnson was due to the fact that he was a Democrat and that upon the death of Lincoln the Republicans had a Democratic President on their hands and it was necessary to remove him to avoid a return of the rebel South to power. With the publication of Robert W. Winston's biography (Andrew Johnson, Plebian and Patriot, New York: Henry Holt & Co., \$5) we for the first time have a satisfactory biography of one of the most misunderstood men in our history.

Johnson was born in Raleigh, N. C., in 1808 of plebian parents and was apprenticed as a boy of 14 to a tailor. Two years later he and his brother ran away but they returned within a year or two and in August, 1826, with his mother and brother they walked to Tennessee. After some wandering Johnson opened a tailor shop in Greeneville, eastern Tennessee. The social order of the South provided no hope of advancement for poor whites. At the top were the ruling planters and at the bottom were the slaves. Except for the white mechanics of the cities and towns, the majority of the poor whites were an outcast class, a ragged and illiterate proletariat living from hand to mouth. Slave labor degraded all other forms of useful labor and the poor whites avoided it, relying upon alms, fishing, hunting and stealing to eke out an existence. They were the "mudsluts" of society and were so regarded by the planter aristocrats.

The Poor White

This degraded status of the white



From the N. Y. Historical Society Collection

workman was burned into the soul of Johnson and he decided to escape it. The aristocratic caste system was general in the fertile lands between the coast and the interior and became less evident in the upland regions, yet there were also some aristocratic families in the interior and they formed an aristocracy, although less numerous than the coast magnates. On the whole, however, East Tennessee was peopled by small farmers, some owning a few slaves and many owning none, and mechanics, laborers and the merchants of the towns. White laborers, mechanics and small farmers were not the "mudsluts" in this region. Useful labor was not regarded with contempt, although workmen were not expected to aspire to public office.

In short, the social order of these upland regions bore some resemblance to Lincoln's West. There was as much dislike of the arrogant aristocrats in this region as there was in the West and Johnson had migrated to the upland to escape the domination of the planter aristocracy as Lincoln had migrated to Indiana from Kentucky and from Indiana to Illinois in the hope of finding better opportunities. Western Virginia was also a segment of the west and it was seceded from Virginia when Virginia seceded from the Union.

It is these geographical and economic backgrounds which explain Andrew Johnson. In 1829 Andy Johnson, the town tailor, was brought out by alderman by the mechanics and laborers on a Working Man's ticket. "The idea of having a tailor for a City Father was appalling," writes Winston. "Surely the ignorance and insouciance of the laboring classes were ruining the country! But despite the influence and the money of the aristocrats, Andy was elected." Johnson served three terms and was then chosen Mayor for three terms. "He grew to be the recognized leader of the laboring classes in the community." Nominally a Democrat, he represented these classes in the party and they thwarted every effort of the upper classes to retire him. In 1842 Johnson was elected to Congress and in 1846 he introduced a Homestead bill and his years of earnest fighting for this measure made him a suspect of the southern aristocrats. They wanted the western domain for the expansion of their great estates; Johnson wanted it for the propertyless workers of the North and South.

His fiery denunciation of the Homestead measure brought sympathetic response from organized workingmen in the North. At a Labor Party convention in Albany in 1851 he received three votes for President of the United States and in the same year, at the invitation of George Henry Evans, editor of the Working Man's Advocate, Johnson lectured in New York City to a land reform association.

The Slave-holders Angered

This support by northern homesteaders of Johnson enraged the southern advocates of universal bondage and he further earned their enmity when as a member of the Tennessee Legislature in 1841 he began a movement for separation of East Tennessee and its erection as a new state in which "there would be less than 10 per cent slave population; manual labor would not be in disfavor but would be dignified and honored."

Falling in this, Johnson fought to amend the Constitution to wipe out the three-fifths clause which enabled slave owners to have three-fifths of their slaves counted in apportioning representation. This attack on an important part of planter class rule enhanced the dislike this class felt for him. Later as Governor he struck a blow at the illiteracy which kept the poor whites in darkness by forcing through the Legislature a plan for tax-supported schools. "A Robespierre," a "mobocrat," declared the organs of the Whig aristocracy. Johnson answered, "I have no quarrel with an aristocracy founded on merit and honest toil, but for a rabble, upstart, mock aristocracy, I have supreme contempt." There are in Congress 223 Congressmen, and of this number all are lawyers except 23. The laboring man of America is ignored, he has no proportionate representation, though he constitutes a large majority of the voting population; the mechanic, the laborer and the farmer in Congress are only 10 per cent represented. For my own part, I say let the mechanic and the laborer make our laws, rather than the idle and vicious aristocrat."

This was largely the philosophy of Lincoln who hoped to hold opportunities open for workers but neither Lincoln nor Johnson could foresee the rise of concentrated capital and monopoly of opportunities for the capitalist class. Later in the U. S. Senate Johnson was occasionally taunted by southern Senators with his lowly origin and he never failed to assert his faith in the mechanics and laborers in words like those quoted above. He was nominated with Lincoln in 1864 to unite all Union men in favor of prosecuting the war. Antagonism had already developed within the plan of Lincoln's plan of reconstruction

and it is likely that an attempt would have been made to impeach Lincoln had he lived as Johnson tried to follow Lincoln's policy. Johnson certainly had no more affection for slave owners than Lincoln had but he lacked the faculty of dealing with men, especially opponents, which distinguished Lincoln. He had an immense fund of moral and physical courage which was displayed when he was appointed military governor of Tennessee by Lincoln and risked his life by going into the heart of the enemy's territory.

The Impeachment Move

The attempt to impeach him is an old story. What is startling to the reader is the chapter on the execution of Mrs. Suratt, one of the alleged accomplices in the assassination of Lincoln. Here is documentary evidence that Mrs. Suratt was not implicated in the murder plot, that some members of the prosecution knew it, that they concealed the evidence at the trial, and by a shabby trick prevented the truth from coming to the attention of President Johnson. Even the recommendation for mercy was concealed from him. Those who think that the "frame-up" first became an American institution in labor struggles will be shocked to read this chapter. It is the old story of hate and hysteria taking a toll of vengeance in an atmosphere of war. A more sober judgment of that period has come in recent years and the mercenaries who used the emancipated Negroes as a cloak to insure the supremacy of capital and finance are not the heroes which they appeared to many of their contemporaries.

Certainly a biography of absorbing interest. We note one curious mistake on pages 381-82 where the author declares that Webster had passed a night getting Taylor's inaugural address which abounded in allusions to Roman generals. The President who has this humorous distinction is the first Harrison, not Taylor.

L. I. D. Meeting In Annual Conference

Several hundred college students, professional men and women and members of organized labor will be present at the opening session of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, to be held at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa., from Thursday evening, June 28, to Sunday afternoon, July 1. The conference is to discuss the question, "What Changes Should Be Made in Socialistic Thought and Action?" The first session will be devoted to the question, "Is the Economic Interpretation of History Valid?" with Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology at Smith College; Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, anthropologist, author of "History and Prospects of the Social Sciences"; James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, and Franz Longville of Belgium as speakers. Norman Thomas will act as chairman.

Other speakers during the Conference will be Dr. I. M. Rubinow, Solon DeLeon, Algernon Lee, Dr. N. I. Stone, Frederick C. Hyde, Edmund Berkeley, Norman Studer, Dr. William M. Leiserson, Louis B. Boudin, Paul Blanchard, Robert W. Dunn, Benjamin Stolberg, H. S. Raussenbush, Roger Baldwin, August Claessens, Louis Waldman, Ivy L. Lee, Arthur Garfield Hays, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, J. S. Woodsworth, M. P. Norman Thomas, James H. Maurer, Dr. Jessie W. Hughes, J. B. S. Hardman, McAlister Coleman, Benjamin C. Marsh, Robert Morris Lovett, Jacob Panken and William Karlin.

Organization

Education

Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Young People's

Socialist League,

21 Essex Street,

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

Adventure, Comrades, Yes Adventure!

By LOUIS RABINOWITZ

"Go West, young man, go West," was the cry a decade ago. Adventure was to be found only in the thickets of virgin forests and on the plains where few men had trod.

"Go flying, young man and woman, go flying!" is the cry of today. Adventure is to be found only among the mysteries of high-blown clouds and the platitudes of raucous head-lines.

No matter what the time or place, Youth has always been advised to seek Adventure far, far away or above home. In some other realm—there only must young people seek to satisfy their natural desire for Adventure. When always, the greatest and real Adventure has been right at home, simply waiting and waiting. Waiting until the intelligence and courage of young people should reach that degree whereat they might reach out and grasp that which is already within their reach.

What is greater than to Adventure with an understanding of the inequities of our present economic system, and strive to eliminate them?

A Greater Adventure

To Adventure through that rotten mass of job, school, and printed propaganda with which capitalist agents are forever attempting to stuff the minds and allay the hunger of young people. To tear this slime away from their eyes—what greater Adventure has Life for Youth?

To Adventure at home with Comrades alike, ideals and purpose—to Adventure along the pathway of the greatest Cause that ever urged young men and women to thought and action—to Adventure in the glorious movement of Socialism!

To Adventure to Organize and Educate in the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League—For here lies the real Adventure of Youth.

YOUTH CONFERENCE

As part of its plans to raise money to aid the New Bedford strikers the Committee will hold two tag days in East New York and Brownsville, today and tomorrow. All those who have time are requested to report to 219 Sackman St., if you live in Brooklyn or to 2518 Mermaid avenue, Coney Island, today and tomorrow between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning. Lester Shulman and Henry Sapkovitz will be in charge of the two days drive. Next week a similar two days drive will be held which will cover Harlem and the Bronx. No circle meetings in these boroughs on their Tag Days. Emanuel Switkes, the chairman of this conference, reports that he has visited several Workers' Circle branches and Socialist Party branches and has obtained aid from them. He requests that Yipels with spare time in the evening see him in order to arrange for similar visits to the many other branches of both organizations as yet uncovered, and trade union locals. The first remittance of money will be made by the conference some time next week.

YIPSEL BOAT RIDE TO CAMP EDEN

The annual boat ride held by the Young People's Socialist League in cooperation with the Bronx Free Fellowship and The Rand School Fellowship was a success in spite of the threatening weather in the morning and the late season of one comrade who held the tickets of about thirty others. The original destination was Sunset Park, but this being closed, the excursionists went to Camp Eden, at Cold Spring, New York. Some of them went swimming and boating. Entertainment was furnished for the majority of them in the shade of the nearby woods.

SENIOR DINING IN NEW YORK

At a joint meeting addressed by Dr. Leon Rosser Land of the Bronx Free Fellowship on June 15 at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, more than 150 people of Circles One, Five, and Two, attended. He spoke on "Marriage, Morals, and Freedom." A lively discussion followed. The next meeting of Circle Six, Brook-

lyn, in its re-organization campaign will be held Thursday, June 28, at 8 p. m. at 167 Tompkins avenue. Julius Umansky will speak on "Hereditary vs. Environment" and will be assisted by Irving Smith in the discussion.

KINGS JUNIORS RALLY JULY 3
On Tuesday July 3, at 8:15 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, the Juniors of Kings County will hold an indoor Yipels Rally. There will be a speaker from each of the six Junior Circles in the County, and two Seniors active in Junior work will also speak. A play will be given by the members of Circle 13, Juniors, under whose auspices the meeting is being held, and entertainment numbers from other circles will also be presented. Admission is free. All comrades are invited.

JUNIOR EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE
Benjamin Horowitz, Educational Director of Circle 6, Jr.s., invites the Educational Directors of every Circle in the County to join with him in a conference to be held at 1336 Lincoln place on Wednesday, July 17, 1928, at 8:30 p. m. The purpose is to devise means and ways of improving the educational programs of Junior Circles. Kindly address all your consents by mail to Benjamin Horowitz, 334 Floyd street, Brooklyn, New York.

Circle Twelve
Circle 12 Juniors will meet regularly from now on, on Tuesday evenings, 8:30 at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The Midjet Juniors of this circle hold meetings every week at the same place from 8 to 9 o'clock. They have re-organized for the summer and will be directed by Charles Sunasky and Lester Shulman.

Circle One
Circle 1, Juniors, of 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn, held a successful Package Party and Dance at their headquarters on June 15. The affair was held in celebration of their sixth anniversary in the League. They met at the above address on Fridays at 8:30 p. m. Comrade Kantor is their director.

THE CHATTER BOX

Deserted Courtyard

Now dead leaves blow where once
Gay red-heeled feet stamped across the stones.
The balcony where a Senorita stood
To listen to the serenade below
Crumbles into dust; weeds choke
The walk where flowers once guarded secrets in the dawn.
There are no secrets now:
The sun has found them out.

Birth

I stand at the top of the hill—
Alone, and listening:
The cool wind blows through the tree tops,
While the stars drift high over head. . . .
I stand—and from the womb of silence—
Comes wisdom.

Imperfection (For a certain Chatter-boxing poet)

Rising on air of song,
The steady pinions beat.
When I reach the topmost cloud the sweetest songs
I sing
End in jangling.
So, since I cannot rise myself
And shout my message from the skies,
I lift my eyes to the stars
To catch aft echo of the song you sing.
OLIVE S. ONEAL

Except in an occasional poem, this column hardly ever holds forth on the question of love. But now that summer stands with timid grace before the season's gate, and the winds soften into sentimental tulle, I will allow for a few moments' dalliance on that cosmic matter.

Time used to be when young swains went forth to Ulmer Picnic Park with lunch boxes and hopeful hearts. A two-hours trolley ride from out of the East Side alleys to the mosquito lanes of the Queens County swampland would usher in the day. Baseball and bay-rowboating would follow on until sandwich time. Then with the noon lowering into the witching time of twilight, the gentler emotions came stealing in upon our sunburned and play-wearied selves. Every lass was a queen then, and every swamp-bog a ravishing garden. Penniless, rickety, gutter-beaten as we were, no king yearned for love with greater hunger. And no lord desired a lady with half the nobility of intent.

But a sweetheart was beyond our poor power to afford. How we envied the lads who on their magnificent wages of ten dollars a week or so, could invite their Annes and Mammies, buy them ice-cream and pay their fares to and fro with such spendthrift abandon.

And never a summer passes on through these embittered and hardening years, but my mind goes back to the day in July when I was sixteen, overwhelmingly in love, and too poor to dare ask my Lewis Street lady-love to go out with me to the Ulmer Picnic Park grounds. . . .

A real poet might fashion innumerable odes to the heart-break of my adolescent days. I do not know but that in someday telling the dizzy world about those sad moments, I might so rise to poethood.

Which brings me quite easily to George Sterling's "Sonnets to Craig," a book of a hundred poems written by that strange American genius to the lady who has been Mrs. Upton Sinclair since 1911. Upton sponsors the book with a well-balanced introduction, explaining how these sonnets came to be written, how Sterling flung the tribute of his passionate music into the votive censers before his goddess. . . . how no answer came. . . . how nothing came of it, except perhaps the exquisite incense . . . that is now a hundred sonnets of exalted singing.

There are those who are too calloused for this sort of soul baring. . . . There are others who snicker at sentiment, and will pursue a sardonic lip at the obvious passion that impelled a poet into unforgettable song. . . . I count these among the dead. . . . A man dies for me, the moment he leaves the democracy of pain. And what is more universal than the joy of being in love, or the stabbing torment of having lost. . . . utterly lost it. . . .

I might venture that the years will be more inquisitive later on, with the tragedy of George Sterling's life, and the value of his singing. Poets have mighty little caste in these oil-soaked days. Especially poets who do not spring from the Brahmins of Boston, or giggle on Pollyanna piffing. In the meantime, those of us who can remember that Homer was a ragged zither strummer in his life and to his day and Keats, a precocious drug-clever rhymer to the smug literati of England's yester-morn. . . . will not falter in our duty to preserve as best we can, whatever genius filters through the iron weave that fences in our present day civilization. . . .

My thanks, Comrade Sinclair, for having published those rare and imperishable love sonnets of George Sterling. . . . My own love to "Craig" your wife. . . . for having been good, and noble, and dear enough to inspire a poet to great song. . . .

Ultimatum

Never again am I going to worry.
This one life is too brief a span
To torture dreams or evers to carry
Favor with any man. . . .

If they kneel at my door and hall me,
I shall perhaps receive them well;
If they ignore, or otherwise fail me
Then . . . what the . . .

BENJAMIN MUSSER.

I wish to thank Comrade Benjamin Macmahon for his generous contribution to both the Miners and New Bedford Strikers Emergency funds. The money he enclosed with a long letter, will go a longer way toward helping these valiant workers to help themselves. . . . Charity? . . . Hell no! Money is the snow of war, and in class war. . . . sinew and hope and faith. . . . a triple value, say we.

I wish space permitted the publication of his entire letter. But I wish to thank him in behalf of the strikers, heartily. . . .

It is with deep sorrow that I am compelled to note here that Comrade Alexander Braunstein, former Alderman from the Bronx, has gone from our midst to join Gene Debs, Ben Hanford, Meyer London, and the thousands of other old Knights of the Arm and Torch, who blazoned a way for us into political and moral significance. . . .

A fighter to the bone, a splendid campaigner, a true Comrade, and a good fellow in all places and to all men, the world is poorer for having lost him. . . . The world is always left poorer when it loses one who has helped to enrich it. . . . Good-bye Alex. . . . Rest quietly. . . . we will carry on strengthened by the cause we must remember how well you did your job.

S. A. de Witt.

Tragedy of The Aged in Cotton Mills

Long Hours, Starvation Wages, and Bleak Life for Old Folks in Factory Hells

By Esther Lowell

HILLSBORO, N. C.—Two people can't live on the pay of one in the cotton mill village of Eno, adjoining Hillsboro, N. C. At least one old couple has made that finding. The old man, still upstanding and strong from generations of farmer-stock, has only \$7 left in his pay envelope after the rent money is taken out.

True, the rent is low, as his wife says, 56 cents a week for their two-room house. That's 25 cents a room plus a few cents for electric light. And unlike some companies, the Eno mill lets its workers use lights for current for ironing at any time of day or night.

Since short-time has come, several months ago, the wife has gone into the mill. While her husband works in the shipping room she irons down salvage edges and earns, when she gets a full day's work, \$2.10. Last week she had only two days' work. They work 10-1-2 hours a day and only four days a week now. They fear that the mill will "stand" for a whole week at July Fourth, cutting off their meagre earnings entirely.

The woman spoke of having to see a doctor. When asked if the company didn't supply one, or at least a nurse, she answered:

"No, the company don't give you nothing except your pay, and not much of that."

Eno mill was established in 1896. Its village for 450 workers runs down the gully behind the mill and up the ridges beyond. The plain board houses are fairly well built but very much in need of painting. Cement walks have been put in to hurry feet that would otherwise lag in the slippery clay paths. Bucket-dip wells serve the workers water—one well of 25 or 30 families.

Mill children are taken through the fourth grade in the village school and then must go uptown to Hillsboro, a mile or more, for higher grades. But most of them go into the mill at 14. "There's a little girl in the shipping room can't be over 13 or 14," said the old man.

Hillsboro's boast is of its antiquity and of Lord Cornwallis' presence in Revolutionary War days. But its two cotton mill villages—Eno and that of the much smaller Belle Vue Mfg. Co.—are poked off in a corner against the big mill. Travelers on the main highway never need see the straggly mill section.

Yipsels Arrange Tag Day for the Textile Strikers

Yipsel Circles, Attention!

Saturday, June 30, and Sunday, July 1, are the days on which a Tag Day will be held for the New Bedford strikers in Brooklyn and Coney Island, in which sections all circle meetings have been cancelled. The following week-end, July 7 and 8, a similar Tag Day is scheduled for Manhattan and the Bronx. No circle meetings.

All Yipsels will report at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, at 1 o'clock Saturday and 9 to 10 Sunday. Those who wish to go to Coney Island will go to the YPSL headquarters at 2514 Mermaid avenue, same hours.

For the Manhattan-Bronx Tag Day, Yipsels will report at the following quarters: 96 Avenue C, 62 East 106th street, and for the Bronx: 1167 Boston Road. The hours are as for the above.

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Protests Increasing Against Closing Debs Memorial Station

TWO weeks before the hearing scheduled by the Federal Radio Commission, at which 162 stations are requested to show that "public interest, convenience and necessity" justify renewal of their licenses the volume of protest against the closing of Station WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, appears to be growing to the proportions of a mass movement.

The Debs station, the only avowedly radical station east of Chicago, was established by the contributions of a large number of individuals and labor organizations, and from present indications it appears that the entire labor and radical movement is united in the protest against its forcible closing. Called upon to show cause why its license should not be revoked August 1, tens of thousands of individuals have volunteered to give the Commission the "cause" they ask for.

The principal objection to the revocation of the license has been that WEVD is a station giving a platform to all shades of minority opinion and that while conservatives and upholders of popular causes have free access to the popular stations, to revoke the license of WEVD is tantamount to a denial of free speech. Another argument that has been frequently made is that this is campaign time, and that while Secretary Hoover will make his campaign over the radio, the Socialists should not be denied their right to the air. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States, is chairman of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund.

Among the organizations that have filed protests with the Federal Radio Commission are the Workmen's Circle and scores of its individual branches, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the International Pocketbook Workers, Carpenters, Bakers, Butchers, and other unions, and a large number of progressive organizations, such as the California Progressives, the Women's Peace Society, church forums, and others.

Another protest against the threatened closing of the station has been filed with the Federal Radio Commission by Congressman Andrew L. Somers (Democrat) of Brooklyn, it was announced yesterday by Mr. C. August Gerber, managing director of the station.

Congressman Somers praised the Socialist Party as "responsible for many splendid reforms." He said that revocation of WEVD's license "might not hurt the Socialist Party, but that it would gravely injure the cause of good government."

Congressman Somers' letter reads: "I shall write to the Radio Commission against revocation of the license of WEVD. 'I do not agree with many of the principles of the Socialist Party, but I must admit it has been responsible for many splendid reforms in this government and therefore has earned its right to be heard at all times on all public questions. To deny this Party the use of the air will not hurt Socialism very much, but it might hurt the cause of good government, the thing we all desire.'"

Congressman Somers, one of the youngest members of the House of Representatives, is a son of A. S. Somers, member of the New York Board of Education and Democratic Leader of the 18th Assembly District, Brooklyn.

Upton Sinclair, author of "Oil!", "The Jungle", "Money Writes" and a score of other novels and other books, has added his voice to those protesting to the Federal Radio Commission.

Sinclair's name is added to that of Congressmen Emanuel Celler, Fiorello H. LaGuardia and Andrew L. Somers of New York City, a number of liberals and progressives, the Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, trade unions, Socialist organizations and peace societies and other organizations that have filed objections with the Commission against its order.

Upton Sinclair's protest to the Radio Commission reads:

"There are only two or three radio

"IMPERIALISM"
will be the subject of a week-end discussion at Camp Woodlawn, the beautiful new co-operative camp for workers. Prominent speakers have been invited. Come this week-end and join in the discussion and get acquainted. Boating, swimming, baseball, tennis, hiking, dancing, music.

RATES: \$4 per week-end (3 meals); \$22 per week for members; \$4.00 per week-end; \$25 per week for non-members. Special rates for conferences and conventions.

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stations in America which have any real interest in education, or any understanding of what the words free speech mean. It is characteristic of the stage of our civilization that one of them, Station WEVD, should be declared superfluous, and scheduled for elimination. If the big business interests can get away with this I shall cease advocating compensation for the owners of our national industries and become an advocate of confiscation."

Upton Sinclair is candidate for Governor of California on the Socialist Party ticket.

Opening Dinner at Camp Eden on June 30

Dark clouds and belated showers last Sunday did not dampen the spirits of the various Socialist groups gathered at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, N. Y. The caravan of cars beamed with happy faces when they arrived at camp after the drive from New York. Then loud cheers were given as the sunshine appeared through the cloudy sky and brightened every one's hopes for a perfect day. In a really short time everything was dry without a trace of the morning's rain.

After that all cares were drowned in the soothing waters of Lake Eden, and the games were on. As laughter echoed throughout the camp.

According to Henry S. Citrin, managing director of Camp Eden there will be great doings during the week of the fourth of July. The gala opening dinner is Saturday evening, June 30th. Prominent persons in the movement are expected to be present. This marks the camp's readiness for the coming of the most discriminate guests.

Milton Rothenberg, in charge of Social Activities, assures a good time for all. And invites friends and lovers of camp life to join in the jolly spirit of comradeship that prevails at Camp Eden.

In addition a collegiate dance orchestra will be a new feature this season.

Shipstead and Lundeen Head Farmer-Labor Ticket in Minnesota

ST. PAUL.—By a huge majority over William Watkins' U. S. Sen. Henrik Shipstead was renominated in the Minnesota primaries June 18 on the Farmer-Labor ticket. But Dr. L. A. Fritzsche, Shipstead's running mate on the endorsed ticket, was beaten for governor by Ernest Lundeen in a close race. Unofficial figures give Lundeen about 2000 majority in a vote of 80,000.

Lundeen and Watkins represented the radical wing of the party. Lundeen is one of the wartime congressmen who voted against war. He filed for governor when Floyd Olson who was nominated by the convention declined to run. The committee however put up Fritzsche as their choice.

Watkins filed early but Shipstead waited till the last minute before filing as a Farmer-Laborite.

Randolph Invited To Address Workers

A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been invited to address the conference of Railway Labor Executives. The Conference will be held in San Francisco, the last week in June. It will embrace twenty-one of the standard railroad unions.

This is the most powerful group of railroad unions in the world. All of these railway chiefs are friendly to the porters' union, according to Organizer Randolph. The invitation came through Mr. D. B. Robertson of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and President of the Association of Railway Labor Executives.

Death Lurks for Miners Above, Below Surface

SCRANTON, PA.—Only the miner fights death beneath the surface in hard coal mines. But above his entire family may be entombed with barely more than a second's warning in one of the many cave-ins that make life exciting in Scranton. Large parts of the city cover abandoned mine workings.

Three families rushed to the street when a cave-in threatened to demolish their house within a stone's throw of the 1925 disaster when five persons were killed. Last year a boy was killed near the same spot when a foundation wall toppled over on him, due to the sinking of the earth. The other day, while working near the site of the latest cave-in, a miner in his garden would have been sucked into the earth had he not clung to a fence. A large pothole suddenly appeared.

Jobs for Only One in Four

HARRISBURG, PA.—Of 10,500 applicants for jobs at public employment agencies last month, but 25 per cent could be placed, asserts the Pennsylvania Department of Labor. 41 per cent of the applicants were women.

450 workers were killed in industry during the month and 36,426 were injured. 4,400 serious injuries were reported from hard and soft coal mines.

An old war horse is David Young of Aurora, Ind. He says "Enclosed find renewal. Would like to donate about two million bucks to help build up a powerful Socialist Movement, but—". (There follows an account of industrial conditions that will not be found in an old party platform.)

Death Toll of New York Industry in One Month

Industry took a savage toll of life in New York State last month. Eight men were electrocuted through contact with live wires. Explosions burned and scalded the life out of six workers. A welder and a carpenter died of burns when their clothing caught fire. One man was burned to death when a pot of flaming paraffin spilled over him. Another was burned to death when the tank car from which he was drawing gasoline caught fire. Four window cleaners met death in dizzy plunges. Five were killed in falls from ladders and scaffolds. Among 191 victims to industry were 10 women and eight children. 101 widows and 94 children were left by workers killed, according to a partial checkup.

Thomas, Hays In Protest For WEVD

Thomas Will Make Station an Issue if Necessary—Hays Declares Station Serves Real Need

NORMAN THOMAS, speaking to a good-sized audience of liberals, laborites and party members who had come to the Community Church of New York last Tuesday night to protest against the threatened cancellation of the license of WEVD on August 1, said:

"WEVD is the only broadcasting station in the East which is devoted to the dissemination of the viewpoint of the minority. It may be that the Radio Commission does not understand the function which this station performs and if its members do understand they will renew our license. However, let me assure these gentlemen that I am going on a campaign which will take me pretty much over the country and that if our license is not renewed I shall be at pains to tell people everywhere that we have been put off the air. This is not a threat; it is merely a warning not to give us another just grievance of which we have plenty already."

Arthur Garfield Hays, author of "Let Freedom Ring" and veteran free speech advocate, said that the Socialist station was serving a real community need and should by all means be continued.

August Gerber, manager of WEVD, told of the history of the founding of the station and the seven months service it has rendered the radical and labor movement.

The meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Social Service Committee of the Community Church, was presided over by McAllister Coleman and was broadcast by WEVD. Resolutions demanding the continuance of the station were passed unanimously and with a roar of approval.

"Peaceful Breathing" Is Left to Pickets

WHEELING, W. VA.—Striking miners are restricted to "peaceful breathing" in their efforts to picket Elm Grove Mining Co. mines, according to the terms of a circuit court injunction which has drawn fire from the American Civil Liberties Union. Pickets may not even use "persuasion or entreaty" to bring strike-breakers out of the mines.

Describing the court writ given at the request of operators as "one of the most stringent in labor history," the Civil Liberties Union is planning test cases of violations with a view to challenging the validity of the anti-labor document. The entire union membership, individually and collectively, are forbidden to make any effort to get strikebreakers to leave their jobs or to refrain from going to work for the mining company.

"Threats, violence or abusive language," "persuasion, entreaty, or enticement" are alike banned. 1,500 words are required to describe every possible act by unionists which might in some manner influence a strikebreaker to quit work and even the ladies' auxiliary is forbidden to meet.

"Put us on the list for a bundle for at least six weeks. Many are the comments heard about the paper and punch of the N. L. and I want to see how many subscribers in Wis." writes the secretary of that State, Al Benson.

"The New Leader is invaluable to my class in public speaking. Its a great help because of the great number of topics so clearly discussed. Count on me to send in some subs." H. A. Irvin, Buffalo, N.Y.

Comrade Kostinsky doesn't care how much work he gives the circulation department. During the past two months he has brought in about 25 subs. The members of his organization, Branch 7, East, are the same kind of sub hustlers.

Two subs from Mrs. O. F. Bender, Harvey, Ill. "For the enclosed send the N.L. to a college or normal school. This is a tip for increasing your reading public," writes "K. Y. Z.", Berkeley, Cal.

"Coolidge prosperity has not hit us here," writes Comrade Hawthorne of Oklahoma, but he does manage to round up a sub now and then.

"Sorry, but I forgot to renew. Find \$2.20 enclosed. The 20 cents is a self-imposed penalty for my oversight," says P. S. Goldthwaite, Punxsutawney, Pa.

A student, Amos B. Horlacher, of Hazelton, Pa., volunteers to do all possible for the Socialist Party and the candidacy of Norman Thomas.

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

PATIENCE, PLEASE!

THE current performance of Gilbert and Sullivan is always the best. The music and the lines have a vitality that presses through in constant renewal, bringing always the old delight; to this, each clever variant touch of business adds new savor. The production of Gilbert and Sullivan is a test of the director. To this, T. M. Cushing responds with liveliness, in the presentation of Patience he has brought with the play Arts Masque of Baltimore to the Theatre Maque.

The company that has thus rashly invaded Broadway challenges comparison, of course, with the group that re-awoke the same "comic aesthetic opera" at the Greenwich Village Theatre a few seasons ago. With voices less sure, and acting less polished, the present players possess, not the naive spontaneity that marked the other romping, but a mock earnestness that, in its over-sobriety, just suits the theme. Gertrude M. Gossman is not yet hardened enough to make up as ugly as her part requires, but she meets fully the demands on her of doleful hopefulness, of decadent though not quite decayed (not having finished its fourth decade) beauty, bounding in stout grace to unexpected triumph. Donald Kirkley as the fleshly poet (Bunthorne) makes the most effective use of his body for stage effects, though the complete turn-out of the earth of a dusty tomorrow is questionable—yet the loss of his wreath to the post-top is but one of several superb gestures. The chorus is well managed, and the tramp of the heavy dragons into the orchestra is successful. But one or two other ventures seem too wide a departure from the work, which has—like most works of art that enduringly hold—acquired somewhat of a mold, almost a ritual. The "real" magnet and silver churn are, for example, less valid in their moment than Grosvenor's sign "Closed"; but the dance of the solicitor as an encore to the agreement of the two poets seems to take its rise from the fact that Earl Jordan knows how to quick step. Things to dispute, however, only add to the pleasure of the play, and the audience, by its applause, seemed to be gathering their first treat to "Patience": An enviable evening.

SCREEN BEAUTY

THE appearance of Raquel Meller, in "Violette Imperiale", at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse last week, and this week at the Fifty-Fifth Street, brings to mind the interesting observation of the French essayist Alain, in his paper called "Holly Green". Holly Green is a substance invented by Stendhal, the novelist, for the use of one of his characters, and apparently never elsewhere employed; it is a powder or salve that has the opposite effect of that of rouge, making the user more ugly. The handsome heroine applied this, in order not to attract attention and unwelcome advances, before starting on a journey. Alain develops the idea that all genuine beauty is overlaid with a touch of holly-green, so that its full power is not at once felt. What is offered to every comer is little to be prized; even beauty must be come at gradually, with proper preparation. It is true, as any picture-fan will probably deny, that the famous beauties of the screen seem usually a bit coarsened by the professional proffering of their charms.

Raquel Meller, when first she appeared on the screen, did not strike with immediate beauty; her features, considered singly, are rather smooth nor regular; a twin sister to her might be ugly. Yet as the moments of tender feeling came, in the emotional flashes of her early flight from the police of her native town, in the latter decision that sets her riding to her death to save the Empress, there is a radiance of some inner power that illumines the face with a deeper though less paraded beauty. The picture itself does little to raise our opinion of the French film, but Raquel Meller reveals a growth of beauty one should not miss. And the surrounding presentations, as usual, are the most interesting the city affords.

SOME ODDITIES

THE current bill of the Fifth Avenue Playhouse is again sprinkled with oddities of interest; even the program notes take on an individual touch, the screen comments on the little cinema theatre have an amusing irony; and the omission of political candidates (as such) is a welcome relief. But the main picture, "Love is a Lie", stimulates more serious thoughts. The technique, and the artistry, of cinema photography, have reached a high point. The newer methods are even developing certain worms, that (like expressionistic devices on the stage) have to be watched lest they also develop monotony. The stopping of an automobile, for instance, is effectively caught by showing, instead of the whole car and the occupants descending, one wheel in close-up as it gradually ceases to turn. But when another picture shows a stopping locomotive in the same way, and a third centers, its moment, upon the peeling of a bicycle coming to rest, it is safe to say that only genius can freshen that idea. Modern photography for the screen has, then, reached the point where, with the old materials, it may soon stagnate.

"Love is a Lie" drives home this tendency to nullification of good technique on an outworn theme. Only the presentation of "The Painted World" from

the film morgue, reminding us of the crudity of the earliest pictures, makes this story seem of our day. The little cinemas are doing good service, but—they confess their frequent inability to find appropriate films—they can only assist in the growth of a genuine film art, that shall consist, not in more magnificent, more elaborate presentations of short stories and novels, or plots these forms more adequately handle, but in themes especially and uniquely devised for the movies, in pictures that could not as well be anything else.

IN BRIEF

S. L. Rothafel has been made a life member of the Sojourners, a Masonic organization of Army, Navy and Marine Corps officers, of which Admiral C. P. Plunkett is president. The only other life member of the organization is Commander Richard E. Byrd, who was extended this honor with Rothafel. The presentation was made in the form of a bronze plaque engraved as follows: "This is to certify that Major Samuel L. Rothafel, U.S.M.C.R., 'Roxy', was unanimously elected to Life Membership in the New York Chapter No. 13 Sojourners in appreciation of services rendered and as a token of friendship, June, 1928. Signed C. P. Plunkett, President."

The American premiere of "The City Without Jews," adapted from the sensational novel by Hugo Bettauer, will take place at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse the week beginning Saturday, June 30th. It recounts the plight that befell a great metropolis after the expulsion of all the Jews and the subsequent repeal of the law. Its author, Bettauer, was assassinated shortly after the publication of his novel. The book itself has already attained an enormous circulation figure abroad and is one of the most important sociological documents of the decade. It was produced in the author's locale of the story by Deutsche Films A. G. and directed by Karl von Sankar. The cast includes Johannes Reimer, Anna Ritley, Hans Rauscher and Gustave Fleigel. The program will also include yet another Chaplin revival and a UFA scientific film, "Secrets of the Sea."

Georg Kaiser, famous author of more than twenty-five plays, was born in the town of Magdeburg, November 25, 1898. Accordingly, next November he will celebrate his thirtieth anniversary, at which time his latest play "The Phantom Lover" will attain international importance. Gustav Blum will produce the play in New York and at about the same time, Max Reinhardt will produce it at the Deutsches Theatre, Berlin. At present it is being played successfully in the smaller cities throughout Germany.

"The Man Who Laughs," the Universal special production that has been playing to capacity at the Central Theatre for the past two months, has been held over for an additional period of two weeks in order to satisfy popular demand. It was announced that it would close Sunday. This holdover will not change the announcement that it will open at the Rialto Theatre in July, probably at the expiration of the two weeks at the Central.

Lorayne Duval has been placed under a long-term contract by the Universal Pictures Corporation. She will play prominent roles in feature productions and with the many stars of that company. Miss Duval was discovered by Carl Laemmle, Jr., while playing minor parts in his series of featurettes, "The Collegians."

Harold Atteridge has written a new sketch called "Psychoanalysis," which has been added to the "Greenwich Village Follies" at the Winter Garden. The sketch, which is a comedy, "Love is a Lie," will be shown at the 55th Street Playhouse the week beginning Saturday, June 30th.

Several cast changes will be made in the two Theatre Guild productions, "Volpone" and "Strange Interlude," at this week. In "Volpone" Douglas Montgomery will succeed Alfred Lunt at the Saturday matinee, at which time Claude Rains will take over the title role in place of Dudley Digges and Phyllis Connard will replace Margalo Gilmore. Ruth Chatterton has already followed Helen Westley in "Volpone," while Alan Joslyn is acting the part formerly played by McKay Morris.

Some of the leading players of "Strange Interlude" will also leave on vacations Saturday. As previously printed, Judith Anderson will replace Lynn Fontanne. Earl Larrimore and Glen An-

ATTENTION ORGANIZATIONS!

Workmen's Circle Branches, Trade Unions, Socialist Party Branches, Progressive, Fraternal and Benevolent Associations, Kranken Kasse Branches, Sport and Athletic Clubs, Liberal Organizations, Pacifist Societies, etc., are invited to participate in the

GRAND PICNIC

Which Will Take Place

AUGUST 4th, 1928

At Ulmer-Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The picnic will be a send-off to NORMAN THOMAS (Socialist Candidate for President) when he leaves New York for his National Campaign tour of the country

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Present Their Company

Big 'Sendoff' For Thomas In August

Picnic on August 4 to Be Occasion for Large Demonstration of Various Organizations

WHEN Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, leaves New York City on August 4 for his national campaign tour, he will receive the greatest "send-off" in the form of Labor and Socialist demonstrations any Socialist candidate ever received, in many years.

A joint committee of trade unions, Workmen's Circle branches, the Socialist party, and many other friendly organizations, have arranged a monster picnic at Union Park, Brooklyn, which will undoubtedly bring out about twenty-five thousand workers.

Already more than 80 organizations have bought more than twenty thousand tickets for their members. An elaborate program is being arranged which will provide a day of interesting amusements and diversions. The program will include in addition to many athletic events a professional soccer game by well known teams, which will be shortly announced. A full program of entertainment, concerts by prominent stars of the stage, dancing by two jazz bands.

A great deal of interest has been aroused amongst the various participating organizations to make this gathering a winner. In addition to all the New York organizations participating, which includes all the language groups, as the Finns, Germans, Russians, Italians, and others, the Workmen's Circle branches will come in from nearby cities in Connecticut and New Jersey. Local Hudson County of the Socialist party has undertaken to bring out 1,000 Socialists and their sympathizers. Readers of The New Leader who cannot secure tickets for the picnic from their organization can be supplied at The New Leader office.

Braunstein Passes Away In Yonkers

Former New York Socialist Alderman Dies Suddenly—Was Very Effective Speaker and Writer

SOCIALISTS of New York are mourning over the untimely death of Comrade Alexander Braunstein, pioneer Bronx Socialist, devoted worker in the party and for four years Socialist member of the Board of Aldermen. Comrade Braunstein died suddenly of heart disease on Sunday, June 24, in his drug store in Yonkers, and was buried Monday.

Alexander Braunstein was one of the most picturesque of the local Socialists. He was a Russian from the Caucasian regions and his big shock of white hair and his piercing eyes made him a striking figure everywhere. Only 60 years old, he had seemed for over twenty years to be one of the elders of the party. He was under 50 when he was elected to the Board of Aldermen, but most of his comrades considered him much older.

Braunstein was not only an effective speaker, but an excellent writer as well. He contributed a series of articles on the classical economists to the New York Call that was a revelation to his party associates for their deep learning and wide reading. He was always at the beck and call of the party to serve on committees, speak on the streets, or do the routine organization work of his locality. His zeal and devotion were an inspiration to hundreds of younger members. His learning, his devotion, his kindly good nature, his humor, made him one of the best loved of our local party members. In the Board of Aldermen he was a remarkable figure, apparently out of place in a law making body filled with district leaders of the Tammany type, but he soon won the respect and liking of them all by his lovable qualities and his real legislative ability.

Braunstein was of the material of which Socialist parties are made. To his devoted wife his memory and the esteem in which he was held by his comrades will help to assuage the grief in his passing.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

Reservations for Boat and Hotel. Delegates and alternates to the State Convention are informed that reservations are being made for the night boat leaving New York City, Pier 32, North River, Friday evening, July 15. The City Office will take charge of reservations. It is necessary to know who is going and how many before July 4. Unless reservations are made in advance, difficulties may be faced by those who wait. The same is true relative to hotel reservations. The convention will be held in the Hotel Ten Eyck. Those who want accommodations elsewhere must let us know. Consult August Claessens, Executive Secretary, City Office, 7 East 15th Street, phone Algonquin 4620.

MANHATTAN

New York County branches elected the following delegates to the State Convention: Joseph Leventhal, Celia Rotter, Julius Green, A. N. Weinberg, Molly Weinberg, Simon Berlin, Sophie Segaloff, Ethel Brown, Max Nelson, Wilho Hedman, T. Wittala, Bruno Wagner, Anton Novotny, J. Villatzer, G. Valent, Rubin Guskin, I. Silverman, Morris Vashley, Alternates, I. Corn and L. Berman, L. Berman.

DOWNTOWN BRANCH

The first meeting of the Amalgamated 1st and 2nd and 3rd Downtown Branches was held last Friday evening. Both branches concurred with the City Executive on condition that this combination be temporary and will enhance the effectiveness of organization on the East Side. Although there was some opposition to this move it is surely good news to report that all comrades settled down to business and the first meeting was very enthusiastic.

M. Edelson was elected organizer. Joseph Leventhal, Educational Director; S. Whitehorn, Financial Secretary; J. Taubenschlag, Recording Secretary; L. Zatz, Treasurer. Joseph Leventhal and H. Letzer were elected delegates to the City Central Committee and H. Taubenschlag, J. Leventhal, delegates to the City Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband. Charles Guskin, Jos. Leventhal were elected delegates to the State Convention. I. Corn and L. Berman, alternates. Branch meetings will be held every 2nd and 4th Fridays.

Unity House Celebrates Anniversary

SATURDAY and Sunday, June 30 and July 1, a conference of the Women's Auxiliary will be held by the Women's Auxiliary of Wyoming Valley and Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League. This gathering of women will discuss their problems from the point of view of women, mothers, and wives of trade union members.

Subjects for discussion will be: 1. The Place of Women in the World of Today; 2. The Importance of Women's Auxiliaries; 3. Married Women in Industry; 4. Wives of Trade Union Men. Discussion Leaders are Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Honorary President, National Women Trade Union League, Mrs. Grace Kluge, Chairman, Education Committee, Machinist Auxiliary, Miss Rose Schneiderman, President National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Fannie Cohn, Educational Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Miss Edith Christenson, Secretary, Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League.

This will be a most interesting gathering and we advise those who are interested to come out to Unity House and learn how our sisters, the wives of American trade unionists, who belong to women's auxiliaries, discuss their problems. There is now in Unity House a fine group of young people. All are happy in the beautiful surroundings and enjoy the comforts it offers.

It is especially noteworthy that this year so many of trade unionists' children, American born and mostly professional, are spending their vacation at Unity House and take pride in the achievements of the International Union to which their parents belong.

All who intend to spend their vacation at Unity House should register early with our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, Chelsea 2148. The office is open until 7 o'clock in the evening.

The official opening of the summer season was celebrated last Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Scores of members and friends celebrated the tenth anniversary of Unity House. During ten years it was demonstrated that service is a greater incentive than profit since Unity House is being conducted on a non-profit basis. In the musical entertainment Maurice Schwartz and Lazzar Freed of the Yiddish Art Theatre, Mme. Jeanne Siroka, the opera singer, A. Berg, the brilliant young violinist, and many professional artists and members participated.

A SURE WAY TO OBTAIN LASTING RESULTS FROM AN OPEN AIR MEETING IS TO TELL THE NEW LEADER. HAVE A BUNDLE ON HAND FOR THE NEXT MEETING.

BRONX

Delegates to the State Convention were elected by members of 7 branches in the County. Two branches, the 5th A. D. and the lower Bronx, Jewish Branch, failed to send in their vote. The following were elected delegates: Samuel Orr, August Claessens, Esther Friedman, Louis Panken, Morris Gismet, David Rubinow, G. Dobseavage, Sol Wechsler, B. Kosinsky, J. B. Edwards, H. Friedman, Israel Feinberg and Abraham Bass. The City Central Committee elected the remaining two delegates. Their names will appear next week.

Central Branch

This branch met June 19 and decided that during July, branch meetings will be held on the 1st and the 24th. The branches purchased 250 tickets for the picnic on August 4. Comrade Orr reported the Spring 24th made a little money. Comrade Umansky appeared in behalf of the New Bedford strikers and a collection was taken for their relief. I. G. Dobseavage was nominated for Assembly in the 4th District. A Woman's Committee of active women was elected. Street meetings will be held Fridays and Thursdays during July.

Branch Seven

The next meeting will be held Tuesday evening, July 10, at the headquarters, 3215 3rd Avenue.

Branch Seven East

The last meeting was well attended. It was decided to discontinue street meetings on Saturday nights during July and hold them either Wednesday or Friday evenings. Abraham Bass was elected recording secretary and Morris Press financial secretary. Comrade Kostinsky continued as general and general assistant on Thursday evening, July 12.

5th A. D.

This branch will continue street meetings during July on Friday evenings on various corners.

8th A. D.

The first mass meeting took place last Monday evening in the basement of building 3 of the Amalgamated Houses. A huge audience crowded every inch of the hall. George Friedman was chairman and introduced August Claessens and Samuel A. De Witt as speakers. Both were well received and an appeal was made for the organization of a powerful branch in the northern part of the City.

One of the talented young women of the house, a mezzo-soprano, delighted the audience with several French, Italian and Spanish selections. A good portion of the crowd adjourned to the tea room where a very enjoyable hour was spent. Morris Gismet spoke, De Witt and Paulsen read poems. Claessens and several others entertained with recitations. It was the first social gathering enjoyed by the Socialists of the Amalgamated Houses.

The 9th A. D. Branch will hold its next meeting Monday, July 2, 8:30 p. m. in the apartment of Mr. and Mrs. Scheer (M. 3).

3rd A. D.

This branch will meet every 1st and 3rd Friday and street meetings will be held on Thursday evenings during July.

Brooklyn Auto Excursion July 22nd

Due to bad weather, the automobile outing arranged by the Brooklyn County organization for last Sunday, could not take place. The Outing Committee (Louis Selden, chairman) met Tuesday at headquarters and set the date of July 22. All comrades holding tickets for the Camp Eden outing will please take note of it and refrain from making any appointments for July 22. S. C. and several others who could not contribute cars for June 24, will be able to do so now.

BROOKLYN

The following branches have reported on election of delegates to the State Convention: 4-14th, 1-3-8th A. D., 2nd A. D., 5th A. D., 12-19th A. D., 22nd A. D., Branches 2 and 3; 23rd A. D., 16th A. D. and members at large. The following branches have failed to report and their records not recorded: 9-16th A. D. Jewish Branch, Bensonhurst Jewish Branch, 22nd A. D. Branch 1, Coney Island Branch (Jewish), Flatbush Branch, Williamsburg Branch and Flatbush Jewish Branch. The following delegates were elected: A. I. Ship-lack, Chas. Solomon, Wm. Feigenbaum, Louis P. Goldberg, H. W. Laidler, Jacob Axelrad, Jos. A. Weil, Hyman Nemser, Sadie Rivkin, Jos. Tuvin, Emil Bromberg, Herman Rivkin, Alternates: S. H. Friedman, Israel Chalkoff, Carl Cummings, J. L. Afros, Wm. Shapiro, Saul Rifkin, Simon Sarashin, Wm. Halpern, Chas. Schoushan, Minnie Weisberg, Emanuel Swick, Frank Roikes, and the remaining three delegates were elected at the meeting of the Central Committee. Their names will be published next week.

At the last meeting the following officers were elected: Organizer, Louis Klukolsky; Financial Secretary, Harry Malkin; Recording Secretary, Hyman Nemser. Delegates to the Central Committee, H. Malkin and Frank Rosenfarb. This branch meets Friday evenings at the headquarters, 420 Hunsdale Street.

Williamsburg. There is considerable activity in the 4-14th, 15-19th and 5th-6th Assembly districts. They are holding weekly meetings and all three are obtaining new members. The question of joint meetings and joint campaign work is being considered with considerable enthusiasm.

18th A. D.

The members of Branch 1, are pleased over the announcement that a new branch has been organized in the District extending comradely wishes for a successful organization. We of Branch 1 wish you a long and useful life.

The series of discussions on current topics is proving of much interest to the members and will be continued at Friday's meeting. Comrade Afros spoke on the Kansas City branch and its activities. It was almost midnight before the discussion broke up.

22nd A. D. We are having successful open air meetings weekly. Next week we are moving from Vermont and Sutter avenues to Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. The meetings on Pennsylvania and Sutter will be held Saturday evenings.

Our voters are being canvassed and we expect good results judging from the reports.

The Norman Thomas for President Club is making good progress. Watch the opening of our campaign headquarters soon on Sutter Avenue.

In October our annual banquet will take place in the most beautiful hall in East New York.

16th A. D. At the last meeting Walter Berkowitz was elected organizer. Report of the recent festival showed a handsome profit. The branch is engaged in doing its utmost to assist the picnic on August 4 and street meetings are being held weekly.

18-21st A. D. A well attended meeting of enrolled voters and Workmen's Circle members was held in the home of Comrades Rivkin and a score of applications were obtained. On Wednesday, June 27, another meeting was held at the Workmen's Circle Center on Church Avenue, at which Comrades Panken, Goldberg and Rivkin were present. A branch will be organized to be known as the 18-21st Assembly District.

10th-11th A. D. At a meeting held in the home of Comrade Goldberg last Thursday evening, sufficient applications were received for a branch. Quite a number of excellent new comrades have been obtained. One of these, a very earnest character, has undertaken to canvass the district and has succeeded in obtaining more members. The next meeting of this branch will be held Thursday evening, July 5.

at the home of Comrades Goldberg, 73 Eastern Parkway.

QUEENS COUNTY

The next meeting of this branch will be held Friday evening, June 29th at the W. C. Center, 158 Beach 85th Street. Nominations for candidates for Assembly will be made.

Jackson Heights. This branch was formally organized and for the present meets in the homes of various comrades. The last meeting was held in the home of Harry Cherkas. The officers are Matthias Palm, organizer; Financial Secretary, G. Phillips; Recording Secretary, H. Cherkas. Branch meetings will be held every second and fourth Wednesday.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Friday, June 29, 8:30 p. m., Rivington and Pitt streets. Speakers, Samuel P. Ulanoff, L. Lieberman, Carl Cummings.

Saturday, June 30, 8:30 p. m., 137th Street and 7th Avenue. Speakers, Ethel Brown and others.

Sunday, July 1, 8:30 p. m., 108th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers, Louis Weil, Isidore Phillips.

Thursday, July 5, 8:30 p. m., 5th Street and Avenue B. Speakers, A. Claessens, M. Salzberg.

Friday, July 6, 8:30 p. m., Rivington and Pitt streets. Speakers, Samuel P. Ulanoff, L. Lieberman.

BRONX

Thursday, July 5, 8:30 p. m., 152nd Street and Wacker Avenue. Speakers, Ethel Brown and M. Diamond.

Friday, July 6, 8:30 p. m., Simpson Street and Sutter Avenue. Speakers, Henry Fruchter, L. Weiss.

Friday, July 6, 8:30 p. m., 180th Street and Daly Avenue. Speakers, George Dobseavage and A. Molin.

Friday, June 29th, 8:30 p. m., Bristol and Pitkin Avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswath.

Friday, June 29, 8:30 p. m., Sutter and Vermont Street. Speakers, Ethel Brown, Samuel Block.

Monday, July 2, 8:30 p. m., Hunsdale Street and Sutter Avenue. Speakers, Joseph Tuvin, Jos. A. Weil.

Tuesday, July 3, 8:30 p. m., 64th Street and 20th Avenue. Speakers, Ethel Brown and L. C. Kaye.

Thursday, June 5, 8:30 p. m., Ralph and Sutter avenues. Speakers, L. C. Kaye, Isidore Phillips.

Friday, July 6, 8:30 p. m., Bristol Street and Pitkin Avenue. Speaker, A. I. Ship-lackoff.

Saturday, July 7, 8:30 p. m., Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speaker, Ethel Brown, S. Block.

Monday, July 2, 8:30 p. m., Floyd and Sumner Avenue. Speakers, H. Friedman, H. Greenblatt, Ethel Brown.

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Public Accountants

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NEW YORK

Members of Accountants' Union

Embroidery Workers'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

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Melrose 7698

CARL GRABER, President,
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Office: 125 E. Broadway, Orchard 1257

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All locals meet every Wednesday

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STAGG 3843

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130 East 24th St., Madison Square 1934

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D. GINGOLD, MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Office: 175 East Broadway

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.

Office: 208 W. 14th St., City.

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 219 East Fifth St., Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at

BEETHOVEN HALL, 219 East Fifth Street

CHAS. HOFER, Pres. & Business Agent.

MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 4621 Stag

Office hours 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday evening

WILLIAM WEINBERG, President, CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President, FRANK P. LUTZ, Treasurer, SAMUEL POTTER, Sec. Sec'y

ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th Street

OFFICE: 222 EAST 165TH STREET

CHAS. H. BAUSCHKE, Bus. Agent

CHARLES M. BLUM, Sec'y

HARRY P. ELIOT, Sec'y

UNION DIRECTORY

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.

S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Rooms 510-15, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th Street, New York City on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

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Local 3, A. C. W. A.

Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple

11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman

JACOB ENGLISH, W. BLACK, Rec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 254, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

124 E. 87th St., Orchard 5239

Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday

AL. GRABER, President

L. KORN, Sec'y-Treas.

Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 12 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10172

Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

Sunday at 10 A. M.

Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 12 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10172

Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

Sunday at 10 A. M.

AL. GRABER, President

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7 East 15th St., Phone STUYVESANT 7025

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

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German Painters' Union

LOCAL 495, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve.

at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th St.

I. LEFKOWITZ, President

ALVIN ROETTNER, Secretary

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NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.
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Assistant Editor..... Edw. Levinson
Contributing Editors:

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SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1928

The Keynote Speech at Houston

AS the author of important works on the struggle between Hamilton and Jefferson and the Jacksonians and aristocratic Whigs, it was to be expected that Claude G. Bowers in his keynote speech at Houston would go back to these periods. It was also natural for him to attempt to make out a case for the Tammany Democrats as modern Jeffersonians and Jacksonians. Of course, it is a commonplace of history that the Jeffersonian triumph in 1800 saved the nation from a Federalist dictatorship and that the Jacksonian revolution in 1828 destroyed the old aristocratic politics which had survived from the colonial period.

But Mr. Bowers violates every good principle of historical interpretation when he assumes that the Democratic party today represents the youthful period of the Jeffersonians and the Jacksonians. There were two phases of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, the phase of youth and the phase of old age. By 1820 the Jeffersonians and their old opponents, the Federalists, had become so much alike that they both supported Monroe for President. There were vital issues in 1800, but there were none in 1820. Monroe lacked but one electoral vote of being unanimously elected. In Congress there were no party divisions between old Federalists and Jeffersonians, while Jeffersonian members of the Supreme Court had also become completely Federalized.

There is the same difference between the youth and the old age of Jacksonian Democracy. Jackson's success in 1828 was, in fact, a revolt against the Federalized Jeffersonians and that success for the first time in our history brought the small farmers and mechanics to control at Washington. Jackson was again elected in 1832 and before retiring in 1837 he frankly bared the antagonism between the banking-capitalist class of the East and the mechanic-farmer class of the North, South, and West. Van Buren, one of the cleverest politicians in our history, succeeded Jackson in 1837 and by the end of his administration the slave owners were pushing the mechanic-farmer class aside and taking control of the party. By 1844 the Jacksonians had reached the period of old age and from that time to 1860 they were competing with the Whigs in dodging the big issue of extension of slavery into the territories. A third party was required to smash both.

The modern Democratic party does not represent the youth of the party but its old age. Even its darling, "Al" Smith, receives the affectionate homage of millionaires who can afford private railroad cars. The party has its railroad and super-power members in Congress and in that body its members are so mixed with Republicans that roll calls do not reveal any distinct party divisions. Bowers indicts the Republicans for their imperialism, but the Democrats in Congress made no issue of it in that body. The two parties are poodles fed by the same hand.

So it is simply ridiculous to offer the Democratic party with its Tammany shock troops in the lead as the heirs of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian parties without defining which period of these parties is meant. The modern Democrats represent the later Jeffersonians and Jacksonians who became prostituted in their old age, not the youthful parties who faced genuine issues and rendered useful service to humanity.

If Mr. Bowers wants to obtain a modern analogy with the youthful phases of these earlier parties he will find it in the Socialist Party with its standard bearers, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer.

Tammany at Houston

ON the day when the Tammany squads arrived at Houston to kick one of their cronies up stairs into the presidency two courts in New York City were busy with important affairs. One court in the Bronx sentenced three payroll grafters in the street cleaning department to Sing Sing for terms varying from two to ten years. In Queens the Extraordinary Grand Jury handed to Supreme Court Justice Tompkins indictments of former Borough President Maurice E. Connolly, John M. Phillips, said to be head of the Queens sewer ring, and two others. The welcoming committee at Houston could not have received the news till the next day but its members must have been con-

vinced on receipt of it that the delegation headed by Olvany was genuine.

Fate seems to have played a nasty trick with the Democrats. First there is a lynching of a Negro in Houston and then the Tammany delegation are hardly registered at their hotel when the news arrives of three of their fraternity headed for Sing Sing and four others indicted by a grand jury. It is as though some malicious ogre should radio over a nation-wide hook-up the announcement that the New Tammany and the Old Sing Sing, like affectionate lovers, cannot and will not be separated.

As a sort of anti-climax Olvany declared that the Tammany boys had come to Houston "to nominate for President an Abe Lincoln from the sidewalks of New York, Alfred E. Smith." Well, Tammany rolled up a big majority against Lincoln in New York City in 1860 and its heelers lynched Negroes a few years later in the same city when the war for the Union had reached a grave crisis. Olvany's statement recalls Milton's lines to the "sons of Belial" who were filled with "insolence and wine."

Democratic Tariff Views

HOW changing interests are registered in the political parties of capitalism was demonstrated by the discussion of prominent delegates to the Democratic convention a few days before it opened. James W. Gerard, representative of eastern capitalism, declared that the tariff is no longer an issue of the party with the Republicans. He favors protective rates as Democratic doctrine. Governor Smith is also reported as favoring protection.

Cordell Hull of Tennessee declared for a tariff for revenue only. Senator Harrison of Mississippi agreed with him. Both states do not yet have fat industries to nurse so the two politicians are not in favor of any change. Gerard comes from a region where industrial capitalism is supreme and he naturally responds to the interest of the most powerful class. What is said of Smith's views also corresponds with the industrial and financial capitalism of New York State.

Mississippi and Tennessee will move into the protective ranks later on. Mississippi has already removed some burdensome taxes on corporations which shows a transition to support of the new monarch of invested capital. Tennessee will follow in good time and the politician who refuses to change his views to suit those who will eventually own the state will have to get out of Tennessee politics.

The striking thing about converts to the tariff dogma today is that it no longer has the justification which it had when the industries were infants. They are now giants but still insist on sipping at the tariff bottle. The trend in the Democratic party wipes out the last pretense of any difference with its opponents. The leaders of the two parties should toss up a coin to determine whether Hoover or Smith should be the candidate of both.

Goose-Stepping Education

WE are accustomed to the servile status fixed by many American corporations for the workers they employ and we are not surprised that politicians in control of education boards are doing the same thing for teachers. The Tammany educational system in New York City is notorious for its attempts to make robots of teachers. The courts in some states are also cooperating in this work and the American Federation of Teachers is waging a struggle against the reduction of serfdom.

The "yellow dog" contract had its origin in corporate industry but it is now coming to be adopted by educational boards. The Chicago Board of Education received the blessing of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1916 when the board denied the right of sixty members of the teachers' union to teach in the public schools but it remained for the Board of Education of Seattle, Washington, to take over the factory "Yellow Dog" in its relations with the teachers of the city.

In that city the teacher is required to sign the following statement: "I hereby declare that I am not a member of the American Federation of Teachers, or any local thereof, and will not become a member during the term of this contract." This is now the rule in Seattle and as a policy it means that teachers are expected to accept the status fixed by the anti-union masters of some of our great industries.

Don't Be an Ox

IF there is one thing that gives an intelligent human being a pain it is to read the learned arguments, pro or con, of the politicians and editors regarding the Construction and nullification. Most of the wordy battle rages around the prohibition issue but the controversy is as old as the republic itself. Politicians and parties change sides on the question of nullification, the decision depending upon what each politician or party wants to enforce or to nullify.

Virginia and Kentucky politicians were the first to stress nullification to the point of threatened secession over the Alien and Sedition Acts. New England politicians were shocked but they turned to nullification and threatened secession over the embargo and the War of 1812 and the southern politicians were in turn shocked. There was another reversal of these roles in the two regions when South Carolina roared for nullification in 1828. Thus affection for state rights was avowed and repudiated in each section without any regard to consistency.

In the last ten years before the Civil War all the southern states favored state rights and swore by this dogma, yet at the same time they yowled for the Fugitive Slave Act for the North which, in the matter of fugitives, completely federalized the northern states. There are those who yawn for Federal enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment today but who do not care a hang for the Fourteenth. There are still others who never tire of lecturing us about the sacredness of the Constitution and its enforcement but who never chirp when public authorities suppress public meetings in plain violation of the Bill of Rights. What all this means is that it is meaningless. When your ox is gored it is nullification; when it is the other man's ox it is constitutional. The moral is, get power and don't be an ox.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

soon Secretary Kellogg will keep his promise to negotiate for the revision of the unequal rights treaties as soon as he could find a responsible government. Here, they say, is that government. Every faction of Chinese loathes the unequal treaties giving foreigners special rights in China. In the long run it will be impossible to maintain those treaties except at the cost of war. Simply as a practical paying proposition why should not the United States take the lead in revising the Chinese treaties in friendly fashion? We shall have to do it eventually, why not now?

Before you read these lines the captain and the kings, the politicians and most of the bootleggers, will have departed from Houston and the tumult and the shouting will have died. Heat, crowd psychology and the Democratic capacity for folly may yet bring strange results in the convention which begins the day I write these lines. Nevertheless I'll hazard a few predictions. Governor Smith will be easily nominated and probably he will be balanced by a not-too-ardent dry from the South or West. The Platform will declare for law enforcement but otherwise it will dodge the wet and dry issue. It will be adopted by one of the wettest conventions on record in which various political dries will nobly uphold the reputation of their respective localities by their ability to consume hard liquor, we suppose as a precaution against sun-stroke since we understand there are no snakes, except pink ones, in Houston. According to Will Rogers, the Tammany delegates were instructed to stay sober and are asking bitterly why they should be the only ones thus afflicted.

The Platform of the convention will be equally non-committal on all other real issues. This morning's papers announce positively that the party of Woodrow Wilson will say nothing about our joining that League of Nations which Wilson regarded, mistakenly enough, as more than sufficient compensation for all the ills of the Versailles Treaty. Various political wisecracks are already explaining Smith as a sort of Andrew Jackson of the city streets. The eloquent keynoter, Claude Bowers, who as a historian knows better, hails Smith and his party as expressing the traditions of Thomas Jefferson who was a thorough-going agrarian with a great fear of cities. Such is American politics!

The Socialist Party in its National Platform was silent on prohibition because that issue has little or nothing to do with the economic philosophy which binds our party together. The Republicans and Democrats are evasive or hypocritical on the prohibition issue because they are held together by love or office. Even if there were some question of principle between Republicans and Democrats that question would not logically make all of one party wet and all of the other party dry. The prohibition issue is important but every day's experience increases my conviction originally expressed in these columns several years ago that prohibition ought to be taken out of party politics for the good of the country. If the most extreme wets and dries would stop feeling about the issue and begin thinking about it they would realize how absurd it is to elect a President on that issue. No President can change the Eighteenth amendment or even the Volstead act. He might have something to do with the enforcement of the law or possibly with recommendations for its change. Most of his working hours would be absorbed with a thousand and one important problems entirely removed from prohibition. A President of the United States by his foreign policy can virtually make peace or war. He can march farther down the road of imperialism or can lead in building a new road in international cooperation.

It is for this reason that I renew my own personal recommendation that the wet-dry issue be taken as far as possible out of the partisan politics by arranging to submit questions or changes in the law to a national referendum. Provisions could easily be made for safeguarding the referendum and preventing too frequent appeals to it. Pending the adoption of suitable legislation the parties could, if they would, agree to give legal efficacy to the result of an advisory referendum.

I am willing to agree with the honest dry or the honest wet who will tell me that he will remain a wet or dry no matter how a majority may happen to vote. The question is not the infallibility of a majority but the necessity of assurance of at least majority support to any program which aims completely to prohibit the age old traffic in all alcoholic liquors. Without some assurance of majority support I doubt if the most honest and devoted adherent of prohibition can be very successful in checking the present drift to a hypocritical nullification of the law. Any honest President must try to enforce the law. Single handed he cannot work miracles.

I am aware from personal experience that this referendum idea of mine is not at present popular with honest dries or honest wets. It certainly is not popular with the dishonest dries and dishonest wets who like nothing better than to have the prohibition issue perennially unsettled so that they may divert the attention of voters from economic and political issues of pressing importance. Such wet and dry maneuvers as we have witnessed at Kansas City and Houston put a certain type of politician and all bootleggers in clover. I repeat, given the realities of the situation, the irrelevance of prohibition to the issues on which parties should divide, the importance of the prohibition issue and the honest differences of opinion that exist about it, what better solution or step toward solution have any of you to offer than my referendum suggestion?

Is it Fun when Men Have to Strike?



Employer: I want a good injunction to keep my workmen from striking.
Judge: Yes sir, right here—will there be anything else?

Some Men Gamble That They Can Cross The Atlantic in an Airplane

Other Men Gamble That They Can Earn Enough To Do Right by Their Families

Laugh—If You Can!

WHEN a gangster gets shot by his rivals on the sidewalks, in the back alleys of New York or Chicago—

When they give him "the works" and his girl picks him up with ten bullets through him—

It isn't funny.
When a man of thirty who has stood up to the machine guns once and had luck—

And stayed alive.
And has all his happiness and life before him.
Takes his youth and his courage in both hands and tries to fly across the Atlantic, or the Pacific, on the high road to glory—And the storms come up, and the radio loses him, and his mother's hairs turn white in ten hours, and the water is cold and deep for a starving man clinging to a wreck and he sinks into it slowly and all alone—because there is nothing else he can do.

It isn't funny.
When a man has lived hard and close, and has saved up for five years to marry his girl.

And the young wife is a happy mother, talking in the evenings over the supper dishes about getting enough put aside so that she can get a new dress and little Bob Jr. and Dora can go to high school later—

And the doctor bills mount up and the food bills mount up and the clothes bills mount up and the man and his wife just save from morning till night, going without shows, without books, almost without movies—

Just making two ends meet by the grace of God and sheer human courage, and another child is on the way—

And then the factory cuts wages and the boss says "you got to live on less," and the man has to go home and tell it to his wife and look in her face. It's not funny.

When the mother stops buying grade A milk and buys loose milk for the family and the new baby, and the man tightens his belt, and joins the other men at the factory in a union, and they go and tell the boss "It isn't right we shouldn't get good wages" and "you got four automobiles and a son in college and lots of money in the bank—have a heart, give us back our \$5 a week we were getting." And he says "Close the door behind you. I'll show you who's boss here." And the man goes home and talks it over with his wife, all the men go home and talk it over with the little women, and all of them pull their courage together like lightning their belts and say they'd rather go hungry a little while than go half hungry for years and years.

And the men quit work and strike—gambling like the soldier in front of the machine guns, like the aviator flying across the ocean, that they can win, that they can get back a decent American wage.

And then the boss goes to some judge sitting on the bench, pretending he's as wise as Solomon, and winks at him as if to say "Old boy—you know how you got your job. You're an organization man. So am I. If you ever want another chance at your job—and if you want to keep the big pay—do your stuff, old boy. You know what side your bread is buttered on. Do your stuff."

And the old organization war horse who got kicked up to the bench in payment for services rendered to the organization, he does his stuff. He says to the strikers: "You can't strike. You've got to do what the boss tells you. He may be drunk and he may be crazy, but there's no disobeying the boss. I never

disobeyed my boss and look where I am. Follow in my footsteps. Shut up, look foolish and go back to work. I hereby issue an Injunction against this strike—

"And if you go on striking and trying to get your wages back I'll put you into prison and you won't have a trial by jury—you won't stand a chance, boys. Call it off. Go back to work. It's no use bucking this system."

And the man goes home and says: "It's no use, Mary. We don't stand a gambling chance anymore. I guess the kids won't ever get to high school, I guess they'll just be out of luck—just working class of people all the time—like us, losing the breaks all the time."

And the man next door who works in the factory takes to drink and doesn't want his wife to have anymore family—

And the man upstairs who used to play "The Wearing of the Green" on the mouth organ on the porch in the hot summer evening says: "This is a hell of a country. I wish my folks had never left Ireland," and goes Bolshevik.

And the new baby in the home grows up getting the idea it was never wanted, and ought not ever to have been born.

And the men might have won except for the injunction.

It isn't especially funny. In fact it's pretty tragic. Morris Hillquit, eminent New York labor lawyer, says: "In theory the workers have the right to organize and to strike. In practice that right is often nullified by the courts."

The instrument by which this vital right is taken away from the worker is the injunction. Before the workers are heard and the application is decided on the merits, weeks and even months may pass. The court may eventually dismiss the injunction. But in the meantime the workers have been paralyzed in their struggle and possibly lost their strike.

If the employer claims that the strikers have violated the injunction they are haled into court on the charge of contempt. The accused have had no opportunity to face or to cross-examine their accusers. No jury of their peers determines their guilt or innocence. The charges are tried on written affidavits, usually before the same judge who has issued the injunction. If found guilty by him the strikers are often sent to jail.

Injunctions as practiced in labor disputes are a species of class justice directed exclusively against the workers. They rob them of their constitutional rights and make them virtual outlaws.

No other class of citizens are deprived of fundamental rights without a chance to be heard in court. No other class of citizens are jailed without indictment, trial and conviction by a jury.

Labor injunctions are an invention of our courts. They have no sanction in law. They are practically unknown in other countries. They were unknown in America until the 80's of the last century. The first conspicuous injunction was that in the Pullman strike which sent Gene Debs to jail.

The police courts and the criminal courts are adequately equipped to deal with any abuses of workers and employers alike by orderly processes established by law.

The Socialist Party demands the complete abolition of the practice of issuing injunctions in labor disputes, by constitutional amendment if need be.

No mere procedural reform, no trial by jury such as the Federal Courts now sometimes grant, will cure the injunction evil. Such reform legislation has been tried many times and has in most cases been thrown out by the courts.

So long as the disputes between labor and capital will be decided by arbitrary court orders the American workers will remain slaves to their master. The old parties have had 150 years in change this and have failed.

Give the Working Class People an Even Chance.
VOTE SOCIALIST

Noriman Thomas for President
James H. Maurer for Vice-President

This is one of the leaflets just issued by the Socialist National Campaign Committee, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. You can obtain individual copies or large quantities for distribution by writing to the Campaign Headquarters.