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of the  
Socialist and Labor  
Movement

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## Thomas in Demand For Radio Freedom; Textile Strikers Scorn Jobs With Wage Cut

### New Bedford Mills Open But Workers Stay Away

Men and Women Enthused by Inspiring Display of Solidarity—Militiamen Dissatisfied With Their Jobs

By McAlister Coleman

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—As a red-angry sun levelled its first beams down the streets of this mill town in last Monday's dawn, from all the workers' homes two armies started marching.

English, Portuguese, French-Canadian, men, women and children, one division headed to the north, the other to the south, where on the flanks of the city, the great brick and stone mills awaited their coming.

The textile operators announced that for the first time since the strike of their 20,000 employees against a 10 per cent. wage cut the gates of the mills would be opened, and all operatives would be invited back to work under police protection.

Would the Men Stay Out?

So the labor world was watching New Bedford on the morning of July 9, wondering whether this thirteenth week of the strike would see its finish with the capitulation of the workers.

Some reporters coming off milk trains and early boats from Boston and New York took it for granted that these weavers who were waking the echoes of the quiet tree-lined streets were marching back to work. If they had looked closer, however, they would have seen that there was a crowd dressed for a holiday, rather than machine-tending. And indeed the ninth of July turned out to be a victory celebration rather than a rout for the workers.

In front of every open factory gate long lines of picketers marched back and forth, joking with the police, who stood glumly by the mill entrance, and watching with open amusement the maneuverings of the State militiamen, whose entire efforts were spent in breaking in strange horses, on which they were mounted for the first time. Despite the fact that machines were started up in all the mills, and there came a great whirling and clanging from the shaded interiors, not more than fifty operatives responded to the luring invitation of the mill owners. And these slunk by the picket lines with shamed and averted faces.

The Mills Stay Empty

Together with a number of union officials, I arrived at the big Wamsutta mill, famous for its fine sheetings, as the guards swung to the iron gates on a place empty of workers. From the pickets on the street opposite went up a great racket. Lester Shulman of the Brownsville Yipsies, who liked up here from New York to take his place on the picket lines, waved an exultant hat. To the staid applause of the older folks, many of them typically prim New England types, there were added the shrill cries of the youngsters, and the full-throated shouting of the blue-shirted young men. They had something indeed to cheer about, for they had demonstrated to the operators (who later on met in gloomy conference at the beautiful country club) that New Bedford labor was not to be seduced by any spider-like invitations to walk into the mill-owners' parlors.

At mid-afternoon this scene was repeated. And then the pickets headed back to the Labor Temple in the heart of the town, to make merry over their well-earned victory.

They came piling into the hall above the local union offices until the place was full to overflowing. There were not enough seats to go around, so the younger men sat on the floor, while the women and children, led by that energetic organizer, Sadie Reich, of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, did a victory dance to the notes of a concertina and an overworked piano. The fact that the temperature in the hall was well around 100 degrees in no way burdened their exuberant spirits. A committee arrived pretty soon with

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The Tin Soldier and the Happy Warrior Sniping "Big" Issues

Drawn by Art Young for The New Leader.

### Eight Headquarters May Direct Drive For Socialist Party

National Executive Committee Considers Regional Managers to Work Under National Quarters in New York—Electorates in Forty States Are Assured—Eight States Are Doubtful

BALTIMORE.—Progress in the Socialist national campaign has been so rapid that the National Executive Committee of the party meeting in Baltimore this week found it necessary to consider eight regional campaign headquarters in different parts of the country.

With Congressman Victor L. Berger in the chair, the N. E. C. put in two full days of hard work while the mercury outside registered 86 degrees and upward. The entire committee was present, with the exception of Morris Hillquit, of New York, who has sailed to attend the Socialist international congress in Brussels, and Joseph Sharts, of Ohio. The committeemen present were Berger, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, James H. Maurer, Lilith Wilson, Jasper McLevy, George E. Roewer, and James Oneal. Norman Thomas, candidate for president, also attended.

The feature of the convention was a report by Campaign Manager G. August Gerber, of New York in which he set forth plans for what promises to be the most successful campaign of the Socialist party. Gerber reported that Thomas and Maurer's efforts would be on the ballot in at least 40 states and possibly more. "We have not given up hope for any," he said. Karl C. Jursiek, who also attended, reported on a distinct revival of party spirit in and near Kansas and Texas, where he attended conferences of farmers.

William H. Henry, of Chicago, was re-elected national secretary without opposition. Jursiek was placed in nomination against him but declined to run.

The N. E. C. unanimously confirmed its action at the Newark session appointing G. August Gerber as campaign manager, responsible to the N. E. C.

Following is a digest of Gerber's re-

port to the committee, which gave sanction to the recommendations contained in it:

#### The Nominating Situation

National Campaign headquarters to be at 15 East 40th street, New York City. The first work which the campaign office took in hand was the matter of getting the party ticket nominated and accepted by the various states. Much valuable ground work has already been done by the National office.

Alabama: A difficult state. Must be closely investigated. We may file. Arizona: Lawrence McGivern designated to take charge of the work in that state. Murray King to report and help. Arkansas: Murray E. King is on his way to Little Rock to visit with Secretary of State and make definite arrangements for filing of ticket. Mrs. Julia Ward Fennington will be in charge of work. State Convention called for July 21st. California: Party official. Nominations taken care

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### TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas  
Socialist Candidate  
for President

It isn't easy to find words strong enough to express my admiration of the solidarity and determination of the New Bedford strikers. It was a fine thing when 27,000 workers walked out as one man in protest against an intolerable 10 per cent. cut in wages. It is a finer thing that weeks of struggle on half rations have not broken their spirit. When the bosses with a great flourish of trumpets finally tried to reopen the mills on July 9, less than 25 went back. The rest manned the picket lines and in perfect order showed the determination and power of the workers.

Not only have the strike leaders affiliated with the United Textile Workers had to cope with the usual strike difficulties but also with the devious tactics of the Communists. Communist leaders in the Passaic strike played a gallant and intelligent role in organizing labor. Their tactics in New Bedford on the whole have been calculated to produce dissension for the possible benefit of the Communist Party rather than to help in the unified struggle of the workers. In their activities some of them have been unjustly treated by the police but persecution does not always prove that the persecuted are wise. It is to the credit of the union leaders that they have handled the situation tactfully without letting their natural irritation at Communist abuse play into the hands of the bosses. Those of us who can spare any relief funds to the aid of the New Bedford strikers will not only show a decent human regard for suffering but will be helping in a magnificent and hopeful struggle of the workers to check the

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### Oily Portraits Of 'Al' Flooding Up The Market

"Pathfinder", Eulogist Calls Faithful Servitor of Bosses Murphy and Croker—Dickinson Finds Him Artist and Philosopher—"Loyalty" Democratic Nominee's Chief Trait

By the Backstairs Spokesman

AL SMITH has been called "the happy warrior." And in one respect he is indeed "three and four times blessed." He does not read anything except newspapers and state documents.

This saves him from reading such a fantastic blurb as "The Portrait of a Man as Governor" by Thomas H. Dickinson, whose only other fictional attempts, so far as is known, consist of writings on the theatre.

Mr. Dickinson's portrait is painted in colors even more lovely and grandiose than were used on a canvas portraying the same subject, hung in the current "Atlantic" to which I referred last week.

In an amazing foreword to this latest addition to the Smithsonian cult, George Foster Peabody waxes lyrical to the following effect:

"Is Alfred E. Smith the Pathfinder to the open road all true lovers of humanity and the faithful believers in a genuine democracy, are praying and looking for?"

"This is a time of striving and anxiety for many minds and hearts. The past decade has revealed convulsive movements in all continents and among every people."

"Up from the vast steppes, a landscape that seems well to suggest the qualities of the Russian and Tartar peoples, there rose above the horizon Lenin, a gigantic figure, as the light of time reveals in him the force of character, and grasp of cosmic energies latent in his people."

It may come as something of a shock to some of our playmates on the Left to find that the late Vladimir Ilyich Ulanov was but a precursor to Alfred Emanuel Smith on his ascent of the vast steps of the State House at Albany.

Holds Doubtful Minds! But Lenin is not enough for Mr. Pea-

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### Socialist Candidate Defends the Debs Station

Joins With G. A. Gerber, in Presenting Insistent Plea for Right of Minority Opinion

By Edward Levinson

WASHINGTON. — Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential nominee and chairman of the board of directors of the Debs Memorial Fund, operators of Station WEVD, at New York, and G. August Gerber, Secretary of the fund, argued the right of dissident minorities to free speech over the radio, before the U. S. Radio Commission, July 9 in Washington.

The case of the Socialist station was the first of 62 of the stations—summoned to show cause why they should not be shut off the air in the interest of "public convenience and necessity."

Thomas suggested to the commission that Station WEVD was the sole means of radio communication in the East which the working class now controls, and which is devoted to working class and liberal causes. Gerber presented petitions with 20,000 signatures, and resolutions from organizations whose membership is 285,000, urging that the station be retained. The organizations that joined in appealing for the right of WEVD to continue to operate included the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Citizens Union of New York, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Religious Society of Friends, the Women's Peace Union and the National Council for Prevention of War, beside a great number of local trade unions and working class groups in New York and vicinity.

WEVD Takes Offensive

A brief filed by the Debs Memorial Fund took an aggressive position. It charged that in the life of the present Radio Commission, the number of stations operated by mercantile, manufacturing and other profit making enterprises has risen from 58 to 75 per cent. The brief also quotes Secretary Herbert Hoover as disputing the right of the Commission to revoke a radio station's license without first showing cause.

"If WEVD is taken off the air and in fact is not on a parity with others who are richer and more influential with the government, the people of the nation can truly recognize that radio which might be such a splendid force for the honest clash of ideas, is nothing but a tool to be used by the powerful against any form of disagreement or any species of protest," the brief filed by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Gerber said.

"We ask no special privilege. Give us the power and the time and the advantageous wave lengths that have been bestowed on these great and mighty money-making interests. To destroy us is unthinkable and un-American."

Compared to Murder Trial

The brief filed by the Socialist presidential candidate and Gerber sets forth eleven points: "1.—the burden of proving the necessity of cancellation of the permit rests upon the Commission; and the proof should be clear and overwhelming before the Commission should act. 2. To reproach WEVD for not having a more extensive audience is equivalent to reproaching the Radio Commission for failing to provide its own license with adequate power, time and wave length. 3. WEVD should be given a preferential status among radio licenses because it is not operating for profits. 4. WEVD should be given a preferential position among radio licenses because of the purpose for which it is organized. 5. The personnel which surrounds WEVD is a guarantee of its public service. 6. The financial support of WEVD indicates a great public interest. 7. The material broadcast by WEVD is a public necessity. 8. The popular support and general appreciation of

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# SOUTHERN FARMERS ENDORSE THOMAS AT HOUSTON

## Poverty Tales Stir Delegates

### Democratic Convention Assailed as In Same Class With Gathering at Kansas City

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
HOUSTON, Tex.—The Cotton Belt Conference in this city following the adjournment of the Democratic convention developed an unexpected enthusiasm for the Socialist Party and its candidates. This was evident from the conference itself and the hundreds of letters, telegrams and postcards received from farmers of a number of states who are completely disgusted with the parties of capitalism.

Invitations to the conference had been sent to Oklahoma, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas and the responses showed a unanimous desire to fight the parties that nominated Hoover and Smith. The conference itself adopted resolutions endorsing the Socialist candidates, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer.

The Houston conference was planned by the National Campaign Committee and repeated the conference that was held in Kansas City where two locals of the party were organized. A local was also organized in Houston which will be affiliated with the Texas state organization.

#### Support Promised in Letters

Some idea of the sentiment of bankrupt ranchmen, tenant farmers, farm laborers and farm leaders may be obtained from the messages received by the conference from a number of states. A Louisiana farmer wrote:

"I am 82 years old, 50 years on the farm. The Socialist Party is now my hope."

From Oklahoma—"I am for the Socialist Party from now on."

Another—"Smith and Hoover are machine made. I'm through with the old parties."

From Arkansas—"I've been in the Communist group for the past two years but their tactics will never reach the people. I am leaving them. You are our hope."

From a woman ranch owner in Mississippi—"Your party get many votes from us farmers in Mississippi this year."

From Arkansas—"If Smith is nominated, we will vote Socialist in Arkansas."

From New Mexico—"We are with you. Give the two old parties a knock-out like Lincoln did in 1861."

From Arkansas—"Products we have toiled all spring to raise are practically worthless to us. What can we do? We look to you Socialists to get strong enough to help us."

From Texas—"We worked in the city and were poor. We came on the farm and are worse off. Get together. Get together quick."

Karl C. Jurek, delegate of the Kansas City conference, was elected chairman and Murray E. King of New Mexico was elected secretary. Delegates were present from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, New Mexico and Mississippi. Both were chosen to attend the third party conference announced to meet in Chicago on July 10.

**Tammany Under Fire**  
In his address chairman Jurek referred to the "three-ring circus of Smith, Cavanagh and Walker" and launched into an analysis of the Democratic convention and platform. "Can you imagine the nonsense of a large political convention that decides to encourage big business and little business and then destroy the monopoly of big business and go back to the days of free competition?" Jurek asked.

After some discussion the conference agreed to a resolution which declares that for fifty years both old parties had "brought the farmers of this nation to ruin" and that their platforms had always promised relief but that relief was still due. It supports the Socialist candidates and declares that "a large vote of the Socialist Party candidates would do more to force favorable legislation in behalf of the farmers and city workers than any other factor." The resolution concludes by urging all farmers to follow this course.

Both Jurek and King were invited to address the Y. M. C. A. Students in Industry Group and they were well received. About 14,000 copies of the address to farmers by Norman Thomas, party platform, and other literature were distributed. All indications are that many thousands of farmers in the Southwest are as bankrupt as the farms.

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## Phila. Shoe Workers Called to Meeting

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
The first of a series of educational mass meetings will be held for the shoe workers of Philadelphia by the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, on Monday evening, July 16, at 8.30 p. m., at our union headquarters, 1239 Spring Garden street. General President John D. Nolan and many other prominent speakers of the labor movement will speak with regard to organization in Philadelphia. All shoe workers are cordially invited to be present. Refreshments will be served.  
Thomas Kelly, organizer, will also speak.

## Thomas Asks Opponents to Face Issues

### Demands To Know Hoover and Smith Positions on War, Power, Coal and Unemployment

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BALTIMORE, MD.—Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President (Sunday) directed four specific questions to Secretary Hoover and Governor Smith, his Republican and Democratic opponents, in which he challenged them to declare their stands on issues, which, the Socialist candidate charged, their party platforms dodge.

Thomas demanded to know the views of Secretary Hoover and Governor Smith on (1) war and imperialism, (2) unemployment relief, (3) the coal industry, and (4) regulation of super power interests.

The questions were propounded by Mr. Thomas in an address at the Hippodrome, in Baltimore, where the Baltimore Socialists staged a mass meeting with their presidential candidate as the principal speaker. Despite the well-nigh unbearable heat, more than 600 attended the meeting. Thomas also spoke at a banquet held Sunday night in the Emerson Hotel. In both addresses, he stressed the necessity for building an opposition party to both Democrats and Republicans. The Socialists, he said, offer the best rallying point for citizens dissatisfied with the two older parties.

In the course of his address at the Hippodrome, the Socialist candidate made a plea for religious tolerance, urging that religious beliefs be permitted to play no part in the coming campaign. At the same time, Mr. Thomas demanded that high officials and party leaders shall not be coerced by ecclesiastical pressure into military force in Mexico or China to protect any church or its missionaries.

Here are the questions Thomas asked them:

"1. The problem of war and peace. All parties have endorsed the outlawry of war. Do you Mr. Hoover and you Mr. Smith believe that we can really outlaw war, but not count the little ones like Wilson's wars in Haiti and Santo Domingo and Mexico, which the Democrats, who mildly denounce Mr. Coolidge's war in Nicaragua conveniently forget? All these wars rise from economic imperialism. Do the old party candidates believe in risking the treasure of the American nation and the lives of sons of the farmers and workers to collect interest on the adventuresome dollars of stay-at-home investors? Where does the successor of Woodrow Wilson stand on the League of Nations, and the problem of debts and reparations? I am at all times ready to elaborate the clear and specific plans of our party platform."

"2. Will Messrs. Hoover and Smith outline their complete program on unemployment insurance and the five-day week? Again I stand ready to elaborate the specific provisions of our platform."

"3. Will Messrs. Hoover and Smith tell how they propose to deal with the tragedy of the coal fields without nationalization of the mines, recognition of the union and non-political management of the industry by an authority representing consumers and producers?"

"4. Will Messrs. Hoover and Smith outline their program on super power beginning with Muscles Shoals on which their platforms were so evasive? No single issue is more immediately important. Not even the oil scandals were so alarming as the revelations of the type of propaganda work done by the power interests in schools, colleges, churches, women's clubs and the press. It is a significant and perhaps sinister fact that ex-Senator Lenroot went from Kansas City where he appeared as Secretary Hoover's lawyer in arguing for contested delegations to Washington to represent the weak defense of the power interests before the Federal Trade Commission. Secretary Hoover's friendship for private power interests is well known. Governor Smith's national plans are unknown and his New York state program is seriously inadequate. Gentlemen, where do you stand?"

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## Smith Champions In South Keep Union Labor Down

By Art Shields

RALEIGH, N. C.—Angus W. McLean runs his Robeson County cotton mills on the open shop plan. As Democratic governor of North Carolina he is an open shopper likewise, and is now in controversy with union labor over the state printing. The \$140,000 a year contracts for cards and letter heads, departmental and legal reports, and other official publications have been taken from the Raleigh shops where half of the work was done by union printers, and parcelled out to five rat shops, one of which is located in Fort Wayne, Ind.

The loss of this work has been a severe blow to the Raleigh men. They see the state sending \$72,000 a year to a scab firm in Indiana and the rest of the printing budget nurturing open shop employees in Durham, Winston-Salem, Oxford and New Bern in North Carolina.

"The governor says he is giving a business administration and saving money for the state," said one of the Raleigh union employers to Federated Press, "but the commission of labor and printing has not yet offered any figures to show that this is the case."

#### Convict Labor Used

Light on this "business administration," as exemplified by Frank D. Grist, commissioner of labor and printing, and an anti-labor man, is shed by Lawrence E. Nichols, editor of the Raleigh Union Herald, the official organ of the State Federation of Labor. Nichols was assistant commissioner of this department under a former administration and he tells how he used to save the tax payers as much as \$30,000 a year by auditing the bills submitted by printing shops handling the work, and striking out padded items. Grist lets this stuff go by.

The governor's practice of using convict labor on public buildings has brought complaints and appeals from the building trades unionists, to no use. There is no coal miners union in the two coal mines of North Carolina to protest against McLean's barbarous leasing of convicts to the coal operators—an evil just discontinued by Alabama—but the state federation of labor and the Pied-

## Mill Workers Scorn Jobs With Pay Cut

(Continued from Page 1)

sandwiches and pop, and then they all sang with a gusto that shook the windows of the very fashionable hotel across the street, and brought sleepy tourists out of the lobby to see what it was all about.

#### "Inspiring," Riviere Says

Horace A. Riviere, of Manchester, N. H., and Frank Manning from the Socialist Party of Boston, who had been at the front of the picket lines, made forceful speeches. William G. Batty of the New Bedford Textile Council, now affiliated with the United Textile Workers, told reporters that:

"I wouldn't have missed this test of strength for anything. It was proved that they will not go back wonderful. The workers have under this cruel reduction. We will stay out until the strike is won."

Frank Manning, whose official title is that of Secretary of the Textile Council, and who has done a yeoman's job of organizing and inspiring the workers since he came down here from Socialist headquarters in Boston, said:

"We have three things to point out to the people of New Bedford. First: the New Bedford Textile Council has demonstrated that it has the strike perfectly under control. Second: the strike is 100 per cent effective. Third: the behavior at the gates this morning showed that there was no need for the National Guard."

#### Militia Protests Orders

The calling out of the guardsmen on the part of Mayor Ashley turned out to be more or less of a joke. When the militiamen of two local units of the 101st Field Artillery were first notified that they would be expected to do strike duty, there was an instant and vehement protest from the rank and file of the soldiers. As a matter of fact, many of the guardsmen were themselves strikers, and practically all of them had friends or relatives on the picket line. They had no heart for helping the mill owners resume operations under a reduction, and they so informed their officers. Threatened mutiny, however, was avoided by conscription. The young men were told to get into their uniforms or face court martial. And some fifty of them gathered at the armory before dawn on Monday morning to look over the horses which had been picked up from all the riding schools and stables of New Bedford.

It seemed as though the horses themselves were entirely sympathetic with the strike. At any event, they bucked in good Western style, and amid the cheers of the workers, several amateur riders led the Prince of Wales set into their trench helmets. Although the militia did not leave the vicinity of the armory or the police station, they put on a

good show for the crowds coming back from the picket line, and the children voted their performance as good as any circus.

To one accustomed to clashes of pickets and police in other textile fights, this New Bedford struggle presents surprising phases. It is something of a shock to see the police swapping jokes with the strikers, until you realize that the entire town is 100 per cent back of this strike. Until the "class struggles" of the Communist faction arrived, there was no bitterness here between townfolk and workers. Relief in the shape of bread and soup is being handed out at two working-men's clubs, one of which is headed by local business men. Every minister, rabbi and priest has urged the workers not to accept the reduction. Here, at any rate, the shop-keepers realize what effect reduction of wages will have upon the purchasing power of the consumer, and they have been liberal in their donations to relief.

It must be kept in mind, however, by labor circles everywhere outside of New Bedford that this is the thirteenth week of a strike initiated by men and women workers who have been receiving the pitiful average wage of something less than twenty dollars a week for the past two or three years. Evidently there was no chance for the New Bedford unions to set up a war chest. The relief that is coming in now from the outside amounts to less than ten cents a striker a week. If these courageous men and women who on Monday last gave heroic proof of their determination to carry on are to be helped to a substantial victory, relief funds must be materially increased. Donations may be sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 154 Fifth Avenue, or direct to the Labor Temple at New Bedford.

When we were in Baltimore where in spite of the heat our comrades organized an excellent mass meeting and a banquet I was much amused to pick up the Baltimore Sun—a paper which, by the way, has been very fair in its treatment of our party—and to read in that paper a long article on the differences in noses between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover and what the respective noses signify. It has actually come to this in American politics! So unreal are the issues between the old parties that a great paper can waste space on the soul-searching issue: which kind of a nose do you want in the White House? And men and women who choose on the bases of noses or something equally unreal will congratulate themselves that at any rate they aren't throwing away their votes like those foolish Socialists.

Others who are to lecture at the camp this summer are David P. Berenberg and Marius Hansome, of the Rand School, Prof. N. Bryllion Fagin, of the University of Baltimore, and John Macy, author of "The Story of Literature."

**Elias L. Tartak To Be Lecturer at Tamiment**

The Rand School lecturer at Camp Tamiment next week will be Elias L. Tartak, of the Russian College Institute and formerly of McGill University. On Monday and Tuesday he will speak on "Leo Tolstoy, Man and Artist." The fact that 1928 is the centenary of Tolstoy's birth. On the other three mornings, he will discuss "Humor in Russian Literature." Most Americans think of Russian literature as a thing of unmitigated gloom, but Mr. Tartak will show the other side in the work of Gogol, Saltykov, Chekhov, and some of the more recent writers.

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May we pause to point out here the dangers inherent in this "Glorifying of the American Smith?"

There was once an Athenian statesman, an artist, and governor of a sort, named Aristides. His friends made so much whoopee about him that pretty

soon he went around Athens under the unfortunate title of "Aristides the Just." They had a way in Athens of getting rid of people who bored them. It was called ostracism. And it consisted in writing the names of the candidates for exile on clam-shells. One day, when there was a chance for the citizens to express themselves thus, wise, Aristides came upon a fellow who was ignorant of his identity. The great statesman, looking over the shoulder of the voter, was horrified to discover that the low creature was scratching the name of Aristides on the shell. "Why do you do that?" said the perfect man.

"Oh, I'm sick to death of hearing this stuff about Aristides the Just." And when they counted up they found there were enough clam-shells marked "Aristides" to send that gentleman into political oblivion.

He is and has been all his life long, loyal to Tammany Hall. He was loyal to Croker when, in his later days, the adulation of that scoundrel became so stinking a thing that William Allen White wrote of it:

"And all this homage, all this bootlicking, to a mild-mannered, soft-voiced, sad-faced, green-eyed chunk of a man who talks slowly that he may peg in his 'seens' and his 'saws' and his 'domes' and his 'dids' where they belong, who has a loggy wit, who cares neither for books, nor music, nor theatrical performances, nor good wine, nor a dinner, nor the society of his kind! All this blind obedience by men of brains and some rudimentary culture to a dull, emotionless, prosaically hulk of bone and sinew—a sort of human megatherium, who has come crashing up from the swamps splashed with the slime of pre-Adamite wickedness! And now he sits on a throne and disposes of a sort of jungle justice, while civilization knocks its knees together in stupid, terrified adulation!"

He was loyal to Charlie Murphy when that bull-necked thing was sitting at the end of a long-distance telephone wire to Albany, ordering the impeachment of the honest, if erratic, William Sulzer. As M. R. Werner in his history of Tammany Hall says, "Governor Sulzer was impeached because Charles F. Murphy wished to avoid exposure of Tammany graft in the state government."

And everyone in his right mind knows that because of this loyalty, Al was made Governor by Murphy. Even Mr. Dickinson seems to realize that Al's loyalty to Tammany has some faint relation to his present lofty position.

And Philosopher  
So much about Al's loyalties. As to his political philosophy, Mr. Dickinson says "he seems instinctively to answer to those of Plato and of Jefferson."

"Said Aristotle unto Plato,  
"Won't you have a sweet potato?"  
Said Plato unto Aristotle,  
"Thank you, I prefer the bottle."

If Al Smith's knowledge of "Plato's philosophy" extends beyond this simple ditty, then we are John Dewey himself, using "Backstairs Spokesman" for a pen name.

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# Thomas and Gerber Demand Radio Rights For Socialist and Labor Movements

## WEVD More Desirable Station Than Most Others, Commission Is Told—Increased Power Asked

(Continued From Page 1)

the station is a strong indication that WEVD is a public necessity. 9. Assuming that eliminations should be made we believe that the basis should be not priority but service. 10. The closing of WEVD will be correctly construed by the public as extreme intolerance and complete censorship of the air. 11. The license of WEVD should not be revoked."

Chairman Robinson of the Commission told Gerber that petitions which were not in the form of affidavits would not be admitted as evidence in a murder trial in his state, West Virginia, and the rule laid down by the Commission was that only affidavits or testimony would be effective in proceedings before this body. Thomas protested at the comparison of the radio hearings to a murder trial, and Gerber pointed out that no warning was given the respondent stations that they must have their petitions executed before notaries. Thomas remarked that there would be real propaganda material in the denial of the right of further operation to the Socialist radio station, under the circumstances.

### Rap Larger Stations

In the brief filed by Thomas and Gerber, the Commission was told that WEVD does not hesitate to send out discussions of power trust lobbying scandals as disclosed by the Federal Trade Commission, or the fight over Muscle Shoals made by Senator Norris, or any other topic that might cause business pressure to be exerted against an ordinary commercial station. They said WEVD is not interested in giving the latest quotations on the stock market, but is concerned in giving to its listeners the most trustworthy information as to the administration's war in Nicaragua, the use of gunboats in China, and all other fundamental matters of politics, and of social and industrial struggles.

"This station," the brief said, "exists for the purpose of maintaining at least one channel of the air free and open to the use of the workers. We admit, without apology, that this station has no concern in reporting polo matches or even giving instructions on how to play bridge or other class games of chance. We are not convinced that public necessity dictates the broadcasting of descriptions of ladies' fancy dresses at receptions in Fifth Avenue ballrooms."

Chairman Robinson at one point stated that he was sure the Commission would not be prejudiced in its action by the speeches made over WEVD, and that he personally felt that it was a good thing to have minority views expressed. Thomas thanked him for that much, but said that the revocation of the permit of the Socialist station would be received by the friends of that station as an exercise of censorship by the Commission. He made it clear that soft words would be forgotten if the action did not bear them out. And he was ready to make radio censorship a lively topic of campaign discussion.

### Not Enough Listeners

Firing a hot shot at the radio trust, Thomas said that WEVD stands with the community stations against the big chain system which "tends to standardization—to make robots and Babbits of the American people."

A number of times in the course of his able presentation of the case for the Debs station, Gerber made it plain that the station would not be satisfied until it secured more power and a higher wave length.

"How many people does WEVD reach?" Chairman Robinson broke in at one point.

"Not enough," was Gerber's immediate come-back, producing a laugh from the commissioners and the audience of several hundred.

Final impressions given by the commissioners indicated that WEVD would retain its license. Gerber served notice that in due time WEVD would ask for adequate power, wave length and full time, to better serve the working class of the eastern region.

### Text of the Brief

The brief presented by Thomas and Gerber for the Debs Memorial Radio Fund is likely to become a landmark in the history of radio. Here are the main features of it:

### Brief Filed in Behalf of the Licensee, The Debs Memorial Radio Fund

This station procured a license from the Federal Radio Commission under date of August 19, 1927. The station's studio is located at 3 W. 16th Street, N. Y. City; the transmitter at 9024—78th Street, Woodhaven, N. Y. It is owned by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, Inc.

We submit exhibits which present in some detail the ownership, control, types of program and other evidences of public convenience, interest and necessity. An examination of this material will clearly indicate that the destruction of this station would be an assault on public interest.

**Point I.—The burden of proving the necessity of the cancellation of the permit rests upon the Commission; and the proof should be clear and overwhelming before the Commission should act.**

On the first day of the hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives in connection with the pres-

ent Radio Legislation there appeared none other than Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. In his custody there then rested, under the previous legislation of 1912, the power of regulating the air.

He had already perceived the difficulties arising out of interference of wave lengths. Nevertheless when he discussed the power which should rest in the government in connection with revocation of licenses he limited the concept of revocation solely to "failure to operate or violation of law." We take for granted that neither of these accusations can be justly made against WEVD. We are confident that this station has so acted as to come within the immune zone defined by the Secretary of Commerce.

But entirely aside from the declared policy of the man who had been responsible for the conduct of the Radio we can fortunately point to the intention of Congress as set forth in the statute itself. Section 4 (f) refers to regulations promulgated in order to prevent "interference." Congress was most careful not to give the Commission blanket powers of changing the wave lengths, power, or times of operations of stations. If the consent of the licensee has not been first obtained the Radio statute places on the Commission the affirmative duty of judging the facts involved in relation to the promotion of "public convenience, interest, and necessity." This section 4 of the act vests in the Commission eleven other distinct and enumerated powers. We respectfully call to your attention that this particular power under which the Commission is now proceeding, is the only one which is limited by either the consent of the licensee or the particular charge of Congress that the Commission must allow matters to remain in statu quo unless there be an affirmative finding that "public necessity" requires the change.

**Point II.—To reproach WEVD for not having a more extensive audience is equivalent to reproaching the Radio Commission for failing to provide its own licensee with adequate power, time and wave length.**

If it might be suggested that WEVD has not the widest spread and most extensive public of any radio station in its territory the answer is very simple and direct. Give to us the valuable intangible rights which are bestowed on any one of the stations controlled by the large wealthy interests and our listening public will automatically increase. This you will not doubt admit. We submit that no argument of logic can possibly be based on a comparison of the size of our audience with that of WEAF—although parenthetically we see no principle of divine right which allotted to our more fortunate co-licensees those better wave lengths which mean audiences, that greater power which spells breadth, and those longer hours which connote continuity to the public.

If the Commission should be impelled even to consider any argument such as indicated in this point may we point out several apt analogies that should dispose of the problem. A father starves his growing boy. The boy looks weaker than his well-fed cousin. The father instead of offering his progeny better and more nutritious foods the lad because of his condition, and then to cap the climax, decrees "Because you are not as strong as your wealthy cousin from now on you shall have no food at all." Or let us bring the problem home directly to the Commission. Let us assume that the appropriation made by Congress for your task is most insufficient for you to do all of the work which you believe it to be your duty to do. At the next session of Congress your apologies of poverty are cast on deaf ears, and, if you please, you gentlemen are impeached because you have not carried still further your work of supervision—which work was curtailed solely through lack of funds.

In other words, such a test is absurd and inequitable. Before you can compare our work with that of stations operating under more favorable licenses you might well consider giving us a trial period with more hours, higher power and better wave length. As to the objective test we stand ready to justify. Under all the handicaps which the license we hold has placed on us we feel that the results we have obtained—in the light of our objectives—has been a remarkable evidence of labor's interest in the radio.

**Point III.—WEVD should be given a preferential position among Radio Licensees because it is not operating for the purpose of profits.**

All through the various hearings which preceded the radio legislation under which the Commission is sitting runs the phrase "Public convenience, interest or necessity." The act itself is predicated on such purposes. Although Congress well knew the dangers inherent in the definition of such fluid words it showed a clear intent to tie up the determination of the public welfare with the type and purposes of the ownership. Congress should only look to the styles of programs in order to adjudicate this far more important question of public service. To this end we see written into the statute various provisions which concern the ownership of the station. Not all these clauses were inserted for the purpose of national defense. An examination of the earlier prints (for example see Senate 4156, 69th Congress, 1st Session) shows that the Senate was especially concerned with this question of the relation of the profit motive to the determination of the type and kind of public convenience to be served. The Commission is no doubt aware of the fact that the Senate at one time passed

a bill providing most distinctly that on the sale of a radio station the vendor should not be permitted to capitalize the good will of the naked government license. In another section the Senate indicated in terms only a trifle less strong than a positive legal mandate the following instruction to the licensing power:

"That in said distribution the Commission shall give due regard to the requests of educational institutions for the opportunities to broadcast educational programs in each state and community."

Assuredly the Senate took cognizance of the fact that the educational institutions were not operated for money profits. The clause was omitted from the final draft of the bill but in our opinion this must have been done because its insertion would have been an insult to your intelligence. Does it need much argument to have you concede that the elimination of profit removes one large element of the licensee's motives for which you must search in the quest of this intangible thing "Public Service"? It can be said that no meritorious programs will ever be broadcast by WEVD for the purpose of paying dividends to stockholders. Handsome money returns cannot prompt us to broadcast material which is contrary to the educational purposes of our station. You must well know that the motive for large profits easily distorts men's better instincts. The daily press portrays a sordid picture of perjury on the part of high and low officials and business men for the sake of mere profit in dollars and cents. The people will not look with equanimity on your station while allowing other stations to continue—stations that have as a sole purpose the accumulation of wealth out of the good will handed to them under that valuable certificate—your license.

WEVD may not at all times see the picture of the public welfare from the same angle as do the members of the Commission but at all events you will not doubt admit that our point of view can never be colored or tainted by the money greed. Nor is it any answer to say that many of the other stations are operating at a loss. The indirect financial returns to the owners in many cases are substantial, and moreover every time you destroy an existing station you are enhancing the value of the outstanding licenses to the point that even now licenses are offered at disgracefully high figures.

**Point IV.—WEVD should be given a preferential position among Radio Licensees because of the purposes for which it was organized.**

In considering the public interest in the dispensation of licenses the Commission should not be unmindful of the inherent purposes that underlie each station. Whereas we have no means for analyzing the reasons for the existence of each station it will be no exaggeration to state that the stations that have solely a civic purpose are by far in the minority.

In 1926, according to Davis' Law of Radio Communication, there were in the United States 368 radio stations, divided as follows: 169 maintained by mercantile establishments, manufacturers, theatres, etc.; 94 by schools and colleges; 43 by churches; 35 by newspapers; 15 by municipalities, states and other governmental bodies and 12 by hotels. That is, 216 out of 368, or 58.7 per cent., were maintained by profit-making organizations.

In 1928, according to the latest figures available, there are 701 stations, of which 491 are maintained by mercantile establishments, manufacturers or other profit-making bodies; 81 by schools and colleges; 52 by churches; 35 by newspapers; 17 by cities or other governmental bodies, and 12 by hotels.

There are also 13 stations maintained by public, philanthropic or communal bodies such as Chambers of Commerce, American Legion posts and the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. That is, out of 701 stations, 538 stations, or 76.8 per cent., are maintained either to make profit or as adjuncts to profit-making. The tendency toward profit-making stations and away from stations devoted to public interest, welfare and education is thus most marked.

We know of many stations that are mere adjuncts of merchandising concerns. Department stores have acquired government radio licenses just as they would buy advertising space in the newspapers. Radio has become a part of the money-making budgets of merchants. Manufacturers of radio equipment have paid high prices for licenses in order to further the sales of their products. In

the latter case the three owners are operating the license to help their own businesses collaterally. It would be illegal for them to spend their stockholders' money for any other purpose. It is a further investment for profits.

The financial support of WEVD is a public declaration made with dollars by thousands of people that the Debs Memorial Radio Station is a public necessity.

**Point VII.—The material broadcast by WEVD is a public necessity.**

In this age of regimentation of thought, indeed there is a bitter need for at least one station in the East that is imbued

so far as these stations put on entertaining programs and contribute to the public welfare it is always a mere matter of mere by-product. The reason for the existence of these stations must be found in a different, essential motive than public welfare. The few stations, such as those operating in conjunction with educational institutions and the famous station of Labor in Chicago should certainly be continued by the Commission with every possible aid and advantage that the Commission can possibly bestow on them. The Debs Memorial Station is wrapped up with service to the working people of the land. Its very birth was an emotional dedication of at least one station to the ideals of brotherhood which were preached for so many years by Eugene V. Debs. It would be a harsh assault on the deep affection of millions of Americans for this famous American, were the Commission to disregard the nearly religious fervor which prompted the creation of WEVD.

This station exists for the purpose of maintaining at least one channel of the air free and open to the uses of the workers. We admit without any apology that this station has no deep concern with reporting polo matches, or even giving instruction in how to play bridge and other class games of chance. We are not convinced that the public necessity dictates the broadcasting of descriptions of ladies' fancy dresses at receptions in Fifth Avenue ball rooms. Unless the Commission discriminates against labor we intend to carry on with the purposes for which we were organized—a service to labor through various forms of light entertainment, and through speeches, reports and debates on subjects that are of daily vital importance to those millions of Americans who number ninety per cent. of the population but possess only 10 per cent. of the wealth.

Organized wealth has many wave lengths—in fact, it has been handed, on a silver platter, the cream of the air. The large capitalist press has its fair portion of the air. Large industries have not been overlooked in the original allocation of the broadcasting channels.

We merely ask that labor be not frozen out. WEVD should be one station with much time, as much power and as good a wave length as any one of a dozen stations which are controlled by the wealthy and operating for the purposes of promoting a commodity. We are in existence for the purpose of promoting the public welfare. That is our only purpose.

**Point V.—The personnel which surrounds WEVD is a guarantee of its public service.**

We have annexed hereto a list of the persons who have associated themselves with this station. This point which we are here calling to your attention needs no long comment. A mere reading of the names tells the story. The names in the main are of men and women whose main occupations are public welfare. On this list you will find clergymen of nationwide repute, heads of settlement houses, defenders of the poor and the downtrodden.

The largest station in the country felt compelled to organize a special advisory committee so that its properties would be handled for the public interest. The Debs station did not need to create a separate board as a counteract to the controlling committee. The interest of each person connected with WEVD is the same. This is not a case where some of the directors are in the game for profits or even indirectly concerned with the rise of collateral securities on the stock exchanges. The market in which we are solely interested is that of Public Welfare. No greater assurance of the importance of fact can be given than the roll call of those who have served as Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund.

**Point VI.—The financial support of WEVD indicates a great public interest.**

The money necessary to effectuate the purposes of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, and which now make possible the maintenance and operation of WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, have come to us as contributions ranging from ten cents to one thousand dollars. These contributions were and are being made by individuals and organizations. These contributors represent all of the social, political, economic, religious and racial groups in the country. Our contributors are domiciled not only in the United States but also in Italy, England, France, Canada and Mexico.

Although an exact census of the number of individuals concerned in the financing of WEVD is under the circumstances impossible, a fair estimate would show upwards of a million persons. We point with pride to the fact that this station is the result of the generosity and sacrifice of so many noble-minded men and women. In comparison to this demonstration of public interest on the part of our owners, may we point to the fact that most of the other stations are controlled by closely held stock companies. A single business concern, or as in the case of the National Broadcasting Company, three giants of industry, own the permits. In the latter case the three owners are operating the license to help their own businesses collaterally. It would be illegal for them to spend their stockholders' money for any other purpose. It is a further investment for profits.

The financial support of WEVD is a public declaration made with dollars by thousands of people that the Debs Memorial Radio Station is a public necessity.

**Point VII.—The material broadcast by WEVD is a public necessity.**

In this age of regimentation of thought, indeed there is a bitter need for at least one station in the East that is imbued

## Presidential Candidates To Make Revocation of License An Issue in the Campaign

with the necessity of having the people hear the facts of life even though they are not always bright and rosy. WEVD need have no concern with daily sales reports, or stock market quotations. We have no stockholders to protect when we repeat old scandals as unearthed by Senator Walsh. We need not fear the loss of any customers when we explain the significance of the fight waged by Senator Norris in connection with the Boulder Dam. If a speaker preaches in favor of the withdrawal of the gunboats from China, or endorses the position of many Senators in favor of terminating our war in Nicaragua, we are in no danger that the pressure of any consumers might alter our course.

Our program is entertaining as well as educational. As the Commission corrects the present discrimination against this station with assurance of continuity, with freedom from having to come here and there, and with enlarged facilities a greater variety and even better program will be presented. Under the handicaps which the Commission has placed on our shoulders we believe that we have done a fairly respectable job. As to the more serious side of our program we can point with great pride.

For example, on November 11 last, when the ninth anniversary of the close of the war was being celebrated largely by speeches favoring larger military establishments and displays of military power, WEVD sought to convey its conception of the meaning of that day by broadcasting a whole day's program of addresses in favor of peaceful methods of settling international disputes, participated in by seventeen peace societies. Among the organizations and individuals participating were the Peace Committee of the Friends (Quakers), the Peace House of New York, Oswald Garrison Villard of the Nation, The Women's Trade Union League, Rabbi S. S. Wise of the Free Synagogue, the Women's Peace Society, the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, League of Neighbors, the Committee on Militarism in Education, National Council for the Prevention of War, International War Resisters' League, Women's Peace Union, Senator Lynn J. Frazier, Morris Hillquit and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Similarly, WEVD devoted a considerable part of its Christmas program to the ideal of peace on earth with talks by Dr. Harry F. Ward and Norman Thomas discussing the deeper significance of the birthday of the Prince of Peace.

Other programs were devoted to National Child Labor Day, broadcasting to the people the evils of the enforced labor of children and urging some sort of action to end that evil, to the Consumers' League in its campaign for cleaner shops for the protection both of the public and the workers, and other public causes.

Further, WEVD, ever mindful of its position as the Free Speech Station, undertook during the campaign of 1927—the only political campaign thus far in its period of existence—to invite representatives of the Republicans, Democrats and Communists—the latter the bitter enemies of the Socialists in American public life—to use its facilities to broadcast their ideas. The Republicans and Communists accepted the invitation, as did the Citizens' Union, a conservative civic organization; the last named organization broadcast arguments upon pending amendments to the State Constitution in marked contrast to the opinions of the management of the station. In no case was there any charge or anything resembling censorship of ideas or arguments, as is manifest by the attached communications.

In addition WEVD invited and entertained representatives of the American Legion to broadcast arguments in direct contrast to those of the Socialists and anti-imperialists in American foreign policy, and likewise has a standing invitation to all organizations to use WEVD at any time without censorship and without charge.

**Point VIII.—The popular support and general appreciation of the station is a strong indication that WEVD is not only a public convenience but a public necessity.**

To be sure the mere counting of heads is no final proof of public use. There is no mathematical path to heaven. By the use of thousands of dollars nearly any station can gather in applause cards. In our case we call particular attention to the type of the comments and to the general class of the people who have sent in to praise the station. Mindful that this is a station that espouses minority points of view, we are sure that it would be conceded that even the size of the returns is remarkable. The loyalty and interest of our public must be given credit if comparisons are being made with applause cards received by the ordinary commercial station which has just entertained its public with advertisements. Our applause cards are not applications for free souvenirs.

Your announced intent not to renew our operating license has evoked a storm of protest from our radio audience, and in addition to the listening public this very action which your body proposed has brought forth a glorious and emphatic support from many other sources in the community and nation.

We submit for your inspection in addition to the many letters, resolutions and petitions which we have been informed have been forwarded directed to your body, those petitions and resolutions which have been first sent to us. These petitions, which we now leave in your hands, have been signed by over 12,000 persons; these organization resolutions represent-

ing 650,000 individual members requested you not to compel WEVD to discontinue its work.

We call your attention to a few of the expressions caused by the announcement of your intent not to renew WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station.

The Radio Commission, even if willing to overlook all of the other arguments we have made, cannot fail to respect with the awe of a public mandate the resolutions of protest which have been passed as an answer to the Commission's contemplated move. It may be willing in some other cases to disappoint advertisers of fire engines or playing cards who would protest against the removal of one of their means of publicity, but the high character of protestants who have come to our aid cannot be brushed aside unless the Commission at the same time closed its eyes to the words "public interest" and "public necessity."

**Point IX.—Assuming that eliminations should be made we believe that the basis should not be priority but service.**

As a matter of law and from the angle of public policy we submit that the sole factor on which stations are to be continued must be service to the public. It is true that previous to the enactment of the present law Chancellor Wilson of Cook County, Illinois, uttered some dicta in favor of the principle "that priority of time creates a superiority in right." This may have been the only way of handling the situation previous to passage of the law under which this Commission is operating. But it is our firm belief that one of the very objectives of the law was to overcome the absurd governmental dilemma created by any such anti-social policy. Priority of time must evaporate as a plea for continuation, in the face of evidence of public need. This is obviously true because priority is the child of chance and the illegitimate offspring, in many cases, of baneful trading in the naked signatures of the Secretary of Commerce. No doubt the Commission will agree that even the oldest station in the country if used primarily for preaching the purity of the Tea Pot Dome Oil leases would have to give way before a station that was intent on developing over the radio a market service for the benefit of the farmers. Such a clear example is sufficient to make the point that priority alone carries with it no sanctity or immunity. The next position to which the Commission might then shift would be to hold that between stations equally fulfilling a public service the older one in the field should have the preference. This sounds plausible but has no place in the determination of a quasi-judicial board. With such an easily commuted factor in the background it would only be natural for the members of the Commission to dispense with those more intangible and important tests of Service. These tests are more difficult to apply but just for that reason they are the only ones that can be translated into terms of public utility. And finally we call your attention that priority proceeded from government grace and favor. Those interests who stood closest to the Powers now possess this present asset of priority. They cannot now claim perpetuity on any such slim foundation.

But even if the Commission should be inclined to take priority into any consideration we respectfully demand then that we be informed of the names and other important facts surrounding those other stations which hope to ride to wealth and safety on such government sanction. We ask this so that we may address ourselves to the argument arising out of such facts. Were such other stations sold since the original license? Does priority descend to all latter entrepreneurs? Will the Commission permit profiteering in licenses? How about the assignment clauses in the act? What do they do to priority?

**Point X.—The closing of WEVD will be correctly construed by the public as extreme intolerance and complete censorship of the air.**

The mechanical parceling out of the air is fraught with difficulties. This alone makes the task of the Commission a delicate one. But all such problems are negligible compared with the graver responsibilities of sitting as censors of the air. The public is well aware of the suppression and censorship that is constantly being practiced at the individual broadcasting stations. It can no longer be denied that such suppression goes far beyond the proper control of libelous and other illegal material. The chairman of the board of trustees of WEVD was at one time excluded from WEAF only because it was felt that certain remarks of his in regard to compulsion of military training in the high schools was too controversial. Station KOA demurred at portions of an address by Eamon de Valera. The New York World of April 20, 1927, commented on the general reluctance of radio stations to broadcast the Darrow-Wheeler debate on prohibition. Norman Hargood, Rev. John Nevins Sayre, Mrs. Mary H. Ford and many others have all been excluded from the air. The naked microphone was used when Hudson Maxim spoke against prohibition. There are innumerable instances of suppression resulting not from any tests of what would be best for the public but proceeding in each case from the personal prejudices of the owners of the station, or the predilections of the stockholders of the licensee or the customers of the sales agency that operates the station.

All of this is serious and the public has not had its final say as to such practices. But none of this is even worth mentioning as compared to a single instance of attempted suppression by the Government itself.

In your hands lies the power of throttling the air at the source. The licenses which you control mean life or death to portions of the intellectual life of the people. WEVD represents a valid and valuable attempt to transmit to the people of this nation the point of view of suppressed minorities and the latest but not powerful sentiments of the great mass of the working men and women of the shops, the mills, the mines and the farms. In behalf of the purposes which we have declared and with unequivocal negation of all pecuniary motives we demand as a matter of public good the ex-

## Utah Names Strong Slate At Big Meet

### Stoney for Senator, Dore for Governor—Papers Sit Up and Take Notice

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah.—The largest and most enthusiastic Socialist state convention that has assembled in Utah in many years met in the Labor Temple here on the Fourth of July and nominated a state ticket and presidential electors. For the first time the three local papers gave considerable space and fair accounts of the convention.

The party expects to get its state campaign in full swing by August 1 and chairman E. G. Locke declares that it will be a "tropical" campaign. The especially fine publicity which the convention obtained and the general disapproval expressed by the parties of capitalism by voters in all sections of the state have inspired the Socialists to make this intensive campaign.

The convention also decided that it was imperative that Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer should speak in the state. The convention adopted a special resolution urging that the National Campaign Committee send both candidates to Ogden and Utah for meetings.

### Stoney for Senator

The complete ticket of Socialist candidates is as follows:  
United States Senator, Charles T. Stoney of Salt Lake.  
Governor, D. E. Dore of Ogden.  
State supreme court justice, William C. Sumner of Ogden.  
Secretary of State, Benjamin R. Stammann of Spanish Fork.

Attorney general, William M. Harrison of Plain City.  
Treasurer, Benjamin Cline of Salt Lake.

Auditor, Bernard A. Kiasco of Murray. Superintendent of public instruction, Margaret Valtinko of Salt Lake.

Congressman from First district, John O. Watters of Duchesne.

Congressman from Second district, Thomas F. Eynon of Salt Lake.

Presidential electors: Albert P. Gower of Cedar City, William Black of Antimony, James Monroe of Salina, William E. Trinnaman of Lehi.

The platform adopted by the delegates described the Republican party as "reeking and dripping with oil, alien trust funds and resources of war veteran hospitals."

"Against these crimes and corruption," the plank continued, their nominee, a cabinet member, has thus far registered no protest. His silence is eloquent, if not significant."

## Socialists of Iowa Name Full Ticket

DES MOINES, IOWA.—A big Socialist convention was held at Des Moines on July 4. Fifty delegates representing Fort Dodge, Indianola, Des Moines, Fair, Newton, Gernsey, Ladora, Linleville, Madroit and Iowa Falls were in attendance. A state organization was formed with Comrade I. S. McCrillis, South Union St., Park Ave. Station, Des Moines, as State Secretary.

The convention nominated a full state ticket and electors for our presidential nominees. The local at Des Moines was reorganized and a large number of members over the state was taken in. Some candidates for Congress were nominated and plans made to fill in all districts. A collection of \$19.50 was taken up and \$27.25 collected for dues.

National Secretary William H. Henry addressed the convention and all of the comrades went home full of enthusiasm, delighted with the good turn out and determined to put Iowa in the front ranks with a membership that will make other states hustle to keep up with them. The nominees on the state ticket are: Governor, Howard Rose, Des Moines. Lieutenant Governor, Andrew Engle, Metis.

Secretary of State, Mrs. Anna B. Lynch, Linleville.

Treasurer, Ben McClain, Battle Creek. Secretary of Agriculture, Fred Becker, a farmer of Newton.

Attorney General, I. S. McCrillis, Des Moines.

Electors at large, Perry Engle of Newton and Miss Theo Hamilton of Indianola.

Extension of the facilities of WEVD. We ask that we be treated in the same fashion as the representatives of the Western Electric Company, the General Electric Company and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

We ask no special privilege. Give us the power and the time and the advantageous wave lengths that have been bestowed on these great and mighty money making interests. To destroy us is unthinkable—and un-American.

If WEVD is taken off the air and in fact if it is not treated on a parity with others who are richer and more influential with the government, the people of this nation can truly recognize that Radio which might be such a splendid force for the honest clash of ideas—creating a free market for thought—is nothing but a tool to be used by the powerful against any form of disagreement, or any species of protest.

**Point XI.—The license of the Debs Memorial Radio Station should not be revoked.**

Respectfully submitted,  
DEBS MEMORIAL RADIO FUND, INC.  
NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman  
AUGUST GERBER, Secretary



# LET THE POWER TRUST DO YOUR THINKING

By Bertha Hale King

THE evidence and the testimony brought out by the investigators of the Federal Trade Commission in the probe of the propaganda methods of the power trust have established all and more than all that was ever charged against the utility interests as a corrupting force in American life. For three months the evidence has been piling up until it is mountain high.

But the "high-powered executives" of the utilities are quite unashamed. At the convention of the National Electric Light Association at Atlantic City early in June attended by thousands of utility men from all America, they gave their answer. They declared their methods were entirely ethical and recommended more money for propaganda.

No more amazing, bewildering exposition of the technic of Big Business in befuddling the people has ever been made than is being steadily, relentlessly unrolled at these hearings.

## 38 Poison-Dispensing Headquarters

The utility propaganda machine is made up principally of the National Electric Light Association and 38 "Utility Information Bureaus" now operating in 38 states. The Joint Committee of National Utility Associations of which Hon. George B. Cortelyou is chairman was revived last Summer specifically to fight legislation in Congress and collected \$400,000 for that purpose. The state and regional bureaus and committees are composed of utility executives and work is financed entirely by dues and subscriptions from utility companies.

The Federal Trade Commission requisitioned the files of the various bureaus and supplied the directors to identify and explain reports and correspondence. At this period of the inquiry it is impossible to make anything like a digest of the evidence. The facts pile up too fast. As each director finishes his testimony, under oath, he is followed by another who outlines much the same sordid program. It is a program, a deliberate policy, of tampering with the schools of the country and of reaching a vengeal press by increased paid advertising. It is a program that has turned unnumbered teachers, the custodians of the future, into representatives, consciously or not, of big business and has secured uncounted newspaper columns for the publication of private utility propaganda as false news and canned editorials; of articles written in the propaganda factory but published under the pseudonym of our "very best people."

The difficulty of making a comprehensive summary of the evidence was greatly increased by the apparent independence of the agencies employed. The work within the boundaries of each state seemed only sympathetically related to the work elsewhere.

But in the evidence presented on June 18 the inter-connection was established. On October 1925, at the convention of the American Gas Association held at Atlantic City, nineteen utility men in charge of propaganda throughout the country held a conference. The president of the Electric Bond and Share was the principal speaker. Mr. J. B. Sheridan, whose testimony in Washington amazed even the newspaper men, reported upon a nation-wide survey of textbooks which he had been appointed to make.

The report reveals that the much prized "contact" with educators and schools has already been established in 30 states and that in the preceding four years much has been accomplished in the avowed purpose of reaching the twenty million school children of the country. It further declared that the work of these 30 states had "done much to change and direct the economic thought and economic practice of the American people."

Future plans are clearly indicated in the report and reveal a fixed purpose to control the great opinion-forming agencies of modern life, the Press, the School and the Public Forum.

**Training Tomorrow's Citizens**  
The press and the platform for the misleading of today's voters. The school for the coming ranks of voters, legislators, interpreters and administrators of the law, public officials and members of regulatory commissions.

The program is elaborated in the evidence previously submitted during the

## Manufacturing of Public Opinion as a By-Product Of Power, Gas and Electric Corporations

two months past of the hearings and includes more or less direct enlistment of the Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers Association, Rotary Clubs, Women's Clubs—even the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides—clivb clubs and groups of various kinds as reinforcements for a Back Home Lobby to fight such popular legislation as the Boulder Dam bill and the Norris bill for Muscle Shoals, or any other measure that is not acceptable to the power trust.

The power lobby rates the press as of first importance, but it is probable that the invasion of the educational system of the country will be of more immediate concern to the general public. In a report of the Federal Trade Commission last January—less than two months before the investigation began, occurs the following: "The general public may well question whether the integrity of established institutions of higher learning is not being undermined."

The facts revealed overwhelmingly sustain this warning. Although much of the field is yet to be covered, it is evident that the underground work in colleges and universities—"everything above the grammar grades"—has reached formidable proportions.

### Colorado Shows How

In the report of the conference at Atlantic City in 1925, Colorado was singled out for special commendation. It was asserted that college professors and utility representatives met freely in that state for discussion.

A few days ago there appeared a news item to the effect that Prof. Hubert R. Wolfe had been discharged from the University of Colorado because it had been "discovered" that Prof. Wolfe received half his salary from the Rocky Mountain States Committee on Utility Information. Wolfe, a graduate of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., may serve as an example of the product of higher education under the beneficent influence of the power trust. Northwestern receives an appropriation from the

utilities of \$25,000 and Prof. Ely of that institution appears frequently in the investigation.

A little more than a year after the Atlantic City conference, Mr. George E. Lewis, executive manager of the Colorado section of the Eleven Billion Dollars, reported to Mr. John C. Parker of Brooklyn, chairman of the "Co-operation with Educational Institutions Committee," that "Professor Wolfe" has the co-operation of the University librarian and "we now have 24 public utility executives as members of the University faculty, and Mr. Wolfe is collaborating with each in the preparation of the nine major subjects covered."

To offset the growing agitation in Colorado for municipally owned industries, Prof. Wolfe prepared a set of over 100 lessons as a correspondence course in utilities, a course that was put over by the university and also was sold throughout the country for general use.

Professor W. S. Duvall of Colorado College at Colorado Springs was paid \$250.00 per month and expenses for preparing a report claiming to prove municipal ownership to be a failure in the Rocky Mountain States.

In addition to the monthly dinners tendered representatives of the college faculties by Mr. Lewis, he maintains a "Speakers College" where forty students are constantly under training "to fill all engagements for speakers in the junior and high schools, civic associations and luncheon clubs may be called for by the Public Utility Information Committee and other sources."

### Some Professors Come Cheap

Mr. Lewis's work is by no means confined to the schools but there is no space to describe his activities in full. He has been in the Rocky Mountain States a long time and has been a very busy man. He maintains his own blacklist and helps to exclude such wild radicals from the Chautauqua platform as Governor Charles Bryan of Nebraska. He is a good fellow to the newspaper men and each year gives a theatre party to the

convention of the Colorado Editorial Association. He is notably successful in getting his two men elected to the United States Chamber of Commerce—Philip H. Gadsden for one—with the object of getting reinforcements for the fight against Boulder Dam.

In other states the story is much the same and differs slightly except as to particulars. More money is spent in other states than has yet appeared in the Colorado record. Prof. Wolfe was had at bargain prices—they paid him \$1,200 a year.

In Washington and Louisiana the committee director has the co-operation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Everywhere the committees have mailing lists of students, professors, editors, high schools and colleges and thousands and thousands of pamphlets are distributed by the utilities to these addresses.

"Surveys" are made followed by the revision or entire removal of offending textbooks. In many cases the books substituted are prepared by utility executives. A notorious case is that of Connecticut where 76 high schools are supplied with textbooks, a "Catechism" graciously prepared, published and furnished free by the State Utility Information Bureau.

How much money has been spent for "research" and for college subsidies of one kind and another will be known perhaps when the report of the Federal Trade Commission is made public.

Harvard has an annual appropriation from the utilities of \$30,000. Dean O. C. Ruggles of Ohio State University is now touring the country, arranging conferences between university teachers and utility representatives (at no expense to the professors) in various sections. His salary is \$15,000 and expenses.

### Harvard, Columbia and Williams Too

The larger universities apparently have heavy investments in utilities. The following figures showing the percentage of endowment funds so invested appear in the record:

	Endowment	Invest in Utilities
Harvard	\$82,039,574	33%
Columbia	62,601,349	33%
Mass. Inst. Tech.	29,293,000	30%
Univ. Rochester	24,500,000	24%
Williams College	5,427,493	26%

"Experiments in rural electrification" is a favorite plan as in Texas and Minnesota. In the latter state a grant of \$7,500 was made to assist in the experiment at Red Wing conducted by Professor Stewart. The committee in that section is generous to the University. It paid the expenses of Prof. Stewart—and a monthly salary of \$500.00—to attend the world power conference at Geneva, Switzerland.

Also paid were Prof. Stewart's expenses on an "investigation" trip into Ontario which resulted in a pamphlet very adverse to rural electrification as managed by the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, in which misleading statements and omission of fact make this pamphlet a very serious breach of faith both to the Ontario Commission and to the American public.

And \$3,000 and expenses to one Samuel S. Wyer for an earlier trip to Ontario and the writing of a pamphlet which in some way he induced the Smithsonian Institution to publish as a government document—a pamphlet which aroused the fierce indignation of the Ontario people and is now thoroughly discredited.

### Special Attention To Muscle Shoals

The states more especially concerned with Muscle Shoals get particular attention. Take Georgia. Mr. Willard Cope, the utility director, spends \$30,000 a year on his work but it cannot be shown what it is spent for. Mr. Cope blandly testified that he did not have "a penmark on record of any sort" prior to January first of this year.

At a time when there were public ownership bills pending in the Georgia legislature, Mr. Cope issued a 32,000 edition of a pamphlet of which 28,000 were distributed. Mr. Cope said the 3,000 re-

maining were thrown away after the Municipal League, the sponsor of the bills, had disbanded. Today he issues a periodical he calls "The Week" which is sent to and used by the high schools of Atlanta and Augusta in social science and other classes.

Relating to Muscle Shoals, Prof. Grayson of the University of Pennsylvania visited the South as a paid lecturer for the Utility associations.

The propagandists now and then discover a man who can neither be fooled nor bought. This is evident in repeated admonitions from utility executives that caution must be used since some university men were extremely "cagey" on the question of text-book interference.

When Samuel Elmore Boney, director of the Utility Information Bureau of North and South Carolina, sent inquiries to professors in his territory preliminary to the usual "survey" his letter was returned by Prof. H. C. Breasley of Clemson College who said: "I may say frankly that I consider the censorship of textbooks as one of the most objectionable and reprehensible of the practices of so-called big business."

### Advertising And Free Space

In the testimony of Joe Carmichael, director of the Iowa Utility Information Committee, it was disclosed that Carmichael had hired Prof. Ford to make the survey. In that state also great progress was made in eliminating text-books offensive to the utility companies. Mr. Carmichael is strong for the press—subscriptions for all the state papers and as a matter of policy has increased his paid advertising an estimated one-thousand per cent.

The news and editorial columns are not marked for sale. But there is wonderful persuasion in a thousand per cent. increase of paid advertising. As a result of Mr. Carmichael's policy he secured space and editorial columns he estimated as worth \$80,000 but which he could not have purchased for any amount of money. A few days ago there came to light an

arrangement between the American Gas Association, the American Electric Street Railway Association, the National Electric Light Association and the publishing firm of Glan & Co., of Chicago, by which a representative of each of the Associations and two representatives of the publishers should work together. (See last week's New Leader).

Mr. William S. Vane of Philadelphia, also refused a seat in the Senate, comes into the picture when the testimony shows his chief lieutenant received \$14,103 from the Pennsylvania Utility Information Committee. This gentleman, John P. Connelly, was especially interested in legislation at Harrisburg.

### The Ladies Are Not Forgotten

In reaching the voters they have by no means forgotten the importance of special efforts to ingratiate themselves with that great political problem, the women voters. Here are two significant items. The General Federation of Women's Clubs conducted a survey on Home Equipment. In the report of the president submitted to their convention in San Antonio, Texas, a few weeks ago the receipts in contributions for the survey are given. Out of a total fund of \$106,300.10, the National Electric Light Association gave \$80,000.10 and the American Gas Association, \$3,000.

Women employees are trained for platform work and placed in grade schools to train the young mind to shoot in the direction of private ownership and ownership of utilities. "They call them Women's Information Committees and describe them as—not just stenographers and clerks—but Ambassadors to the people." This means that the women and girls employed by the utility companies are selected primarily because of their qualifications for reaching other women and especially the house-wives. Their most important work therefore is to convert women to the gospel of private ownership and no meddling in business by the Government. Specific instances of this kind of service appear in letters and records. The utility-trained women join clubs and even religious organizations as a routine part of their work. In elections they have worked actively to influence the vote on bond issues and similar measures. Social affairs have been arranged attended by large numbers of women voters as invited guests. The "Utility Women" carefully present the private utility point of view.

### More Propaganda Promised

At the Atlantic City convention of the National Electric Light Association early this month, the Public Policy Committee reported that the utility interests claimed the right to develop "unhindered" and was preparing to defend the industry against "unwarranted and unjust interference." In the speech of the president, it was indicated that the "educational" program was bringing highly desirable results, that such activity was quite ethical and would be continued and extended.

Here is something to consider—you pay for all this. All those subsidies to schools and salaries to professors and payments to teachers and writers for "research" work; all the funds expended to supply newspapers with releases and bulletins and boiler plate—miles and miles of it measured in columns of published material—every cent of this enormous expenditure with an added margin for complete safety and a modest profit, great right into that electric light bill so blithely sent you each month. And if you don't want to buy that kind of service—just try refusing to pay for it.

At Atlantic City utility men took the position that they had done nothing that was not completely within their rights. But if it is the right of the Power Trust to invade the educational institutions of the country, why not the Railroad, the Steel Trust, the Insurance companies, the Banks, the Fertilizer Trust, the Farm Machinery combine, the Ammunition makers—and so on and so on?

There is an abundance of evidence disclosed and it repeats endlessly. The Press—the School—educational integrity—all in the market place; bargain and sale across the counter in every corner of the nation. Through it all there is a terrible sense of pressure—pressure upon legislators, upon public officials, upon the moulders of public opinion. Pressure—the relentless pressure of Eleven Billion Dollars.

## A SOCIALIST IN PARLIAMENT

By J. S. Woodworth  
(Labor Member of the Canadian Parliament)

THE ADDRESS of Comrade Woodworth at the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy was greeted as one of the best papers delivered during the four day session. The New Leader here presents that paper in full.

IT is a happy chance that brings my address on July 1st, our "Dominion Day"—corresponding to your 4th of July. Considerably over one hundred years ago some of my ancestors trekked from these States into the Northern wilds. Today we join in considering the newer economic problems that now face your country and mine.

I come from the mid-western city of Winnipeg. For seven years I have represented North-Centre Winnipeg in the Canadian House of Commons. Our independent Labor party in Winnipeg can rely upon the support of 40 per cent. of the voters of that city. We have our representatives on the City Council, the School Board and other elective bodies. We have three members in the Provincial House and two Members in the Federal. Calgary has also sent a Labor Member to Ottawa, so we have a full-fledged group—Leader, Whip and a Party!

Industrially, Canada, is more or less a northerly extension of the United States, so our Labor movement, to a large extent, is an annex of the American Federation of Labor. In addition, we have in Quebec, French Catholic unions in the West, The One Big Union; and throughout Canada a movement towards a national organization.

In the political field we have followed

## Progress Toward Labor Control in Canada Related by Winnipeg Workers' Representative

to some extent the traditional policy of The American Federation of Labor in refusing to take independent political action, but, with the influx of large numbers of British immigrants, and the success of the British Labor Party, there has been a growing interest in the building up in Canada of a distinctively Labor group whose members would be free from the bondage of either of the old historic parties, and responsible to Labor, alone.

In 1921 two of us unfurled our Labor flag at Ottawa. In the 1925 election we lost one seat and gained another. The following year we re-gained the lost seat. Thus, our numbers do not show much increase, but in these seven years we have established a working co-operation with the Independent Farmer groups that now have a membership of eighteen. So, while we have no rigid party discipline, we can usually count on twenty-one votes, with frequent support from Liberal-Progressives and labor sympathizers in the old parties.

Still votes are of comparative unimportance. Indeed it would generally be conceded that the influence of the Independent groups in the House and throughout the country, is out of all proportion to their numbers. The Farmer-members represent a class that practically dominate the governments of the Prairie Provinces, and a greater achievement—have organized the largest co-operative selling agency in the world. For the season 1926-27 the Canadian Wheat Producers Ltd. handled 399,501,478 bushels of wheat, giving a gross return of \$309,746,292.32. Not bad for a "bunch of farmers!" And the farmers

who have learned to market their own grain will, one of these days, manage their own affairs in Parliament. So much for our allies!

**Educational Propaganda**  
From the standpoint of Labor, it is a seat in the House of Commons worth while? For some years, there sat across from me a man whose election cost him \$42,000. Mine, last year cost less than \$700. My honorable friend was supposed to speak for "St. James Street"—our "Wall Street." His vote counted no more than mine. If it is worth while for him to leave a remunerative business to sit in Parliament, a priori, might it not be worth while to have a Labor man's vote cancel his?

But what can three do in a House of 245? Well, in the first place, Ottawa is a high-powered broadcasting station. Labor representatives and other lobbyists butthole individual members in the corridors, urging their cases. We have the right to present our cases where they can be heard. The Press Gallery, the official reports—all the elaborate machinery of distributing the debates of the House, are at our service, and we use them to the limit! After all, at this stage of political development, educational propaganda is of greatest importance—perhaps at any stage, it is the most important aspect of parliamentary activity.

Legislation is but the party register of public opinion, and without the backing of public opinion is worse than useless. The big thing is to create and direct public opinion. We in the Labor movement, must win the masses of the

people to our policies. Yes, must indeed crystallize the rather vague ideas of our own immediate supporters and inspire in them the belief in the practicability of our economic theories.

Two objects must be kept in view, the ultimate and the immediate. "Properly presented, each re-inforces the other. We are Socialists. Our I. L. F. "believes in the establishment of a co-operative Commonwealth with production for use and not for profit, as its economic basis. But we also advocate such reforms as the nationalization of the Banking system, and national autonomy and such ameliorative measures as unemployment insurance and the removal of taxes from the necessities of life.

**A Laborite's Parliamentary Function**  
Again and again we have presented various phases of socialist theory and, on the other hand, in dealing with the many practical problems which come before the House, have tried to apply the rule, "human needs before property rights". Our correspondence files show a growing response to such teaching.

In connection with National Defence estimates, with Canada's position in the British empire, and with Canada's membership on the Assembly and on the Council of the League of Nations, there are presented many opportunities for the discussion of inter-national affairs and of various phases of economical imperialism.

What the Labor representatives say in the House may in itself produce little effect, but we are able to force the pace of the other members. A speech on international relations will draw forth a

reply from the Prime Minister. This may be criticised by the Leader of the Opposition and precipitate a general debate—"Behold how great a fire a little flame kindleth!"

In matters directly affecting Labor, certain measures would not come up for discussion were they not introduced by Labor Members. Once introduced, however, members of the old parties cannot be unmindful of their Labor electors, so they make speeches for home consumption. Then if we force a vote we put such members definitely on record as for or against labor policies. Whichever way the vote goes, we score.

Sometimes we can take advantage of the political situation to secure concrete legislation. May I again be permitted to illustrate from actual parliamentary experience? Under our Constitution, no Labor legislation comes under provincial jurisdiction. In most provinces in Canada we already have workmen's compensation, widowed-mothers' allowances; minimum wage for girls, and in British Columbia, for men; minimum wages for work, etc. In some matters, such as old age pensions, the jurisdiction is not so clearly defined, and in any case uniformity of action is highly desirable. For several years we had urged the adoption of an old age pension scheme, but with little effect. In 1925 a motion fairly indicative of our strength in the House, gave us seventeen votes. Two years later old age legislation was enacted and is now in force in three Provinces, and next year will be adopted in two more.

### As a Balance of Power

What happened was this—After the 1925 elections the two parties were almost equal in numbers, with the Independents holding the balance of power. Under our British Constitution, the administration remains in office only so long

(Continued on Page 5)

## 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, 2553 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

### Pennsylvania

**Reading**  
The first big picnic of Reading Socialists and their sympathizers will be held on Sunday, July 21st, at 10:00 a.m. to Kellers Park. Two more picnics are on the agenda for the summer. The next one will be held on August 5 at 10:00 a.m. in the street section of Berks County. A special train has been chartered to take the Reading folks to Hancock Park and a special rate of 75 cents for the round trip has been made. Children under 12 will be carried for half price. The picnic special will leave Reading at 9 a.m. and leave the picnic grounds at 5:30 p.m.

**West and North Philadelphia**  
The successful "comradeship supper" of these branches these past two years will continue this summer as an outdoor affair. The first will be held July 21st—Saturday—in the Park. The committee plans to have this the most successful of all suppers. The "ests" feature largely, of course, and then a general discussion. "Leader" has not yet been announced, but we hear that he is to be all known, and well liked comrade. Reservations get in touch with Nethow, 2738 North Reese street (Re-

gent 5210), C. B. Reeder, 1447 North 59th street, Philadelphia, or 808 Locust street (Pennypacker 7454).

**Nomination Petitions**  
All the nomination papers are out—some 20,000 of them; and the office is making every effort to have them filed by August 15. This will give the Campaign committee ample time for the real work of the Campaign which cannot be started until these papers are filed. If you have a paper, keep it in circulation, if you can help, send your name to the office. We will see that you are in touch with a comrade in your district.

**A Donation Party**  
Local Philadelphia plans a "Donation Party" for Wednesday, September 12 at the West Philadelphia Branch headquarters, 5222 Haverford avenue. The donations are coming in rapidly, and we hope to give souvenirs at this party.

**The Party Monthly**  
Party News, the July issue, is now at the Party Office. If you know of someone who might be interested in Socialism, we suggest you enter them for a subscription. The price is 25 cents per month for a year. The subscriber receives a little paper full of local color which cannot but interest the reader. The subscriptions are increasing rapidly, and we are looking for the time when our paper will be of greater benefit to the Party movement.

**Pittsburgh**  
James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for Vice-President, will be the principal speaker at Gammon's Grove (formerly Bongivoni's) on Sunday, July 15. The Butler Short Line goes direct to the entrance to the grove. This will be the opening of the Socialist campaign in western Pennsylvania and "Jim" will make a fighting speech.

**Banquet and Conference**  
A conference and banquet of trade unionists and sympathizers will be held

at 8 p.m., Saturday, July 16, at Caruso's Restaurant, 941 Liberty avenue, second floor. Price per plate is \$1.50. Maurer will speak of his impressions of Russia and the conditions in other countries which he visited. Reservations may be obtained of William Adams, Fifth Avenue Arcade, Room 308.

### Massachusetts

**Crosswells Tour**  
Frank Crosswells is having a very good tour in Massachusetts. His dates were and are as follows:

July 8, Worcester; July 9 and 10, Pittsfield; July 11, Pittsfield; July 12, Holyoke; July 13, Northampton; July 14, Greenfield; July 15, Worcester; July 16, open; July 17, Hartford; July 18, Springfield; July 19, Holyoke; July 20, Northampton; July 21, Greenfield; July 22, Boston Common.

Crosswells will be here till Aug. 5. Locals that want dates are asked to write at once to the State Office, 21 Essex St., Boston.

**Platforms**  
Locals or sympathizers that want either national platforms to mail out or state platforms to distribute are asked to write to the State Office.

### Vermont

Louis L. Clay, 89 Maple St., Burlington, has started to put the ticket on the field in that state. Persons who will help are asked to write to him.

### Connecticut

The State Office has a supply of national platforms on hand. Locals and individuals should order them from Martin F. Plunkett, 23 Church St., Room 22, New Haven.

**A Socialist Action Committee**  
State Secretary Plunkett is making plans to call a conference of Socialists,

Workmen's Circle Branches, members of progressive unions, and other sympathizers in the towns of New Haven, West Haven, North Haven, East Haven, Branford and Hamden. A campaign action committee will be organized.

**Hamden Picnic**  
Don't forget the picnic which Local Hamden will hold at Carlson's Grove, Foxon, Sunday, July 22. Take Shore Line trolley at State and Chapel Sts., on the hour. August Claessens will speak. Refreshments, dancing.

### Montana

The State Office sends in another order for one hundred dues stamps and informs the National Office that the movement in that state is growing. The candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket, W. R. Duncan, will make a speaking trip through the state. A large supply of a leaflet entitled, "How the Farmer Can Get His" is being printed for general distribution.

### Indiana

State Secretary Mueller informs the National Office that the Indiana movement is showing up well; that new members are being taken in and that there is a wholesome activity in a number of places that have been dead for some time. The Socialists of Richmond will hold a picnic on July 15, and the hopes for a sale at Gary and Mishawaka grow brighter.

### Maine

Wendell Farrington, State Secretary of the party, writes that The New Leader is highly appreciated by readers in his state and adds that "the movement towards a strong Socialist Party in Maine is moving slowly but surely. The old comrades are giving aid and encouragement and energy with which those interested get busy and work to get out

largest and fastest growing political party within one hundred miles is urged and expected to attend.

### Oklahoma

**A Letter to Sympathizers**  
The state office of the party has received from the National Office a mimeograph letter which is being mailed to a thousand names in the state. The letter contains a brief review of the conventions of the capitalist parties, appeal to Socialists and sympathizers to get into the party, help the state organization to put over a big campaign, and is an excellent appeal for action. The letter may be used with effect in other southern states and if any desire it they should write to the National Office.

### Idaho

**Idaho Socialists Ready**  
State Secretary Cammans asks that George R. Kirpatrick be sent to Idaho for twelve or more speaking dates; that Norman Thoms be assigned for a meeting at Coeur d'Alene, Twin Falls, Boise or Caldwell. Cammans and his hustling crew certainly know how to put it over. The number of new locals now chartered is eleven. Comrade Cammans in recent letters says:

"We have taken the political trail; let us work all together to the top and go over with a strong organization and lasting one for the establishing of political democracy in Idaho while working, demonstrating and advocating industrial democracy. This cannot be done if the ship (political) is left to drift without a crew and power to land it in a safe harbor."

"To A. L. Melander of Boise falls the distinguished, meritorious service to the Socialist Party of having first entered the political arena as a nominee for the Legislature on the Socialist ticket."

### California

**Annual Picnic**  
The Grand Annual Campaign Socialist Picnic will be held July 22nd, at East Shore Park, Oakland. The success of this affair will be determined by the enthusiasm and energy with which those interested get busy and work to get out

a crowd. Every reader of this paper will, within one hundred miles is urged and expected to attend.

### Wisconsin

**A Big Picnic**  
Wisconsin Socialists will hold their annual state picnic in Pleasant Valley Park on August 19 and arrangements are being made to have Norman Thoms, our candidate for President, as the principal speaker. These annual picnics are enormous affairs and it is expected that this one will be one of the largest ever held. Automobiles will bring Socialists and sympathizers from hundreds of miles and a big problem will be how to provide for the parking of these machines.

### Utah

**Ticket Nominated**  
E. G. Locke, state chairman of the Socialist Party, forwards The New Leader a report of the state convention held in Salt Lake City. Every paper in the city gave extended news stories of the convention. Locke writes it was "the best and most largely attended of any since the great madness" and closes with this parting shot: "Unmask the batteries of the enemy and give them grapeshot and canister." (See story on another page.)

### New York State



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## WHAT DO YOU MEAN, SOCIALISM?

WHAT will a Socialist America look like?

Every now and then this question pops up. It popped up at the recent conference of the League for Industrial Democracy at Camp Tamiment. It is popping up wherever intelligent men and women are reading George Bernard Shaw's new book these days. And that's a lot of places.

The fascinating series of articles on Utopia in "The Nation" have this question for their starting point, whether the authors are conscious of it or not. And where is the Socialist who one time or another has not had to face the queries about how people should eat, dress, make money and love under Socialism?

We are neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet and it may very well be that when Socialism comes, it will arrive in no such guise as we now imagine. However, we shall exercise our columnist right to speculate in this space and tell you that in our opinion a Socialist America will be a mighty swell place to live in.

There came to us a glimpse of the things that will be when we sat in the stadium of the College of the City of New York the other night and watched Van Hoogstraten conduct Dvorak's "From The New World," our ears filled with gorgeous music, our eyes with the picture of fifteen thousand muted and enthralled men and women following the sweep of the little Dutchman's baton.

When Socialism comes, there will be stadia the country over filled with people held in the spell of music under moonlight and the sweep of trees. When Socialism comes there will come a great release of the spirit of man from the gray monotony of a machine-bound age, the haunting unhappiness of a pressure world.

Otherwise we are all of us wasting time and energy in this enterprise. Norman Thomas might as well sit at home and Jim Maurer need never leave the city limits of Reading, if Socialism is to be nothing more than a new and possibly more involved system of government, with endless bureaux, regimented civil services, new pressures for old.

This, of course, is the fear of those few intelligent critics of Socialism who have gotten the "You-can't-change-human-nature" and the "free love" stage.

At all events, it is a fear that needs allaying. The Russians recognize this when they seriously tackle the problem of an encroaching bureaucracy, a menace to the Soviets far more significant and realistic than any threat of foreign invasion, or the approach of that "inevitable war" so gleefully hailed by Scott Nearing and his latter-day boy friends, The Fourteenth Street Revolutionists.

It is only natural that this fear should be honestly held by men and women honestly opposed to Socialism. Up to now the hard facts of American life have made it necessary to dwell upon such formulae as "the economic interpretation of history," the "theory of increasing misery under capitalism," the puzzling "theory of value."

A layman stumbling upon a debate between Marxists and revisionists might well conclude that he was present at a strange and exceptionally dull logic-chopping bee, about as far removed from contact with America in 1928 as the war between the epistemologists and the analysts. "If this be Socialism," he exclaims, "give me the Saturday Evening Post."

But of course, these exercises in clarification are related only to the coming of Socialism as three-figure exercises are related to the playing of Beethoven.

They are valuable and perhaps inevitable. But they are not Socialism, "one of the most poignant dreams which have ever beset mankind."

For Socialism means less and less concern with economics, "that dustiest of all the sciences" and more and more concern with living, (rather than money) values.

If Socialism means anything at all, it means life in place of the death-in-life existence of today. It means the coming to age of the crude, cruel, sprawling thing which we ironically call, "civilization."

A Socialist America will not be filled with snooping bureaucrats, impertinent commissions, unbearable bores in public offices.

There will be no laws compelling you to eat in Madison Square Garden in great platoons. No one is coming around to see whether you have washed behind the ears according to specifications. You are not going to be harried by inspectors, hustled by what Mr. Mencken chooses to designate as "polizei."

In fact you are going to discover that living is so much more colorful, exciting and altogether fascinating that you will find yourself in the position of one who has been groping around the ante-room of a place of sunlight and laughter and who suddenly lifts the latch and goes in.

Optimistic? A sentimental day-dream? A net for the feet of the gullible?

No, boys and girls, it is a picture that has for its subject flesh and blood and iron and steel reality.

It is what Charles A. Beard had in mind at the thunderous end of his book, "The Rise of American Civilization."

"Concretely it meant an invulnerable faith in democracy, in the ability of the undistinguished masses, as contrasted with heroes and classes, to meet by reasonably competent methods the issues raised in the flow of time—a faith in the efficacy of that new and mysterious instrument of the modern mind, 'the invention of invention,' moving from one technological triumph to another, overcoming the exhaustion of crude natural resources and energies, effecting an ever wider distribution of the blessings of civilization—health, security, material goods, knowledge, leisure, and aesthetic appreciation, and through the cumulative forces of intellectual and artistic reactions, conjuring from the vasty deeps of the nameless and unknown creative imagination of the noblest order, subduing physical things to the empire of the spirit—doubting not the capacity of the Power that had summoned into being all patterns of the past and present, living and dead to fulfill its endless destiny."

McAlister Coleman.

## Book Review

### Those Closest to God

By James Oneal

IT SEEMS that the United States has what may be called a psychic eruption in politics about every quarter-century. We expect children to get the measles and the mumps and we expect God's Chosen People, or a certain uncivilized section of it, to break out with a religious eruption in politics. When the epidemic is spreading a war of broadsides, pamphlets, oratory, and ponderous tomes rages. The warriors fight to exhaustion, each side determined that God shall not be mocked and that the truth shall prevail.

It is this theme that is the subject of a book by Reuben Maury (The Wars of the Godly. New York Robert M. McBride & Co. \$3.50) who devotes thirty-one chapters to recording each malady, tracing its origin, its increasing tempo, the leading participants in it, its decline and disappearance. Over and over again this has occurred. It has befuddled the political parties and issues, fostered grotesque thinking, delayed the consideration of problems, brought absurd nonentities into prominence, and then, subsided into obscurity, only to again appear on the scene with the same old circus equipment but with a new name.

The chief participants are Protestants and Catholics and the author attempts to be impartial in presenting each holy row that has been fought on American

soil, including the one that is now subsiding, but the weight of condemnation appears to be against the Protestants. The reason for this is that his narrative is chiefly devoted to the malady in the United States. The Protestant cults ruled from the beginning of the settlement of the colonies and they followed the policy of establishing their own organizations as privileged churches supported by state taxation. Naturally, the Catholics generally got a raw deal and it was not till the middle of the last century that they began to acquire some power, largely due to Irish immigration and later to immigrants from Europe.

Boston and the South. A better basis for estimating the tolerance of both groups would be to select nations where Catholics enjoyed state support and the American colonies and states where Protestants enjoyed this support. It would then appear that no church or faith can be trusted with any political power or influence as a church or faith. Both have persecuted and both always will. Catholic Boston is today largely a medieval city but many sections of the Protestant South are also medieval in their outlook. Witness the laws which penalize the teaching of modern science in that region.

The book is written in a light vein intended to appeal to a sense of humor

and an appreciation of the ridiculous among those on both sides of the controversy and as such should have a sobering effect. As between the two it is his opinion that on the whole "the Catholic hierarchs... met with more success than did the Protestant autonomists in the endeavor to prevent the jackasses within the fold from organizing political parties or seizing pen and writing down their whole church a body of frantic fools."

On its economic side the book is weak and it remains for the Socialist movement to produce a work to show the workers of all religious and even non-religious beliefs what folly it is for them to divide in politics because of their varying views on our relation to the universe and the problems raised by religious belief. There are great exploiting corporations in this country where Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and non-believing capitalists nest together and agree on how to sweat the most out of all workers they employ. No religious beliefs divide them in politics and industry. They display a solidarity of purpose regardless of religion. When working people follow their example, when they sit upon the God-killer, the anti-Catholic, the anti-Protestant and the anti-Jew, we will have a similar solidarity of the working class in this country.

Suggestion for Research. The author invites suggestions from his readers if any think there is anything that should go into a future edition which he has overlooked. We will venture one that will help round out the book. Native Americanism has been associated with the militant Protestant complex for many years but the author apparently has not discovered it in the Catholic complex. We suggest that he investigate the propaganda of two lecturers whom the Knights of Columbus has kept on the road for many years except for the in-

### Ups and Downs



From a woodcut by C. W. Taylor

terval when the Ku Klux Klan held the boards. These gentlemen hawk a pristine 100 per cent. Americanism, assuring their audiences that the K. of C. stands as a guardian of the pure article against all radicals, Socialists, and other miscreants. It's great stuff and we hope that Mr. Maury will incorporate some of it in the next edition of his book.

### Leonard vs. Barton

THERE is no new interpretation of character or mind, no psycho-analysis of Jesus, in Mr. Leonard's The Poet of Galilee. (The Poet of Galilee. By William Ellery Leonard. The Viking Press. N. Y.). Others—notably Renan—have sung of Jesus in the various roles treated in turn by Mr. Leonard: Jesus as a clear-eyed observer of the details of life about him; as a lover of that life; as a seer of its meaning; Jesus inspired, or Jesus sorrowful with the injustices of his society; Jesus indignant at those inequalities; Jesus as a humorist, gentle or ironic; as a gifted story-teller; above all as a poet feeling his conscription.

But even though The Poet of Galilee adds nothing new to the brightness and clarity of our picture of Jesus, its republication now (it was written some twenty years ago) is pertinent and valuable as an antidote to the Christ literature selling so volubly of late. It may help us disbelieve what Mr. Leonard calls the "vulgarization by superstition" of Papini and the "vulgarization by business" of Bruce Barton.

The Poet of Galilee is written with less maturity and intensity than The Locomotive God. Mr. Leonard's autobiography, but it has a certain adoration and hero-worship.

Margaret Ernst.

### Youth Organizations To Hold Monday Meetings

The Youth Peace Committee with which is associated the Bronx Free Fellowship, the Youth Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, and the Young People's Socialist League, will hold open air meetings each Monday night at 16th street and Broadway.

The speaker Monday evening, July 16, is Leon Land who will speak "Youth and Peace." It is expected that these meetings will increase from week to week and that much educational work will be done. The members of the committee are Jessie Wallace Hughson, chairman; Leon Land, Julius Umsky, Abraham Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. Howard Kester, Mr. and Mrs. L. F. Tate, and Michael Arcone.

Organization  
Education  
Solidarity

FREE Y.P.S.L. YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN

EDITOR

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

### N. Y. Raises Over \$200 For New Bedford Strikers

Tag day held by Manhattan and Bronx Yipsels last Saturday and Sunday brought in over \$200. Two Yipsels, Abe Kaufman and Julius Kostinsky, were arrested. The Yipsels working under the charge of Mac Eisenberg, from Circle Eight headquarters, raised \$36.26. Those operating from Circle Six headquarters raised \$39. They were supervised by Lillian Kaplan. The Bronx Yipsels raised a little less than \$150.

Collectors by the Youth Conference for the New Bedford Strikers amount to \$500. All of this money will have been remitted to the New Bedford textile strikers by the end of this week. Tag days will be held in other parts of the city. Mass meetings will be held in order to call to the attention of New York the needs of the strikers.

Yipsel Activities in New York. The Board of Directors of the Yipsel Publishing Association met July 10. Plans were made for increasing the number of Yipsel subscriptions to the New Leader. The balance of the Bronx Bulletin's funds amounting to \$16, have been turned over to the association. All outstanding money due to the Y. P. A. should be promptly remitted to the treasurer of the association, Emanuel Switkes, 7 East 15th street.

Circles changing their meeting nights, or having any other news of importance, are requested to communicate with FREE Youth.

Circle Doling. An organization meeting of a Junior Circle was held in Bensonhurst, Wednesday. Outlook for a strong circle is very light.

day evening. Circle Two, Juniors, meets every Wednesday evening.

The long waited elections of Circle Six, Manhattan, were held last week. The results are as follows: Organizer, Lillian S. Kaplan; Educational Director, Eli Cohen; Financial Secretary, Dora Wolinsky; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Belle Desatnick; Athletic and Social Director, Etie F. Fraunglass; Bulletin Board and Librarian, Zephira Halpern; Last night, Belle Desatnick spoke on "Women in Industry." Next week Lillian Kaplan will speak on G. B. Shaw's "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism."

On July 27, the circle will hold a social meeting. Attendance at these meetings is open to all. This circle meets every Friday evening, at 8 P. M., at 62 East 106th street.

The Executive Secretary announces that for the first regular Yipsel period over WEVD on Monday, July 16, at 5:40 P. M., there will be a talk by Emanuel Switkes, entitled, "Scrape From Our Yipsel Table." This will be followed by a piano recital by Dora Wolinsky. The program for the next period, which will take place on July 30, has not as yet been definitely settled.

Circle Three, Juniors, one of the liveliest circles in the Junior League, was addressed at July 6 meeting by Emanuel Switkes, who spoke on the "Socialist Platform." On July 20, Meyer Diamond, Recording Secretary, Meyer Diamond, Corresponding Secretary, Jack Dobkin. The circle meets every Friday evening at 1167 Boston road.

At the last meeting of the Bronx Boro Committee, the following were elected to hold office until December: Chairman, Murray Gross; Treasurer, Winston Daniels; Secretary, Jack Skurnick; Athletic Director, Meyer Diamond. All those interested in forming a Yipsel tennis group are requested to communicate with him.

Yipsels Arrive At New Bedford. Word has been received that Lester Shulman and Harry Dorfvozt, of New York, have reached New Bedford and delivered the second installment of the money collected by the Youth Confer-

ence for the New Bedford Strikers. After going to Boston, these two Yipsels intend to travel to Albany in order to attend the Party State Convention. Besides these two and the regular delegates, there will be other delegates hiking to Albany from New York.

Ben Goodman Returns From Tour. After being absent for several months on a speaking tour, Ben Goodman, Executive Secretary of the Yipsels, has returned to New York. He toured New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. He will now resume activity within his circle.

### Membership Drive Being Held by Guild of Youth

During the week of July 9-15, the Guild of Youth of the British Independent Labor Party is conducting a huge drive to raise its membership. During this "Youth for Socialism" week, immense demonstrations will be held all over England. On July 15, the closing day of the drive, a huge meeting will be held at Trafalgar Square, which will be addressed by Labor M.P.s and the heads of the Guild. Attempts to raise the deficit of the "Flame," the Guild's paper, are beginning to meet with success. Various local guilds are beginning to send in their quotas and some in excess of it.

### Philadelphia Branch

The Y. P. S. L. is increasing steadily in membership. The last meeting was an unusually successful affair—the Cunningham from Commonwealth College told us what the institution was doing for the education of the workers, and five new members joined. Philadelphia Yipsels are looking forward to doing their share in the campaign, and have volunteered to help in the distribution of literature, as well as the large meetings which are now being planned by the local Philadelphia Y. P. S. L. is now meeting every second and fourth Wednesday at the Labor Institute, 808 Locust street.

Y. P. S. L. National Director Rabinowitz informs the National Office that he has recently chartered five new circles, two of them in sections where there are no Party locals. He asks for information regarding speakers so that his organization may cooperate with them and in turn have them cooperate with him in the forming of new circles of the Y. P. S. L.

## THE CHATTER BOX

Your gods are not my gods.  
You call the gods I worship devils.  
You drive them out where day sleeps in the arms of night.  
You need more space for your machinery.  
You distrust my gods.  
You fear what they might do to your machines and time-clocks.  
Their speech is strange.  
They look past horizons.  
They peer beneath faces.

Your gods are not my gods.  
My gods call the gods you worship children.  
And laugh —  
Their laughter is silver wings of water beating far shores,  
Hoarse boom of multitudes uprisen,  
Crash of cities,  
Rippling rustle of new leaves in a sea breeze.

My gods are not your gods, America.  
Their lips tinged with melancholy.  
They smile at your jealous Jehovah  
And call him a spoiled child  
Scaring smaller children with fabulous hell.  
They see how you rest your sins on Jesus,  
Scorn your dreamers, persecute your tellers of truth;  
And they withdraw, a little disgusted.

My gods are not your gods.  
My gods dance upon the mountaintops  
And through the intertwining limbs of lovers.  
The world is their marriage-bed.  
It is not virgins only whom they seduce.  
See them in India, in China, in marching Russia!

My gods are not my gods.  
They are not peeping Toms, book-keepers, jailers,  
judges, tyrants, cads.  
My gods are not your gods, America.  
My gods are the secret powers of Man.

RALPH CHEYNEY.

The Workers Unity House, owned and managed by the International Ladies Garment Makers Union holds a record unique in history. Your columnist spent the longest vacation of his life at that one spot last week, sandwiched in between two ends made for nine days of unalloyed pleasure. I wish for another sojourn at least before summer cools. . . . And all because, I have found out how thoroughly delightful the folks are who come there, and how clean and efficient the present management is about the routine of handling from five to eight hundred guests week in and week out, to a mutual pleasure.

I discover now, that vacationing, such as is allotted to the slender means of the average worker, requires expert planning. One must find a healthful climate, natural beauty for environment, nourishing food in variety and above all a social contact with the others. . . . Again let me whoop-er up for Unity. . . . Unless you suspect that I'm pulling some low-down publicity gag for the place, behold my assurance that I paid in full for my stay, not only in board-bill but with every poor power I could summon up to join in the general merry-making. . . . The lake is just full of bass and pickerel. . . . The social hall is equipped with a stage, . . . the tennis courts are always in condition and never crowded. . . . the numerous cottages are connected with shaded walks, garden plots, flowers and shrubs in fine horticultural profusion. . . . the rooms are large and light and airy. . . . the beds a delight to rest in. . . . and all the comforts of a city home are plentiful and always at hand. . . . There are lawns for loitering about, and woodlands for romantic meandering. . . . And the dining room swallows up a thousand people with plenty of space on all sides of the immense oblong. . . . There is a fine library quite separate, well equipped and so cool and conducive to repose. A bowling alley and a garage round up the most complete project that ever I have abided in the hands of our own people. . . . And above all it is kept spotlessly clean. . . . I almost forgot to mention the general store and tea room so ably and completely serviced by the Samachs of Old New York. . . .

Eddie Geller, the youngest conductor in Jazzdom, gets a verve and a slam bang rhythm out of his wind and string ensemble, that sets your toes into goosy antic over the waxed planks. . . . Mitchell the Liebhaver can tease a symphonic glory out of the old square grand that shrivels Carnegie Hall into a log cabin. Jim Phillips booms his big bass tones across the lake, and dainty Ray Miller joins with a soprano trill and what save heaven itself can be far behind. . . . Last week end, the Jewish Art Theatre sent over some of their stars, and eight hundred of us packed the hall and stayed to applaud despite the blistering heat. . . . And we all discovered a new Jewboy fiddler, Abe Berg whose bow just sobbed great chords of gorgeous grief and joy across our heartstrings. . . . I only faintly suspect who corralled all these joy-makers into one place to regale us with their splendid talent. . . .

And for those as care for such things, fellows, the ladies were just superb. . . . Now I'll be truthful to say that Ziegfeld has cornered the market on those regular featured dames whose beauty must of necessity be mated to a natural dumbness. The janes at Unity may not all be there with the lip-stick and rouge, but Hank old-timer, they've got Vassar College lashed to a top-sail jib, when it comes to dishing up the applesauce on every theme from Zoroaster to Havelock Ellis. . . . Goah. . . . they're smart. . . .

And the lads are as handy at baseball as they show up at chess. . . . For the first time in my whole proletarian existence, I've actually spent a spell of play with the working class. . . . Keep your ritzy boots at Southampton and Lenox, and your swanky set at Tuxedo. . . . make a Roman holiday if you will out of the cloak and suit manufacturers at French Lick Springs and Monticello. . . . Give me the week-workers, the piece-workers, the stenogs and the office boys at Unity. . . . They're the salt of the earth.

I cannot close this panegyric of praise without speaking about the waitresses, the porters, the cooks and the chore-doers about the place. . . . I fell in love with one of the girls quite hopelessly. . . . I fell in love with her willingness to bustle about and so start efficiently serve four solid tables of guests with eight course dinners on a fierce afternoon. . . . Always she kept smiling and happy in her work. . . . she was waiting on her own class. . . . there was the glory of it. . . . She is studying for a college degree, we conversed in French, and dallyed about in philosophic repartee, and all the time the soup and the chicken and the salad went whizzing about to their proper places. . . . There are almost a score like her in the place. . . .

Oh, I could go on like this for ten thousand words more, and perhaps would never be able to impress enough of the genuine worth of Unity into printed futurity. . . . And oh, if only enough of New York's workers could come up for a week or two, and get even one small measure of the joy an undersewing plute like myself got out of nine days at Unity. . . .

S. A. DeWitt.



# Pocketbook Union Out to Organize Runaway Shop

**By Louis Stanley**

After a lapse of three weeks the International Pocketbook Workers' Union will hold the concluding sessions of its third biennial convention on July 21, 1928 at its own headquarters. The convention opened in Newark on June 29, moved to Bethlehem Hall, New York City, and then made arrangements for its final meeting in the newly-acquired building of the union. The change of meeting places is symbolical of the changes that are taking place in the International Pocketbook Workers Union.

The I. P. W. U. technically is merely a federal local union directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The inclusion of the word "international" in its title is but a measure of optimism and forthright. The union expected from the start to expand until it covered the United States and Canada and became entitled to take up an independent existence as a true international union. Developments in the pocketbook industry are hastening the realization of this hope. Three-quarters of the country's production is still being carried on in New York City but new shops are opening in near-by cities, sometimes as runaways, sometimes as natives in the cities in which they spring up. Newark is one of these important centers outside of New York City. Because of the flourishing local there, the I. P. W. U. held some of the sessions of its present convention in Newark.

The holding of the last sessions of the convention on the premises of the union is of great significance. For years the organization had been at the mercy of landlords with their whims and exactions. In anticipation of the expiration of its lease last February, the union conducted a search for a structure which it could call its own. As luck would have it, the loft building at 53 West 21st street became available at the bargain price of \$100,000. Despite the precipitation of the sale into the internal politics of the union, the purchase was made to the great satisfaction of the members. After repairs of \$25,000 the I. P. W. U. found itself in possession of its own home with spacious quarters for offices and meetings and a rental being earned from the lofts occupied by tenants.

One of the most difficult problems faced by the union has been a transformation that has been taking place in the industry for the last few years. Due to a change of style the underwear envelope, which is popularly referred to as the pocketbook, has been losing vogue and its place being taken by the handbag or pouch. Three bags are now being manufactured for each pocketbook. It does not appear that the underwear envelope will sink so low in women's estimation as the purse, but the shifting of style has been nothing short of a revolution and has had its economic reverberations. The pocketbook makers in the industry have been thrown out of work and with them the helpers who assist them. The framers, who work on the handbooks, have become the aristocrats of the trade. The cutters and operators are little touched by the change. Framers have full employment and since they work at a piece-rate basis, their wages are very large. The pocketbook makers and helpers are not only out of work but at a weekly wage they find their earnings low or ordinary.

The union has applied its energy to alleviating the lot of the pocketbook makers and helpers. Wherever possible, pocketbook makers have been turned into framers, but that is not very easy, since different skills are required in these crafts. Furthermore, under the agreement of August, 1926, the rule that there should be a ratio of one helper to each teamer instead of two has been gradually put into practice. Then too, under the 1926 agreement a minimum wage of thirty

## Mrs. Berger Asks Probe on Power Dope in Schools

**(By a New Leader Correspondent)**

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—An investigation to determine the extent to which the power trust, currently subject of an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, has been successful in its propaganda to influence the schools of Milwaukee, is provided for in a resolution introduced in the Milwaukee board of school directors by Director Meta Berger, leading Socialist member of the board.

The Berger resolution, which was referred by President Walter Alexander to the committee on instruction and textbooks, follows:

"Resolved, That the committee on course of instruction and textbooks make a study of the textbooks used in the schools of Milwaukee to ascertain to what extent, if any, the so-called 'power trust' or the Wisconsin Utilities Assn., have been responsible for bringing about changes in textbooks used in Milwaukee schools, and be it further

"Resolved, That this board be informed as to what extent the members of our teaching force are associated with the Wisconsin Utilities Assn. and co-operating with that organization to the end that propaganda of the type promoted by the Wisconsin Utilities Assn. is introduced into our schools."

**See Early Action.**

The Berger resolution will be one of the first matters taken up by the new committee on course of instruction and textbooks, the personnel of which is expected to be announced early next week by President Walter Alexander.

Although Director Alexander was chosen president of the board last year on the first ballot, it required 21 ballots to re-elect him by a margin of one vote.

It appears that the only reason why Alexander was opposed was because he was favored by the Socialist members of the board.

## Hauser Replaces Ameringer On Wis. Ticket

**(By a New Leader Correspondent)**

MILWAUKEE.—Otto Robert Hauser, Milwaukee, was selected by the state executive board of the Socialist party to be the party's standard bearer in the coming state campaign, according to authority vested in that body by the recent state Socialist convention held in Brisbane hall.

**In Place of Ameringer**

Hauser takes the place of the convention nominee, Oscar Ameringer, forced to decline the nomination because of press of other duties.

As a result of the chance the Socialist state ticket for the November election is as follows:

For Governor, Otto R. Hauser, of Milwaukee; for Lieutenant Governor, S. S. Walkup of Kenosha; for Secretary of State, Led Kryckel, of Milwaukee; for State Treasurer, Edward Dens of Sheboygan.

The Socialist nominee for governor has been a Socialist for many years and an active party worker. He is well known throughout the state for his humanitarian activities, which lately have taken the form of hospital organization.

The Socialist candidate is well known for his clear cut views on public matters and for his attitude during the war.

Wisconsin Socialists will hold one of the biggest state picnics in their history on August 19 in Pleasant Valley Park. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, will be the principal speaker.

"Valuable to anyone interested in liberalism, is the opinion of the N. L. of R. G. Pownall, Freedom, N.Y.

G. W. Bowman, Los Angeles, starts to carry out the promise to send in more "The New Leader is a humdinger", he says.

# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage DIAMOND VICE

**By Joseph T. Shipley**

**B**RAVING the heat the other night, I went to see the woman who has managed to make herself talked about with an especial flavor of subtle lure, Mae West, whose "Diamond Lil", by and with herself is running in uninterrupted flow at the Royale. As a drama, the play reeks with the method and the mood of the more violent melodramas; down to the detail of having a handsome Salvation Army officer succumb to the lure of the diamond lady of sin—and prove to be no soldier of God, but a mere detective breaking up the white slave traffic of Lil's present keeper. The essence and epitome of Mae West, indeed, as I have said before, may be drawn from a portrait given by Dorothy Sands two doors east of Mae's own performance, where the Grand Street Folies reveal "Mae West as Juliet, staged by Reinhardt".

The third act of "Diamond Lil", however, has a twenty-minute opening scene that might have been done by the Russians. It pictures life in the saloon on the Bowery thirty years ago; there are a few silps in outward accuracy, such as the patent cigarette lighter, but the str and bustle and boisterous good fellowship of the saloon, the scorn of the slumping party, the vulgarity and good spirits of the cabaret, the confusion and the dirt, all have that unquestioned ring of truth which convinces even those who have never seen the original that the replica is sound.

One reflects, after seeing such a play as "Diamond Lil", on the extent to which city life has changed. Is the traffic in girls for South America dead? What other vice has taken its place? Surely the trade in dope is no more restricted than we behold it on the stage. I was told some time ago that houses of prostitution had been virtually wiped out in New York, yet an acquaintance recently showed me the advertising card of such a place, which had been handed him by a stranger in a "coffee pot", with the assurance that the girls there—take your choice—"blondes, brunettes, and red-heads" were the most willing creatures in the world. Passions change little, where suppression and the grind of excessive toil demand savage release; and as long as the appetite carries a pocketbook, it will be satisfied. The melodrama of "Diamond Lil" can, with our own feverish variations, be more than matched on any page of the day's tabloids; the play serves to remind us that no period has a monopoly of vice, and that systems are based upon something deeper or than outward form, taking root in the very nature of the men who frame or who endure them.

**CHEER-LEADER TO FREEDOM**

Although the week-end hardly comes under the head of drama, I want to take advantage of this space to mention the New Masses gathering at Woolloom, to which I was invited as a "friendly enemy". It is pleasant to recognize that radicals are beginning to see that differences in the common camp of radical thought should not separate workers more widely and more bitterly from another than from the chief enemy, the present social system from which both groups rebel. But the general discussion, which centered upon "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement", was merely further demonstration of the fact that the radical over-enthusiast is often so unwittingly individual that some personal turn in his program makes him think that every-one else is "unorthodox"; "all the world is crazy except me and you, and sometimes I have doubts about you."

A great trouble with social theorists of today, especially with the loose thinkers that gather in radical camps, is that they make no allowance for the complexity of modern life. Indeed, the theory of democracy itself does not: this country, theoretically, is governed by the people, by amateurs, by men and women who, after the day's concerns, are supposed to have still sufficient time to develop an understanding and appropriate attitude toward the problems of the country. It is true that an amateur may appreciate art, but art itself is rather an absorbing, time-taking occupation; much more so, much lengthier and more specialized, is the training required for engineering, for law, for medicine, for politics. Governing is an activity for which most careful training is required; the assumption that any ex-saloon keeper or successful criminal lawyer is automatically, through the fact of his election, equipped with the virtues and the powers required for good government in the world today, is as fallacious as it is responsible for the mess that is our present world.

The "engineer" who presented his theories at the week-end, who told of the perfection of machinery until two hours' labor a day should suffice to maintain humanity, was reproached with overlooking the fact that (as pointed out in several of the early volumes of the Today and Tomorrow Series) the improvement of machinery by no means guarantees a corresponding improvement in the attitude of the owners of machinery, and that our present development, whereunder four hours' work a day should suffice to meet all human needs, results instead in longer or more straining work for some, in unemployment for many others, and in concentration of most of the benefits the development makes possible. To this, the engineer's answer should be that his field is the technical; he has not time to become effective there and at the same time an expert in improving the spirit of the world; he can at best help by helping the finest sort of person he can (this is, fundamentally, the only permanently valid way of helping); but direct action on the spirit of men, preparation of a system which shall make proper use of the inventions of the technical experts, lies with another group of experts. Unfortunately, the experts in this field are mainly ministers and advertising men, now using their abilities, and the avenues of influence set for their control, for other purposes than that of freeing mankind from the flaws that make the present society inevitable. The artist, most widely through the theatre (and this perhaps justifies the words here), is the most immediate of the workers toward a state of human sensibility which will ensure material equality, is in the measure of his own sensitive response to life an inspirer (conscious or unconscious) to the best, and a leader—if no more than a cheerleader, in the long fight for freedom.

**MORE MOVIES**

At the Fifth Avenue Playhouse this week, "The City Without Jews" is recovering from its fight with the censors. The author of the book was assassinated; the film seems to have been given much of the same treatment. It opens effectively with excellent photography and interesting scenes, but when it reaches, by a sudden jump, the year 1976, that famous year-to-be in which the Jews are driven out of Vienna, the picture shows the effects of the censorship for which its initial titles apologize. At least, there is little in it, save the bare theme, to make it the challenging picture it might have been.

As usual—how often we begin such a paragraph for the Fifth Avenue Playhouse—the surrounding features are of the greatest interest. Michael Mindlin has prepared, as a background for the long film of a future Europe, a series of scenes of Germany today, capturing a measure of its stir and a great store of its beauty. The UFA novelty proves as vivid as the undersea life of a week ago; it centers about and upon an oak tree, twilight, from beetle and scurrying squirrel to treetop and night-owl. These "nature-films" are somewhat presented today without the smug sense of educational value that used to cloak them; they are vivid and entertaining in addition to whatever they may teach. Some one near me commented that the Fifth Avenue Playhouse is fond of gossiping on the screen; yet I never fail to enjoy the occasional comments on current or intimate events that they flash. Few theatres, if any, give as consistently effective a program.

## THEATRES

**THE ACTOR MANAGERS**  
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MILE SKY CHASER  
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produced in series of two-reel pictures for the last three years. The studio title for this innovation is "The Collee Hero".

Mr. Opeti will continue his connection with The East Side Stock Company to play the title role next week in "Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, or The String of Pearls".

Remember the two stories last week? Now the Shuberts send this.  
It has just been discovered that Harold De Becker, who plays Ho Fang in "The Silent House", at the Shubert Theatre, and Albert Carroll, who gives a perfect impersonation of the Grand Street Folies, at the Booth Theatre, have been exchanging roles without the knowledge of the stage managers of their companies. The Shubert and Booth theatres adjoin each other, and De Becker and Carroll, having learned each other's parts, have taken to replacing each other frequently. Patrons of the Grand Street Folies have been seeing the real Ho Fang in "The Silent House" satire, instead of Albert Carroll, and "Silent House" audiences have been seeing Carroll's marvelous imitation of De Becker. In future, however, both actors will remain in their own theatres, now that their prank has been discovered.

The controversy over the German film, "The City Without Jews", which threatened to go as far as the court of appeals, was abruptly ended when James W. Winkler, head of the Motion Picture Board of Censors, rescinded the ban which had been put on the exhibition of this film at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. As a result, the film is being presented at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse this week. It will share the program with "The New Germany", a film depicting the sharply contrasting aspects of that country since the signing of the armistice.

William Desmond is dusting off his makeup case after a special appearance, to star in Universal's chapterplay, "The Mystery Rider", under the direction of Jack Nelson. Derelys Perdue will play the feminine lead.

Nine out of ten companies now engaged in making Universal Pictures are away from Universal City. The only remaining company, with the exception of short comedy and Western units is making "The Last Warning" under the direction of Paul Leni with Laura La Plante in the star role. The distances away from the studio vary from ten to twenty thousand miles. The farthest is Alexander Mackay unit filming "Tarrango" in the islands off Australia; the nearest unit is working in Griffith Park on "Wolves of the City", with William Cody.

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## May, Cooperators Head, In New York With Report Of Great Accomplishments

**T**HIS week is a gala one for the co-operators of Greater New York. Henry Cooperative Alliance (The Cooperators' J. May, secretary of the International Cooperative Union), is here with a message of good cheer for New York Cooperators from their comrades across the Atlantic.

In an interview upon his arrival Mr. May stressed the fact that the Cooperative movement, comprising 103 National organizations with a combined membership of 45,000,000, is an exceedingly important factor in world economics. Even capitalist governments have been forced to recognize its importance by adopting cooperative codes under which the thousands of consumer societies may easily combine to supply their own needs without paying tribute to the profiteering capitalist.

"Slowly but surely," Mr. May said, "the cooperative movement is laying the foundation for a new social structure in which commodities will be produced because there are people who want them, and not because some one wants to make a profit."

Just a few words with the genial secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance convinces one that the European Cooperatives are performing an inspiring task. The Cooperators here are confident that the time is not far distant when the American Movement will occupy a place in the International Movement commensurate with the importance of the United States in the world of capitalism.

At least one-third of the workers of England, said Mr. May, supply their own needs through their consumer societies. The products made in this way are of both superior quality and are sold at a great saving to the consumer; for example, last year the consumers of England received \$85,000,000 as rebates on their purchases in addition to educational, recreational, and social benefits which the private capitalist would not dream of supplying.

The Cooperative Movement is the most effective answer to the prattle about "superior brains," "superior ability," and "individual initiative" by the flunkies of modern capitalism.

Mr. May spent last Wednesday and Thursday in visiting cooperative enterprises in this city. On Friday evening he was the chief speaker at the "Cooperative Day Dinner" tendered him by the New York Cooperators. Other speakers at this dinner—held at the Cooperative Cafeteria, 49 East 25th Street, were Dr. James P. Warshaw, president of the Cooperative League of America, and Neil Kruth of Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn.

Mr. May was born in London in 1870. He attended public school in Woolwich and at the age of thirteen entered the service of the Woolwich Cooperative Society for a few years. He then obtained employment at the Woolwich Arsenal, where he learned the trade of machinist. His interest in the local cooperative organization, however, continued and in time he held various offices in that body, being especially active on its educational committee.

Later he became secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Cooperative Congress, in which capacity his duty was to watch legislation and promote laws favorable to the existence and growth of cooperative societies. For ten years he was also secretary of the British Cooperative Union, the educational branch of the British movement.

Through the war he served on numerous Government commissions, among which was the food commission appointed by the Ministry of Food to control rationing. He was also a member of the Montague Commission for the placing of War Loan Certificates. In 1919 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Income Tax.

In addition to being General Secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance, Mr. May is now an expert member of the Economic Organization of the League of Nations, member National Wages Board of Great Britain, member Central Board of the British Cooperative Union, member Royal Institute of International Affairs, director Cooperative Printing Society, and editor of the Review of International Cooperation.

## FACTS FOR FARMERS

On the basis of unpublished data collected by the Bureau of Farm Economics from 11,000 widely scattered farmers, the National Bureau of Economic Research has estimated the annual labor income of farmers between 1910 and 1915. In this estimate labor income is regarded as the amount remaining after deducting all expenses including 5 per cent. return on the estimated invested capital. Nearly two million farmers, 30.8 per cent of the total, showed deficits ranging from 0 to more than \$1,500 by this method of reckoning. Two and one-third million, 36.5 per cent. of the total, received labor incomes between 0 and \$500. Thus, nearly 41-3 millions or 67.3 per cent. of all farmers in the United States between 1910 and 1915, either received no labor incomes or labor incomes of less than \$500 per annum. —Professor Stuart A. Rice in "Farmers and Workers in American Politics."

It sometimes costs something to be a Socialist, but it costs a little time only to sell a few sub cards.

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SATURDAY JULY 14, 1928

## The Two Platforms

A COMPARISON of the Republican and Democratic platforms reveals the old hokum. They agree—sometimes almost in the same language—on economy, reduction of the national debt, relieving big business of taxation, on the tariff, debt cancellation, Mexico, Latin-America, the League of Nations, foreign trade, civil service, agriculture, the mining industry, highways, labor, railroads, the Mississippi, care of war veterans, development of waterways, conservation of natural resources, prohibition, condemnation of graft, publicity in campaign expenditures, immigration, development of Hawaii and Alaska, home rule and local rights.

The Republicans framed their platform first and it seems that the Democrats took the Republican document as a model. The result is that the two are practically the same. The difference lies not in differing ideas but opposing arguments. For example, the Democrats are shocked at Republican graft and devote a long section to it but they ignore Tammany graft. Republicans "point with pride" to their long record in office while the Democrats, as usual, "view with alarm." Democrats denounce Republicans for the Coolidge raid on Nicaragua and ignore the Wilson raid on Haiti and driving out of the Haitian Government at the point of bayonets.

So it goes throughout the two documents. This sort of performance would be impossible if the laboring population of the nation was a growing political power. The capitalist parties do not have to differ because their leaders believe that we are too stupid to penetrate their minds. A tremendous Socialist vote in November would startle these leaders. There would be a frantic rush to enact some legislation for the relief of the masses in the hope of keeping back the Socialist flood. The professionals would respect and fear a ballot-armed rising of the masses; they do not fear beggars who petition them for aid and who remain voting stock of the leaders.

The time is rotten ripe for a political upheaval and a huge Socialist vote would be the healthiest thing in American politics since the companionate marriage of the two parties many years ago.

## Smith and Hoover, "Experts"

BOTH Smith and Hoover are to be advertised as experts in government efficiency. It is well to have executives at the head of city, state, and national governments who are familiar with the mechanics of government but of itself this is not a sufficient reason for voting for such a man. In fact, he might be more dangerous to human freedom than a man with less knowledge of it.

We are more interested in knowing what classes a man in office will serve than in knowing how well he will serve. If he serves the exploiters of mankind we are not interested in how efficiently he serves them. If we are to be hanged we may prefer an expert for the job so that the agony will not be prolonged, but we prefer not to be hanged by either an expert or a bungler.

Hoover in office has helped to extend trade and investments all over the world. In this he is an expert. In public addresses he has glorified this expert service. He regards laborers as raw material to enrich the class he serves. He is as efficient in all this work as the expert hangman adjusting the noose.

Smith is an expert on the mechanics of government and his platform pledges allegiance to business enterprises, "no matter its size." Smith offers his efficiency as a substitute for Hoover's efficiency. In nominating Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt became poetic in extolling Smith's knowledge of the "mechanics" of government. He and his associates rule the roost in New York City. Business enterprise, "no matter its size," is safe in Tammany hands. The mechanics of Tammany consist of stealing elections and rewarding the "experts" who follow this profession.

Here are the two "experts" seeking the contract for governing the nation. Why not register a determination to place our own experts in power to govern for useful workers instead of for traders and investors and Tammany-nursed corporations? Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer are experts in human welfare. We prefer their efficiency to that of the Smiths and Hoovers who are pledged to capitalism in their platforms.

## Smith's Acquittal of Tammany

IF GOVERNOR SMITH cannot do better in his defense of Tammany Hall than he did in his Fourth of July addresses the high chieftains of the party had better declare a vacancy and consider Andy Gump as the candidate for President. Tammany is 139 years old and Smith declared that it could not have survived all these years if it was not all right.

In other words, it would appear that age lends respectability to an institution and time awards it a halo. Well, let us test this. Negro slavery existed in this country 245 years, 106 years longer than the age of Tammany. If we accept Smith's logic Tammany was right when its shock troops burned a Negro orphan asylum and lynched Negroes in the City of New York during the Civil War. Tammany was not only right but Lincoln was wrong.

Then for at least 200 years white men, women and children were sold for limited terms of servitude in this country. In many of the law codes of the colonies and later the states these unfortunate whites had the same status with indentured convicts working on the highways of Virginia and Maryland and even the slave codes bore harshly upon them during their temporary servitude. This institution was at least seventy years older than Tammany is now. If we are to accept Smith's dictum this white bondage was all right or it would not have survived as long as it did.

One might multiply these illustrations but it isn't necessary. The fact is that age has nothing to do with judging an institution. An organization might well be only a year or two old and be a crime against human freedom. Try again, Governor. You have a hard job in trying to attach wings to the Tammany Caliban and we do not envy you.

## The New Bedford Strikers

IN the thirteenth week of one of the most noted labor struggles in years, the New Bedford textile strikers have displayed a solidarity and unity that is remarkable. Here are workers who are resisting a ten per cent. reduction in wages while their families for weeks have subsisted on soup rations. Their spirit remains unbroken although the mill barons declared their factories open for business last Monday. Only a handful of men entered the gates while their comrades stood outside and good-naturedly chided the few deserters.

On another page McAllister Coleman tells the dramatic story of this notable day in this notable strike. It is evident that the measureless greed of the mill owners has shocked thousands of people in other walks of life and that sympathy for the strikers is general. This is very encouraging. Textile production in New England for more than a hundred years has been a hideous thing for men, women and children. It seems that the owners of this industry in all countries have been just a little more brutal in their treatment of workers than masters in many other industries.

But what must interest our readers is that these strikers are still holding their lines intact although the rations on which they subsist have been reduced because of the decline of funds contributed to their relief. There are enough labor organizations and individual sympathizers in this country to guarantee adequate support of the strikers and their families. The mills are paralyzed for years. As between wrecking human lives and wrecking these industrial hells there is only one choice. No industry should survive if it cannot at least afford a minimum standard of living and decency for the thousands of useful workers who man the machines.

Those who appreciate this opportunity to help these noble soldiers fighting for a better world should contribute something to aid them in their struggle. Send what you can to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. If you are a member of a trade union bring the matter up at the next meeting. Do this and do it now.

## The Investment Game

A MASSACHUSETTS correspondent sends us a folder intended for investors. It is a confidential communication and declares that "securities of banks and financial institutions are usually offered to a favored few, consisting of directors and their friends. . . . Earnings are large and safety of principal is generally accepted." It goes on to assert that banking, insurance and mortgage companies "remain the safest and most profitable." The whole tenor of the circular is that the investor has a sure thing.

This brings out the dual character of the "risk" argument so often stressed by politicians, editors and economists in behalf of supporting rich bums without working. In their own circle the investors and their pals talk of the "sure things" to be found in the investing field. Outside of that field the politician, editor, and economist solemnly talk of the "risk" which the investor incurs when he places money in one of the "sure things." For this "risk" he is said to be a noble fellow, one who parts with his cash with the expectation that he may never see the interest or the principal.

Of course, this is the bunk of the experts on the inside. Occasionally one of them may lose because an inside pal is a crook and gets away with some of the cash, but as a rule the insiders annex the "sure things" as they are generally sure pickings for the insiders. It is these outsiders who take whatever risk that is taken at all in stock and financial gambles. Not a year passes but what the insiders share in the loot taken from the outsiders.

This is the game of capitalist investment. It assumes a dual character in the hands of those who advertise the game. The inside gamblers who take few or no chances are brought before the curtain and introduced as Christian gentlemen who "risk" their workless incomes in investments. Behind the curtain they arrange for a skinning of the "lambs." It is a game managed by sharks and where fools part with their money.

## Vacation Time Is Sub Time

Sam deWitt, the genial conductor of "The Chatterbox," was on a vacation last week. While resting he rounded up subs to the amount of \$43 at Unity House. Unfortunately for our circulation department, Sam's train was on time, otherwise the batting average would have been better.

Loy L. Long, pastor of the Cropsey Ave. Methodist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., writes: "Find check for \$2 enclosed. The N. L. is a very stimulating newspaper and one that I shall want to read during the coming year."

"Glad to renew. Enjoy the N. L. immensely," says John Russell, Farmington, Ill.

Rene Dierkens, Guttenberg, N. J., sends in \$2.50 to cover renewal and balance for propaganda.

W. P. Farrington, State Secretary of Maine, manages to send in a few subs now and then: generally now. He also goes on the burdle list.

It's a long jump from Kalamazoo to Siskiyou, but we have subscribers in both places. O. H. Lawson is putting the latter town, which everybody knows is in California, on the New Leader map.

The saddest words of tongue or pen, is the reminder, please renew again.

THIS WEEK'S MISSING WORD CONTEST WINNERS TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER  
Enclosed find for . . . . . dollars to cover . . . . . subscriptions to The New Leader.

L. C. Smith, San Francisco, says that while cash is scarce, he sends in a renewal and two other subs.

"All success to the N. I. It is the champion and leader in the movement for the freedom of those who have been in bondage so long," says A. Jeffries of New Llano, La.

"Sick, unemployed and broke, but I can't get along without the N. L.," writes a comrade from Fortuna, Cal.

G. C. Deputy, Indianapolis, Ind., shoots in 3 subs.

For the Los Angeles Public Library, 2 subs, sent in by Alice S. Eddy.

"The paper is great. We get a kick out of it, especially Coleman's column," says Ruth LePrade, Los Angeles.

That mothers and fathers, school and church often fall short in teaching the ideals set forth by the N. L., is the view expressed by Mrs. W. F. Johnson, Kiowa, Kas., as she renews.

No wonder that Socialists are being made in New Kensington, Pa. Harry Eckard of that city has seen to it that a bundle of New Leaders are disposed of weekly for the past seven months and he is still at it.

A. T. Silver of Los Angeles remits for a sub to be sent to a friend. Walter E. Davis, New Haven, again sends the N. L. for a year to the Machinists' Union of that city.

Do you know a better gift to send to a friend or a progressive organization than a subscription to The New Leader? How about your union, club or public library.

Two subs from J. H. Arnold, Columbus, Ind.

The best kind of publicity for your open-air meetings consists in selling the New Leader. That's the best kind of follow up work and makes easy the securing of subs.

Not a day goes by but what letters are received in which the New Leader is spoken of in the most glowing terms. That's fine and we appreciate it. The letters that begin, "Enclosed find check"—are also eloquent. Not all our readers will have the opportunity of listening to a speech by Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate for President, but all may read the complete reports of his addresses and his weekly slants on men and events in the New Leader.

From the city of pineapples, Chicago, comes \$37 for subs, sent in by Louis Rabinowitz. He says that the handiest and most effective way of securing results is to use the sub cards.

"Here's 2 bucks for renewal. I always pass the N. L. along to unemployed union men," writes W. T. Davidson, Welpin, Ind.

Just to remind you again that it costs no more to send 2 or more subs than it does to send 1.

A renewal and a new sub from A. F. Blomquist, Branscomb, Cal.

Those subs you promised to send in haven't reached the office of The New Leader.

This is presidential year—the year of opportunity for the increasing of our circulation. The interest in Socialist activities is keener than for years past. The intelligent person is the best kind of prospect for a sub to the New Leader.

SEND IN THAT SUBSCRIPTION TODAY.

"The last issue was a hummer," is the comment of Chas. A. Brannon, Atascadero, Cal.

"Please renew. It's a good paper. It tells the truth." So writes Frank Mazza, New Kensington, Pa.

## The Measure of a Socialist

Emil Herman, faithful Socialist organizer, is in a serious condition in a Minnesota Hospital. He was stricken while at work for the party. The National Campaign Committee has seen to it that he has had his every need met. The other day it received this communication:

Convolensing in Fairview Hospital—July 2, 1928, 9:20 P.M.

To my beloved Socialist Comrades—

When I was ignorant, you taught me. When I was slow in learning, you encouraged me. When I faltered, you directed me. When I erred, you criticised me constructively. When I made mistakes, you too often overlooked them. When I failed, you ignored it. When I achieved, you were generous with applause and appreciation. When I was stricken, you gave succor—that is why I am now here to write these feeble words of appreciation.

Your Comrade,

EMIL HERMAN.

## Benny Leonard Out-Points Bertrand Russell

By Ben Blumenberg

WE have lost faith in formal educational methods, including correspondence schools. Especially are we suspicious of schools that guarantee the art of teaching how to write for publication.

Suppose one of the best known writers of the day, Babe Ruth, had spent his time in trying to acquire literary polish in a school of journalism or even a college, where would he be today as a writer? Was Jack Dempsey's rapid rise to fame as a scrivener due to his plodding along in an English course?

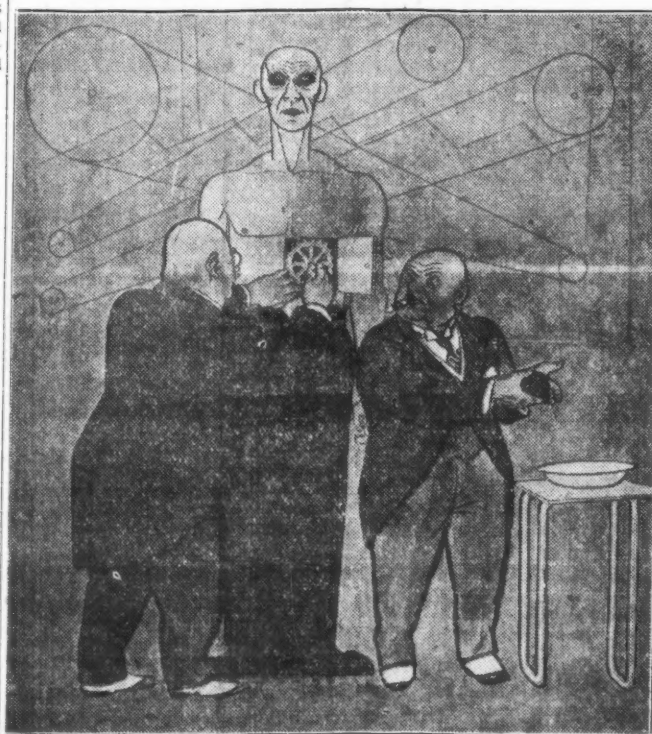
Did the ex-champion heavyweight pugilist, Jack Johnson, who is now lecturing on temperance, ever matriculate from a school of oratory? Can one imagine Mister Tunney, the eminent Shakespearean, shadow-boxing with a correspondence course in pugilism?

Where would Peaches Browning be today in the theatrical world had she spent her childhood in a salon for acting? Probably drawing as small an income as Mrs. Dora Russell or Dr. Beatrice Hinkle. Take the writers of true or confession stories. Ask yourself, where did they receive their education; what brought about their genius into flower? You know the answer and so do the magazine owners.

Among the famous writers of the present day who side-stepped a college training is Benny Leonard, one time lightweight champion of the world. Mr. Leonard recently challenged Bertrand Russell to "a finish fight, all blows allowed," following the latter's statement that the enjoyment experienced by fight fans is a sadistic one, serving as compensation for certain inhibitions.

A Challenge Made and Answered  
"Dr. Russell," the ex-champion is reported to have said in outlining his battle plans, "is a victim of metaphysical vagaries, his postulates are of the mediæval a priori variety, and, hence, his conclusions, obviously, are faulty, not to say specious. Pardon me," he continued with engaging scholastic modesty, "if my wrought-up condition caused me to split an infinitive or two. Doctor Russell's strictures on the graceful, manly art of self-defense are such that, despite my usual philosophical serenity, I cannot but take umbrage at the learned scholar's ill-founded asseverations."  
No time was lost in phoning Bertrand Russell, who is now in England. In commenting upon Mr. Leonard's challenge, he said in part:  
"Why, the big—, I'll knock his bally block off, the bloody—!"  
"Easy, Bert," came the warning from this side, "this costs more than telephone calls."

## Removing A Useless Ornament



Drawn by Willibald Krahn.

Turning men into machines is the latest boast of American capitalism. Machines are cheaper. If men were cheaper, they would turn them back into men again.

## 50,000 Not 50

SEYMOUR M. LOWMAN, who followed the late lamented Brigadier General, Lincoln C. Andrews, as head-chief of the prohibition enforcement forces, would be a second Demosthenes if only he could orate with a pebble instead of with his foot in his mouth.

Said simple Seymour recently: "The object of prohibition is to promote temperance and sobriety. To my mind it has already done much along that line. To claim that thus far it is a complete success would be ridiculous."

"There has been much improvement. You can go to bed in a hotel these days unaccompanied by the refrain of Sweet Adeline. Less drinking in hotels helps tired people."

"The great mass of Americans do not drink liquor. There are two fringes of society who are hunting for 'booze.' They are the so-called upper crust and the down-and-outs in the slums. They are dying off fast from poison 'hooch.' If America can be made sober and temperate in 50 years a good job will have been done."

Say, Seymour, where do you get that stuff about no drinking in hotel rooms? In other words, where have you been the last ten years?

Now listen to me. I know of what I'm talking, for I spend most of my time in hotel rooms. Before prohibition, there was drinking in hotel bars and a little drinking in hotel rooms. Now the hotel bars are gone and as a result every room has become a barroom.

Against the dresser mirror of all the better hotel rooms hangs a card bearing the inscription, "Please do not destroy furniture. There is a bottle opener in the bathroom," and there is.

Beholding the halls of hotels about the time when the maids remove the evidence of the night before, they look like the stockrooms of bottle factories minus the order. Bottles, big bottles, little bottles, square bottles, round bottles, pint bottles, quart bottles, all kinds of bottles but full bottles.

Moreover, I've been in hotels where I couldn't get ice water but never been in one where you couldn't get fire water—and this in spite of the much displayed sign in hotel rooms, "Please help us to obey the prohibition law."

And so, only "the two fringes of society," the so-called upper crust and the down-and-outs in the slums are hunting for booze.

Well, Brother Seymour, how about the conversation one hears in hotel lobbies, smoking cars, clubrooms or wherever our middle class babblery congregates? What are the boys, yes, and the girls talking about but booze, bootleggers and home brew?

No, no, Seymour, booze hunting is not the exclusive sport of the four hundred and the down-and-outs. It is also the great American in and outdoor sport of the ups and comings.

America sober and temperate in fifty years—by persuasion and education, yes—by force and violence, add another 50,000.

## Sending Thaw Back Home

Harry K. Thaw, who has figured on American front pages for twenty years, was not permitted to land in England.

When a young man about town, Thaw shot and killed Stanford White, one of the most brilliant architects this country has produced. The quarrel between the man and the nut started over a bad egg who later on reformed and became a respectable vaudeville actress.

In accordance with unwritten law which prohibits the jailing, to say nothing about the hanging, of millionaires within the confines of the United States, Harry Thaw was promoted to a New York bughouse where he lived happily ever after, until a jury of his peers declared him sane.

Now, ten to one, those humorless Johnny Bulls will return Harry Thaw unopened, which is a great pity, for it would be interesting to find out in what respect a crazy millionaire differs from a sane one.

## Lindy's All Right

Editor Howe of Amarillo, Texas, claims that Colonel Lindbergh evinced symptoms of swell head during his recent visit to the burg.

Have a heart, Howe. If all the hat bands ever made were put into one single hat band and that band placed on Lindy's brow, and if then, his head swelled until it busted that hat band, it still would be unjust to accuse him of swell head in the face of all the sickening adulation we have slobbered on him. What's more, so long as "Colonel" Lindbergh declines to wear that Colonel uniform which they have been trying to fasten on him ever since his return from Paris, he's my sort of Lindy.

Lay off that boy. The idea of accusing the first and only American who ever refused to strut about in a Colonel's uniform of swell head!

## Other Ineligibles

Ghandi insists that "Speed isn't the only thing in life." But progress is progress. I don't care who says it isn't.

George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, not a single one of them could-be-elected-president—were-they-with-us-to-day—not a one of them "believed in the Bible from kiver to kiver." All of them were rebels, disloyalists. All of them violated the Eighteenth Amendment.

If they were here, Al Smith wouldn't be the only ineligible on account of his religion. And if that don't prove progress, I don't know what can.

Adam Conldigger.