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of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

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TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President

WHEN it is proposed to inaugurate public operation of a business as great as the New York transit system, all of us in every part of the country who believe in public ownership and operation of public utilities have a tremendous interest in the details. The success or failure of the plan will set us forward or backward many years in our proposals.

Mr. Untermyer now announces that he, in behalf of the city and the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company have agreed on "all but the price" in a plan for public operation of transit. The Interborough Rapid Transit Company which brought the seven-cent fare suit has agreed on nothing.

As reported in the newspapers, Mr. Untermyer's plan is ingenious, and probably workable. Its true success is contingent on several things, some of which Mr. Untermyer is not responsible and for one of which he is. A list of these things is very instructive.

1. The plan absolutely depends upon notice of recapture of part of the I. R. T. lines. The Tammany city government had delayed already for about nine months in giving notice of recapture thereby weakening the city's bargaining position and delaying the time when recapturable lines can be acquired. The delay costs the city over \$1,000,000 per month. Will Gov. Smith and Mayor Walker let Tammany act now?

2. This plan, to keep the 5 cent fare and permit growth must provide, as Mr. Untermyer suggests, for assessing at least half of the cost of new subways on property benefited. Tammany has steadfastly resisted this move. If the city has to borrow the whole cost of new lines and make the debt a charge upon fares we cannot keep the 5 cent fare. If the city borrows or pays out of general taxes the people of the whole city are robbed to give fortunate property owners the 300 or more percent profits that have already accrued along Eighth Avenue.

3. The power taken by our courts to fix public utility values and exercised uniformly in the interest of private property holders will doubtless make Mr. Untermyer's plan far more expensive than it ought to be. For instance, the original cost of a power plant belonging to the E. M. T. was \$18,170,000. The E. M. T. holds it at \$36,000,000 and claims that sum as the "reproduction cost" allowed by the courts in similar cases. Now, "reproduction cost" is always speculative and in the case of public utilities peculiarly unfair since much of the increased cost of reproducing tracks or power plants is due to the privileges granted by the state or city or to increase in land values created by society.

For these things Mr. Untermyer is not responsible. Indeed he is fighting reproduction costs. He is responsible for the proposed directorate of his Transit Corporation. It is to be appointed by the Mayor. There is no provision for direct representation of workers and no provision for representation of technical groups or minority parties. Conceivably a Tammany Mayor could appoint a Commission of Tammany henchmen or of their business allies who rather want public operation to fail.

All of which points our Socialist moral that if you want the right sort of public ownership you want a political party that believes in and desires it to be democratic, not bureaucratic.

I have referred to the role of the courts in crippling all plans for either the effective regulation or the reasonable purchase of public utilities, coal mines, etc. One of our first jobs is to make the courts mind their own business. And that business is the arbitrary fixing of values. When federal courts say, as they recently said to the people of Baltimore: "You must pay fares or rates high enough to give 8% return to your street railways on reproduction costs" they overstep all limits of proper judicial power and virtually legislate the property bias of judges into law. Courts have no such final power in England or any other allegedly democratic country. It goes along with the assumed power of courts to declare legislation unconstitutional.

This is one of the things that makes us Socialists demand a thoroughgoing revision of our Federal Constitution which now protects gas companies so much better than it protects Negroes from injustice or Sacco and Vanzetti from legal murder.

Another reason for revising the Constitution is to make presidential elections depend on the popular vote rather than on the outworn electoral

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Raskob, Bitter Foe Of Trade Unionism, Is Smith Chief

Du Pont-Trained National Democratic Chairman Is
Nation's Most Notorious Stock-Gambler—Operates
Huge Open Shop Auto Plants in Michigan

JOHN J. RASKOB, head of General Motors finance committee and powerful in allied DuPont interests, new Democratic national committee chairman and intimate friend of Al Smith, is revealed by labor officials and labor research experts as perhaps the most dangerous and powerful enemy of the organized labor movement in America.

Raskob, the nation's most notorious stock gambler, head of America's most vigorous financial-industrial corporation, acclaimed successor to labor-hating Judge Elbert Gary of U. S. Steel, and the acknowledged spokesman for Big Business, has been made Democratic national chairman at Al Smith's direct request. Owen D. Young, head of General Electric, and with Raskob, leader in American finance and industry, had also been mentioned for the job. Raskob lists himself in Who's Who as a Republican and a 'capitalist' who voted for Coolidge in 1924.

Raskob's company union for 75,000 General Motors workers at Flint, Mich., was denounced in a memorable speech from the floor of the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. in 1926 by John P. Frey, then editor of the Molders' Journal, now secretary of the A. F. of L. metal trades department. Frey now finds Raskob at the

head of anti-union forces blocking the projected A. F. of L. drive to organize the auto industry.

Foe of Mine Workers
Raskob's edict breaking the United Mine Workers was revealed to the Senate committee investigating the coal industry last spring by one of the biggest operators in the Pittsburgh field. His ruthless wage slashing in General Motors and Fisher Body plants has been the subject of repeated protests in the labor press. He has been the foe of every kind of unionism—save company unionism—for his 300,000 workers.

Frey revealed Raskob's checkoff company union at Flint as an outrageous effort to shackle his workers in chains of industrial feudalism. "This company union," asserted Frey, "collecting \$1,755,000 a year from its employees, is only interested in them while there is work. They make no provision for idle days, for layoffs." The checkoff, remarked, was "not bad financing, considering that during the last six years they have increased production of their employees 100 per cent."

Part of the Raskob policy, Frey asserted, was to swamp Flint with hosts of jobless workers to beat down standards of those already on the

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Thomas Strong at Farm-Labor Convention

Defeats Norris on Two
Ballots—Majority of Ex-
ecutive For Socialist

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The Farmer-Labor convention, after spending two days in a fruitless effort to launch a national ticket, gave up and transferred its power to a new executive committee. It was evident that as a national force the promising national movement of a few years ago has declined to an aspiration with about half the delegates desiring to support Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, the Socialist candidates.

A few of the leaders ventured on a course which would have killed even a larger and more promising convention. They entered into negotiations with leaders of the Prohibition party who were also meeting in national convention. The result was that reports linked the two conventions together with the Farmer-Laborites generally buried in an inconspicuous section of the news stories.

The delegates with a genuine Farmer-Labor trend of mind realized that the Prohibition attempt to swallow the Farmer-Labor convention could best be met by a platform emphasizing farmer and labor issues. The professional Prohibitionists are not interested in the troubles of workers and the platform that was adopted cooled the ardor of the Prohibition leaders.

Platform Like Socialists'

This platform is very progressive and similar to the Socialist platform. It includes planks for public ownership and operation of natural resources, transportation and power, unemployment remedies, farm aid, currency reform, old age pensions, constitutional revision, Philippine freedom, recognition of Russia, withdrawal from Nicaragua, hands off Mexico and Latin America and China, against injunctions and child labor thirty. They represented units of and for tax reforms.

The delegates numbered about the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.

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Child Laborers Gain Little From Legislatures

"Bad" child labor states improved little or not at all in their legislation in 1928 while some of the better states handed out meager crumbs of assistance, says the National Child Labor Committee. Neither Louisiana nor Mississippi legislators cared to improve their deficient laws.

South Carolina, with the weakest law in the country, reduced from 12 to 10 years the age limit for children of poor parents to be hired out on farms and other non-factory jobs. Compulsory attendance period was strengthened, but the governor vetoed appropriations to enforce the law. In 1929, 43 state legislatures meet, against 10 for this year.

9 Socialist Leaflets Are Ready

Gerber Reports To N.E.C.
On Organization of Na-
tional Campaign Council

REPORTING to the Socialist National Executive Committee in Baltimore, Campaign Manager Gerber said that the organization of a National Campaign Council, the members of which will be representative of all parts of the country was under way. A tentative speaking tour for Norman Thomas had been worked out and Maurer's dates would be arranged soon. Advance organizers and ample publicity will be employed to make the most of the meetings addressed by our candidates.

Nine more leaflets had been published, the National Platform, an Address to Farmers by Norman Thomas, an unemployment leaflet, "Is a Friend of Yours Out of Work?", by Harry W. Laidler and H. S. Raushenbush, one on injunctions "Is It Fun When Men Have to Strike" by Morris Hillquit and H. S. Raushenbush, and five leaflets addressed to women by Lilith Wilson. A campaign handbook of 200 pages, edited by Edward Levinson, will be ready soon and will sell for 25 cents a copy.

Other literature in preparation or ready to be printed includes a leaflet on water power and electric rates; a leaflet on political corruption and a small pamphlet, An Address to the Organized Workers by James Oneal. A pamphlet on the farm problem by Oscar Ameringer and biographies of Thomas and Maurer will also be available. The committee expects to use about 500,000 copies of Congressman Berger's government reprint of the platform. Supplies of leaflets have already been sent to a number of states and organized workers.

Publicity Work Progressing
The publicity work of the party has been well under way. In the 75 days since the national convention 83 news releases had been sent to 2,250 papers and news agencies which reach practically every newspaper in the country. The Campaign headquarters is also getting out some important suggestions to promote local publicity. Levinson is publicity director. Campaign buttons, lithograph and muslin signs will also be provided at cost.

A budget of finances for the campaign and the income which the committee hopes to obtain ranges from \$127,500 to \$149,000; the expenses about \$128,500. Of course these figures are approximate but the committee hopes to insure the party members and friends with the will to realize the maximum of financial income.

Some misunderstanding had arisen as to the work of the Campaign Committee and the respective functions of the committee and of the National Office at Chicago. Roewer, Hoan and Oneal were made a committee to meet with Gerber and Henry and to report

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Prostitution House Down, Big One Due

Tammany's Conquest of
Power Brings Need For
Larger Headquarters in
New York

By Backstairs Spokesman

NEW YORK'S most famous house of prostitution is being torn down. With mattocks and bars the workers are crashing through old walls, hurling down ancient wood-work.

Too bad that their job of destruction is not a permanent one. A pity that another and more modern structure devoted to the same dirty business as the old is soon to be raised a few blocks away.

Some day when the workers of New York understand the true nature of the evil thing called Tammany, they will rise in their wrath and do it to death. Now they are tearing down the old building that so long housed Tammany on Fourteenth Street, but they are destroying only wood and brick and mortar. Tammany, corrupt, defiant, triumphant, goes marching on.

Small wonder that the braves and their gang followers are exultant these days. Have they not succeeded in putting one of their own into nomination for President of the United States? Are they not now on their way to places of the highest power in the nation? At all events, such is their hope as they go forth to battle under the leadership of Sachem Al.

His Master's Voice
Al—that same faithful servant of Tammany, by the way, who on a hot night in August fifteen years ago was straining his ear at a telephone receiver in Albany to listen to the low voice of a private citizen, one Charles F. Murphy, sitting in his graft-built home at 317 East Seventeenth street, ordering the political destruction of the Governor of New York State.

Smith was tired that night. He and Wagner and Aaron J. Levy had been running about in mid-summer heat to bring absent legislators to Albany for the purpose of crucifying Sulzer at Murphy's behest. But he was not too tired to pound his Speaker's gavel on the big desk of the Assembly chamber when the final roll call came that was to impeach the honest, if erratic, Sulzer.

An historian of that eventful night writes:

"The Assembly continued in session all through the night of August 13. Many of the members placed their heads on their desks and slept, while the majority leader, Aaron J. Levy, spoke in favor of the Governor's impeachment. Some of the Assemblymen brought newspapers and read at their desks what they themselves had said and done a few hours before.

Smith Rallied the Boys
"Finally, enough members were mustered at Albany to pass the impeachment resolutions. After the final roll call on the impeachment, members fell back in their chairs and slept, while Speaker Alfred E. Smith pounded with his gavel in the effort to wake them.

"A number of the members, I take it, are asleep in their chairs," Smith shouted. "Members will please answer when their names are called." Smith whacked on his desk with his gavel, and newly awakened members thumped on their desks with their fists in order to arouse their colleagues."

For what crime was Sulzer thus impeached? Why did Smith and Robert F. Wagner, then majority leader in the State Senate, "yes" every command of Murphy's so assiduously? Sulzer had had the courage to advocate a direct primary bill, something detested heartily by both Murphy and William J. Barnes, Jr., the Republican state boss. Furthermore, he had likened Murphy to Tweed, and had said in a speech in Corning, New York:

"The bosses say they will beat me. I have heard that before. . . . They say they will destroy me, but I tell them that no man can destroy me but William Sulzer. (Applause.) I care very little about the political future and less about personal consequences. I shall go on doing my duty to the people as God gives me the light to see right (Applause). . . .

"All I want to be is honest. (A voice: 'You're right.') All I want to do is to keep the faith; all I desire is to tell the truth. I want to make good. (Applause.) When I am dead and buried the only monument I want is to have the people say in their

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N. Y. Socialists Name Waldman For Governor, Coleman For U. S. Senate

Socialist Standard-Bearers
In the New York Election



LOUIS WALDMAN
Candidate for Governor



McALISTER COLEMAN
Candidate for United States Senator

Tammany Hall Squirms Under Socialist Fire

Walker Defames Socialists
in Interview in Holly-
wood—"Up To Smith"

A DEMAND by the New York state convention of the Socialist party that Governor Smith appoint a non-partisan commission to thoroughly investigate the Walker administration in New York City has attracted wide attention and set Tammany politicians worrying.

The New York paper carried the full text of the Socialist convention's resolutions on their first pages. The complete resolution was wired to Jas. J. Walker, Tammany Hall's mayor in New York City, now vacationing in Hollywood. In a column of evasions, wired to The New York Times, Mayor Walker attempted to answer the 11 specific charges made by the Socialists.

The Socialist resolution is printed in full on page three of this issue of The New Leader. It charges that New York City is the scene of "municipal misrule and political corruption." Specifically it charges that Mayor Walker is faking in his fight against increased transit fares; that a Tammany corporation has been given valuable bus franchises; that \$16,000,000 in graft has been taken by Queens County sewer contractors; that payroll padding on a "staggering scale" is the rule in the street cleaning department; that snow removal grafters have not been punished; that "the crime wave has developed into a permanent affair"; that political appointments have been made to the bench; that vote stealing has been perpetrated on election days; that 200,000 has been squandered on receiving so-called "distinguished visitors"; that school children have been housed in faulty buildings; that Tammany insiders have been given monopolies in the sale to the city of supplies.

Walker's Reply

Replying to the charges, according to The Times, Mayor Walker called them an attempt to embarrass Governor Smith in his race for the presidency. "Why does not the Socialist party go to the Republican legislature instead of to Governor Smith?" He said he would welcome an investigation. He then proceeded to offer a categorical answer to the Socialist charges, in the course of which he said that Socialists were vote thieves. "This is the first evidence I have ever had that the Socialist Party has any knowledge of what's going on in the world. The fact that the Socialist party has noticed my absence from the city I take as a great compliment."

"The next move is up to Governor Smith," the Socialist Party said, commenting on the demand of its State Executive Committee that Governor Smith investigate the transit situation, the award of franchises to the

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Convention at Albany De-
mands Governor Smith
Investigate Tammany
Corruption in City

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY, N. Y.,—Meeting within a stone's throw of the official home of Governor Smith, Tammany candidate for president, the New York Socialist convention, threw a political boulder at his presidential hopes last Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

One of the largest conventions ever held by the New York Socialists made history for the party in the "Empire State."

1.—It nominated a brilliant, fighting and vigorous ticket for state offices, placing on the ticket Louis Waldman, McAlister Coleman, William Karlin, the Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Mrs. Elizabeth Roth and Ezekiah Wilcox.

2.—It placed Governor Smith in a "hole" from which he will with the greatest difficulty be able to extricate himself. It demanded he institute a non-partisan investigation of Tammany Hall's conduct in New York City.

3.—It adopted a platform that comes to grips with current issues as have few Socialist platforms, in the past, realistic as they have been.

200 Delegates Present
More than anything else it gave the more than 200 delegates from all parts of the state a new realization of the vigor and potency of Socialist idealism. It sent the delegates and an equal number of visitors home with hope and determination high. Here is the ticket picked in the closing hours of the convention Sunday afternoon.

For United States Senator—

McAlister Coleman of New York.

For Governor—Louis Waldman of New York.

For Lieutenant Governor—Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo.

For Attorney General—William Karlin of New York.

For Controller—Mrs. Elizabeth Roth.

For Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals—Ezekiah Wilcox.

Waldman was one of the five Socialists in the state legislature expelled in 1919 by the reaction that swept Capitol Hill in Albany. He is a compelling speaker, immersed in the facts of water power, public utilities, traction and other current issues. Coleman, well known to New Leader readers as a writer, is a colorful speaker, convincing and original, well informed on water power and the public utilities. The Rev. Herman J. Hahn is pastor of Salem Church, Buffalo. He has been an active Socialist for ten years. During the Sacco-Vanzetti agitation he attracted wide admiration by joining the pickets in front of the State Death House. Karlin was a member of the State Legislature and is one of the most popular speakers in the party.

Algernon Lee, who presided at the convention and sounded the "key-note" in the opening session at Odd Fellows Hall, was also proposed for Governor. He received a thunderous ovation from the convention, but insisted on retiring from the race in favor of Waldman, who had been nominated by A. I. Shipiloff. Coleman was placed in nomination by August Claessens, while J. L. Afros of Brooklyn placed Charles Solomon in nomination for the same office, the United States Senate. With a tribute to Coleman, Solomon declined to run. Upon their nominations, Waldman and Coleman responded with short addresses which sent the assembled delegates and visitors into vigorous cheering.

The afternoon session on Saturday brought from the resolutions committee, chaired by Karlin, a resolution making eleven specific charges against the Tammany administration in New York. It asked that Governor Smith appoint an investigating commission. Following introduction of the resolution, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, took the floor to urge its adoption. He said the resolution placed the issue of Tammany corruption square at the door of Governor Smith, the Democratic candidate for President. He demanded to know what the Governor would do about it. William M. Feigenbaum of New York also spoke on the resolution, urging the Socialists to go out and fight Tammany.

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Rhodes For Governor In Texas

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

DALLAS, TEXAS.—Texas Socialists in state convention in the Labor Temple of Dallas nominated L. Rhodes of Grand Saline for Governor. Rhodes is an old campaigner and one of the best known Socialists in the state.

In addition to a full ticket of Presidential electors the convention also nominated the following state candidates:

R. H. Freese of Fort Worth for Lieutenant Governor, George Clifton Edwards of Dallas, Attorney General; H. H. Kooker of Ennis, State Treasurer; H. L. Bynum of Snyder, Commissioner of Agriculture; W. B. Starr of Cisco, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Arch Judge of Austin, Land Commissioner; C. T. Renshaw of Dallas, Railroad Commissioner; O. L. Pridmore of Dallas, State Comptroller; J. R. Barrett of Dallas, Judge of the Court of Criminal Appeals; M. A. Smith of Dallas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and David Curran of Dallas, United States Senator from Texas.

The attendance at the convention was the largest in many years and during the two sessions interest and enthusiasm ran high. A Negro member of the party from Ferris attended and he was requested to address the delegates. It was a well delivered speech. The speaker declared that the colored people have grievances and that many of his race had decided to leave the Republican party and vote with the Socialists. He believes that thousands of his people will vote our ticket this year and he intends to wage a campaign for this purpose.

Bar Consumers at Hearing on Billion Dollar Merger

9 Socialist Leaflets Are Ready

Gerber Reports To N.E.C. On Organization of National Campaign Committee

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back to the committee. They agreed to the following statement to be sent to the members:

"The National Executive Committee is under instruction of the national convention to organize a National Campaign Committee which is a sub-committee of the N. E. C.

"The National Campaign Committee consists of the members of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Action Committee of New York, and two delegates each from the state committees of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The members of the National Executive Committee are ex-officio members of the National Campaign Committee.

"The Campaign Committee shall be charged with the organization and campaign work during the campaign period.

"The reports of the National Campaign Committee and the National Campaign Manager shall be sent to the National Executive Secretary, the members of the National Executive Committee, and the members of the National Campaign Council.

"The National Campaign Council are the associate campaign representatives throughout the country. The decisions of the National Campaign Committee and the National Campaign Manager are subject to review of the National Executive Committee or the National Executive Secretary."

"The committee did not accept the recommendation for dividing the country into districts each with a manager in charge but left the matter of establishing such districts as may appear desirable to the Campaign Committee. It was also decided to have Karl Jursek work out of the New York office rather than Chicago.

"The problem of the division of campaign funds between the states and the National Campaign Committee as reported by Gerber was approved. This provides that of the money collected on national campaign lists 25 percent shall go to the state organization where collected. Of funds collected on state and local lists 25 percent is to go to the national campaign fund.

"To this was added the following: 'Against all moneys due by the National Campaign Office to the States, shall be applied all expenditures on account of that state, incurred by this office, and all other fund credits due from that state. The balance to be turned over to each respective state for its own purposes.'

An important matter considered by the committee was the use of the local radio by comrades Thomas and Maurer for broadcasting their speeches wherever arrangements can be made. The Campaign Committee was instructed to also try to arrange for an eastern hour and a western hour on the radio for addresses by Thomas and Maurer. The idea is to broadcast in each of the two great areas of the country if arrangements can be made by some big station.

It was also decided to make the National Women's Committee a permanent committee of the party and to enlarge its membership from seven to fifteen. The committee also urges the organization of local women's committees to aid in the work of the campaign. Locals and branches are urged to survey their membership for members of such committees and that women should be nominated for public office. Locals and Branches are also instructed to compile names and addresses of political, trade union, social and progressive clubs of women and that they be circulated, wherever the opportunity is available, that these organizations be addressed by Socialist speakers, preferably women speakers.

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Who'd Walk A Mile For A Scab Cigarette?

North Carolina Workers Prepare For a Show-down With Makers of "Camels"

By Art Shields

WINSTON SALEM, N. C.—Labor and Capital, as represented by the trade unions and the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., are preparing for a clash in the Solid South. Last hope of peace faded when W. N. Reynolds, the cold old man who heads the big cigarette and pipe tobacco corporation, told a personal representative of President William Green of the American Federation of Labor that he would sign no contract.

This announcement was relayed to the rank and file at a packed meeting of the Piedmont Organizing Council. Edward L. Crouch, tobacco workers' organizer and vice-president, rolled up his shirt sleeves as he denounced the wage cutting and blacklisting tactics of the "Camels" firm, and said the fight stage had now been reached.

The audience that amended the coming struggle was made up of the wide variety of organizations that are essaying a revival in this open-shop state. Forty-six occupations and all the leading North Carolina cities, and Danville, Va., were listed, as the secretary read the roll call of the 246 delegates. Half those present were Winston Salem workers, many risking discharge by attending. And though 400 Reynolds employees have already been laid off for joining, most of the Winston Salem delegates were from that union, including many negroes. In fact a quarter of the faces in the audience were colored.

Officials of labor were there too: there

were 10 international union representatives, and a general organizer of the A. F. of L., all sent to North Carolina in response to the new interest in organization. Two working men presided—John A. Peel, a carpenter from Durham, president of the council, and T. A. Wilson, a linotype operator of Winston Salem, president of the state federation. Crouch, a stocky figure in shirt sleeves, with a crutch taking the place of one leg, gave a worker's story of inhuman conditions in the Camels and Prince Albert plants.

"I'm no 'outside agitator,'" he said with irony; "I know conditions at Reynolds'. For 13 years I made Prince Albert cans and worked in the smoking room and at other jobs. I know what wages the tobacco workers get. There are women on \$2.55 a week. The average pay is less than \$1 a week, and thousands get under \$1. You won't find a single tobacco worker getting over \$25, and mighty few get near that. Yet Reynolds told President Green's representative his employees were satisfied!"

Low wages are not paid from necessity, President Wilson of the state federation explained. Last year the Reynolds firm netted \$29,000,000 on its common stock, or \$48.05 per week per worker more than four times wages.

E. Lewis Evans, international president of the Tobacco Workers, gave the history of the Winston Salem movement. From 1919 to 1921 the union had a contract with Reynolds, though the ink was hardly dry on it before the company began undermining the organization. And 22 years ago three companies were unionized, despite the declaration of one official that "you carpet-baggers who come down here stirring up our niggers ought to be hung from the lamp post."

Waldman For Governor in N. Y.

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which he termed "the same old Tammany, as corrupt and defiant as ever."

The adoption of the platform, drawn up by a committee of eleven of which Waldman was chairman, was accomplished with sharp differences on only one plank—the liquor plank. The committee urged that the platform contain a plea for temperance and for modification of the Volstead Act because it has made Prohibition a farce and encouraged lawlessness. Waldman, Solomon and Coleman argued for the resolution, while G. A. Gerber, Samuel Orr, Samuel F. Friedman and Warren Atkinson opposed it. The opposition to the committee's report favored ignoring of the liquor question or insertion of a dry plank. The committee's recommendation was carried 64 to 11.

Mystery Play Thrills Camp Eden Audience

A mystery thriller that rivaled Dracula, the Bat, and carried the audience into throes of hysterics was the big event of the week at Camp Eden. The play, rendered in true Broadway manner on the new and well equipped stage, proved that audiences still demand mystery in their drama. The cast ably presented the story in harmony with the fine trick lighting effects that were used. The Camp Eden players, and it is a real fine acting organization, will present several one-act plays this Saturday evening. It is well worth the trip to camp to see these splendid performances, rivaling the professional members of the theatre.

The theatre at Camp Eden is, of course, just one of the many activities that the guests enjoy. The splendid lake, for swimming and boating, and good fishing for the Isaak Waltons, adds to the charm. The tennis courts, baseball diamond and handy basketball court, work with all the necessary equipment, help to the appetite for the hungry. The dining hall does the rest. It is the place where food is served to please the most fastidious and even satisfy the gourmand.

A visit to Camp Eden is pleasant remembrance for life. A thought that will carry you through the winter. Come up now in the coolness of the country and the enjoyable life of true camp fellowship.

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Thomas Strong At Farm-Labor Meet

(Continued From Page 1)

ation, the Farmer-Labor parties of Illinois, Nebraska, South Dakota, Montana, Colorado, Georgia and the District of Columbia, the Progress Builders of New Mexico, the Progressive Legion of Missouri and the St. Louis County Farmers Defense League.

The party had to go outside its membership in its attempt to make presidential nominations and the executive committee, if it acts at all, will have to do the same thing.

The fact that Karl Jursek was a declared Socialist did not frighten the delegates. He came as a delegate of the two farmer conferences held in Kansas City and Houston. The character of the platform was largely the result of his work. National chairman Spurr fought to have a dry plank incorporated and when this was voted down it ended the Prohibition effort to swallow the Farmer-Laborites.

The real surprise of the convention came when it reached the business of nominating presidential candidates. McVey of the Chicago Federation of Labor nominated Norman Thomas for President and this was seconded by Mac-Crystal of the United Mine Workers. Mahoney of Washington, D. C., also seconded the nomination of Thomas. Gale A. Flaggman of Iowa and Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska were also placed in nomination.

Jursek declared that Norris would not accept if nominated and after the convention had adjourned it became known that Charles Shirley of Chicago had retained a telegram from Norris stating that he would not permit his name to go before the delegates. The delegates were kept ignorant of the telegram and voted without knowledge of its contents.

Despite this situation Norman Thomas led on the first ballot. The vote was for Thomas, 14; Norris, 11; Flaggman, 5. On the second ballot Thomas received 15, Norris 14, and James H. Maurer 1. The one vote had been intended for Thomas and had it been properly cast Thomas would have been the nominee.

Before the next ballot the Norris men frantically canvassed the delegates and then mustered 16 votes for Norris and 14 for Thomas. Will Verren, of Georgia, was nominated for Vice-President. Both Norris and Verren have declined and the matter of candidates was left to the new executive committee. A new executive committee elected contains four Thomas supporters at least out of seven. An endorsement of Thomas may be expected.

Senator Norris in a public statement declared that his refusal to accept the nomination "does not mean that I am not in full sympathy with those who are opposed to the platforms and presidential nominees of the major parties."

The adjournment of this convention leaves the Socialist Party and its candidates a free field to represent the voters who are tired of government for the big financial and capitalist interests of the nation.

Herman On The Road To Full Recovery

Emil Herman, Socialist organizer now in Fairview Hospital, Minneapolis, has sent the following to Victor L. Berger, National Chairman, Wm. H. Henry, Executive Secretary, and members of the N. E. C.

"Words fall me in expressing my heartfelt appreciation for your sympathy and greetings contained in your wire under this date. Rest assured that as in the past so in the future I will serve the Socialist Movement to the best of my understanding and ability.

"My doctor, now says I am good for thirty years more, though when I was brought here he despaired of my life. I am gaining rapidly in strength and hope soon to be back at work."

Gas Company Hits Critics As Socialists

Smith-Appointed Commission Says People Are "No Party" to Proceedings—Brief Filed

THE New York Public Service Commission, meeting on Wednesday, flatly refused to listen to oral argument on behalf of the consumers in regard to the proposed gigantic merger of the Consolidated Gas Company and the Brooklyn Edison Company.

Commissioner Prendergast, an appointee of Governor Smith, told Morris Ernst, counsel for the New York Public Service Commission on Power, who appeared for the consumers of gas and electricity, that he was not a party to the proceedings. The commission permitted counsel for the Consolidated Gas Company to make long speeches, in the course of which he said he didn't "want any Socialism or Socialists before the commission." He said the committee for which Mr. Ernst, reputed to be a Democrat, appeared, was made up entirely of Socialists. He told Mr. Ernst to "sit down," a command which brought no objection from the commission.

Ernst did not subside without protest. He said the commission's ruling meant that only stock-holders could appear before the commission. Such a procedure in connection with the proposed billion dollar merger was producing a dangerous precedent, he held. Ex-Mayor John F. Hyland, who also attempted to argue against the merger as proposed was likewise refused a hearing. Both Ernst and Hyland filed briefs presenting their cases.

The proposed merger and the part to be played in it by Governor Smith's public service commission contains possibilities of political consequence. It offers a test of the attitude of Smith's commission toward public utilities interests.

"There is undoubtedly a political slant to the manner in which critics of the merger have been silenced," Mr. Ernst said.

George R. Van Name, a member of the commission was not present. He has been busy raising funds for Governor Smith's presidential campaign and it was suggested that these activities kept him from attending Wednesday's important hearing.

The sale of the Brooklyn Edison Company to the Consolidated Gas Company of New York was protested on six major counts by Ernst's brief.

He demanded that some guarantee be secured that a portion of the \$5,000,000 earnings to be effected annually go to the consumers. He cited the case of Fulton where the mayors' threat that he would object to a similar sale of a gas company forced the company to reduce the price of gas from \$2.75 to \$1.75.

The value of competition in rate policy alone between the two companies is valuable, he said, and cited Samuel Insull and the Massachusetts Commission in favor of lower endowment rates to domestic consumers. The Public Service Commission was asked to establish as a fact that the rates in New York City are now out of line with rates in other cities of the country. Mr. Ernst cited Indianapolis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Worcester, Hartford and Buffalo as having lower rates than New York. Competition between the two New York companies in rate policy, he contended, would help lower New York rates.

Concentration Would Be Effected
The proposed merger will concentrate between 37 and 39 per cent. of all the utility power in New York State into one hand.

He contended that before granting the application of the Consolidated Gas Company, the Commission should determine the extent to which this merger might prejudice the future development of the State's water power resources in the St. Lawrence. He cited the connections of the Aluminum Company, the Brady Interests of New York, and the United Gas Improvement (also a Mellon interest) with the Mohawk-Hudson group, the connections of the Northeastern with the same group, the interest of the Aluminum Company in the Frontier Corporation, and said that these three groups represented 92 per cent. of the major New York State production.

"The complete merger of the New York City companies eliminates for all time the possibility that St. Lawrence power will come down to New York City unless it is developed by a group affiliated with this one merged company."

Loss of Sovereignty in Interstate Tie-Up
Asking that New York City and State consumers be protected in this merger against loss of control over the power companies, he cited reports showing that the Mellon interests had purchased stock in the Consolidated Gas, Brooklyn Edison, United Gas Improvement, and Connecticut Light and Power, which together with their interests in up-state companies, indicated a tie-up and control from Concord to Boston with New York as a pivot. Such a tie-up involves wholesaling of power across state lines by companies of the same interest, would involve less of control over such power by the State Commission.

He asked the Commission to establish these connections itself and then to refuse to grant "a merger in which foreign interests are so largely involved unless you secure by revision of franchises or otherwise that such power as is wholesaled into this state will be subject to the regulation of this Commission."

New Bedford Strikers Picket Factory By Sea

Twenty Boats Ply Back And Forth at Rear Entrance to Textile Mill

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—By land and by sea strikers threw a picket line around a huge New Bedford cotton mill which will go down in labor history as a premier display of workers' solidarity.

As autos of sympathizers flashed their lights at the Kilburn Mill, thousands of men, women and children circled ceaselessly through the night in front of the gates. By water twenty quahog boats plied back and forth.

Rumors that strikebreakers were being hidden in the mill called forth the all-night picketing. The usual lines watched the mill at quitting time, when a half dozen strikebreakers came out. Word spread quickly that fewer had come out than entered in the morning.

Through New Bedford's south end, where Portuguese, Polish, French-Canadian workers live in big three story barracks, the word flashed. From houses of twenty or thirty soon expanded. The Textile Mill Committee line grew to 200,

300, 500. The Textile Council line grew likewise.

Across the street thousands of workers and their families peered anxiously toward the mill windows. Not a sign of life showed, outside the boiler room. Boes assured police no strikebreakers were within. But workers refused to believe the police. By 9:30 p.m., 15,000 strikers were gathered about Kilburn. They demanded that a committee be allowed to go into the mill to look for strikebreakers. Police, now numbering 200, refused.

At midnight thousands still stood guard, quahog boats circled in the misty Acushnet River, the two picket lines marched ceaselessly. Women predominated in the lines. In their arms many carried sleeping babes, but nevertheless they trudged on.

By 2 a.m. hundreds were still on watch. Efforts of Secretary Batty of the Textile Council to persuade his pickets to go home were fruitless. Throughout the long night the lines marched on. At dawn the pickets were still there, and ranks of strikers began increasing again until thousands stood on watch.

No strikebreakers entered Kilburn mill that morning.

Prostitution House Down, Bigger One Due

(Continued From Page 1)

hearts, 'Well done, Bill.' (Great applause.)

A Beaten Man
The other day I passed Sulzer on a West Side street. A gaunt, stooped, tragically shabby figure, a shuffling symbol of despair and defeat. And somehow that figure serves to obliterate the picture of the jaunty victor up there in the Executive Mansion at Albany, tilting a debonair brown derby and swapping wise cracks with the newspaper boys. How fortunate for Alfred that the memory of the public is so notoriously short! How lucky is Smith that he has had the cleverest of press agents to wipe out the record of that cruel work of August 13, 1913, and make of the erstwhile messenger-boy of Charles Francis Murphy a national character.

To be sure, Murphy is dead now. Smith was one of the honorary pallbearers who carried his body into St. Patrick's Cathedral for a high requiem mass. Murphy left an estate of two million dollars, this man who had never held public office, but had his fat hands deep in the public trough. And all this was fifteen years ago, and the old Tammany Hall is being torn down.

Today Banker Lehman, of the firm which had supported Sulzer, is backing the campaign of the man who helped slay him politically. And "the boys" of the Hall no longer depend for their sole source of income upon money extorted from pimps and prostitutes and gamblers, but, following the trend of the times, look to water, gas, electricity, sewers, and building con-

and that such power as is wholesaled out of this state will be subject to the regulation of the commissions in other states." He asked the Commission to establish the real owners of the two companies, pointing out that in fourteen cases out of the twenty listed at present with the Commission as chief stockholders the individuals were not ascertainable.

The petition of the Consolidated Gas Company for permission to purchase the Brooklyn Edison made no guarantee that any of the economies to be effected will go to the consumers. He quoted the Dow Jones report of \$5,000,000 to be saved annually and offered figures from the Super Power Study, under the chairmanship of Herbert Hoover, that by 1935 a further saving of \$5,000,000 annually is expected through the use of waterpower in New York City.

"It is high time that the public became cynical of all promises of reduced rates from mergers of public utilities. We have been fed up on these promises. Loose talk of this same nature has been the illegitimate parent of more than 4,000 mergers, combinations or sales in the power industry in the past eight years. Even State Commissions have been guileless enough to give anticipatory credence to these protestations of future benefits to the consumer." He then cited figures from the Federal Trade Commission report showing that during the period of those mergers domestic lighting rates had increased from 7.07 cents to 7.36 cents. He pointed out that the New York State Commission does not tabulate the average domestic lighting rates for the State, and so it is impossible to judge the effect of recent mergers in this State.

The Commission was asked to establish the extent of the savings to be effected by this merger and the extent to which the savings would go to the consumers.

Stockholders Already Profited \$300,000,000
Citing the rise in Brooklyn Edison stock from 163 in 1926 to 170 in 1928, he estimated that the stockholders had already discounted the advantages of the merger to them by \$315,000,000. He said that it could also be taken as an indication of excessive rates charged during the period. He asked the Commission to guarantee that they would go back to their former practice of insisting that no entries of capital stock shall be controlling or entitled to consideration in rate or service proceedings.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

system. I don't agree with Senator Norris that we can't have a strong third party till we get popular election of the President. I do agree that the present system makes our task harder. Besides it is absolutely unjust. It has been calculated that one vote in some of the Southern states counts as much as ten in New York or California. Certainly it is absurd that Nevada with less than 100,000 inhabitants should have 3 electoral votes to 45 in New York with 8,505,563 inhabitants.

What I saw of the New York State Convention of the Socialist Party and my hearty enthusiasm for the ticket it nominated and reports that have reached me from Wisconsin and West Virginia (I'm delighted with the platform Comrade Higgins sent me) to say nothing of other news from other states, adds to my assurance that the Socialist Party is in this campaign to make a fight that will count long after the election of 1928 is over.

Simply on the non-partisan basis I wonder how organized farmers or workers can sell their support this year for the bargain prices, either old party offers. What would happen if the Com. Belt farmers and the A. F. of L. instead of picking the less of two evils (and maybe picking wrongly) would endorse the Socialist Party on its platform? Well, at least two good things: (1) the old parties would be scared into some action better than words and (2) we should be helped on the road to that party of the workers that some day we must have.

We are heartily glad that Russian aviators and a Russian ice breaker played so gallant and capable a role in the rescue of unfortunate members of Noble's expedition. The part these Russians have played ought to promote friendly feeling for the new Russia and appreciation of its people. Indeed men of many lands have honored humanity by their rescue work. If Ronald Amundson has lost his life in his attempt to rescue Noble he will have passed the love of men who lay down their lives for their friends, for he cordially disliked Noble. There was about Noble's expedition an unfortunate air of Fascist braggadocio and there are even rumors of mismanagement which somewhat dull the lustre of the heroism of Noble's crew. From the latest report a searching investigation of the swaggering champagne drinking Noble is in order. He apparently has brought honor neither to his flag nor to the cross of his church which he tried to plant at the North Pole.

Mill Workers Protest Wage Cut
TROY, N. Y.—27 mill workers affiliated with the carpenters union are refusing to take a 15-cent cut to 95 cents an hour. Other carpenters are getting \$1.25 an hour for the 40-hour week.

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Raskob Marks Smith Reactionary, Thomas Declares

Socialist In Appeal To Progressives

Large Albany Audience Hears Lee and Maurer—\$2,000 Raised at Banquet

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY.—Friends of Governor Smith among the financial interests "staged a bull market on the day of his nomination to prove him the friend of the speculators." Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, charged here in opening the state convention of the New York Socialists.

"Both parties this year are frantically eager to prove themselves friends of those interests, called Wall Street for short, which the progressives rightly suspect. Governor Smith's friends even staged a bull market on the day of his nomination to prove him the friend of the speculators. To cap the climax the Governor chose as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee John J. Raskob, Wall Street man, ally of the du Ponts and chairman of the great open shop anti-union concern, General Motors."

The meeting in Albany opening the convention was more than a pleasant surprise to the party. More than 500 attended the meeting, the first held in the New York capital in many years. At the banquet the following night, Thomas again spoke, capping the evening of inspiring addresses. Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff won the hearts of the more than 200 diners with a short witty talk with which he introduced his rendition of music on the piano. He jokingly recalled some comment to the effect that he was "a good musician among engineers" and a "good engineer among musicians." Thomas corrected Prof. Karapetoff with a warm tribute, calling him "an engineer among engineers, a musician among musicians, a poet among poets and a man among men."

Algernon Lee also spoke at the mass meeting, as did August Claessens and James H. Maurer. At the dinner, Charles Solomon delivered an inspiring address predicting the decay of the Democratic party. McAllister Coleman, later named for United States Senator, spoke of the beauty and driving force of the Socialist ideal, while B. C. Vlaedek was in his usual witty vein as a toastmaster. About \$2,000 was collected by him for the campaign fund.

Hoover and Smith Alike

From the tenor of Thomas' address it was evident that the Socialists regard the appointment of Raskob to direct the Smith campaign as a boon to the Socialist cause. The feeling among the delegates seemed to be that Raskob's connection with Governor Smith's campaign would divert many votes from the Smith camp to the Socialists. Mr. Thomas did not confine his remarks to Governor Smith, attacking his Republican opponent, Secretary Hoover, with as much vigor as he directed at Governor Smith.

"Herbert Hoover is not running as the man who fed the Belgian babies," the Socialist candidate said, "but as the man who sat silent in two cabinets through the oil scandals, who employed discredited members of the Ohio gang in his pre-convention campaign, whose personal attorney, ex-Senator Lenroot, went straight from Kansas hearings on contested delegations to represent the power lobby before the Federal Trade Commission, and whose final nomination owed much to that low grade politician, Boss Vane."

Of Governor Smith, Thomas said: "Governor Smith is not running merely as a likable human being and an able administrator. He is running in incongruous union with the Bourbon leaders of the solid South. He took a notoriously conservative Public Service Commissioner, his own appointee, George Van Namee, and set him managing his pre-convention campaign and collecting funds among the very men whom Van Namee directly or indirectly is regulating. He gave us Raskob for National chairman. He gave us for Mayor Prince Walker of wisecracks. He gave us our blundering Transit Commission as years ago he gave us Lewis Nixon, the first official to endanger the five cent fare. And his first official speech after his nomination was in glorification of Tammany Hall!"

Rule for Rich, Rob Poor

"It was once said of Tammany that it robbed the rich to give to the poor. This is not true. Tammany protects the rich in their special privilege for a commission most of which sticks to its own fingers but enough of which it passes on to the poor mixed with a certain understanding kindness to the docile and stern retribution to the recalcitrant to keep the masses quiet. Something of this ex-Ambassador Gerard had in mind when he told the Harvard Club that it ought to thank Tammany for keeping New York City from going Socialist and Jimmy Walker from being assured a Western Congressman in my hearing that his fear of a 'red menace' was baseless because 'we know just how much to give the people.'"

"I ask any progressive, especially any progressive labor unionist, how in view of Governor Smith's connections with Wall Street and Tammany he can regard Governor Smith any more than Herbert Hoover as a leader in the Progressive cause."

Scranton Workers to Parade Labor Day
SCRANTON, Pa.—8,000 unionists in 22 locals affiliated with the Scranton Central Labor Union will parade Labor Day.

The Tammany Medicine Show



THE BALLYHOOD: "... his magic remedy will cure the farmer of his septic poison of unemployment and low wage pressure. Guaranteed to give alike to the business man and the humblest clerk that exhilarating promise of prosperity. ... Step up and let the Happy Warrior tell you all credit-itch, mortgage pains, and that sore feeling. Also good for the about it."

Tammany Hall Squirms Under Socialist Fire

(Continued From Page 1)

Equitable Coach Company and other alleged instances of corruption and mismanagement under the Walker Administration in New York City.

"The Socialist Party is prepared to substantiate each of the eleven charges made by its State Executive Committee in the petition forwarded to Governor Smith today. We have noticed the comment Mayor Walker now vacationing in Hollywood has made. He berates us for not submitting the charges to the Republican legislature instead of to Governor Smith. Obviously, we could not do as Mayor Walker suggests because the Legislature does not happen to be in session. Unfortunately, the Mayor's absence from the city may have caused him to forget this."

"We have no apology for sending our petition to the Governor for he is still the Governor, though at the same time an aspirant for the Presidency, and we have a right to expect that Governor Smith be at least diligent in hunting down Democratic malefactors as he rightly was in the case of Mrs. Knapp. 'The Mayor vows 'The five-cent fare will continue' as long as he is in office. 'No power on earth could make me vote to amend the subway contract', he says. The fact is that through the Mayor's bungling or worse, his say on the question of increased fare amounts to practically nothing. The transit question is in the hands of the Federal Courts which do not require the approval of Mayor Walker for any of its decisions."

"Information on the Equitable Coach Company franchise as well as on other matters to which we refer will be presented as soon as Governor Smith appoints his commission. On the matter of election frauds, we will depend in part—for our evidence on that venerable Tammany-Sackem, the head of the Board of Elections, John R. Voorhis."

"We notice Mr. Walker's kindly statement that welcoming visitors is one of the duties that lies 'nearest his heart'. We can only wish that questions of housing, transit, schools and honest elections were almost as dear to him as shaking hands with Fascist princes and Rumanian Queens."

"In conclusion, the Mayor seems to be perturbed by the fact that we have made these charges in his absence. He must have lost his sense of humor in Hollywood. Who, pray tell, has ever been able to locate the Mayor in New York?"

Here's The New Tammany The Record As Drawn by the New York Socialist Convention

A thorough investigation of the administration of the city of New York under the current Tammany administration was demanded of Governor Smith by the New York state convention of the Socialist party in Albany. The resolution is important to the entire nation, because it gives an idea of the Tammany Hall of today, of which the Democratic candidate for president spoke so proudly on July 4.

The petition forwarded to Governor Smith follows: The City of New York today presents a spectacle of municipal misrule and political corruption, seldom if ever equalled in American history. The well-being of 6,000,000 men, women and children is daily menaced by the complete betrayal by the Tammany Administration of the trust reposed in it by the people.

1. The five cent fare, the symbol of popular government, seems doomed. Elected on a five cent fare platform, Mayor Walker has gone through the actions of fighting the transit interests in such a manner as to lead to the inevitable conclusion that he is only shadow boxing. He permitted the transit company to enter the Federal Courts, before the city took its case to the State Courts. He refused to take the only course left open to save the five cent fare, the serving of notice of re-capture. Tammany men, among them Wm. F. Kenny, admittedly gambled in transit stocks while a Tammany administration held it in its power to make or lose fortunes for the holders of these stocks. Thousands of I. R. T. shares were bought and sold a few days before the Federal Court issued its ruling, the transactions evidently based on a "leak." No steps to ascertain the cause of this leak have been taken.

2. The Tammany administration has granted valuable franchises to the Equitable Bus Company, a corporation of Tammany insiders.

3. \$16,000,000 in taxes have been mulcted from Queens taxpayers through excess sewer charges made possible by a Democratic administration's connivance with crooked contractors. Thus far none of the culprits have been brought to justice while the loot is still in the pockets of the crooked contractors, their political accomplices and their beneficiaries.

4. Payroll padding on a staggering scale has been divulged in the Department of Street Cleaning. The only action taken by the Walker administration seems to have been to promote the interests of the Manhattan Tammany organization at the expense of recalcitrant Bronx and Brooklyn politicians.

5. No effective attempt has been made to punish those responsible for the grafting of city funds by contractors and Tammany officials entrusted with the work of snow removal.

6. The crime wave has developed into a permanent affair. Police administration has failed to apprehend and bring about conviction of those responsible for nine out of every eleven murders. A police commissioner who sought to end gambling in Tammany Club houses found himself out of office within a month after raiding the first club. Third degree methods, rare in the cities of Europe, are almost a commonplace.

7. Appointments to the bench by Mayor Walker have been on the basis of political connections, degraded the practice and policies of our courts of justice. In one case a Tammany hanger-on, who, a bare six months before, had admitted violation of the election laws, has been honored with an appointment to the Municipal Court Bench.

8. Election Days in districts where the Socialist Party appeared to endanger Tammany's chances have produced an orgy of vote-stealing. Gangsters and thugs clothed by a Tammany administration in the powers of election inspectors have joined in this wholesale violation of the election laws. Floaters by the thousands have been permitted to cast votes and go unpunished. Tammany judges have permitted the few election thieves arrested to go scot free.

9. Mayor Walker has in a single year squandered \$200,000 of the people's money on parties for Fascist princes, and other so-called distinguished visitors. No publicity trick has been too cheap for the Mayor to honor with the dignity of an official reception.

10. The school children of the city have been subjected to daily danger to life and limb by faulty construction, for which the city paid liberal prices.

11. Tammany insiders, as in the case of William F. Kenny and the manufacture of oil tank trucks, have been granted unwarranted monopolies of the sale to the city of needed supplies.

To look to Mayor Walker to correct any of these grievous wrongs would be a waste of time. The Mayor has assiduously spent his time which belongs to the city by gracing parties, visiting race-tracks and in general earning for himself the title of the "Absentee Mayor." He has known of the conditions above referred to but has taken no step to correct any of them.

The State Convention of the New York Socialist Party therefore calls upon Governor Smith to immediately appoint a Commission which will conduct a thorough investigation of the Walker administration. To guard against any whitewash proceedings, we demand that representatives of all three political parties, Socialist, Democratic and Republican, be appointed to such a Commission.

We call upon the upright citizens of New York City to join with the Socialist Party in making New York a city free from the sordid corruption that characterizes it today.

Berger Loses Battle For Galluses

Socialist Congressman's Harness Fails To Win Approval of Baltimore Hotel

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BALTIMORE—How Rep. Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, Socialist National chairman, failed in an effort at hot-weather dress reform for men, was disclosed by a hotel clerk after the Socialist national committee meeting in Baltimore. He was obliged to hide his "galluses" with a coat.

Berger was called out of the committee room to talk with a reporter in the hotel lobby. It was unusually warm, and Berger left his coat in the committee room. He wore ordinary suspenders instead of a belt.

A hotel clerk approached Berger. "Your coat, sir," the clerk said. "Why, isn't the shirt pretty?" Berger asked.

"But your suspenders," the clerk observed. "Oh, I don't mind them," Berger replied.

"But there are ladies in the lobby," the clerk insisted. Finally, the clerk said the instructions were that the men had to wear their coats in the lobby. Berger said he doubted the propriety of the instructions, but he would yield, and got his coat.

"If I were in your place, I'd take off my coat, too," Berger counseled the clerk, who left.

Collar Workers Resist Speedup

TROY, N. Y.—One thousand hard driven collar workers revolted spontaneously against a new speedup device of Cluett, Peabody Co., and tied up production for three days. At the end, employers admitted defeat, withdrew the Bedaux system of wage payment and averted a general tie-up of 5,000 collar workers.

Thursday, August 16th, Des Moines, Iowa.
Friday, August 17th, Davenport, Iowa.
Saturday, August 18th, Dubuque, Iowa.
Sunday, August 19th, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Tuesday, August 21st, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Wednesday, August 22nd, Toledo, Ohio.
Thursday, August 23rd, Detroit, Michigan.
Friday, August 24th, Cleveland, Ohio.

Thomas Makes First Speaking Tour In August; 20 Dates Announced

NATIONAL Campaign headquarters of the Socialist Party, at 15 East 40th street, New York City, this week announced the following speaking dates of Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president:
Saturday, August 4th, New York City, Ulmer Park.
Sunday, August 5th, Watson,

West Virginia. School House Grounds.
Monday, August 6th, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wednesday, August 8th, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Thursday, August 9th, Louisville, Kentucky.
Friday, August 10th, Memphis,

Tennessee.
Saturday, August 11th, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Sunday, August 12th, Oklahoma City.
Monday, August 13th, Wichita, Kansas.
Wednesday, August 15th, Omaha, Nebraska.

Raskob Foe Of Trades Unionism

Is Tied Up With Power Trust Crowd Through the du Pont Interests

(Continued From Page 1)

job. The Poor Commissioners of Flint were obliged to condemn the Raskob policy as loading the city with heavy tax burdens.

Raskob was one of the American dictators of industry and jobs who decreed that the United Mine Workers must be smashed. John H. Jones, head of Bertha Consumers Co., a large coal corporation operating in western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, told the Senate coal commission how he was clubbed into non-union production.

"Body By Fisher"

For 37 years Bertha Consumers employed union miners under contract with the United Mine Workers. Jones' company produced 2,500,000 tons a year, of which General Motors bought 600,000. Jones told miners' officials in June, 1927, that he was prepared to sign the Jacksonville agreement. "But yesterday," he confided to them, "I was told by the purchasing agent of General Motors that I cannot sign the Jacksonville agreement at all and that I must conform myself to the policy of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. or they propose to ruin me." Pittsburgh Coal is the most militant of all anti-union coal corporations.

Joseph Brown, in an article entitled "Body By Fisher," explains in a forthcoming issue of Labor Age how a Raskob General Motors concern cuts wages. \$18 a day was the wage for skilled mechanics before Raskob took over Fisher Body. "What has happened to the highly paid, contented Fisher employees?" asks Brown. "Thousands were displaced by machinery. They now work harder and faster, and the harder they work the faster their wages seem to drop. Fisher workers are now engaged in monotonously repeating a small operation just like the Ford workers. They no longer receive time and a half for overtime. Their places can be refilled in a short time by inexperienced men, and even by women."

Trained by du Ponts

Raskob is a du Pont executive by training. He has been treasurer, vice-president and member of the finance committee of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, and through the du Pont capture of General Motors from Durant some years ago he was placed in charge of the financing of the biggest non-union employing concern in the world—recent estimates have placed the number of wage workers employed by General Motors and its subsidiaries at more than 500,000. Not 1 per cent of these—as far as known—are organized.

The only dent made thus far in the solid anti-union front maintained by General Motors under the Raskob regime has been the revolt of the company union in the Canadian plant at Oshawa, Ont., when some 2,500 workers joined the various trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. After a vigorous fight they compelled this Canadian branch to recognize the unions.

In the huge plants of General Motors in Michigan, especially the industrial spy system is maintained at pitiless efficiency. Let a man become known in his section of the shop as a trade union sympathizer and he becomes conscious that his fellow-workers are afraid of being seen talking with him. Let him propose any step toward unionism and he loses his job. The slugging of trade union sentiment is as ruthless as in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation or in the shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad. While the heads of these latter corporations are supporting Hoover and the Republican ticket, Raskob has shown other anti-union bosses that the Democrats are equally anxious to line up with them as a pledge of industrial policy for the coming four years.

Part of Power Gang

American Federation of Labor executives who support Smith were momentarily staggered by the news of the Raskob appointment, but quickly recovered with the suggestion that other high officials of General Motors were for Hoover. Leaders of the metal trades unions who did not want to be quoted in connection with the political campaign—on the ground that religious and other feeling might be aroused, to the injury of their unions, pointed out that both the Republican and Democratic national committees have now declared their debts paid, thanks to the kindness of big business corporations.

Another phase of the Raskob appointment is seen in the power trust influence over Raskob's career. The du Ponts are heavily interested in water power—especially through their connection with the American Pioneer Power Co., which proposes development of power along the St. Lawrence when the deep waterway to the Great Lakes is constructed. The Mellon and General Electric interests are in this venture with the du Ponts. Raskob, in other words, is one of the power trust group. His influence on Democratic party policy, in the next Congress, as to public ownership and operation of giant power stations, can easily be forecast. And the whole power trust group is anti-union in labor policy, just as the du Ponts and General Motors are anti-union.

Cotton Mill Jobs Vanish

BOSTON.—But 46 per cent of the number of workers employed in Massachusetts cotton mills in 1918-23 are at work in that industry now. Although the New Bedford strike of 21,000 workers accounts for part of the drop, only 64 per cent of the 1918-23 number was employed before the big strike.

WHAT A SOCIALIST SOCIETY LOOK LIKE?

By Harry W. Laidler

WHAT will a Socialist Society look like?

Early utopians had the habit of going into their study and evolving a picture of the new social order of their inner consciousness, paying little regard to the developments that were then taking place in society. As distinguished from these utopians, modern Socialists seek to study the long ranged tendencies in industrial development and to base their concept of the co-operative order on these tendencies, and on the probable and desirable course of action of the producers when once they obtain power. Socialists, of course, are of the opinion that the workers, when they secure control of government, human nature being as it is—will, sooner or later, decide to use their power to eliminate waste and war and exploitation, to secure an increasing amount of liberty, equality of opportunity and democracy, and that this can be attained only by increasing control by the workers over their industrial life.

They look upon the Socialist order as one that is never static, that is constantly evolving, and they realize that types of ownership and control that may be most desirable for certain stages of development may be very unwise in other stages. They realize, in other words, that society is a living, growing organism, not an inanimate structure, and they recognize the impossibility of prophesying the detailed arrangements of society in some distant age. These details must be left to the men and women of that age, working on the economic structure that is theirs.

On the other hand, Socialists do not believe that certain general developments may be visualized and, further, that it is their duty to provide whatever chart they can for themselves and their fellowmen.

Private Property Under Socialism

The first question that naturally arises in any consideration of a Socialist regime is: To what extent do Socialists expect to socialize property? Are there any limits which will be placed on social control? If so, what are they likely to be?

In reply to this question it may be said that Socialists are not Communists of the pre-war variety. As all of this audience knows, they have no intention of abolishing private property in consumption goods, such as clothing, furniture, and houses not used for exploitation. We, as Socialists, want the mass of mankind to have more private property and better private property than they now possess.

That, it may be said, disposes of the question of consumption goods. But what about industry? Will all industry be socially owned under a co-operative commonwealth, following the picture of such writers as Edward Bellamy, or will some industry still be retained in private hands?

Most modern Socialists agree that the latter will be the case. Neither the community nor voluntary co-operative groups will undertake to manage every imaginable business. Some undertakings will still remain in individual control, even although they remain so, "as islands in the midst of an ocean of social enterprise," as one writer has it.

Of course, the amount of individual ownership and of social ownership will differ as has been suggested, at different stages of Socialist development, and the boundaries between the two will never be clearly marked. But probably for decades to come, individual enterprise will be found in at least four types of industry. These include (1) the field of handicraft industry, where tools are inexpensive and are now owned by the individual worker, and where the product is of such a unique design that it is difficult for machine production to duplicate it. It is entirely conceivable, in fact, that the demand for artistic production from such private concerns may increase, rather than diminish, under Socialism.

(2) There will probably continue to be considerable private ownership in agriculture. The Soviet government has certainly found it impossible to socialize agriculture over night. In fact, in Russia at present only about five per cent of the farming is socialized. For decades to come, individual, co-operative and public production will probably exist beside each other in this important field.

An Indication—Not A Blueprint—of the Changes That May Be Expected to Come With A Cooperative System

(3) Individual enterprise will probably continue in certain forms of intellectual production. No one has ever seriously proposed, as Vandervelde has, the socialization of the pen of the writer or the brush of the artist. One difference between material production and intellectual production is that one necessitates far more social control than the other. It is a matter of very great importance to the community, for instance, how many tons of coal are produced a year and society should have the power to decide that question, but it is a matter of comparative indifference how many books on biology, astronomy, etc., how many tragedies and comedies are produced, and the community can well afford to leave that decision to individual initiative. Socialism in material production and anarchism in intellectual production, has been the shibboleth of some socialists, and while, like most shibboleths, it should be somewhat modified, it contains a good deal of common sense.

There is also a fourth field where the continuance of private industry may be socially desirable, and that is in the field of new enterprises, where business men are experimenting on new inventions or devices. Mr. Shaw, in his recent book, feels that not only might

it be desirable for the community to permit individual undertakings in this field, but that it would be well for society to encourage them, by a subsidy, if need be. If they produced a commodity that was, after a series of years, regarded as necessary to the life or well-being of large numbers of people and the industry assumed a permanent place in the life of the community, then it could be transferred from private to public hands.

During the period of private ownership it, of course, would be perfectly possible to safeguard the worker and the consumer by certain legislation relating to hours, wages, sanitary conditions, prices, quality, profits, and taxation. And the employer of a private enterprise would always have the alternative of returning to social industry if he were dissatisfied with his treatment.

Social Industry Under Socialism

So much for the extent of private enterprise under a co-operative system. How about social industry? Does social industry mean, as certain anti-Socialist critics charge, centralized ownership by the federal government? The

answer, of course, is in the negative. Social ownership, as used by Socialists, is of various types. It usually means "public enterprise"—municipal state or federal enterprises, of course, by democratic control. It also means, however, control by voluntary co-operative groups of consumers or producers. It may mean likewise some sort of a partnership between two or more of these groups, as in the case of the Ontario hydro-electric industry, in which the Province generates the electricity and transmits it to the borders of municipalities and the local units distribute it to their citizens.

Increasingly Socialists are also realizing that an exclusive national ownership will not solve the question of war and peace. International commissions must be set up in connection with many of the large industries, and particularly in connection with the nation's natural resources, so as to insure that no one country or small group of countries monopolize these resources to the exclusion of less favored nations.

Of course, this principle, if carried out, would submit our internationalism to the acid test, for we in America possess about one-half of the estimated coal reserves in the world, and most of the copper. We lead the world in

the production of iron ore and of phosphate. We have vast timber and oil, etc., resources, and we are getting along pretty well, thank you, without any international commissions except in the case of rubber and one or two other commodities which the wicked British are trying to monopolize. But even we cannot ignore the friction-breeding influence of the monopolization of raw materials.

In dealing with social ownership, there has in the nature of the case, especially among European Socialists, been a good deal of discussion of late, regarding the territory that should be assigned to voluntary co-operative groups, on the one hand, and to compulsory co-operation, on the other. The battle is still raging and no Socialist is in a position to dogmatize regarding the limits of the two kinds of control.

In general, Socialists are inclined to believe that, along with individual ownership in farming, there will be much voluntary co-operation. In this country, as abroad, we find farmers getting together on an extensive scale in co-operative buying and selling organizations and this is likely to develop as the years go on.

In the realm of the production of ideas, one can imagine many groups co-operating on a voluntary basis to publish organs of opinion—the New Leader and New Republics, the Nations, the Mother Marthas of their days—to express themselves on subjects very near to their heart, but which may run counter to the opinion of the majority of people. Minority groups must be free to express on all vital questions and can best do this through publications which they own and control. Increase, I can imagine that many co-operative experimental schools will spring up and flourish under a Socialist regime. British and Continental Socialists also assign a large field to voluntary co-operation in the distribution of household commodities. They have seen the consumers' co-operative movement becoming ever more powerful in these lines and feel that these co-operatives have proved worthy of a permanent place in the distributive field. In the United States, the chain stores have succeeded where the co-operative has failed, and it may very well be that distribution in America may be transferred directly from private to municipal operation.

Nor should the field of producers' co-operation be ignored. It is altogether

possible that a number of producers' co-operatives will evolve from the trade and industrial unions in various of the industries, under a co-operative commonwealth.

Public Industry

Thus a distinct place would be found for private industry and for voluntary co-operative industry under Socialism. Finally, and most important, is the field allocated to public governmental industry—municipal, state and national. To public control would naturally be allocated the great industries connected with the exploitations of our natural resources—coal, oil, water power, etc. These resources are now concentrated in the hands of a few interests. Four-fifths of the anthracite coal is owned by eight companies. One-half of our iron ore reserves are controlled by two corporations, the United States Steel and the Bethlehem Steel Corporations. One-half of our copper deposits are in the hands of the Anaconda and three other corporations, etc., so it would not be difficult to transfer these resources from private to public monopoly.

The nation would normally assume control of the means of communication and transportation. These services are now publicly owned in most of the advanced countries of the world. In this country the vast industry of mail is conducted by the federal government. But other forms of communication and transportation are here held by powerful private interests. Three-fourths of our telephones are owned by one interest, the Bell System. Four-fifths of the land telegraph business is conducted by the Western Union and an increasing amount of the cable and radio by the Mackay-International Telegraph and Telephone-Radio Corporation interests. In railroads, consolidation is proceeding apace.

The banking interests, the power industry and the more important manufacturing industries would also, sooner or later, be transferred to public ownership, while municipal, state and federal governments would constantly expand their educational, recreational and health services. Even at present a majority of doctors are probably giving some time to public health activities. As for land used for exploitation or speculation, it would either be made public property or the community would see that any increases in land value due to community effort reverted to the public.

This transfer to social control cannot of course, be accomplished overnight. It is a matter of years. It should be undertaken under normal circumstances only as rapidly as the community can assume control on an efficient and democratic basis, and probably is likely to proceed in most industries from the most centralized to the less centralized concerns.

So much for the question of ownership, of the limits of private, co-operative and public control. A second main question allied with this problem is that of the form that a governmental industry is likely to take under socialism. In the past many writers accused Socialists of wanting public industries operated as departments of government, in somewhat the same way as the Post Office department is conducted, with the chief officer appointed by the President because of political pull rather than because of any special ability on his part. Then these accusers would put up their hands in horror and ask the country whether it wanted to transfer industry from the efficient hands of business men to the inefficient control of hand-shaking politicians.

Of course, as a means of coordinating the production and distribution of products some central statistical and advisory agency should be set up, for which the Gosplan in Russia and the former War Industries Board in the United States could furnish many valuable suggestions. Such socialized industries in the nature of the case should be thoroughly representative of every interest involved, including the workers, the technicians and the consumers. Socialists are increasingly convinced of the need for adequate representation of the worker in the councils of the industry as a means of protecting his standards, developing his personality and bringing to the industry the immensely valuable suggestions which the person actually on the job has to offer. On the other hand, the contribution of the consumer and the technical expert should not be ignored.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

AT THE POLITICAL CROSS-ROADS AGAIN

By J. B. Sternberger

"By long training and submission the people everywhere have come to regard the assumptions of their rulers and owners as the law of right and common sense, and their own blind instincts, which tell them all men ought to have a plentiful living on this rich earth, as the promptings of evil and disorder."—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

SLUMPS in the prices of their products since the Armistice, literally bankrupted more than a half million western farmers. Meantime the price of cotton, 85 per cent of which we grow to meet the world's needs, repeatedly fell below the cost of production. Besides the loss to farmers of billions of dollars, there was a decrease of farming, and an increase of urban population of over three millions. On the other hand, in five years after our entrance in the World War, American corporations made net profits of thirty-eight billion dollars, while in 1926 alone their profits exceeded twelve billions. Yet Joseph S. McCoy, an actuary of the U. S. Treasury, not long ago stated that only 2,358,000 people, out of our 120,000,000, own corporation stock, over half owning so little their dividends average but \$10 a year; and in 1924 all the big incomes from stock dividends went to less than a million people.

Taxes on farm property generally are 140 per cent higher than when the World War began, and that property is still assessed above its earning capacity. Between 1920 and 1925 its value fell 31 per cent, or, as ex-Governor Lowden put it, five billion dollars. Even in good years farmers' incomes barely net them 3 1-2 per cent after deducting a small wage, but nothing for upkeep. And, according to Secretary of Agriculture Davis, there are one million farmers in this country whose net annual incomes are \$100 and less.

Damned Either Way
President Coolidge, by a "pocket" veto, killed the Norris-Morin bill to utilize Muscle Shoals during peace to make nitrate fertilizer for farmers at or near cost. The big fertilizer, real estate and hydro-electric companies, of course, fought the bill. There is danger, you know, in giving farmers a taste of government pay. They might like Oliver Twist, want more! And the revised McNary-Haugen farm relief bill was also vetoed by President Coolidge, and not passed over his veto. One of his objections to the bill was its price-fixing feature. Yet he favors the price-fixing of goods based on a high protective tariff. It all depends, you see, on whose ox is gored—the manufac-

The Farmers' and Workers' Opportunity To Use The Socialist Party

turer's or farmers. So farmers are forced to buy in a dear market and sell in a cheap one; for they cannot fix the prices of their products, however tariff-protected.

To the extent that farmers own land and farm equipment they may, of course, be termed capitalists. But precious few of our dirt farmers have become even moderately rich, as rich as now go. Yet the passion for wealth is proving their blind side, that, played upon by capitalist party politicians and press, including most farm papers, hoodwink them with the old false notions about the "mutual interests" of capitalists and farmers, or, to use a broader and more common phrase, of capital and labor. But it is not time that farmers and wage-workers were beginning to see that their economic burdens are saddled on them by this selfish capitalist system, and that they must make common cause against their common enemy?

Now the great majority of wage-workers are in no sense capitalists. They do not own the tools they work with, much less the machinery they operate. Many must pay high rent for houses to live in and high prices for goods as stores owned by their employers. Their jobs are never their own. All they have to sell is their labor, whose vast unrewarded surplus value helps greatly to swell the riches of the few. The rule is to pay them just enough to live and rear their kind. The more workers, the greater the labor reserve, ever a strong club to beat down wages and strikes with and much of the farmers' profits; for the largest class of ultimate consumers of farm products are wage-earners. Yet if farmers make small crops, they are accused of striking on their jobs; if large ones, of lowering the price of their products. In short, they are damned if they do and damned if they don't.

The Other Side of Prosperity
Millions of wage-earners are now out of work, and bread lines, soup kitchens and tramps are again in evidence. Yet behold the manifold signs of our top-heavy prosperity in the cities. The big rich spend millions at home and abroad, in ways that would have dumfounded their forebears. On Park Avenue, New York City, alone there are 4,000 families whose living expenses are \$250,000,000 a year! Contrast this with the plight of millions of poor in the city tenement and slum districts and in mining regions, where strikes, starvation and mine dis-

asters lately trod on each other's heels.

In his inaugural President Coolidge was frank enough to admit that "the men and women of this country who toil are the ones who bear the cost of government." Yet he must know that this is true, for capital passes the bulk of that cost to the largest class of ultimate consumers, the workers of town and country, by taking it from what they earn and sell, and adding it to what they buy and borrow. Mr. Coolidge did not say, though he must know, that farmers and wage-earners cannot add their overhead on what they sell. He also told us in his inaugural and over the radio since that the country is prosperous. Indeed it is—at the top. Unto those rolling in prosperity all things are prosperous. Yet Mr. Coolidge preaches economy to millions who constantly go without, with no assurance of what their products or labor will bring, or how long their markets or jobs will last. And, if the big rich, that less than two per cent of the people, who own over sixty per cent of the national wealth, practice economy, those who serve them will surely smart for it.

To help poor families earn bread, twelve million children toil, in day and night shifts, often in ill-lit, heated and ventilated factories and workshops, not a few of which are fire-traps for a bare pittance. One million are under fifteen years of age, while thousands are killed or maimed each year by unguarded machinery. In our Southern cotton mills, 84 per cent of the stock is owned and controlled by southern capital. Indeed, this shameful exploitation of child labor is now peculiar to no section of the country.

Interest On Other People's Money

Insurance tables tell us that out of a hundred of our young men about a third die before the age of 65. Six who survive will have more than a living, five enough to live on, while 54, denied unemployment insurance or old-age pensions, in at least 42 of our 48 states, will be dependent on relatives, friends or charity. Many, unfortunately, become criminals, beggars, tramps and prostitutes, prisons, poor houses and potter's fields finally ending all. The heartless grind of this system is taking a heavier and heavier toll also from small manufacturers, merchants, shopkeepers, professionals, and others.

Then behold the many beauties of our

private banking system. Mr. F. C. Howe, writing in the Dearborn Independent, has shown, from reports of the Comptroller of the Currency, "that the laws of the land make it possible for the banker to lend ten times as much money or credit as he has money or 'legal reserves' on hand; and that the people invest \$13.90 in deposits to every dollar invested by the stockholders in the bank; and the people contribute \$37,683,653,000 in deposits, while bankers contribute only \$2,702,693,000 in capital stock. Finally, the bankers are able to lend and invest their colossal sum with only \$1,076,378,000 of actual cash on hand. In other words, the bankers have fifty times as great resources as they have actual money to do a banking business." Now compare the profits of this banking with the profits of farming and wage-earning.

The stock of the National City Bank, of New York City, not long ago, paid 190 per cent dividends. Its deposits exceeded a billion dollars, while its \$100 shares sold as high as \$3,000 each. And so down to the small country banks, whose stocks are seldom for sale, even at high premiums. The scant savings of farmers and wage-earners, on which about 3 to 4 per cent interest is paid, also yield banks good profits, though, if the depositors borrow, they must pay twice the interest they get, besides giving security for the loan. Yet less than one-fifth of bank credit, it has been shown, goes to farmers and the immediate handlers of their products. And as a profit of but 1 1-2 per cent is allowed when a state bank accepts a farmer's note, say, and indorses it to a Federal Loan Bank at the legal discount of 4 1-2 per cent, is it strange state banks prefer to loan, as they do, under state laws, at 7 and 8 per cent? Indeed, this great government-fostered money trust, for it is no less, is the ready pool of the other trusts and Wall Street. Bank currency and credit are contracted or expanded at will by the Federal Reserve Banks, that are now part of this great money trust.

Consider, too, the glories of our non-taxable bond issues. Senator Capper estimates that on this account alone each American family is mortgaged fifteen hundred dollars. Under the "make the world safe for democracy" cry over twenty-one billion dollars of liberty bonds were sold for our war expenses and loans to the Allies. Then there are over four billion dollars of non-taxable state, county and municipal bonds. Yet the

great bulk of all these bonds, like corporation stocks, are owned by rich people and corporations. And, worst of all, the wage-workers and farmers, in the end, will be made indirectly to pay that same great bulk of the bonds, with interest.

What Is To Be Done?

But the question arises, how shall the victims of this oppression free themselves. Which one of the three cross-roads shall they take? Now the Democratic and Republican parties are both wedded to this profit system, evidenced by a long series of acts that speak louder than words. Let a strong third party enter the field, and the two capitalist parties are quick to combine against it. One will readily recall here the fate of the Peoples' Party. At bottom the big two are two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one.

In 1924 the LaFollette and Wheeler ticket, with the aid of the Socialist party, polled five million votes. What, then, should keep a strong farmer-labor vote, under the lead of the Socialist party, unswayed by plutocracy and its kept orators and press, from sooner or later winning a balance of power, with full power in the end? Ignorance, apathy and want of moral courage are all indeed that stand in the way; for slavery in industry will abide as long as slavery in politics.

They who would win their economic freedom must fight for it on the political field. A very great obstacle here to the rule of the people, instead of the privileged few, lies in the ominous fact that less than half of those who could vote, if they would, do not go to the polls.

Now what man or woman believes that this long-entrenched system of greed and profit will ever voluntarily surrender its power? Or who, among its millions of victims, now at the political cross-roads, believes that either capitalist party really intends to curb, much less overthrow, that system? Their 1928 national conventions were, as so often before, the same big showy and noisy match games, having up again for prizes the continuance of the same capitalist privileges and high offices. There can be, indeed, no lasting relief for these millions but in the gradual and final public ownership and democratic management of the nation's industries and finances. To that doctrine, besides several present and urgent relief measures, Norman Thomas and James Maurer, Socialist candidates for President and Vice-President, are pledged. So, which road, Voter, will you take? It is up to you.

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, 2633 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Tokyo, Japan.

A large book house in Tokyo orders another large number of books of the National Office, including fourteen titles of our books and leaflets.

A Six Month's Record

During the last six months a number of states has been organized, state officials elected and the national movement is being developed. The National Office has been able to give the comrades much valuable help, and we want to help the other states that are not yet organized. Comrades living in unorganized states who read this statement, should write to the National Headquarters and let us know in what way we can cooperate with them in building up the movement in their state. There is one job that must be taken care of during the period of the campaign, and that is the placing of a regular state organization in every state. We expect a record vote, but while this is being assured through a red hot campaign, we will have failed in our duty if there is one state unorganized after election day.

Idaho

State Secretary Cammams reports that

the ticket has not yet been filed in Idaho. They must hold a state convention on August 10, at which the campaign organization work is going forward in fine shape and the comrades are determined to have Idaho lead the way in party building. The new local now number eleven.

Colorado

We are sorry the Colorado comrades forgot to notify the National Headquarters as to the personnel of the ticket nominated there on July 4 when their state convention was held. The facts are, however, that Colorado has lined up and is ready for the battle. We hope to give the details in our next news letter.

Illinois

Koop for Governor
Owing to pressing business which he cannot neglect Comrade Koop has been compelled to decline the nomination for Governor and George Koop of Chicago will head the Socialist ticket in Illinois. Koop has been a Socialist for over thirty years. He is a member of the Typographical Union and has served the party as speaker in many campaigns. The complete electoral ticket will be announced soon.

A second meeting with Norman Thomas will be held in Chicago on August 4, if plans now under way are carried out. Comrade Thomas found a warm welcome in Chicago on his recent visit.

West Virginia

The following letter from State Secretary Higgins speaks for itself:
"To the National Secretary, Wm. H. Henry:
"At the meeting of the State Executive Committee held in Fairmont on July 9, it was decided to hold a state convention in Watson, Sunday, August 5, 1:30 p.m., in the Public School building, for the purpose of selecting the eight electors

for our national ticket. Dr. S. M. Holt, the grand old man of the Socialist movement in West Virginia, has been nominated for U. S. Senator, will make the keynote speech. It was also decided to commence an active and aggressive campaign at once. H. Snider, of Fairmont, candidate for Governor, will speak every night this week some place in Marion County. He plans to speak in every County seat in the state. It was also decided to print and circulate the state platform in large quantities. A vote of thanks to Wm. H. Henry, our National Secretary, for his many favors and excellent advice to our members in this state was also a part of the record; also a vote of thanks to G. August Gerber, manager, for his help and cooperation was recorded. Perfect harmony prevailed and all our candidates are pledged to carry the fight to the enemy.

Tennessee

Comrade Bruness, State Secretary, writes the National Office: "The names of electors are assured. Will have state convention at Memphis on July 22, have a number of names to fill the state ticket and will see if I can have a full congressional ticket. Reorganized Local Memphis last Sunday."

Minnesota

O. A. Devold writes The New Leader: "We have reorganized the party in this state and the Local in Minneapolis is in a flourishing condition with a great deal of enthusiasm shown by many old members who have joined." He also indicates for prices in hundreds lots of O'Neal's "Workers in American History" for sale at meetings. Hundreds of the book were sold in Minneapolis meetings years ago.

Mississippi

State Secretary Kennedy reports that the Socialist State Convention will be held in Jackson on August 4, beginning at 1 p.m., in the Lemon Hotel. County conventions are being held on July 31, when delegates to the state meeting will be selected. A large batch of call letters for County, and State conventions has been prepared by the National Office.

Louisiana

Through the efforts of the National office a state organization has been formed. W. F. Dietz, 1100 Common St., Lake Charles, has been appointed State Secretary. He will build up a big state organization with the proper cooperation.

New Jersey

A big order for leaflets has been received from State Secretary Schwartzing—5,000 copies of "What is Socialism?" and 5,000 copies of "Party Builders and Thinkers." He reports that the State Office is sending in organizers into the field and that the leaflets will be used in his work.

Indiana

Indiana reports a new local at Anderson and one at Gary. The one at Anderson was organized by Ed Henry and Emma Henry, the state organizer. The Gary local was organized by comrades of that city.

Kentucky

The new reorganized local of Louisville, formed under the direction of the National Secretary on June 22, has held a well attended and enthusiastic meeting, at which it was decided to meet

from the National Office a quantity of propaganda leaflets for distribution. They are also ready to take care of the work of circulating petitions for signatures to get our state ticket on the ballot and to the Allies. Then there are over four billion dollars of non-taxable state, county and municipal bonds. Yet the

Arkansas

The State Convention
Arkansas Socialists will hold their state convention in the Court House at Fayetteville on Saturday, July 21. The convention will be called to order at 10 a.m. J. E. Carnahan of that city writes The New Leader that there is increasing interest in the Socialist Party in his section of the state since the two capitalist parties held their national conventions.

California

A Larger Party Paper
The Labor World of Oakland, weekly organ of the California Socialists, announces that it will soon double the size of the paper. The management is also negotiating with a man of national reputation to serve as editor and further announcements will be made soon. The National Campaign Committee has advanced \$500 to the California comrades to help them in their campaign work. A general propaganda paper for the West Meantime the paper is asking for donations from readers and friends to insure the success of the larger paper.

Ohio

Local Dayton orders a big batch of literature for distribution in its campaign work. We have information to the effect that the Dayton movement is on the up grade.

Kansas

The Socialists of Cherokee County order literature and inform the National Office that the County ticket will be almost a complete one, and they further report that a Basket Picnic and County Meeting will be held some time in August.

Pennsylvania

Signatures to Petitions
Pennsylvania Socialists are urged to push the work of securing signatures for nomination papers. 5,515 signatures are requested to place our presidential and state-wide ticket on the ballot. We are very anxious to have these petitions filed by August 1st, so that we can go ahead with the regular campaign work. If you have a petition please get it filled as soon as you can. Have it sworn to by five of the signers and return to the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede Street, Norristown. If you have no petition but are in a position to secure signers, a line dropped to the above address will bring you one by return mail.

The annual picnic of Local Westmoreland will be held Sunday July 22, at Bowers Grove, formerly "Green Pan" roadhouse, located on Lincoln Highway between Greensburg and Irwin. Those coming by trolley should get off at Straw Pump which is one-half mile West of the grove. Those coming by railroad get off at Manor, then at grove at junction of Lincoln highway. An enjoyable time is assured as the spot is congenial with ample protection in case of rain.

James H. Maurer, running with Norman Thomas as Socialist Presidential nominee will be the speaker of the day. We anticipate the largest turnout in our history, also the largest Socialist vote in November. Everybody invited.

Oklahoma

State Secretary Buie orders another large number of letters to be mimeographed by the National Office for his work in rounding up the Party organization. Buie is attempting to reach every Socialist and sympathizer who seems to be coming our way. He urges the National Secretary to attend their state conference on August 12. He has put in an application for the assignment of a date for our Presidential candidate on the same date.

New York State

Westchester Nominate
Socialists of Westchester County held their county convention on Wednesday, July 11, at the Workers' Cooperative Center, 252 Warburton avenue, Yonkers. The following candidates were nominated:
Twenty-fifth Congressional District, John Hagerly of New Rochelle; Twenty-fifth Senatorial District, Louis Uffner of New Rochelle; Twenty-sixth Senatorial District, Morris Lubin of Yonkers; First Assembly District, Theodore Festinger of New Rochelle; Second Assembly District, H. K. Widmark of New Rochelle; Third Assembly District, Fred Bennetts of Yonkers; Fourth Assembly District, Andrew Pederson of Yonkers.
For county judge, Max Cohen of Yonkers; county clerk, Thomas F. Doyle of Mount Vernon; district attorney, Kate Cinnamon of Yonkers; judge of Children's Court, Sigfrid Swanson of New Rochelle.

Port Chester

The Finnish Branch of East Port Chester send to the National Office a contribution of \$50.00 to be used by the Party in its big work, and we immediately put it to working. Nothing like the right fuel to make things move.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

DON'T CALL US "SENATOR"—Yet.

FOR less than a week now we have been running on the Socialist ticket for the office of United States Senator from the State of New York. Already we deeply sympathize with a certain peculiar suffering which Norman Thomas tells us that he has to undergo. We understand why that pained expression comes over his normally kindly face when he has to hear a very dumb line repeated over and over and over again.

The joke was not so hot to begin with and it hasn't improved a bit with age. In our instance it goes like this:

"Ah, here comes the next Senator. Good morning, Senator. How about a nice little Federal job for me?"

In Norman's case this sort of thing has been going on since our national convention last April. Of course, the merry jesters change the word "Senator" to "President" when they see him approach. Norman still retains the best features of a Christian past and is notoriously long-suffering.

We, however, are by no means so saintly and we hereby serve notice on all and sundry comrades who ask us for positions in the Post-Office, the mint and the Federal Reserve that we have access to a blunt instrument which hurts like anything when one gets it on the head.

Making speeches in the middle of a decidedly warm summer is not our idea of a real good time. We have always maintained that the two best words in any speech are "in conclusion," but so far we have never found a speaker who took them seriously. And it's getting so that audiences are becoming wise and realize that "in conclusion" and "finally" are only peroration words and mean even less than "in summing up" or "in drawing to a close."

So when a speaker says "in conclusion" everybody leans back and settles down for a good summer's nap certain that it will be an hour or so before the curtain falls.

Contrary to the impression which seems to be prevalent in some quarters, we are no public speaking addicts. It is true that we public-speak a lot but that is only because, like everybody else, we would rather speak than be spoken to.

Victor Berger says that literature is lots more effective in a campaign than speaking anyhow and if anybody knows his campaign onions it is Comrade Berger.

Which reminds us of the fact that the pamphlets which the National Committee are putting out from headquarters at 15 East Fortieth Street, New York City, under the general title of "1928 Issues" are about as lively and colorful and significant material as has been issued from our organization these many moons. Two of them have already been reprinted in "The New Leader." Maybe you read "It Isn't Funny When Men Have to Strike" and "Is Any Friend of Yours Out of Work?"

If you haven't seen them, write to headquarters for a lot of these pamphlets. They are illustrated by Art Young cartoons and written in a style that has a pace and go to it.

(P. S. I didn't write either of them.)

If anyone is suffering under the delusion that "The New York World" is a great liberal newspaper with a passion for truth, he must believe in Santa Claus and figure that storks bring babies.

Take the story of the New York State Socialist Convention as published in "The World" last Monday.

This highly fictitious account starts: "After much early oratory during which Gov. Smith had been assailed for what was described as an attempt to capture the Labor vote by holding out the beer bottle, the unofficial Socialist convention today, by a vote of 64 to 11, wrote into its platform a plank declaring for beer and light wines."

This, of course, implies that the New York Socialists were a bunch of hypocrites angling for labor with the bait of booze. I heard no such reference to Smith on the part of any of the convention speakers and those who were present at every session say they recall nothing of the sort.

The whole subject of Prohibition was thrashed out in public on the convention floor. It was not dodged either by those favoring the plank finally adopted or by those opposed to the plank. For years, "The World" has been yelling for such frank discussion. Whether Smith is dry or wet had nothing to do with the debate.

I don't know where the reporter for "The World" kept himself during the discussion. Certainly he was not at the press table, for I sat alongside that table all the while. Nor do I know where he got this fantastic dope: "...the convention virtually crossed signals of Norman Thomas, the Party's Presidential candidate, and Algernon Lee, leader of New York City, who at earlier sessions had decided the right way to settle the Prohibition question was by a referendum." This idea of "signals" from "leaders" is indicative of the old-line capitalist machinery that rumbles around "The World" reporter's inside. Norman was not in Albany when the eleven members of the platform committee drew up the Prohibition plank and if he was giving us any "signals" they must have been sent over that same outie board which "The World" man used when he wrote his story.

The same article says that we "tuned down" our attack upon Tammany Hall. Outside of saying in platform language that Tammany Hall is the same old gang of double-crossing hi-jackers we were practically mute on the subject of Tammany.

We understand that there is considerable worry in "The World" offices over the fact that the paper is very much on the toboggan. We don't expect "The World" to give us a comprehensive picture of the daily news. We know that it is now a vaudeville sheet with about as much relation to the business of gathering news as a trained seal has to drama. But we do humbly protest that when it pretends to write news stories about things that happen, it at least have the decency not to afflict us with the private opinions, ignorance and bias of its reporters.

Stories such as this one about the convention are the main reason why "The World" has lost its following and respect of decent men and women, whatever their opinions, the city over.

McAlister Coleman.

Bootleggers For Bartenders: How Prohibition Came

By James Oneal

WE presume that it is a general law of history that the folk culture of past periods hovers on the outskirts of civilized areas, never reconciled to the new order and occasionally gathering sufficient force to overwhelm modern views. It is, I believe, what the psychologists call the "cultural lag."

The United States is no exception to the general law. Cotton Mather and his son, Increase, are not dead. They live in the American folkways, especially in the rural regions, small towns and even in the lesser cities. Variation in habits and beliefs in the view of the Mathers was a sin; uniformity was a virtue. Moreover, the Mathers and their Puritan pals were always in the infinite confidence of God. What they wanted God wanted and the sinner who objected simply defied heavenly proclamations.

These observations are prompted by reading an amazingly interesting book by Peter Odegard (Pressure Politics, The Story of the Anti-Saloon League, New York: Columbia University Press, \$3.50). This work is the record of a colonial folkway which gained ascendancy over a whole nation by pressure tactics, first in the counties and then expanding to the states and eventually throughout the republic. What is startling in this story is that the real extent of this power was not understood till it had conquered the nation. It is for this reason that many people believe that prohibition was "put over" by some wizard or chicaner, yet nothing is more clear than the fact that prohibition has marched from one conquest to another for many decades. It enlisted in its service some of the cleverest tacticians that ever played in the game of politics. They beat the liquor and distilling interests at their own game. Never asleep, with dogged persistence, tremendous energy, and vast funds, they marched from one conquest to another and King Alcohol was dead before his subjects even surmised that he was very ill.

The King Still Lives

Of course, as in the case of all kings, the king never dies. "The King is dead; long live the King." King Alcohol has simply moved out of his old castle into other apartments and still receives the homage of his subjects. Sin is as rampant as ever and the speakeasy reigns in the place of the grocery. The bartender doffs his white apron and the bootlegger hands you a card with his telephone number.

The methods by which the great "reform" was accomplished also have a Mather flavor. Its protagonists have never been over-scrupulous. Every argument that could be twisted to their purpose and every stratagem that could be employed have served them. One recalls the blistering indictment of the pious Mathers by Brooks Adams and wonders what Adams would say if he had lived to contemplate this supreme achievement of their descendants. History has been distorted for their propaganda. Thus the propagandists declare that the "first organized rebellion against the laws and authority of this nation was made by the anarchist saloon in the Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebellion." The saloon was unknown in the Pennsylvania backwoods of 1794 and that rebellion is recognized by every reputable historian as a protest against intolerable taxation and a landmark in the struggle for democracy. The farmers who participated in it were not guzzlers of booze. The same government that suppressed their protest assumed a fatherly attitude toward the powerful distillers of Rhode Island and those distillers were Mathers whose father and grandfathers engaged in the exchange of their booze for kidnapped Negroes in Africa and sold them to southern planters. So much for the "history" of the propagandists.

From reliable records of the Anti-Saloon League the author shows some interesting allies in the world of Big Business and the economic motives of powerful labor exploiters in supporting the propaganda. Thus the United States Steel Corporation edited some League leaflets, posted them in the mills of the company, and inserted them in the pay envelopes of the workers. The Rockefeller, uncompromising enemies of labor organization, are heavy contributors. Of the economic motives of powerful capitalists one may mention the desire for more efficient workers, i. e., workers who would produce more values for the same pay, or workers willing to accept less pay since they would no longer be able to spend their money for liquor. Then there were some manufacturers who anticipated higher tariff rates as a government necessity when the revenue from taxes on liquor was no longer available.

The Distillers' Unsavory Part

However, Mr. Odegard also tells the other side of the story. He is absolutely impartial and it is this objective attitude which makes his book convincing. He also consulted the records of the brewing and distilling interests who had also constituted a powerful pressure group in politics. His investigation shows that this group was in politics long before the organization of the Anti-Saloon League and that its record is not one that decent men and women can approve. Too often it was a debauching influence in politics and public administration and its activities gave impetus to the reaction against King Alcohol in politics. Money was spent freely on elections and it had worked out a system of assessments on beer and liquor sold throughout the country. Millions of dollars were in this way accumulated by the United States Brewers' Association and spent in support of candidates and measures favor-



THE FOURTH OF JULY.

UNCLE SAM IS IN BAD COMPANY.

One of the best known Anti-Saloon League cartoons. The League regarded the license system as an "unseemly partnership" between government and vice, which could be speedily destroyed by extending the suffrage to women.

From "Pressure Politics", Columbia University Press.

Verse of Today

OF the four volumes of verse before me now, the most praised ("Exile", Theodore Maynard, Dial Press) raises most of our wonder at its reception. There is a facility and a deftness of image in the title-poem; but it is manifestly artificial, even lacking coherence—for it begins with lament for "the rest I seek for which can bless my tired, unquiet mind," and ends "Exile, the best of all." But "exile" truly characterizes the writer who today can declare:

All day before a vacant shrine
Have I the fickle muse implored:
But not an answering word or sign
The cold Euterpe would accord.

And yet tomorrow it may hap —
When I shall bend no pious knees —
That she will shower on my lap
The apples of Hesperides.

W. E. Ellsworth, a public reader of poetry, has issued (Readings from the New Poets, Macmillan \$2.25) his favorite for oral presentation. He begins with a quotation from Emerson as to the eternal nature of all poetry; then submits refutation through the volume. The introduction, from Eaton's picture of a child of Longfellow's reading Lindsay, to Sara Teasdale's statement (general and unqualified, as given) that poems are written because of a state of emotional irritation, might induce that state in some readers, but make pleasant chatter for Ladies' Society.

cities. Good poems, too, always intrude into such collections.

Clinch Chalkins (Poems, Knopf \$2) and Isidore Schneider (The Temptation of Anthony, Boni & Liveright \$2) speak another language. Miss Chalkins has a tightness and power, a sharp, direct facing of life, that give her words a spirit this age admires. But to her

Prayer To Be An Artist
Lord, clip my wings, so may my feet learn flying!

Lord, to my eyes deny their loving sight! For only thus, when waves of sound are drying,

May I hear music on the waves of light. Of kisses on my mouth, dear Lord, deprive me

That on my lips there may be room for prayer. Lord, close the gates of Heaven. Do not receive me,

But keep me waiting on the top-most stair. — one is tempted to rejoice:

Nay, take me in; let all Thy joy be given in tumult where I sense the ordered rhyme:

What in the name of all Thy Works is Heaven But the beauty and the torment of the climb!

"The Temptation of Anthony" was the outstanding poem in the first American Caravan; in recapture in Mr. Schneider's volume its long lines fall not of their strength, in sustained power to the irony of the close. All the poems, even the love songs, are tense with distorted imagery and writhing emotion; whether it may be the satire of "Maine Visit" or the direct slash of "Hot City":

Our nerves turn maggots and be-crawl us, leave off of sweat and dry and shrivel, catch fire and besprinkle us with cinders — there is a tortured convulsion that speaks a soul in the anvil-fire of modern life, with hammer striking. Tempered, but not yet forged. Raw metal and white heat. Showers of sparks brilliant in this book. What is to be fashioned of the steel?

Joseph T. Shipley.

There Is Hope

FROM Vermont comes a pamphlet that reminds us effectively that the spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti is working after their martyrdom. Donald M. and J. Howard Flower have written four poems that pulse with the vehemence of their unforgetting zeal ("A Highly Respectable Murder", Solitarian Press, Hartland, Vermont), and show the failure of humanity to progress in humaneness (As Burns puts it: "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn") by presenting several episodes through the ages.

The prosecution of Rebecca in 12th Century England is reproduced from "Ivanhoe"; the witch hunting of 15th Century France, from "Notre Dame"; 16th Century England from "The Prince and the Pauper"; and France and England before the French Revolution from "A Tale of Two Cities"; all these accounts in fiction are balanced with the reality of the witch-hunting, the radical-baiting of America today.

While the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti dwells in devoted hearts, there is hope for social progress in the land.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Organization
Education
Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Young People's
Socialist League,
21 Essex Street,
Boston, Mass.

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

Tickets for Aug. 4 Picnic Now To Be Distributed

In line with many other youth, labor, progressive and pacifist organizations, the City League is co-operating with the Socialist Action Committee in selling tickets for the big send-off to Norman Thomas to be held on Saturday, August 4th, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn. Besides the speaking, which will be good; there will be dancing, the music being furnished by three different bands. In addition to a soccer game, in which the New York State amateur champion team will participate, there will be an official Y.P.S.L. athletic meet, at which gold, silver, and bronze medals will be awarded. A concert and pageant will also be held. Tickets for this occasion are only twenty-five cents each. This is a general admission to all events going on in line with the picnic. Tickets should be secured as yet without tickets, should come immediately to Room 505, Seven East Fifth-street, and get them.

Yipsels Arrested in Tag Day Drives Discharged

In each of the tag days conducted by the Youth Conference for the New Bedford Strikers two Yipsels were arrested. On the first two tag days, two Yipsels were arrested. On the second tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the third tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the fourth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the fifth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the sixth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the seventh tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the eighth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the ninth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the tenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the eleventh tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the twelfth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the thirteenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the fourteenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the fifteenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the sixteenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. On the seventeenth tag day, two Yipsels were arrested. 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Labor Protection, Decent Housing Demanded in Socialist Platform

Tammany and Republicans Denounced as Faithful Servants of Business Interests of the State

PLATFORM OF NEW YORK STATE SOCIALIST PARTY

NEW YORK STATE is rich in everything to make a contented, prosperous and happy people. In its magnificent natural resources together with its modernized industrial organization is the opportunity for every man, woman and child within its borders to enjoy a full life.

The great bulk of the people of this state, however, must struggle for a bare existence for themselves and dependents. In this state of millions, more than a million working class families live on wages below the standards set by impartial authorities as the minimum. In many homes, wives and children are compelled to labor to supplement the family income.

More than four billion dollars have been drained from the farm and industries of State and Nation for Wall Street speculation.

At a time of widely heralded prosperity, workers tramp the streets of our cities, and swarm to our centers of population and industry from the farms.

Employment grows less stable and certain, and the hazards of life for the masses of our people increase daily.

This grim fact stands out—the rewards for the producers lag tragically behind the phenomenally increasing powers of our productive system, "prosperity" for the masses is an illusion.

To keep their jobs men are forced to hide their opinions, lose their independence and become subservient endorers of the bosses who employ them. In the towns and cities of New York a feudal state of mind is growing up which this party challenges as a menace to America.

"New" Tammany Assailed

Our largest city is in the hands of a political organization whose name for decades has been synonymous with unspeakable corruption. In the disguise of the "new" Tammany, this same organization now essays to elect one of its sycophants President and take control of the national government.

While the old Tammany seeks to present a new front we have under its administration of the City of New York the Queens sewer graft, the street cleaning department scandals, rampant vice and crime, and shameful surrender to the traction interests, the ready issuance of injunctions by Tammany judges, wholesale convictions of pickets by Tammany magistrates, and the cooperation of the police authorities with employers in the breaking of strikes.

In the state government and those sections of the state where the Republicans control, we also have corruption and the subversion of the public powers to special corporate interests. The Republican State legislature dominated by a notorious lobby of the associated state manufacturers, has lavishly done the bidding of anti-social and labor-hating capitalists. The record of this corrupt and subservient machine in the state consists in extravagantly spending public funds while the people have vainly waited for constructive action.

Ultimate responsibility for these conditions rests with the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. The Republican and Democratic parties exist to maintain this condition. Their basic identity in every essential respect is established in this campaign beyond question. The only remaining rivalry between the dominant political parties is for the favor of the financial and industrial overlords of America. The Democratic Party has openly aligned itself with the open shop capitalists and big business speculators. In its frantic

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Up To The Minute Campaign Material—A Weekly Article by NORMAN THOMAS—Cartoons—Pictures—Features.

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HOW RASKOB HELPS HIS WORKERS.

John J. Raskob, financial head of General Motors, employer of 500,000 workers and newly appointed head of the Democratic national committee, believes in paying his workers good wages. How he made millions of 80 of them, he modestly related to newspapers.

"I believe in workers having a financial interest in the concern for which they work," he said between puffs of a 50-cent Havana. In 1923 I induced 80 senior executives to go into debt to buy stock of the corporation.

"I got them to pledge themselves to buy \$35,000,000 worth," he explained. "They put up \$5,000,000 and borrowed the rest. That stock today is worth \$250,000,000 or so. All obligations have been paid off and every one of those men is a millionaire."

"The reason the stock got so valuable and made these men millionaires is that they became owners and worked their heads off for success. Why, some of the younger men handled their end of the deal with as little as \$25,000 cash. Now each one is a millionaire."

effort to persuade the dominant industrial and financial powers of the nation that it is at last entirely safe, sane and conservative and has completely lived down whatever radical and liberal ancestry it ever had, the Democratic Party has been unequivocally reduced to the role of an aspiring understudy of the G. O. P.

The time is overdue for a political realignment that will correspond to the economic and social realities of our national life. We Socialists therefore call upon the producers by hand and brain, in mill, mine, shop, factory and office all through the vast stretches of the agricultural areas of New York State to rally under our standard in a mighty political organization of labor and producers.

Political and economic power must be transferred from the exploiting few to the producing many. To this end we propose the following:

1. Public Ownership.

We favor the public ownership and democratic control of large scale industries and public utilities—as transportation facilities, telephone and telegraph, gas and electric systems—our waterways and natural resources, to the end that production shall be carried on for the service and in the interest of the many instead of profits for the few.

2. Labor.

The right of labor freely to organize, bargain collectively, to strike and to picket, cannot and must not be questioned in a democracy. Under Republican and Democratic rule these rights have been assailed wantonly and increasingly. To restore and conserve labor's vanishing freedom, we favor:

(a) The complete abolition of the practice of issuing injunctions in labor disputes. Pending the realization of this object, we demand prompt revision of the existing law so that no injunction shall be issued in labor controversies, until after a full and complete trial of the issues. We demand further than any proceeding to punish for contempt for alleged violation of injunction orders in labor disputes shall be tried by jury, to be presided over by a Judge other than the one who issued the injunction.

(b) The enactment of legislation for the adequate protection of working women and children.

(c) Comprehensive and effective factory inspection laws.

(d) The five days, 40-hour week.

(e) The abolition of industrial homework in the interests of the public health and as a means of preserving the gains of trade unions.

(f) Cooperation of the State Government with the organized workers in their efforts to stabilize employment, establish a larger democracy in the places of work, in combating the so-called "company unions" with their "yellow dog" contracts, in the struggles against industrial espionage, and the employment of the private detective system and use of armed guards in industrial struggles, and with all the aspirations of the workers to raise their level of life.

3. Public Insurance.

We favor the establishment of a comprehensive and scientific system of social insurance to include provision for old age, sickness and accident, death, maternity and against the hazards of involuntary unemployment. We favor the state insurance fund as the only carrier of workmen's compensation.

4. Child Labor.

We demand amendment of the Federal Constitution to enable Congress to enact laws for the national abolition of child labor.

5. Agriculture and the Cost of Living.

The problem of agriculture and the farmer should be a first concern of enlightened government. The farmer is forced to buy at prices fixed by capitalist monopolies and to sell at prices again fixed by capitalist monopolies. In a wasteful system of distribution, politically fostered by the dominant parties, a host of middlemen stand between the farmer and the consumer, fattening on both and taking for themselves the lion's share.

Increasingly the farmer is passing under the subjugation of bankers and real estate speculators.

To relieve the farmer of these burdens, we favor:

(a) The establishment of a thoroughgoing system of public markets fully equipped with refrigeration and storage facilities, to make possible direct contact between the producer on the farm and the consumer, to preserve the surplus of farm products, prevent waste, and so establish a powerful stabilizing factor in agriculture.

(b) The sale to the farmer, through public agencies, of fertilizer, machinery and feed, at cost.

(c) The extension of state credit to farmers on the most favorable terms.

(d) The establishment of public agencies and the promotion of consumers cooperative for the distribution and sale to the consumers at as nearly cost as possible, of such staples as eggs, butter, cheese, milk, ice and similar commodities.

6. Water Power.

Under the leadership of the late Chas. P. Steinmetz, one of the world's leading engineers, the Socialists for years have fought for the conservation and development by the State of the water power resources. We favor the public development and ownership of all power resources in the state and public distribution of hydro-electric energy to the people at cost.

We also favor more strict regulation of all public utilities. We favor a law making it impossible for public service commissioners and employees of the state regulatory commissions to practice before such bodies for two years after they have severed their connections with them. We favor making it a felony for a public service commissioner to solicit political contribution of any kind. We favor the recapture of excess earnings of all public utilities.

7. Prohibition.

The Socialist Party is traditionally the enemy of the saloon and all it stands for. We have ever stressed the intimate connection between poverty and its by-products and the liquor traffic. In our consistent battle for a better economical and social life for the masses, we have made our most valuable contribution to the cause of temperance. Drunkenness would tend to disappear in a world where the people were assured of economic security and had the capacity and opportunity to employ leisure for their physical, spiritual and mental development. To build a world in which this will be true is the mission of the Socialist Party.

In an environment where all classes seek escape from the monotony of capitalist civilization in opiates and intoxicants, legally imposed prohibition is foredoomed to failure. The bootlegger today is the successor to the saloonkeeper of yesterday in exploiting these desires for escape to his own high profits.

To save our people from the sham, hypocritical and lawlessness resulting from so-called prohibition, we favor modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer by and through public agencies.

8. Government.

We brand as false the claims of both old parties that they have "reorganized" governmental machinery in this State in the interests of efficiency. Superficial and routine changes have left unaffected the essential nature and character of the departments involved. As in the past, they render no creative service. Their functions are purely negative. We favor such organization as will enable the different departments to engage upon and conduct business in their respective fields in the interests of the people. We favor the initiative, referendum, recall, proportional representation and the principle of direct primaries.

9. Housing.

Slum conditions are by no means confined to the City of New York. They exist in every industrial section of the communities of the state. The abolition of the slum cannot be brought about without a system of state and municipal building of homes for the people. The old parties have done nothing to provide housing within the limits of the worker's budget. We favor:

The building of homes by the state and municipalities to be rented to the people at cost. We favor the extension of public credit to home builders and to the encouragement, by financial aid, of genuine cooperative building enterprises.

We further favor the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held out for use for speculative purposes.

10. Education.

We favor the establishment of a comprehensive system of free higher education. We pledge ourselves to combat the following evils in our education system:

- (a) Overcrowding in classrooms.
- (b) Part time attendance.
- (c) Over standardization and regimentation of our children.
- (d) Oppression of teachers on behalf of political, religious and business interests.
- (e) The militarization of the young.
- (f) The propaganda and anti-labor interests of the power trust and other privately owned public utilities, and the manufacturers associations.

11. Crime.

The principal causes of crime are rooted in our social system and all efforts to cope with the problem through punitive and repressive measures necessarily fail. In meeting this evil, we take our stand squarely on the basis of finding of modern medicine, penology and psychiatry. These findings can never be effectively employed unless the problem of crime is attacked at its source, by providing better housing, education, enlightened leisure, general security, adequate and scientific means of detection and prevention, and instrumentalities of adjustment and rehabilitation.

We cannot expect decent moral standards and obedience to law from the plain people when they have almost daily flaunted before them the example of conspicuous waste among the wealthy, rampant corruption and law breaking in high places going unpunished, and rich men literally "getting away with murder" while poor offenders suffer the heaviest penalties of the law.

12. Civil Liberties.

The increasing encroachment upon our civil liberties strikes at the very heart of free institutions. By judicial and administrative activities, fundamental civil rights, such as security from unlawful search and seizure, the right freely to assemble, speak and print, are being destroyed. Indiscretions and tyrannies are being set up. We demand the immediate restoration to the people of their hard won constitutional rights and pledge our elected officials to restore, preserve and extend the liberties of the people.

The 1928 Campaign

We enter this campaign proud of our national standard bearers, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer. We hold the national platform of the Socialist Party as an achievement of constructive statesmanship. We pledge ourselves without reservation to the task of waging a vigorous Socialist campaign throughout the state.

Conclusion

To the people of our state, to the trade union movement, to all producers in industry and on the farms, we extend fraternal greetings. Their cause is our cause. We champion their interests. Let us go forward together in a surging march for our common liberties from the forces of oppression and greed, from mismanagement and waste, from poverty and unemployment, from exploitation and class strife, from crime and drunkenness, from cynicism and lawlessness, from monotony and degradation, from fears and superstitions, and the ever present menace of war and the crushing burdens of militarism. Let us go on to the better world and rich life which the realization of Socialism assures.

THE JEWEL OF CONSISTENCY

For a rich man, my friend John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is a bound for hunting the limelight. He is always giving the world good advice and then wishing he had said something else.

No sooner does he reform Col. Stewart, Harry Sinclair and the other hard-boiled boys who have been disgracing Big Business than he lectures our flaming youth on the dangers of university education.

It may not be all it's cracked up to be, warns Junior. It may mean only "forming habits of indolence, acquiring an unwarranted sense of superiority, or becoming dissatisfied with circumstances and environment in which one's lot is cast."

That sounds to me like a plume warning his working class brother to "stay in the place God in His infinite wisdom put his mother."

It may be good advice, but I can't help wondering where Johnny Junior would be if his pa had lived up to his son's ideals.

Miners End Strike

TAMAQUA, Pa.,—4,000 striking Panther Creek miners, striking to equalize work among busy and idle collieries, have gone back to work while the conciliation board takes up the matter for adjustment. Meanwhile Lehigh Valley collieries 1, 5 and 6 continue suspended with 1,400 workers thrown into idleness for an indefinite period.

From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

Editor, The New Leader:

McAllister Coleman's article in the Leader, June 30, "A Liar Spills the Power Trust Beans," should be published in "leaflet form and spread broadcast over the country."

You probably remember F. G. R. Gordon who deserted the Socialists many years ago, and who has since been filling capitalist papers with the "horror" of public ownership. In case the Industrial Commission should investigate the Power Trust in this state, would there be any way to get Gordon before the Commission? I would very much like to see him questioned about his activities. I have often wondered where he got his ammunition, but it seems plain enough now.

C. S. GRIEVES,

Amesbury, Mass.

AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

DRAMATIC JOURNEYS

By Joseph T. Shipley.

THIS is the time of year when bodies follow where hearts long have fled, when man goes forth vacationing. Even though the body go no farther than Camp Taminent, it is pleasant for the spirit to move in these less hurried hours, more widely roaming.

"Plays, Players, Playhouses" (Dobson & Co., \$2.50) is one of the books that starts a journey. Miss Kraft marks a pleasant pathway for us to follow, through the dramas of many lands; we may often prefer to look at a nave where she proclaims the cathedral; we may think her advertising style too jerky and too assured; a savor, more insinuating guide would find easier persuasion. On page five, for instance, she speaks of the "glorious splendor of 'Marco Millions'" and bewails the Broadway stagegoers because "only at rare intervals are they willing to be lectured at, exhortated, sermonized." She presents the fact that in China "the passage over rivers, mountain climbing, horseback riding, unlocking doors, and entering a house where not even a screen exists between the visitor and the family are conducted by pantomimic motions perfectly understood by the audience" as though we are to marvel at what are really simple conventions; as though a Tibetan were to write of the American stage: "They rattle some kind of tin sheet, and send an electric flash behind a stage window, and one is supposed to think it is really raining; they wear the same kind of clothes as the persons in the audience, as though they were not really actors; they put up pieces of painted cardboard for trees and build whole rooms—without one wall upon the stage, as though we were children who have to be given and, as though we can believe only what we see, and (equally foolish) believe all that we see." Then Miss Kraft apologizes for what she deems naive: "Strangely enough (why strangely?) the scenery is not so inferior to that of Shakespeare's day when a man with loam over him represented a wall, and his half-open fingers a cranny for lovers to whisper through."

This for lovers to whisper through? This acceptance of the efforts of Bottom and his fellows in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" as the scenery of Shakespeare's day is like offering a Lawson burlesque of the citizenry of Mudville, Arizona, presenting "Francesca da Rimini" in honor of the marriage of the daughter of President Hoover-Smith—offering that as an example of the theatrical technique of our day! But even the fact that the Chinese theatre has "two entrances—one on the right for entrance and one on the left for exit" cannot deter us from wandering, through the weeks of the summer, where our fancy follows, or flies beyond, Miss Kraft on her dramatic journeys.

A special musical number has been added to the Grand Street Follies featuring Jack Mollick, cornetist of the Von Hülberg band. Mollick has played with Whitehead, Lopez and with other famous leaders both in this country and abroad.

The Sowkino film, "Mechanics of the Brain," based on the theories of the conditioned reflex of Dr. I. P. Pavlov, Russian physiologist, and directed by W. J. Pudeykin, will have another private subscription performance at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse on Monday evening, July 23, at 8:30 p. m. All seats are reserved at \$2. (no tax) and may be secured either by mail or in person at the box office of the theatre.

Paramount's first sound picture is ready and will open at the Paramount Theatre Saturday. The picture was synchronized by the Public Theatre Music Department with the most satisfactory results. The subject chosen was Richard Dix in "Warming Up," a baseball love story.

George Sidney and Vera Gordon have been signed for the Universal, "The Cohens and Kellys in Atlantic City."

Leslie Fenton, youthful character actor, has been signed to play the dramatic role of Buffalo in "The Play Goes On," Paul Fejos, next directorial vehicle for Universal, according to an announcement by Carl Laemmle, Jr., who will personally supervise the production which is to star Conrad Veidt.

Joseph Santley who, it might seem, has been starred or featured in legitimate

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Sat., Aug. 4, 1928 10 A.M. to Midnight At ULMER PARK 25th & Cropsey Avenues, B'klyn

SOCCER GAME at 3:30 P. M. TRUMPENDOR TEAM vs. ALL STAR TEAM N. Y. State Amateur Champions Picked Players of various teams

Baseball THE NEW LEADER vs. THE YIPSEL CHAMPS Including "Al" Flexner Irving Cohen George Jaffe THIS WILL BE SOME GAME!

Official AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION TRACK and FIELD MEET Gold, Silver and Bronze Medals will be awarded.

TICKETS ON SALE AT THE NEW LEADER OFFICE 7 East 15th Street, N. Y.

THEATRES

THE ACTOR MANAGERS Present Their Company in

The Grand St. Follies OF 1928

Book and Lyrics Settings and Costumes by AGNES MORGAN ALINE BERNSTEIN

Music by MAX EWING, LILY HYLAND and SERGE WALTER

BOOTH THEATRE W. 46th St. Mts. 7th & 8th

World's largest and most efficient cooling plant. First Time at Popular Prices WILLIAM FOX PRESENTS FRANK BORZAGES Most Exquisite Love Romance "STREET ANGEL"

with Janet Gaynor - Chas. Farrell with Symphonic Fox Orchestra Accompaniment by ROXY SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Preceded by one of the greatest stage and scenic spectacles ever presented. CARNIVAL DE VENICE using the magnificent choral staircases and other unique architectural features, special scenic, lighting and stage effects.

with a Company of 300 including the ROXY ORCHESTRA, CHORUS, BALLET CORPS, 32 ROXY EYETTES, SOLO DANCERS, Vocal Artists and other principals. 7th Ave. 85 de luxe performances Sat. & Sun. HELD OVER 2ND WEEK BY POPULAR DEMAND

LUNA The Heart of Coney Island Battle of Chateau-Thierry MILE SKY CHASER

PARK TILT-A-WHirl Free Circus, Condemned Whirl Free Circus, Luna's Great Swimming Pool

productions since father was a boy and who last appeared on Broadway in his own production, "Just Fancy," will produce a series of unit shows for the Public Theatres Corporation. Santley's first production, "Babes on Broadway," will open in New Haven next week and two weeks following will be presented at the Paramount Theatre.

Special Notice WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY Incorporated 227 East 84th Street, NEW YORK Beginning the first of July, 1928, the highest amount of insurance will be \$3,000.00

It is advisable for members whose household is worth more than \$2,000.00 to increase their insurance in order to be fully covered in case of fire. Executive Committee.

GEORGE C. HEINICKE 32 UNION SQUARE Room 809 New York City Phone STUYVESANT 1631 United States and Foreign Patents and Trade Marks; 22 Years' Experience; Moderate Prices. Registered United States and Canada.

PARK PALACE 3-5 West 110th Street Elegant Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Meetings ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props. Telephone: Monument 4234 Cathedral 5071

FRESH CUT FLOWERS DAILY FRED SPITZ 3 SECOND AVENUE (Near Houston St.) - NEW YORK Telephone Dry Dock 8880 8881

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Big Send-Off For Thomas August 4th

115 Radical Organiza-
tions Join For Picnic on
Saturday, August 4th at
Ulmer Park, Brooklyn

WHEN Norman Thomas, Socialist can-
didate for President, leaves his home
city of New York the week of August 4th,
he will have ringing in his ears the joy-
out send-off of tens of thousands of his
supporters.

Under direction of the Socialist National
Campaign Committee, 15 East 40th St.,
more than 115 Socialist, labor and frat-
ernal organizations have banded together
to meet Saturday, August 4th, to give the
Socialist leader one grand united salute.
The scene of this tremendous farewell
party will be at Ulmer Park, 25th and
Crosby avenues, Brooklyn.

There will be speeches, one by Thomas
and another by the candidate for Gov-
ernor of the Socialist party. There will be
sport. Sport for those who want to take
part themselves and sport for those who
want to watch first rate athletic events.
Trumpeter, the New York amateur
champion, will play the first American
of the International Soccer League, a game
of soccer. The Amateur Athletic Union
will stage a series of events.

The climax of the athletic events will
be a baseball game between The New Lead-
er and the New York Yipsies. Sam De
Witt, McAllister Coleman and other stars
of The New Leader team will take part.
Jack Altman is lining up a crack team
of the Young Socialist League.

Those who care to take part in sports
themselves can organize their own games.
Then there will be dancing, singing, a
barbecue and everything that goes to
make a first class, modern old-time pic-
nic.

Tickets may be obtained at the Social-
ist Party, 7 East 15th street, and at Na-
tional Campaign Headquarters, 15 East
30th street. Here are the organizations
who are taking part in the picnic in co-
operation with the campaign committee.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BRANCHES
Orsher and Shikover Progressive
Branch 39, Skiernevetzer Yugend Branch
682, Branch 2, Kolner Radical Branch
363, Brownsville Branch 11, Shtutiner
Progressive Branch 458, Branch 8, Sto-
liner Branch 531, Wilner Young Men's
Branch 367, Branches 1, Voice of Labor
Branch 5, Sultace and Bag Makers
Branch 544, Literary Branch 537, Stan-
ford, Connecticut; Branch 63, Bath
Beach Branch 402, Branch 455, Wilko-
miner Young Men's Progressive Branch
233, Harlem Progressive Branch 501,
Homler Progressive Verein Branch 20.

East N. Y. Branch 295, Witebaker Ra-
yoner Bund Branch 509, Pruziner Branch
244, Brisker Branch 286, Branch 6, Slut-
sker Branch 500, Rovner Woliner Branch
389, Wishkover Branch 229, Branch 93,
Lodzer Branch 342, Putchovitcher Ko-
sever Radical Branch 259, Meyer Lon-
don Branch 401, Branch 4, Branch 42,
Mozirer Revolutionary Bagon Branch
64, Wilner Branch 43, Wilner Ladies' Au-
xiliary Branch 43, Branch 352, Branch
68, Lomzer Progressive Association, Br.
216, Branch 24, Dubrovner Branch 189,
East N. Y. Workmen's Circle School No.
1, Young Circle League, Kriker Branch
389, Flatbush Workmen's Circle School
No. 1, W. C. Branch 686.

Building Trade Union League Branch
419 W. C. W. C. Branch 38, Under Pro-
gressive Young Men's Branch 514 W. C.

**BERGER DEFENDS MINORITY
Radio Broadcasters**
WASHINGTON.—In a letter filed with
the U. S. Radio Commission, Rep. Vic-
tor L. Berger, Socialist, defended the
right of Station WEVD, New York, and
WIBA, Madison, against the proposal of
the commission that they be included
among the stations to be eliminated from
interference with other stations.

"I most solemnly protest and warn the
commission against this unjust, high-
handed and tyrannical procedure," Ber-
ger wrote. "The commission might just
as well try to make all people Baptists,
or Roman Catholics, or Mormons, as to
try to prevent the people from having
stations from which anti-trust political
and economic views can be broadcast."

Debs English Speaking Branch 665 W. C.
Minster Progressive Branch 96 W. C.
Cholopentzer Progressive Branch 192 W.
C. Nikplayever Branch 80 W. C. Minster
Progressive Branch 507 W. C. Workmen's
Circle School No. 2, Brooklyn, Berditch-
ever Branch 293 W. C. Branch 164 W. C.
Radamer Branch 369 W. C. Kresslaver
Progressive Association, Branch 97 W. C.
Dvinsker Y. M. Branch 96 W. C.

TRADE UNIONS
Waterproof Garment Workers' Union
Local 20, I. L. G. W. U., Pressers' Union
Local 35, I. L. G. W. U., Neckwear
Makers' Union, Millinery Workers' Union
Local 24, Tuckers, Hemstitchers and
Plesters' Union, Local 41, I. L. G. W. U.,
Children's Dressmakers Union, Local 91,
I. L. G. W. U., Sample Makers' Union,
Local 3, I. L. G. W. U., Bakers' Union
Local 500, Shirt Makers' Union Local
23, I. L. G. W. U., United Neckwear Cut-
ters' Union.

Cloak and Reeler Operators Union Lo-
cal 2, I. L. G. W. U., Furniture, Flour
and Grocery Teamsters Union Local 138,
International Pocket Book Workers' Un-
ion, Washable Jacket and Kneepants
Makers Union Local 169, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers, Sheet Metal Workers
Local 137, Hebrew Butchers Union, Re-
tail Dairy and Grocery Clerks Union, Ci-
gar Makers' Union Local 144, Busters
and Tailors Union Local 2, Amalgamated
Union Local 2, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers, Cleaners and Dyers Union.

SOCIALIST PARTY BRANCHES
8th Assembly District Branch, 18th A.D.
B'klyn., 6th and 8th A.D., N. Y., 16th
A.D. B'klyn., 5th, 6th A.D., B'klyn.,
N. Y. District Committee Finnish Federa-
tion, 22nd A.D. East N. Y., Jewish
Branch 4th A.D., German Branches of
Greater N. Y., 9th and 16th A.D., Boro
Park, East Harlem Campaign Commit-
tee 17th-18th and 20th A.D., Harlem
Italian Branch.

13th and 19th A.D., B'klyn., 23rd
A.D. B'klyn., City Committee Jewish
Socialist Verband, Downtown Italian Br.,
Socialist Consumers League Harlem and
Bronx Branches 2 and 10, 3rd A.D.,
Bronx, Jamaica Branch, Central Branch
Bronx, Local Hudson County, New Jer-
sey, Branch 7 East Bronx, 7th A.D.,
Bronx, Young People's Socialist League of
Greater N. Y., Russian Branch Socialist
Party.

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS
N. Y. City Committee Jewish National
Workers' Alliance, Young Poali Zion,
Nuovo Mondo Italian Labor Daily, I. D.
Berger Progressive Benevolent Society,
Independent Shersper Young Men's Be-
nevolent Society, Naturalization Aid
League.

Sheet Metal Workers Sick and Benevo-
lent Association of N. Y., Brooklyn Sheet
Metal Workers Sick and Benevolent As-
sociation, 3 Branches German Kranken
Kasse Organization, Warschauer and Vi-
cinity Benevolent Society, Bichover So-
ciety.

Street Meetings
MANHATTAN
Friday, July 20, 8:30 p.m., Grand and
Norfolk streets. Speakers, S. P. Ulanoff,
L. Leiberman, Harry Ulanoff.
Tuesday, July 24th, 8:30 p.m., 106th
street and Lexington avenue. Speakers,
Leonard C. Kaye, Louis E. Weil.
Wednesday, July 25th, 8:30 p.m., 137th
street and 7th avenue. Speakers, Ethel-
red Brown and others.
Thursday, July 26th, 8:30 p.m., 5th
street and Avenue B. Speakers, Hilda and
August Claessens.
Friday, July 27th, 8:30 p.m., 13th
street and 8th avenue. Speakers, Evelyn
Hughan, L. C. Kaye, J. Umanaky.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., 158th
street and Broadway. Speakers, Ethel-
red Brown, Max Delson.
Sunday, July 29th, 8:30 p.m., Grand and
Pitt streets. Speakers, S. P. Ulanoff, Lou-
is Leiberman, Harry Ulanoff.

BRONX
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., 180th
street and Daly avenue. Speakers, Au-
gust Claessens, A. Miller.
Thursday, July 26th, 8:30 p.m., Tiffany
and 163rd street. Speakers, Louis E.
Weil, George Dobesavage, Harry Diamond.
Friday, July 27th, 8:30 p.m., Claremont
Pkway and Washington avenue. Spea-
kers, Ethelred Brown, Murray Gross.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., 180th
street and Daly avenue. Speakers, Geo.
Dobesavage and others.

BROOKLYN
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., Pitkin
avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, A.
I. Shiplacoff.
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., Arion
place and Bushwick avenue. Speakers,
Ethelred Brown, Jos. A. Weil.
Saturday, July 21st, 8:30 p.m., Pennsylv-
ania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, S.
Block and others.
Monday, July 23, 8:30 p.m., Sumner
avenue and Floyd street. Speakers,
Samuel H. Friedman, Ethelred Brown.
Tuesday, July 24th, 8:30 p.m., 64th
street and 20th avenue. Speakers, Ethel-
red Brown and others.

The Progress Builders have developed
a revolving fund for the distribution of
radical literature. A package of center
street leaflets will be sent any one in any
state post paid simply upon request. The
receipt of the leaflets we know you will
be more than satisfied to use as a
dime with which to keep the fund in-
tact and keep the ball rolling. One of
our friends has donated \$300 to use for
this fund, many others smaller amounts.
These leaflets include:
1. Parable of a Water Tank.
2. The Struggle for Work.
3. A B. C. of Socialism.
4. A Big Undertaking.
5. Why Really Want Socialism.
6. The Principal Arguments Against Social-
ism Answered.
7. A wonderful month's reading, all for a dime.
ADDRESS:—
The Progress Builders of America
Roswell, New Mexico

Party at Work

New York City

Primary Petitions
The petitions for the nomination of
candidates to Congress, State Senate, Ju-
dicial Court, Justices, Assemblymen and
delegates to the official State and Judicial
Conventions are ready for signatures.
Branch organizers will be in charge of
circulating these petitions. The job must
be completed within the next few weeks.
Every active comrade is requested to vol-
unteer some time to assist in this work.
There are spots in the city where we
have no organization and for these
neighborhood volunteers are requested.
Comrades who can give an evening or
more are requested to report to Secretary
Claessens, 7 East 15th Street.

MANHATTAN
6-8-12th A. D.
This branch will meet Monday evening,
July 23 at headquarters, 96 Avenue C.
The new Executive Committee will report
and final arrangements for the outing on
July 29 will be made.

22-23rd A. D.
The Washington Heights Branch will
meet Tuesday evening, July 24, in the
clubrooms of the above Flatbush
Restaurant between 15th and 16th
streets, on Broadway. William Karlin,
candidate for Attorney General, has been
invited to address the branch on the work
of the State Convention and the State
Campaign.

BRONX
Auto Excursion Sunday, July 22.
The automobile Outing to Camp Eden,
by the Bronx County Organization, takes
place Sunday, July 22. All cars must re-
port at 8 A. M. to headquarters, 1187
Boston Road (168th St.). Comrades who
have tickets must report this Sunday
morning at 8 o'clock sharp. The outing
will take place even if the weather is un-
favorable, as all arrangements with the
camp have been made, and cannot be re-
voked. Car owners and passengers will
note of this and all should report, rain
or shine, at 8 Sunday morning.

Louis Seiden, chairman of the Outing
Committee, is back from his vacation, be-
ing assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith of
the 7th A. D. who proved very able co-
workers. The names of all those who re-
ported will be published next week.
ributed autos will be published next week.

Central Branch
This branch will meet Tuesday evening,
July 24, at the County Headquarters,
1187 Boston Road, 8:30 p. m. Delegate
Orr and others to the State Convention
will report on the actions of that body.

Branch meetings
The branch will meet Tuesday, July 24
in the club-rooms, 4215-3rd Avenue. De-
legate Phillips, Teplitz and Goldsmith will
report on the work of the State Conven-
tion.

Branch Seven East
The branch will meet Thursday, July
26, at the Workers' Circle School, 2391
Daly Avenue. Comrade Kostinsky will
report on the State Convention.

5th A. D.
This branch will meet Friday, July 20,
8:30 p. m., at the County Headquarters,
1187 Boston Road. Comrade Gros will
report on the actions of the State Con-
vention.

3rd A. D.
This branch will meet Friday, July 20
in the home of Mrs. Ida Orr, 901 Beck
Street, Apartment 32.

2nd A. D.
Branch meetings will be held every Friday
evening in the club-rooms, 420 Hindsdale
Street.

18th A. D.
The members of this branch are formu-
lating plans for an intensive campaign.
A telegram was sent to the State Conven-
tion in Albany pledging the efforts of the
committee to carry out the State office, to
make of 1928 the greatest campaign in
our history.

Committees are making plans for an
automobile outing in the middle of August,
to secure funds for the campaign. This
outing will also serve to cement more
closely the social ties existing among the
members. A boat trip is also planned
and further details will be announced la-
ter. At the next meeting a report of the
State Convention will be given by Jack
Afros and possibly Jacob Axelrad.

23rd A. D.
At the meeting Monday, July 23, dele-
gates to the State Convention will report
their report of the actions of the Conven-
tion. On Sunday, July 29, an auto outing
of a number of members and friends will
be held. They will travel to Camp Eden
and spend the day there.

Sheepshead-Brighthouse Branch
This branch will meet Friday evening,
July 20 in the home of General, near
Brighton Beach Station. Officers will be
elected. Comrade Tuvin will render a report
on the work of the State Convention.

Jackson Heights
This branch will meet Wednesday, July
25, 8:30 p. m. in the home of Harry Cher-
kes, 7430-44th Avenue, Midland.

Street Meetings
MANHATTAN
Friday, July 20, 8:30 p.m., Grand and
Norfolk streets. Speakers, S. P. Ulanoff,
L. Leiberman, Harry Ulanoff.
Tuesday, July 24th, 8:30 p.m., 106th
street and Lexington avenue. Speakers,
Leonard C. Kaye, Louis E. Weil.
Wednesday, July 25th, 8:30 p.m., 137th
street and 7th avenue. Speakers, Ethel-
red Brown and others.
Thursday, July 26th, 8:30 p.m., 5th
street and Avenue B. Speakers, Hilda and
August Claessens.
Friday, July 27th, 8:30 p.m., 13th
street and 8th avenue. Speakers, Evelyn
Hughan, L. C. Kaye, J. Umanaky.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., 158th
street and Broadway. Speakers, Ethel-
red Brown, Max Delson.
Sunday, July 29th, 8:30 p.m., Grand and
Pitt streets. Speakers, S. P. Ulanoff, Lou-
is Leiberman, Harry Ulanoff.

BRONX
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., 180th
street and Daly avenue. Speakers, Au-
gust Claessens, A. Miller.
Thursday, July 26th, 8:30 p.m., Tiffany
and 163rd street. Speakers, Louis E.
Weil, George Dobesavage, Harry Diamond.
Friday, July 27th, 8:30 p.m., Claremont
Pkway and Washington avenue. Spea-
kers, Ethelred Brown, Murray Gross.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., 180th
street and Daly avenue. Speakers, Geo.
Dobesavage and others.

BROOKLYN
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., Pitkin
avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, A.
I. Shiplacoff.
Friday, July 20th, 8:30 p.m., Arion
place and Bushwick avenue. Speakers,
Ethelred Brown, Jos. A. Weil.
Saturday, July 21st, 8:30 p.m., Pennsylv-
ania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, S.
Block and others.
Monday, July 23, 8:30 p.m., Sumner
avenue and Floyd street. Speakers,
Samuel H. Friedman, Ethelred Brown.
Tuesday, July 24th, 8:30 p.m., 64th
street and 20th avenue. Speakers, Ethel-
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The Progress Builders have developed
a revolving fund for the distribution of
radical literature. A package of center
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state post paid simply upon request. The
receipt of the leaflets we know you will
be more than satisfied to use as a
dime with which to keep the fund in-
tact and keep the ball rolling. One of
our friends has donated \$300 to use for
this fund, many others smaller amounts.
These leaflets include:
1. Parable of a Water Tank.
2. The Struggle for Work.
3. A B. C. of Socialism.
4. A Big Undertaking.
5. Why Really Want Socialism.
6. The Principal Arguments Against Social-
ism Answered.
7. A wonderful month's reading, all for a dime.
ADDRESS:—
The Progress Builders of America
Roswell, New Mexico

Thursday, July 26th, 8:30 p.m., Ralph
and Sutter avenues. Speakers, I. Phillips,
Samuel H. Friedman.
Friday, July 27, 8:30 p.m., Arion place
and Bushwick avenue. Speakers, Jos. A.
Weil and others.
Friday, July 27th, 8:30 p.m., Bristol street
and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, A. I. Ship-
lacoff.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., Penn-
sylvania and Sutter avenue. Speakers,
Isidore Phillips and Samuel Block.

RICHMOND
Saturday, July 21, 8:30 p.m., Beach
and Water streets, Stapleton. Speaker, Ethel-
red Brown, Walter Dearing.
Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m., Beach
Dearing.
Ethelred Brown, Julius Umanaky, W.
and Water Streets, Stapleton. Speakers.

Embroidery Workers'
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Board meets every 2nd and 4th
Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.
Meets 7:00
CARL GRABNER, President,
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT
OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor
Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of
Unions and Their Members.
8 John Block, Attorney and Counsel,
225 Broadway, Room 270-10, New York
City. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor
Temple, 243 East 44th Street, New York
City, on the last Saturday of each month
at 8:00 P. M.

WORKERS!
Eat Only in Restaurants
that Employ Union Workers
Always Look WAITERS &
For This LABEL

PANTS MAKERS'
TRADE BOARD
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Office: 175 E. Broadway, Orchard 1397
Board meets every Tuesday evening at
8 P. M.
All locals meet every Wednesday
MORRIS BLUMENFELD, Manager
HYMAN NOVODOL, Sec'y-Treas.

LABOR LYCEUM
949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all oc-
casions and meetings at reasonable rates.
STAGG 3842

United Hebrew Trades
125 E. 7th Broadway
Meet 1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board on 5 day, 5:30 P. M.
M. TIGEL, Chairman
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

Waterproof Garment Workers'
Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
130 East 25th St., Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday
at 8 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, M. MEYER POLINSKY,
Manager Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee
OF THE
VEST MAKERS' UNION
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas.
PETER MUMAT, Manager
Office 115 East Broadway
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
evening

The Milk Drivers' Union
Local 684, I. U. of T.
Office 308 W. 14th St., City.
Local 584 meets on 2nd
Thursday of the month at
Bethoven Hall, 210 East
Fifth St. Executive Board
meets on 2nd and 4th
Thursdays at
BETHOVEN HALL
210 East Fifth Street
CHAS. HOFER, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave., Phone 4621 Stagg
Office open except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening
WILLIAM WEINERT, President
CHARLES WEBER, Vice-President
SAMUEL POTTER, Rec. Sec'y

When You Buy
Cloth Hats and Caps
Always
Look for
This Label

WHEN YOU BUY
Straw, Felt or Wool Hats
ALWAYS
LOOK FOR
THIS LABEL

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UNION DIRECTORY

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK,
Rec. Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 231, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
115 E. 17th St., Orchard 1786
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
ISSIE LEFF, President
L. KOHN, J. BELSKY,
Manager Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 171, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
Office and Headquarters
Labor Temple 243 E. 44th St., Room 12
Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at
6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION
Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall,
42 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 1013.
Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
SAMUEL KAPLAN, FRED KOPP,
President Rec. Sec'y
GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN,
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y
JACOB RAFFAPORT, ARON RAFFAPORT
Bus. Agent Treasurer.

United Neckwear Makers' Union
LOCAL 1016, A. F. of L.
7 East 10th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7022
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday
night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED TOSTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
D. RIEBER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

Bonnaz Embroiderers'
UNION, LOCAL 65, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 10th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3657
Executive Board meets every Tuesday
night in the office of the Union
L. FREDMAN, President
LEON HATTAB, NATHAN REISEL,
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

WHITE GOODS
WORKERS' UNION
Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE: ORCHARD 7166-7
A. SNYDER,
Manager.

Hebrew Actor's Union
Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.
Phone Orchard 1923
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

German Painters' Union
LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINT-
ERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M.
at the Labor Temple, 243 East 44th St.
M. HEISS, President
ALVIN BOETZNER, Secretary
164 Ave. A, N. Y. C.
FRANK TROTSKY, Fin. Sec'y.
243 E. 44th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters'
UNION, Local 6393, A. F. of L.
7 East 10th Street, Stuyvesant 7078
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
every month at 102 East 23rd Street
Fred Faschabend, N. Ulanan,
President Rec. Sec'y
A. Welter, J. Rosenzweig,
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y & Treas.
Wm. B. Chisling, Business Agent

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby
Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0798
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. HEISS, President
JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President
SAMUEL MINDEL, Rec. Sec'y.
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Sec'y.
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL
CAP MAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers
International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone Orchard 2660-1-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd
Wednesday
S. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd
Saturday
Executive Board meets every Monday
All meetings are held in the
Headquarters Workers' Lyceum
(Bethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street

United Brotherhood of
Carpenters and Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION NO. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office hours every day
JOHN HARKETT, President
ALFRED KIMMER, Sec'y-Treas.
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary
SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
of Queens County, New York. Telephone Newton 7163
Office and Headquarters, 230 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. MCGRATH, President.
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHRTENS, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES MCADAMS and GEORGE FLAVAN, Business Agents

Furrier's Joint Council
of N. Y.
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of
THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION of U. S. & C.
28 W. 31st Street
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.
EDW. F. MCGRADY, Manager

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS
OF AMERICA — LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 160 East 5th Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
ALEX FORBES, President. GEO. SORLAND, Vice President. W. J. CORDNER, Rec. Sec'y.
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261
Office: 62 East 160th Street
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East

NEW LEADER

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

Editor.....James O'Neal
Assistant Editor.....Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algonon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Morris Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister, Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



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

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1928

Here is the Issue!

EVENTS in capitalist party organization never were more significant than this year. One gets the impression that Republican and Democratic leaders have established a nation-wide radio hookup to broadcast the news that their parties are managed and directed by the great bankers and capitalists of the nation.

The Democrats had hardly finished the job of making their party a department of General Motors when the Republicans answered by annexing Henry Ford, proprietor of vast enterprises. With him are associated such names as John Hays Hammond and a member of the Guggenheim dynasty. A New York Times dispatch from Washington declares that "Hoover leaders believe that the name of the Detroit automobile manufacturer will be a good one to match against John J. Raskob, named by Governor Smith as chairman of the Democratic National Committee."

The same papers that carry this news report a gathering of political scientists in Iowa. These gentlemen subjected the Republican and Democratic platforms to a careful analysis and they decided that of twenty-two issues the two parties appeared to differ only on two. It is also their belief that the two-party system is on the decline and that it will be resolved into a number of other parties. These are the opinions of university men from forty-eight colleges and universities. They regard the persistence of the numerous blocs in the Smith and Hoover parties as evidence of political change.

So be it. Raskob and Ford represent rival automobile combinations with their respective banking allies. Farmers beaten to the earth and workers suffering from unemployment and injunction injuries have the main issue defined for them. Shall General Motors or the Ford Motor Company place its candidate in the White House? Ford Motor wants Hoover and General Motors wants Smith.

Come on with your votes. Let 'th' burd o' freedom scream!

The Companionate Marriage of Big Business and Two Parties

WE are witnessing one of the most remarkable transformations in party history and one that repeats a similar transformation a few years before the Civil War. The Whig Party had represented the higher aristocracy of the slave owners. The Democratic Party voiced the claims of the more numerous slave owners whose average number of Negroes was less than the average number possessed by the upper aristocrats. All slave owners passed into the Democratic Party when the verdict of 1860 was known.

Something like this is now being repeated. The Democratic Party of our time has been a party of the lesser capitalists but a capitalist party just the same. For many years it has been wooing the upper aristocrats of capital and finance and the affection of the two has been increasing. So eager has Democracy been to serve as mistress to big business that, like a harlot in the street, it has been soliciting customers. At last the old hag has won. It is the kept woman of the upper aristocracy of capital and finance and shares honors with her Republican pal.

This was evident last week when John J. Raskob, chairman of the Finance Committee of General Motors, a chief of the du Pont dynasty of Delaware, director of the Seaboard National Bank of New York, listed in Who's Who as a Republican, and a man who has amassed a fortune of hundreds of millions of dollars was made Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Herbert H. Lehman, prominent Wall Street banker was made chairman of the party's finance committee. The honeymoon of Democracy and her soul mate, Big Business, is on. Governor Smith blessed the union. The Tammany chief, Olvany, declared that the old girl made "a very good choice." He added that this companionate marriage "will show to the people that business is with the Democratic Party, and that it is not going to be afraid of the Democratic Party when we leave its affairs in the hands of one of the biggest business men in the world."

We agree. The great capitalists and bankers have nothing to fear. On the other hand the farmers

and workers of this country have nothing to hope. The man who tills the soil, or who works on a railroad, in a factory, a mine or shop, has nothing to expect from a party whose leaders rejoice that it is in the keeping of the great masters of industry and finance.

General Motors and the General Electric Company are also giant corporations opposed to organization of the workers in their plants. Raskob is the Butler of the Democratic Party. Butler is the Raskob of the Republican Party. Butler's serfs have been on short rations in New Bedford for fourteen weeks. Raskob's prisoners of industry have not even sufficient organization to strike.

Where are the trade unions of the nation in this political dilemma? They have honestly followed the policy of choosing between the two parties. How can they choose now? Where is their hope? In Smith? His leading Democratic organ the New York World, declares that the selection of Raskob was "the Governor's own decision."

What does it all mean? Simply that as the Democratic Party once fell heir to the higher aristocracy of slave owners it has now become joint heir with the Republican Party to the higher aristocracy of Big Business. The toilers of the nation have nothing to expect from the two parties who live in the same house, eat at the same table, and who are kept by the same firm of Big Business. If they serve big capital and finance they cannot serve you. The Democratic Party could not serve slave owners and slaves. The slaves had no votes. You have them. You have so many votes that you have the power to sweep both parties into the dust bin of history.

A turning point has been reached in party history. An old era has passed. A new one has dawned. The two old parties are too old. The new party of vigorous youth representing the masses is necessary to fight the battle for political power and economic emancipation. Let Big Business vote for Hoover and Smith. Let bankers and corporation magnates vote for their class. You vote for yours. They are a minority. You lose if they win. You win if they lose.

With consecrated service, a huge educational campaign and with the spirit of crusaders going to the masses, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer should poll an enormous vote. These men have been in the thick of labor battles for years. They do not represent nor do they want the support of Big Business. They are advance couriers of the army of liberation from the rule of Big Business.

They represent labor, useful labor in all walks of life, and nobody else.

What is your answer, Mr. Farmer? And yours, Mr. Trade Unionist? And yours, Mr. Teacher? And yours, Mrs. Housewife? And yours, Mr. Striker?

Smith, Raskob, Lehman and Olvany for Big Business. Hoover, Butler, Mellon and Vane for Big Business. Thomas, Maurer and the Socialist Party for the toilers of the nation.

You must make your choice. Make it now and register it in November.

The Fascist "Heroes"

FASCISM is on the defense before decent men and women all over the world. Last winter the wreck of the Fascist ship, Mafalda, off the Argentine coast was followed by bitter criticism of the Fascist crew and some of the officers. The bulletin of the International Transport Workers a short time after reported the charges of cowardice made by passengers against the crew and officers. Many passengers declared that the Fascist braves sought to save their own lives first and there were instances of them thrusting women aside while they monopolized the life boats.

The wreck of the Italian dirigible has been followed by similar charges of cowardice. There is reason for believing that the Fascist officers who were rescued by a Soviet plane left the Swedish scientist, Malmgren, to die in an ice grave. Even the version related by the Fascist officers justify this view. Their explanation of their conduct is that Malmgren urged them to leave him but even this does not acquit them of questionable conduct. The fact that Nobile, the leader of the expedition, also was the first to be rescued, leaving his comrades behind on an ice pack, has been the subject of much criticism.

These two incidents of Fascist history give us a profound insight into Fascist character. Fascism is fundamentally organized cowardice. The Fascist braves can be "courageous" when hunting down their opponents. That is, organized in gangs they can murder and pillage the helpless and disarmed but when facing death themselves they show the yellow streak. They are capable of the greatest offense against real manhood—desertion of comrades, leaving them to a miserable death and attempting to save their own worthless carcasses.

The American bankers, capitalists, and politicians who have paid a tribute to these castor oil "heroes" may have them. The working class of the world which has opposed Fascism is again vindicated.

A correspondent of The New Leader is of the opinion that he has solved the issue of prohibition as it faces the Republican and Democratic parties. He declares that the Republicans promise to dump all booze into the river while the Democrats will yodel that favorite hymn of our youth: "Shall We Gather at the River?"

The New Tammany does not differ from the Tammany we always knew.

Now that the greater bankers and capitalists have two parties to serve them it may not be treason to suggest that the working class shall have at least one.

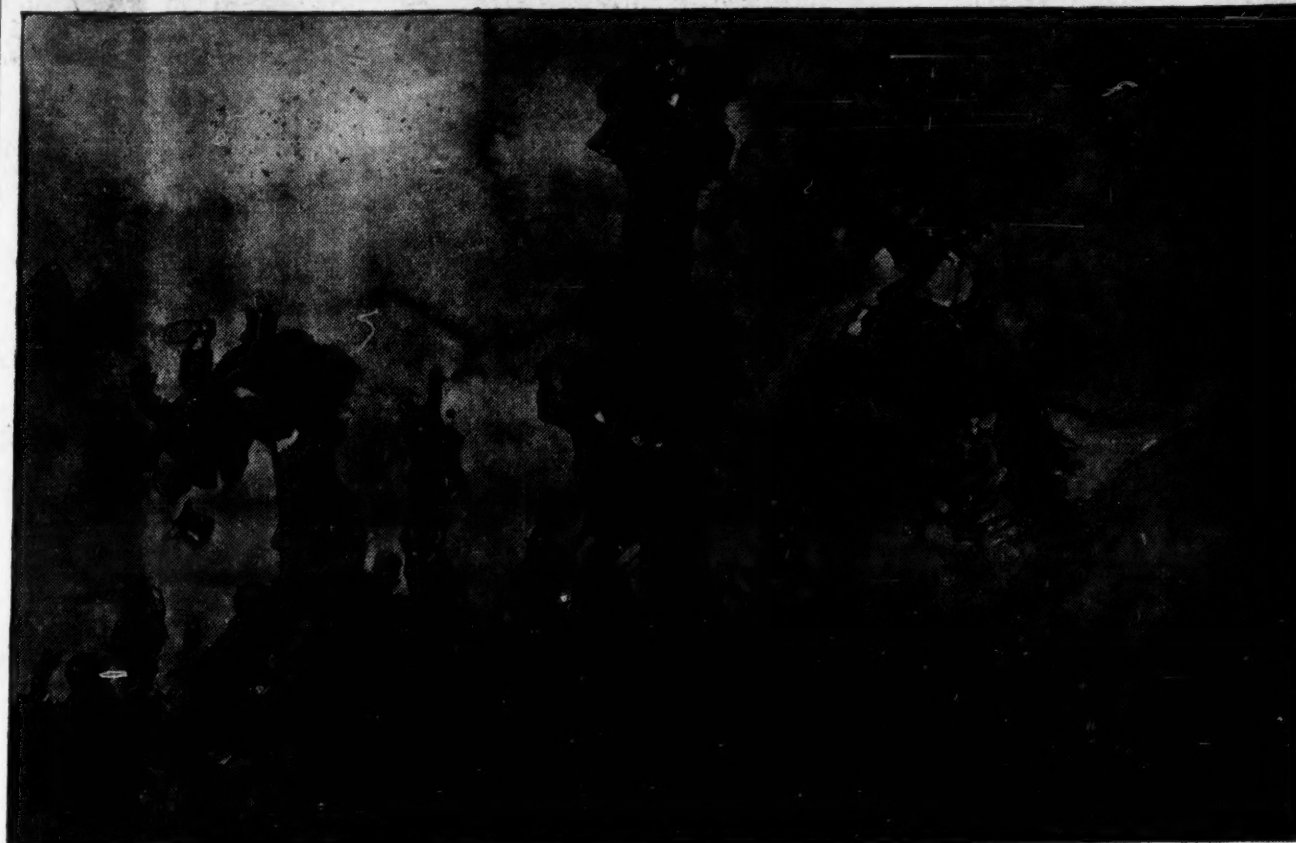
Socialism might possibly destroy the family but the Socialist Party could hardly exceed the record on this score which Tammany made in its alliance with low dives served by its protected procurers.

Image Room, Museum

This is a quiet place
Where old, useless gods commune—
A gentle scrap-heap
For worn-out creeds.

OLIVE O'NEAL

Capitalism



Drawn By Jacobus Belfen.

Heat Nothing To Leader Boosters

ALEX LONDAL comes to bat with a sub—a weekly habit of his.

Comrade Sauter, Brightwater, N. Y., brought in two subs. He also showed his appreciation for the N. L. by a gift of \$10 to the paper.

Among those present or represented by checks and money orders for subs during the past few days, are the following: Everett Williams, Piqua, O., who says, "A great paper. When will we have Thomas and Maurer here?" N. Steinhil, Ogden, Utah, who remarks that "The paper is fine." Nathan E. Aranson, Salem, Mass., who finds that those who were discouraged, are again showing signs of life and interest in the movement. Nick Weidlick, Massillon, O., who keeps plugging away for our paper. From Dr. Julius Cornell, Brooklyn and W. R. Calkins, Montebello, Cal., who liked the last two issues especially well. Also, Chas. Boydelatour, Sparta, O., who promises to buckle in and round up some subs.

Alice Storde Blackwell sends in three subs to be sent to Czechoslovakia. One of the three, is a renewal for the famous Catherine Breshkovsky.

J. H. Lillick of Burnt Ranch, Cal., does not believe in calling a spade an agricultural implement. He characterizes the ones who spy the farmers as petit larceny thieves. Another farmer, G. W. Fort, of Roswell, Okla., says that never have the farmers been so poverty stricken as they are this year. Potatoes, the principal crop in his section, sell for as low as "ten cents a sack." Both are boosters for the N.L. and predict that many farmers will vote the Socialist ticket.

"I like O'Neal's articles. Instructive and splendidly written". (Wm. Coutts, Pittsburg).

"Our beloved fighter, The New Leader", is the comment of L. R. Crestan, of Himerlerville, Ky., as he sends in a sub.

"Interesting and worth while". (Theo. Takaroff, Brooklyn, N. Y.).

A hurry up call for funds to support your paper. The New Leader, would meet with a quick response from many readers. Why should you who would heed such a call, if one were needed, overlook your part in supporting the paper by sending in a few subscriptions? MAKE THE START TODAY.

"More power to Art Young. I get a kick out of his powerful cartoons". Jack Green, Santa Rosa, Cal.

Rosa Magill, the hustling Party secretary of Kansas, manages to find time to send in subs regularly.

A. N. Abramson of Paterson, N. J., says he is glad to be on the mailing list again "With candidates like Smith and Hoover", he adds, "a man like Norman Thomas is needed."

FACTS FOR FARMERS

Farmers have sometimes pursued the policy of withholding certain staples—wheat, cotton, fruit, tobacco—from overstocked markets for a time; they have been indignant at criticisms of this course as an attempt to "corner" necessities of life. They have heard their cooperative buying and selling experiments described as "farmers' trusts" and the effort to legalize collective bargaining for farmers as "class legislation." It should not be difficult for the farmer to put himself in the place of the workingman who hears his union described as a "labor trust" seeking to "corner" the labor supply.—Hayes Robbins in "The Labor Movement and the Farmer."

SOME INTERLUDE

By Ben Blumenberg

Note: Readers are assured that this play is in no sense a steal from that of our fellow dramatist, Eugene O'Neill, who also wrote a good drama with a similar title. While this drama is dedicated to the readers of The New Leader and other intelligent citizens, performances may be given in Nicaragua, Haiti without the author's permission. If everything goes all wrong, that is if Thomas and Maurer are not elected, additional acts will have to be written. The first printing of "Some Interlude" amounts to a larger figure than would have been the case had the drama been given to the world last week. (See circulation figures of The New Leader). When these are sold, no more will be available as the type will be distributed and the printer paid—if possible. The possibility of there being one signed copy, will depend upon the good judgment or otherwise of the dramatic editor of The New Leader. (O.K'd for widest possible circulation. Dram. Ed.—and notice the period after drama.)

Act I.

SCENE: The library of an exclusive club on Fourteenth street, New York City. On the walls are likenesses of Bryan, Hylan, Murphy, Croker, Tim Sullivan and other historical characters. A cuspidor of ample proportions is anchored in the center of the room. On the table are symbols indicating a disbelief in the Eighteenth Amendment: they are empty of contents, not symbolism. A half, or a quarter-hearted effort has been made to dust the place so as to make it show signs of life. The bookcase contains a copy of "Up From City Streets", several decks of cards, poker chips, a dog-eared copy of "The Bartenders' Guide" and an immaculate copy of The Oration of The Hon. James J. Walker.

A door opens: a scrawny female enters. She wears cork-screw curls. Her pointed nose and pointed chin follow the arc canon that beauty lies in curves. In fact they conform too completely, the points of the chin and nose almost hiding the slit of a mouth. Her bombast dress, much beffed, is a rusty black. A skirt that drags in the rear, conceals what a front view displays—pantalets. Her face has the graceful lines of a shelf-worn prune. Her rheumy eyelids all but enclose eyes that are like small, black marbles. She peers at Croker's picture, folds her scrawny arms across her flat breast and taps her shoulder blades with talon-like fingers. Her heady eyes brighten. Miss Democracy pours herself a generous drink and reflects. She pauses a very short pause. Then she reflects and drinks: again—and again.

Miss Democracy:

Ah, those were the days! Well we knew our litany, "To the victor belong the spoils". Gaud! When I think of the good old days! When I think of the years,

the generations that have passed. The repression and starvation I've undergone—I, who was one time known as "an organized appetite". The bootings and sneers endured from those who used me in the good, old days. To have it dinned in my ears that I've lost my appeal. That I'm an old jade on whom it is wasteful to spend good money; that the boss, Big Business, had to cut down overhead and canned me when I seemed to have nothing more to deliver. (She strides to the picture of Cleveland, to that of Wilson and speaks in tones that ring like a silver dollar on a mahogany bar).

And yet in the old days they said I had charms, an appeal that enabled me to put something in my stocking. I was courted at times, though it was some interlude, old gal, some interlude between loves. True, I was paid, but when I think of how that fat, greasy trollop, the Grab Oil Party, is swimming in fat,—oh, what's the use I guess I must have been a tart of Fourteenth Street caliber, after all.

Times have changed but I have not. (She squints into a mirror admiringly). Still, there's nothing like being all fixed up and ready for company. The Big Boss may find that I know something about picking a safe one for the quadrennial circus. We can make the child labor barons of the South join the chorus with the roughnecks and the between-election-liberals of the North. That tool-cring of the General Motors horn sounds like a million dollars.

The Big Boss may give us a crack at the job, now that the army of the jobless might get desperate and cast despairing looks in our direction. They may, they may. It's been s-s-some interlude! A damn, long interlude—and yet, who knows?

Great Enthusiasm Marks California Socialist Meet

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—A packed house with many standing in the lobby greeted Harry Sherr, as he opened the preliminary mass meeting of the State convention of the Socialist Party recently held in Los Angeles. His cordial words of greeting and survey of socialist advances throughout the world since our last convention and the outlook for the future were enthusiastically received. The Workmen's Circle Choir rendered some excellent music and helped put the convention in good spirit.

Law Head made a short speech regarding the probable closing down of the WEVD radio and offered a resolution to be forwarded the Radio Commission demanding the unhampered continuance of Station WEVD. Cameron H. King, Lena Morrow Lewis and others addressed the meeting.

The business session of the convention opened the next morning at 10 a. m. with Cameron H. King, state chairman, presiding, and Mrs. Lewis secretary.

Secretary Lewis gave a report of the organization calling attention to the fact that the Socialist ticket received votes in 87 out of 98 counties and that organized members and locals are to be found in all parts of the state.

The committee on nominations reported the names of thirteen electors for the Thomas-Maurer ticket, and recommended the nomination of Mrs. Kate

Drane Gartz for United States Senator. Nearly 200 persons attended the banquet which, relatively speaking, compared well with the national convention banquet. The only disheartening note was the information that Mrs. Gartz could not see her way to accept the nomination for United States Senator. However, the announcement of her interest in the campaign in the form of a generous contribution and assured loyalty to the movement by Lew Head, the toastmaster of the occasion, brought forth a storm of applause. The chairman of the nomination committee reported that because of the declination of Mrs. Gartz, Lena Morrow Lewis had been named as the candidate, and the behavior of the audience would indicate that the choice was heartily approved.

Upton Sinclair related interesting reminiscences and personal experiences and closed with a rousing campaign appeal. Sinclair is too closely wedded to his typewriter for him to take the time for campaign speeches, but he will do his part through his writings.

Lew Head conducted the money raising part of the program with superb skill. He put everyone in such good humor that money just rolled out of their pockets—it's too long a story to tell in detail, but when the count was made and something over \$2,500 in cash and pledges was found to have been subscribed, the audience once more proclaimed its enthusiasm.

Some More Hard Luck

ROBERT TUFT, executive secretary of the Open Shop Employers' Association of Chicago, couldn't support himself, a wife and two children on the magnificent salary he was getting as recruiting sergeant for the non-union printing plants of the bombful city. So Robert is in jail charged with embezzling \$25,000 from the Open Shop treasury. Considering the salary—\$125 a month—the executive secretary was knocking down it seems to me that Robert didn't treat the Open Shop maggots exactly fair. Almost every day I pick out an advertisement or a eulogy written by the Open Shoppers themselves about themselves, informing a waiting world what wonders they have wrought saving the poor innocent dumbbell workers from the dreadful Unions and their awful leaders. High wages, short hours and perfectly heavenly conditions exist wherever the Unions are not and the Open Shop is, according to the O. S. publicity agents.

And here comes this fellow Tuft, saying he had to embezzle because he couldn't support his family on an "American plan" salary. He's just yellow, that's all. Any man can support a wife and two children in Chicago on \$125 a month without stealing if he uses his opportunities. The city is full of flop houses. There are rich pickings in its Gold Coast garbage cans. Second, third and fourth-hand clothing is as cheap as it is anywhere on earth. Opportunity is everywhere for an honest man.

Besides, if Tuft considered his social position too high to fall so low, there was nothing I can see to prevent him from adding to his income by working nights in the bomb squadrons maintained by the bootleggers and prohibitionists. These squadrons get good wages, their work is light, hours short and future prospects excellent, for all of them will soon be in a better world whether they are bumped or are bumped off. If they are bumped off, United States Senators, mayors, big men and bright bootleggers will gather 'round their bier and their coffins will go to the cemetery covered with flowers and honors. If they bump off, prove themselves worthy of the confidence confided in them, the dome of Washington as well as at Teapot is their oyster for the opening.

As I said, opportunity is everywhere for an honest man determined to succeed and make something of himself. There is no excuse for any man to steal or beg in this country, no matter how low his wages or salary, or whether or not he has a job. He can get by if he will only work, wait and use his brains. The trouble with Tuft and so many others like him is that they haven't brains enough to know that scabbing on scabs doesn't pay. They'd rather work for an open shop for nothing, and then steal, mooch or beg for a living than think for themselves. They are just yellow welters. That's all.

WELL PAID HIMSELF

One thing I like about Herbert Hoover is that, while he may believe in company unions, he has no use for that sort of wages. He is no cheap skate. He is used to drawing down anywhere from \$100,000 per year or so, so he will be perfectly at home in the presidency.

And that is what we want in the White House—a man who can put business in government and government in its place. What will make his "coronation more pleasing," as Senator Capper says, "is the east's handsome recognition of the fact."

Well, I always contended that what this country needed was more efficiency in farming its farmers and working its workers and, now that we are going to get it, we ought to be satisfied. God bless our home.

The Italian government presented the United States with a liberty fountain. Let's see: liberty, fountains, water, fish, fishy, and say, didn't Mussolini sometime ago say something about the rotten corpse of democracy?

Adam Coddigore