

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

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

Steel Trust Spies Ousted From Unions

Were Exposed by Colorado Labor Writer in Book Recently Published

WASHINGTON. — Chauncey Peterson, one of the labor spies employed by the steel trust and exposed by Frank L. Palmer in his book "Spies in Steel," has been expelled from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers by the Duluth local of that organization.

Peterson operated in Duluth. He was not only active in the Electrical Workers but he had been elected to the state legislature by the Farmer-Labor party, when Palmer's investigation led to his being thrown out of the union and suspended from the party.

Noonan, at I. B. E. W. headquarters in Washington, told The Associated Press on July 23 that he had received copies of reports made in handwriting by Peterson to the Oliver Mining Co., a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, showing beyond doubt that the man was regularly reporting the names of men attending building trades meetings, names of union members and alleged action taken in meetings. Upon getting this evidence, Noonan ordered "permanent suspension" of Peterson's card, notifying him that he would have the right of appeal before formal expulsion was made. Peterson did not appeal. Inquiry in Duluth showed that he had gone into the meat business.

"This is merely one of many such cases at intervals in many industries," said Noonan. "The industrial concern pays an agency so much per day about a journeyman's wage to be paid extra to the man on the job who is to do the spying. In point of fact, the company was supplied with the money to do the spying. It was really secret. And that is true of most of his spying—the information could be had for the asking. We do not know whether he caused any union men to be dismissed."

New Crew Suspected
Clarius L. McMillan, formerly recording secretary of McMillan Lodge No. 274, who played spy while in that job, has been expelled by his lodge since the exposure, according to E. C. Davidson, general secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Machinists. McMillan had been a foreman after getting out of his job as union secretary, but he kept his union card and watched the men who came into the organization.

Another member of the Machinists recently caught red-handed as a betrayer of his fellow-unionists was a man named Moore, operating in Wisconsin. He was expelled, Davidson stated, without loss of time.

Palmer in his book—published at 50c by the Labor Press, 312 Interstate Trust Bldg., Denver, Colo.—mentions Vergilio Bertone, president of the Chisholm Machinists' union, as drawing \$125 a month as a spy for steel. Luke Healy, clerk of the Hibernia Hotel at Hibbing, Minn., is described as one of the busy members of the sneaking-and-eavesdropping squad. Others include a barber, a letter carrier, etc.

Who furnished Palmer with the documents from the safe of the steel trust secret service in Duluth, thereby upsetting the spy system for a while, has not been disclosed. As the leak occurred several months ago, it is assumed by the Electrical Workers and the Machinists' executives that a new spying staff has been employed, with new code numbers, new methods of approach, and new hush-up to trade union secrets.

A CHARMING SPOT
For those who wish to spend a restful few days amidst beautiful country, where wholesome food and exhilarating sports may be obtained. Tennis and other sports. 25c per week, 50c per day.

The HILBERT HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 15-J
Hilbert Friedberg

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence

85,000 MEMBERS
\$3,200,000 ASSETS

200 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at 44c per week. Many branches pay additional benefit, from \$5 to \$50 per week. Compensation benefit, \$200 or nine months in case of permanent disability. In the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

175 East Broadway, N. Y. City

Telephone Orchard 6015-6017

As you SOUTHERN COOKING LIKE IT COFFEE HOUSE

75 Fifth Ave. N.Y.C.

KIDNEY or BLADDER DISTRESS

Soon Eased by the Genuine Santal Midy

Sold by All Druggists

Tom Mooney Approaches 13th Year In Prison

CHICAGO. — Tom Mooney's 13th year behind the bars begins July 27. He was arrested July 27, 1916, 5 days after the bomb explosion that killed several people during the preparedness parade in San Francisco. Having been a militant union organizer, Mooney, though innocent of the bombing was picked on by the anti-labor financial interests as the man to be hanged for the affair. All the machinery of the public utility and banking power was mobilized to obtain his conviction. By perjury and later repudiated evidence the trick was turned. Mooney and his friend Warren Billings were found guilty.

The same interests have been hard at work ever since to make the convictions stick. But though big business made it a hanging verdict Mooney is still alive. His sentence was commuted by the governor of California to life imprisonment after national and international protests. And now though 12 long years have passed the prospects for his vindication and release are getting brighter.

The Federated Press has received the following letter from Mooney written in the California state-prison at San Quentin.

"I am herewith enclosing to you copies of letters of all those who took official part in my trial, along with a few other documents that have a vital bearing upon my case and I want you to use them in any way you can in furthering the work we have in view—that of securing justice for Billings and myself. My best to you and yours. The Federated Press and all of its many valuable workers. Sincerely and fraternally yours, TOM MOONEY."

The letters and documents are an overwhelming proof of the frameup Mooney suffered from the unscrupulous California reaction. Woodrow Wilson, president at the time Mooney was to be hanged, writes in January 1918 urging a trial on a further indictment "in order to give full weight and consideration to the important

Union Bricklayers On 'British' Embassy Job

WASHINGTON. — Members of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International union are now working on the new British embassy building job in Washington. Their union, after a 25-years' fight with Harry Wardman, leading anti-union building contractor in the District of Columbia, who has this job, has reached an agreement with him.

On the other hand, the building trades council, backed by the building trades department of the American Federation of Labor, has not made peace with the contractor. The Bricklayers, now outside the department, say that their original break with Wardman was due to their striking in sympathy with other trades, who finally left them to wage the war alone.

PROTECTING THEIR DINNER PAIRS

"The speaks on this radio's back," an African scenario shooter tells me, "are tick birds, which submit on the ticks in his hide and warn him of approaching danger by their chattering."

Somewhat or other, I don't know why, that explanation of the tick birds and their function in rhinoceros society and economy reminds me that politicians of big business, too, have their uses.

Picking ticks and hookworms out of the rhinoceros hides of our elephants and donkeys and warning their owners of the approach of danger by chattering, is about all they do for a living these days. I do not condemn them for this. It is a poor parasite that won't take care of its own dinner pail.

It's A Great Life If You Week-End at CAMP EDEN

SPORTS AND FUN GALORE

WHOLE SOME FOOD

JOLLY FRIENDS

MUSIC—ALL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Make Reservations in Advance

N. Y. Office: CAMP EDEN

62 E. 107TH ST. Cold Spring, N. Y.

Lehigh 1734 Cold Spring 225

Spend Your Vacation At

CAMP TAMMONT

For Adults

at FOREST PARK, PA.

(near Delaware Water Gap)

Mountain lake, fine sport equipment,

evening entertainment, good fellowship,

banquet for excellent food.

WRITE FOR RATES

New York Headquarters

7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Phone, Algonquin 3094

Maxwell, Neb.

J. D. BURKE.

ATTENTION!

State, Local and Branch Secretaries

Now is the time to get new record books for the coming year.

There is nothing so conducive to good will among your membership as properly kept records. Get a minute book and keep an authentic record of all meetings. Get a financial secretary account book and keep correct records of all money received and paid out. Both may be secured from the National Office. The financial record book has properly ruled and headed space for cash received and expended; a ledger for each member and a general ledger, as well as a dues stamp account record.

Special Prices

Minute Book (records for 320 members) \$1.00

Account Book (records for 320 members) 1.00

Account Book (records for 640 members) 1.50

Write for special prices on party emblems—buttons, pins, stick-pins, watch fobs, red flag buttons and pins, etc.

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

Walker Hails Boss Murphy

Tammany Mayor Beguiles Californians With Tales of Reformed New York Machine

(Continued from Page 1)
would think for one moment that I nourished very kindly feelings towards Herbert and the gang that he is training with these days.

You see it is hard to write about a clam.

Clams are clams and Herbert is Hoover and the Republican Party—there she stands!

The party of Fall and Mellon, of

Vare and Sinclair, of Len Small and

Frank Smith and Big Bill Thompson

and little green houses and big black

bags and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and

loo-koos and Fatty Butler, and the

Power Lobby and all the labor-baiters

and scab-herders and company union-

ists that aren't making whoopee for

Smith. What is there to say of it?

You don't have to write pieces

saying that the odor of a skunk is

not that of violets, that anybody

who will sit around and watch a

robbery taking place without so

much as opening his mouth, is no

better than the robber and that an

outfit which has persistently con-

vinced at aided and abetted the day

in and day out looting of the public

treasury, is hardly a bunch to dance

in the streets about.

The outstanding thing about

Hoover, like that of the clam, is

silence.

Herbert Croly Suppliant

There is a silence that is part of

great wisdom. And a silence that is

in refreshing contrast to the chatter

of mountebanks. And there are

silences and silences.

But the skulking silence of Hoover

when there are things to be said, when

there are questions desperately call-

ing for an answer, when even Herbert

Croly of "The New Republic" is wring-

ing his "progressive" hands in suppli-

cation, begging his name-sake to

spoke—this is a contemptible busi-

ness.

But, says someone, you go too fast.

Just wait until that famous accept-

ance speech comes off. Then you will

hear something.

There will be words to be sure. And

figures. Good god of things statisti-

cal, what figures there will be! Fig-

ures showing how the protective tariff

has raised production in pig-iron and

peas and pinocchio decks. Figures

showing that every man, woman and

child in these United States owns

twenty-two one hundredth part of an

automobile. Figures showing that

under a Republican Administration,

the mean temperature of Oklahoma

City was reduced from One Hundred

and Ten Degrees Fahrenheit to Eighty-

seven on alternate Sundays during

Leat.

But is anyone naive enough to think

that beyond a glowing endorsement

of himself and his party, Herbert is

going to say anything? Anything

that matters about such questions as

war and peace and industrial democ-

ocracy and unemployment and injunc-

tions and the plight of the farmers

and miners and textile workers?

If such there be, if there is still any

one who thinks that the acceptance

speech of Herbert will be anything

but the old-line blah dished up with

modern "efficiency" goo, let him go

out and have his head examined, for

nurse must have dropped him on it

when he was a babe.

Walker Hails Boss Murphy

Tammany Mayor Beguiles Californians With Tales of Reformed New York Machine

(Continued from Page 1)
would think for one moment that I nourished very kindly feelings towards Herbert and the gang that he is training with these days.

You see it is hard to write about a clam.

Clams are clams and Herbert is Hoover and the Republican Party—there she stands!

The party of Fall and Mellon, of

Vare and Sinclair, of Len Small and

Frank Smith and Big Bill Thompson

and little green houses and big black

bags and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and

loo-koos and Fatty Butler, and the

Power Lobby and all the labor-baiters

and scab-herders and company union-

ists that aren't making whoopee for

Smith. What is there to say of it?

You don't have to write pieces

saying that the odor of a skunk is

not that of violets, that anybody

who will sit around and watch a

robbery taking place without so

much as opening his mouth, is no

better than the robber and that an

outfit which has persistently con-

vinced at aided and abetted the day

in and day out looting of the public

treasury, is hardly a bunch to dance

in the streets about.

The outstanding thing about

Hoover, like that of the clam, is

silence.

Herbert Croly Suppliant

There is a silence that is part of

great wisdom. And a silence that is

in refreshing contrast to the chatter

of mountebanks. And there are

silences and silences.

But the skulking silence of Hoover

when there are things to be said, when

there are questions desperately call-

ing for an answer, when even Herbert

Croly of "The New Republic" is wring-

ing his "progressive" hands in suppli-

cation, begging his name-sake to

spoke—this is a contemptible busi-

ness.

But, says someone, you go too fast.

Just wait until that famous accept-

ance speech comes off. Then you will

hear something.

There will be words to be sure. And

figures. Good god of things statisti-

cal, what figures there will be! Fig-

ures showing how the protective tariff

has raised production in pig-iron and

peas and pinocchio decks. Figures

showing that every man, woman and

child in these United States owns

twenty-two one hundredth part of an

automobile. Figures showing that

under a Republican Administration,

the mean temperature of Oklahoma

City was reduced from One Hundred

and Ten Degrees Fahrenheit to Eighty-

seven on alternate Sundays during

Leat.

But is anyone naive enough to think

that beyond a glowing endorsement

of himself and his party, Herbert is

going to say anything? Anything

that matters about such questions as

war and peace and industrial democ-

ocracy and unemployment and injunc-

tions and the plight of the farmers

and miners and textile workers?

If such there be, if there is still any

one who thinks that the acceptance

speech of Herbert will be anything

but the old-line blah dished up with

modern "efficiency" goo, let him go

out and have his head examined, for

nurse must have dropped him on it

when he was a babe.

Carolina Convicts Enter Mines As Alabama's Leave

By Esther Lowell

RALEIGH, N. C.—As Alabama is being

halled for withdrawing its last con-

vict-miner from the coal pits, North Ca-

Thomas In Plea For Freedom

Says Securing of Liberty
Is One of Issues in the
Current Campaign

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
WESTHAMPTON, LONG ISLAND.—
A plea for a wider diffusion of civil liberties featured an address by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, here Sunday at the newly organized Westhampton Forum in the Westhampton Beach Methodist Church. Mr. Thomas urged his listeners to "make their votes count against espionage laws and political deportations, against religious bigotry and for the separation of church and state, against injunctions in labor disputes, against the whole theory and practice that puts property in our courts above liberty and sometimes above life itself."

Speaking on "Why Freedom Matters," Mr. Thomas said:
"Freedom is something men on occasion, passionately desire for themselves but are usually reluctant to give to others. The freedom others want we incline to call 'license' and to oppose, in the sacred name of truth or the general good."

"Freedom is not always easy to define or to realize in our crowded world. Our pioneer ancestors had in many ways more freedom than is possible for a generation that rides in subways, lives in cities, crowds the highways with motor cars, and is dependent for daily bread on the coordination of the specialized labor of millions. On the other hand these same pioneers knew a slavery to nature and to long hours of toil that we collectively, have notably diminished."

Why Freedom Matters

"Just because we do have to admit such a large area of social control as the price of health and well being we need more zealously to guard that liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience" which Milton placed above all other rights.

"The reason that this sort of freedom matters is two fold: (1) Without it the individual is scarcely better than one of these marvelous new televox men. One of the tragedies of our civilization is our standardizations. That is all right for machines; it is tragedy for men. (2) This standardization is in the long run fatal to society. We talk about truth, but no man has infallible truth. Truth is born out of controversy. Heresy is the growing fruit of society. The heretic may be wrong but we do not prove him wrong by ostracizing him socially, taking his living from him, or putting him in jail."

"In America I think Diogenes could find an honest man with his lantern; he would have to look for a free man with a searchlight. Most of us live in terror for our jobs if we hold unpopular ideas. We talk about democracy but of course there is not at best much democracy in a society where a few men own and control most jobs and add to that control a direct or indirect control of radio, movies, newspapers, schools, and the old line political parties. You can vote as often as you please and it won't mean much if you are dependent for information, ideas, and political organizations on a small class in control of jobs and of the means of communication. That is why to make democracy real we must carry it into our economic life."

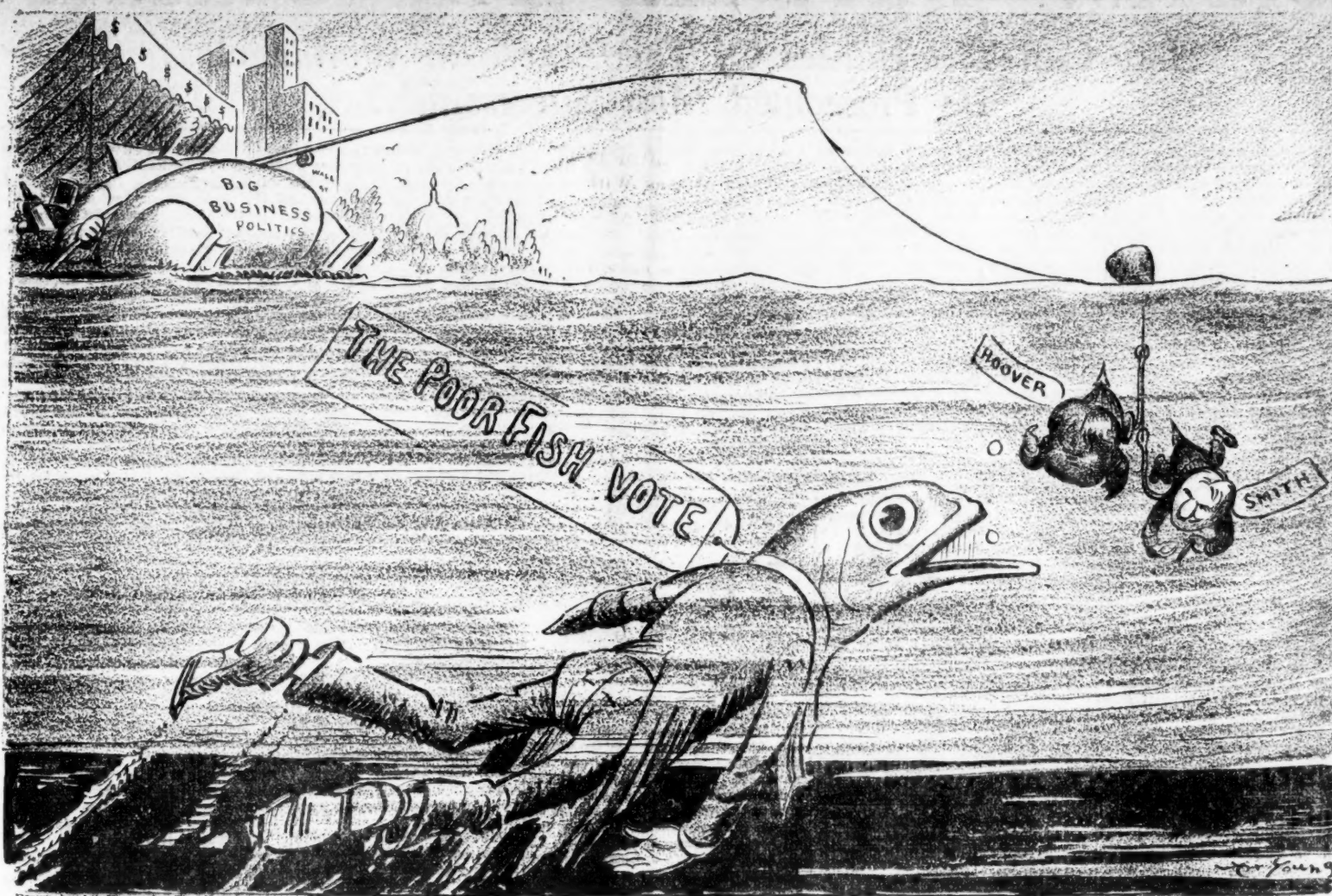
Legal Bars to Liberty

"But not content with the handicaps to freedom in the ordinary conditions of modern life we have allowed special legal handicaps to grow up. The first ten amendments to the federal constitution have been largely explained away by courts. In war time there are no civil liberties. And big strikes come in this respect as the coal miners in the police and injunction ridden camps of Pennsylvania have learned to their bitter cost. Property is far better protected than liberty. Any public utility company can and does automatically get from a federal court protection that was denied a year ago to Sacco and Vanzetti when their lives were forfeit under proceedings in the Massachusetts courts, which have not been cleared and cannot be cleared of the charge of class and caste bias. The same situation keeps Mooney and Billings in jail in California although no decent man today denies that they were convicted on perjured evidence."

"Such are some of the facts that make me concerned in this campaign to press a fight for civil liberties that both old parties have ignored. The struggle to make freedom real cuts deep into our personal and group life. It is more than a matter of a political campaign. But we shall miss the significance of our right to vote unless we use our votes steadily to increase the area of civil liberty. We can make our votes count against espionage laws and political deportations, against religious bigotry and for the separation of church and state, against injunctions in labor disputes, against the whole theory and practice that puts property in our courts above liberty or sometimes even life itself. To do this we must give freedom to those whose ideas we distrust, seeking to answer argument by argument. Only so can freedom be made real. Only so can democracy be more than a mechanical count of noses. Only so can we be saved from becoming iron men, robots, televoxes."

A correspondent wants to know whether he can secure The N. L. in the Polish language. He adds that he liked the paper as long as his children were at home to read it for him.

Choosing The Bait



Drawn by Art Young for The New Leader.

As If It Made Any Difference.

3,000 Cheer Maurer Talk in Pennsylvania

Picnic at Wildwood Opens
Socialist Campaign in
Western Part of State

JAMES H. MAURER, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party opened the Western Pennsylvania campaign at a picnic held at Wildwood, Pa. About 3,000 Socialists and other sympathizers were present. His speech was received with great enthusiasm and was repeatedly applauded as he delivered telling blows to both old parties.

"If only part of what the Democrats say of the Republicans is true and if only part of what the Republicans say is true of the Democrats then each has forfeited their right to the votes of the workers," Maurer declared. "The Republican party is shouting about prosperity but millions out of work would like to find some of it so that they might know where their next meal is assured. This so-called prosperity exists for the great corporations and coupon clippers. Who is responsible for this condition? A Republican administration. What about the farmers' prosperity? Who enacted all these laws that are now called bad? Republicans and Democrats. Who has been in power during all these years that these evils have been created? Democrats and Republicans. My comrades and friends, let me sight you an example. I served three terms in the Pennsylvania legislature during which time I was able to get enacted such laws as the Old Age Pension Bill, Workmen's Compensation Act, Mothers' Pension Bill and many other labor bills, more than had been accomplished in 40 years prior. Now this was not accomplished because I was Jim Maurer, only because the rulers were fearful of the power that was behind Maurer. Also I want to warn you against letting them get you into any argument on the do and you start quarrelling among yourselves then is their time to skin the work-religious question, for as sure as they do so do not let them fool you into any argument on religion. There is only one party that stands for our class and that is the Socialist Party. Let us roll up a big vote for the Socialist candidates everywhere as a vigorous protest against the plunderbund and march on to a better and happier civilization."

ALLEN E. CLAXTON,
Minister, Methodist Episcopal Church,
East Braintree, Mass.

NOW ON SALE

SOCIALISM TODAY

The first literature of the 1928 campaign, is now on sale.

Articles by Norman Thomas, James H. Maurer, Morris Hillquit, Daniel W. Hoan, Jacob Panken, James O'Neal, McAlister Coleman, Algernon Lee, Jessie Wallace Hughson, and others.

Poems by Samuel A. de Witt, Joseph T. Shipley and others. Printed on excellent paper and profusely illustrated.

SOCIALISM TODAY contains the 1928 national platform of the Socialist Party and the most important convention resolutions.

SOCIALISM TODAY is excellent material with which to start the campaign. Comrades will cherish the book as a souvenir. Non-Socialists will be impressed.

SOCIALISM TODAY is published by the Socialist Party.

25 Cents a Copy. Liberal Discounts to Comrades and Locals taking quantities for sale. Send orders to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, or Socialist Party, 7 East 15th Street.

Philadelphia Cops Gag Free Speech

PHILADELPHIA.—You hold meetings in this town when, if and how the police like your looks and thoughts. Such is the experience of radical groups who have been barred from both street and hall meetings by fiat of Police Supt. Mills. Mills has a long record of breaking up union and radical meetings. So satisfactory have his services been to employers who boss the Vane political machine that he has been kept on the job since war times when he gained notoriety for breaking up meetings of the Marine Transport Workers.

Mills operates under two rulings. One, handed down years ago by the Pennsylvania supreme court, gives police the right to ban any street meetings not in conformity with ideas approved by Supt. Mills. The other ruling, just made by Judge Alessandrini of the court of common pleas, bans hall meetings of which police disapprove.

When the Philadelphia Council of the Unemployed tried to hold a Lincoln birthday meeting on Feb. 12 in a private hall, police blocked entrance. The unemployed, 500 strong, marched to another hall but police barred that door also. When speakers tried to address the crowd, 16 men were arrested for disorderly conduct. The American Civil Liberties Union, awaiting the chance, is appealing Alessandrini's edict. Whatever the outcome of this case, the police will maintain the right to break up street meetings, or deny permits until the state supreme court ruling can be changed or discrimination shown on the part of the police.

Editor, The New Leader:

In the July 14th issue of the New Leader there is one sentence containing a social, economic, and moral truth that should sink deep into the hearts of all mankind. It appears on page 6 in the editorial entitled "The New Bedford Strikers."

"No industry should survive if it cannot at least afford a minimum standard of living and decency for the thousands of useful workers who man the machines."

I am not a Socialist, but in my important moments I wonder how long men who are otherwise intelligent and analytic can be content with shallow reasoning in the most important realm of human endeavor. Socialists do think.

ALLEN E. CLAXTON,
Minister, Methodist Episcopal Church,
East Braintree, Mass.

Candidates Are Quizzed on Militarism

Thomas, Smith and
Hoover Asked to State
Views on Training in
Schools

THE Presidential candidates are asked to state their views on Federal Support of compulsory military drill in High Schools and Colleges in a letter sent to them by Dr. George A. Coe, Chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Dr. Coe points out that this is one of the big issues before our people, at this time, and public interest in the subject is shown by the numerous bodies passing resolutions condemning compulsory military training in colleges and all military drill in high schools.

Dr. Coe's letter lists the American Federation of Labor, the Federal Council of Churches, the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, the Quadrennial Convention of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Northern Baptist Convention, the National Council of the Congregational Church, etc., as having disapproved of compulsory military training within the last two years. The resolution passed by the Quadrennial Convention of the Methodist Church in Kansas City in May, 1928, was given by Dr. Coe as illustrative of much sentiment on the subject. The body voted by a majority of 800 to 50, "We are opposed to all military training in high schools and to compulsory military training in colleges and universities."

Dr. Coe states that, "This public concern has arisen out of the fact that some 86 American colleges and universities, including most of our larger State universities which enroll such a great percentage of our American college men have compulsory military training. There are some 68 cities where military training is maintained in the high schools with federal aid (in 20 it is compulsory). This compulsory training is not required by any Federal law, but, nevertheless is supported and promoted by Federal money."

"Our records show that long lists of organizations, such as the above, have considered this question within the past few months and passed resolutions condemning compulsory military training."

After praising sections of the party platforms favoring international cooperation and opposing militarism, Dr. Coe goes on to ask Governor Smith, Mr. Hoover, and Norman Thomas the Socialist candidate for President, for an answer to these two specific questions:

1. Do you favor the use of Federal Funds and of the Army and Navy personnel to support compulsory courses in military training in our civil, educational institutions?
2. Do you favor such Federal encouragement of military training, whether voluntary or compulsory, in our public high schools?

U. S. Army Prefers Scab Labor in Charge

QUINCY, Mass.—Uncle Sam's war department as union-buster and wage-slasher is the picture drawn by President Sam Squibb of the Granite Cutters International Association in a spirited protest against the erection of non-union buildings at West Point military academy. Union complaints addressed to commanding generals and secretaries of war being in vain, Squibb is laying the Granite Cutters case before the public. Before 1921, he recounts, West Point buildings was done by contract with union granite cutters getting the union scale of \$9.

Then an economy wave hit the quartermaster's department and when it had rolled over, union men found their scale washed away, and only \$6 left as a day's wage. Local granite cutters refused to work for 75 cents an hour.

In post-offices throughout the eastern part of the country, army advertisements were placed asking non-union labor to act as strikebreakers at West Point. The post office proving a poor employment agency, the quartermaster arranged with Ellis Island immigration depot to send stone cutters just arriving from foreign countries up to West Point.

Despite all efforts, the army was unable to get enough experienced men to prepare the granite for the second building. Wages were then raised to \$8 a day, provided a man cut four feet of granite a day and was willing to work six full days a week.

President Squibb ridicules the army's economy pretensions in paying \$8 a day for 4 feet of granite when union mechanics getting \$11 a day average 12 feet of stone each shift. Granite cutters are making common cause with other building crafts, all of whom were locked out when they refused to work under the scale.

Clothing Workers to Strike in Quaker City

PHILADELPHIA.—Union recognition or strike is the alternative offered men's clothing manufacturers in the Philadelphia market, in an ultimatum ratified at a great union rally of the entire Quaker City membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Philadelphia, long a thorn in the union's side, must be organized, the national convention held in Cincinnati two months ago decided. President Sidney Hillman and other officers were instructed to use every means to line up this city, whose cheap suit production has imperiled union standards in New York and Rochester.

GO-GETTER CASHES IN

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Business men with an eye to easy profits are finding the mill workers' long strike a bonanza for home work industries. Harold A. Gifford, a New Bedford go-getter, has organized a toy company giving mothers and girls an opportunity to work as long as they can at home.

With no money coming in from the mills, these women crowd Gifford's office pleading for work at any rate. Home work is doled out to them at low piece rates. Gifford thus escapes overhead expenses, the need for a factory, sewing machines, power, light and rent. The worker furnishes the room and sewing machine free and gets between 10 and 20 cents an hour for her labor. In a large family, the mother and several girls can knock out as high as \$5 in a long day's work.

Begin Probe of Power Trust Financing

Inflation of Stock May Be
Shown When Hearings
Are Resumed

WASHINGTON.—Schedules calling for definite facts as to how the electric power and light, the gas, street railway and telephone companies of the country have inflated their stock and bond issues to the present total of over \$17,000,000, are about to be mailed to the companies by the Federal Trade Commission. Meanwhile, 26 representatives of the Commission are at work in the offices of the big holding and service companies in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston digging out information from official records, for use in public hearings later in the year. This announcement is made in the fifth monthly report of the Commission to the Senate on the progress of its inquiry, ordered by the Walsh resolution.

"Questionnaires were first made out by the regular economic staff of the Commission, in general terms that did not take account of the special situation of the electric trust, the gas trust and the traction and telephone combines. Then Chief Counsel Healy, aided by his special staff that had disclosed the nationwide propaganda intrigue started by Sam Insull, prepared a special set of questions, designed to pin down the crafty promoters of the 'consumer ownership' humbug. Printing of these last questions has been delayed, but now they are about to go out. Inasmuch as Healy has sent into the offices of the holding and operating companies a good many sincere investigators who know how to get at the facts as to costs and profits, the power trust will run grave risks in any doctoring of its returns to these inquiries."

Thirteen volumes of stenographic report of hearings, on the propaganda efforts of the power trust to kill public ownership sentiment, have been forwarded to the Senate.

GLASS UNIONS HOPE FOR BEER

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Glass union leaders in conference with employers over new contracts aver that the manufacture of whiskey glasses goes on apace. Prohibition, they say, is a failure. Modification of permit beer and wine would revivify the glass industry, officials of both the Glass Bottle Blowers and Flint Glass Workers unions are sure.

BRICKLAYERS FETE CHILDREN

BOSTON, (FP).—Bricklayers Local 3 is running its fifth annual excursion for children whose fathers are jobless or on poverty wages. They will be taken on a motor trip around Boston and given a long boat ride down the harbor.

Committees of the National Civic Federation are studying injunctions, anti-knock out as high as \$3 in a long day's work.

LYNN, Mass.—Mitchell-Weich shoe workers accepted a 5 to 15 per cent. wage cut to enable the firm to accept a large contract.

L.I.D. Hits At Charge Of Power Trust

League Under No Such
Disguises As That of National
Electric Light Association

THE following letter has been sent to the Federal Trade Commission by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, in reply to the recent testimony of Mr. Joshua T. Newcombe before the Commission. Mr. Newcombe contended that the extensive propaganda of the League for Industrial Democracy and other groups among the colleges and centers of population justified the public utilities in spending millions of dollars in influencing college thought through the censorship of text books, the employment of college professors, etc.

Dr. Laidler wrote:
"In a statement on the hearings before the Federal Trade Commission in the matter of public utility propaganda, Mr. Joshua T. Newcombe, counsel for the public utility companies, seeks to find in the activities of the League for Industrial Democracy an excuse for the enormous propaganda expenditures of his employers. There are these important differences of which the public should be informed."

"1. The League for Industrial Democracy operates under none of the disguises that have characterized the Joint Utility Committee, the National Electric Light Association and the State Utility Committees. Every one knows its position and it does not seek to hide it."

Few Hundred Dollars Spent

"2. The entire expenditure of the League on power activities has been during the last few years only a few hundred dollars. The printing bill for the pamphlet literature on the power situation, issued during the last few years, has totaled less than \$300, less than \$100 a year."

"While its representatives visit scores of colleges, they speak on many subjects of an industrial and international subject, and it is probably true that its accredited lecturers have not spoken directly on the power issue in the colleges more than thirty times in the past three years. While its Field Secretary, Paul Blanshard, has had one lecture on 'Next Steps in Public Ownership,' he has specialized on labor and international problems and has been asked to speak but once or twice directly on this or any other public ownership subject in the colleges during the past three years."

"3. The L. I. D. helped to organize the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, but this Committee is independent of the League in its policies. There are engineers, economists, labor leaders, lawyers and publicists on it. The Committee has contented itself with recommending government ownership of the key power positions such as Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam and the St. Lawrence. It has approved more adequate regulation. There are members of all parties on this Committee. The majority are independent liberals. The expenses of the Committee have averaged less than \$4,000 a year for the past three years."

"4. The \$100 annual expenditure of L. I. D. on pamphlets on power and the few dozen speeches on the subject made by its field secretary and others were made in behalf of a cause in which it believes and which it openly professes to support."

"The League is supported by dues and voluntary contributions which bring its entire budget up to less than \$30,000 a year and does not exist to protect an annual half billion dollars excess charges on electric rates in the United States. Its officers in colleges and elsewhere speak on many topics. They are no lobbyists but they hope in a true sense they are educators. Giant power is a fit subject for inquiry in educational work and the League has never hidden its interest in it. It even helped to organize an independent committee of inquiry in this field. But in this and all its activities, it stands squarely and openly on its platform which is: Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

Republicans Enjoy Bitter Internal Feud

WASHINGTON.—Senator Moses of New Hampshire, having won his second battle with National Chairman Work of the G. O. P., is trying to discover what are the duties implied in the position of coordinator of the presidential and congressional campaigns. He is no less contemptuous of Work than before they met in head-on collision in New York on July 23. Work kept national headquarters in Washington, but Moses kept the internal fight on the front pages of the newspapers.

Candidate Hoover is reported to be desperately trying to find a way to rid himself of both Moses and Work.

Mr. Stark, Jr. Arrives

PITTSBURGH.—Swell cigars, two for a quarter variety, are being given away by Comrade Sidney Stark, Jr., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The occasion for all this generosity is the arrival the other day of Sidney Stark, Jr., the fourth youngster in the Stark family. Comrade Stark is receiving the congratulations of comrades in and out of Pittsburgh. Comrades outside of Pittsburgh may claim their cigars by mail.

The Socialist Party in The Class Struggle

(An address at the Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, June 29, 1928, at Forest Park, Pa.)

By Paul Blanshard

CONFESS that discussions of Socialist theory have always been a dreadful bore to me because most people who discuss Socialist theory put so much emphasis upon agreement or disagreement with authority. They ask: "Does this conform to Karl Marx' analysis?" and "Wasn't that explanation exploded by Eduard Bernstein long ago?" My answer to such questions is usually to yawn. What do I care what Karl Marx said about it or how Eduard Bernstein shaved on a limb here and a branch there? Modern Socialism does not depend on Karl Marx any more than modern Christianity depends on Jesus. That is to say, Jesus and Karl Marx are starting points. And they are convenient words to be used in perorations and in all places where a substitute for thought is desired. When the Fundamentalists of Georgia want to lynch a Negro they do it in the name of Jesus; when the Bolsheviks of Russia want to get some more grain out of the peasants they do it in the name of Marx. Any clever Christian or Socialist can find a reason somewhere in Jesus or Marx for anything he wants to do.

For this reason I want to discuss the Socialist theory of the class struggle with as little appeal to authority as possible. My mind does not work like the mind of the United States Supreme Court.

Face the Situation in America
The economic situation in the United States today ought to be faced by Socialists without presuppositions and with only occasional reference to European theory. We should sit down here in this conference in the same way that a general sits down before a battle to go over his map. What forces have we at our command? How strongly are they welded together? Who are our allies? What should be the first step in our campaign? What is the strength and weakness of the enemy?

For the purposes of clarity in discussion, I think that the Socialist theory of the class struggle can be divided into three phases. The theory is a description, a prophecy, and a method. Let us consider it first as a description.

The Communist Manifesto describes the alignment of forces in the class struggle in these words: "Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other; bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Does that description fit the class situation in America? Only, it seems to me, if there are a number of qualifying footnotes added to it. These footnotes are: (1) The bourgeoisie in America is not a single class. It is a group of classes. (2) The proletariat in America is not a single class. It is a group of classes. (3) The bourgeoisie in America is not a single class. It is a group of classes. (4) The proletariat in America is not a single class. It is a group of classes.

Fraternization of Classes
Now, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of America are facing each other consciously as two warring classes. They are psychologically fraternizing across the battle line on a good part of the fighting front. And you will admit that it is hard to bombard the enemy effectively when part of your forces don't know that there has been a declaration of war. Let me use an illustration.

One of my recollections of war-time radicalism is a certain Socialist meeting in New York held somewhere on the East Side. The speakers were John Reed, Morris Hillquit, Max Eastman and Norman Thomas. It was in the days when they could speak happily together on the same platform. John Reed was talking about the Russian revolution and he was telling about an argument he heard between a Russian bourgeois and a worker. The bourgeois argued that the Russian revolution was a failure because the workers did not believe in a working class revolution, but at the end of every argument the worker kept reiterating a stock reply:

"There is a working class and a capitalist class and they are struggling for the control of society. I am a member of the working class."

How different that answer is from the answer which would be given by nine-tenths of American workers. If I should go up to some striker from the cotton mills of New Bedford, Massachusetts and ask him: "Is there a class struggle in America?", he would probably look at me blankly and ask, "What do you mean class struggle?" If I should say, "Why you're engaged in a class struggle right now with the cotton manufacturers of New Bedford," he might reply, "Oh, well, I'm just fighting against a wage cut. When the strike is over I'll go back to work."

If I should go to an employer in New Bedford and ask him "Is there a class struggle in America?" He might say, "Not much. Of course some agitators put fool notions in the heads of the workers once in a while, but the interests of the workers and employers in industry are mutual, if only the workers would realize it."

If I wanted any clear thinking in the class struggle in America I would have to come to the people who are not in it directly, the middle class folks, or else to the foreign workers of our great cities. The average American employer and worker from the hinterland of America does not think about the class struggle from sunrise to sunset, although he is actively participating in it all the time.

Americans' Awareness of Classes

Of course the average American is quite aware of certain kinds of classes. There are classes who ride in Fords and classes who ride in Chryslers and classes who ride in Lincolns. Also there is the "American class" to which we all belong, this class whose Bible is the Saturday Evening Post and whose Sergeant at Arms is Freddie Marvin. It is made up of sturdy, honest workers who believe that under our present plan of the distribution of economic rewards every man in the long run gets his just deserts. In that scheme of things society is arranged as a pyramid of merit, and advancement depends upon the workers' eagerness, devotion and skill. It is easy enough to say that this class is a myth but workers in America live by that myth and die for it just as men died for a myth that was just as incredible in the World War. Into this "becoming class" fall nearly all the young and hopeful and the sons and daughters of those on the fringes of success. In short the most vigorous and able of our society. They work and fight their way upwards and some of them come out in the upper class. For those who fall it is too late to do anything except join the aged and infirm of the Social class local help to the Daily Worker going until next Monday morning.

My second foot note concerning the Socialist description of the class struggle is that the class struggle in America is a multiple and not a dual affair. The Communist Manifesto described the class struggle as a simple matter of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The actual struggle in America is a cross between a riot, a day on the stock exchange and the Chinese revolution. The increasing complexity of American capitalism has split up our economic society into international bankers, domestic bankers, salesmen, farmers, landholders, professionals, skilled workers, unskilled workers, and to confuse the whole problem, black, white, foreign and American workers. The class struggle in America is a multiple and not a dual affair. The Communist Manifesto described the class struggle as a simple matter of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The actual struggle in America is a cross between a riot, a day on the stock exchange and the Chinese revolution. The increasing complexity of American capitalism has split up our economic society into international bankers, domestic bankers, salesmen, farmers, landholders, professionals, skilled workers, unskilled workers, and to confuse the whole problem, black, white, foreign and American workers.

The embattled farmers who beat their drums at Kansas City are a class-conscious economic unit quite as much opposed to Eastern capitalists as the workers are, but certainly not identified with the city proletariat. The skilled workers within the American Federation of Labor who fight for the special position of their crafts against the unskilled tide also constitute a struggle within the larger class struggle which demands special tactics. The city proletariat, itself divided into many racial and cultural groups, is a minority in the country fighting the roadblocks for cheaper transportation, the landlords for cheaper rent, the factory owners for higher wages and shorter hours, and the farmers for cheaper food.

The Struggle with Nature

My third foot-note about the description of the class struggle is that it is obscured by the larger industrial struggle. The basic fight for all life is the struggle of man to wrest from Nature a living. That struggle is larger and more important than the class struggle, and includes the class struggle as one of its features. Here in America we have been so successful in the struggle of man with Nature that the struggle within that struggle has been obscured.

Suppose we are living on a pirate ship which is capturing large plunder almost every day. The pirate gang at the head of the ship may be taking nine-tenths of the spoils and making the sailors do all the work, but so long as the sailors are getting an increasing amount of plunder day by day, they are not likely to start a mutiny. The struggle between capital and labor on the pirate ship is forgotten for the moment in the heat and access of getting more plunder for everybody.

That is exactly the thing which obscures the class struggle in America today. The amount of plunder which Americans are wresting from Nature is greater year by year. The workers tend to overlook the injustice in the distribution of the plunder so long as their share is increasing. Our poverty and our misery are growing less; that is to say, our real wages are higher than they were a generation ago and there are infinitely more cheap amusements in the country to keep the worker from thinking. I can't imagine anything that would turn a pirate's attention away from mutiny more effectively than the diverting toys of the new America, radio, movies, ball games, airplanes, tabloids and evangelists.

I conclude, therefore, that the simple description of class alignments contained in the Communist Manifesto needs three foot notes before it is applied to America today. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat in America are lining up against each other, but (1) most of the workers are not conscious that any war has been declared; (2) the struggle of classes within classes obscures the bi-class struggle; and (3) the mechanical success of the present system of economic development delays and quiet social discontent which is for most people a necessary preliminary to the clear perception of social wrong.

Let us look now at the Socialist theory of the class struggle as a prophecy. Socialists believe that the struggle between the capitalists and the workers is the most significant fact in history and that the struggle will terminate in the overthrow of the capitalist class and the control of industry and the community by the workers.

It may be assumed by somebody from whom I have said thus far that I do not believe in this prophecy. On the contrary, I do believe in the class struggle as a prophecy of the future and a vital fact of the present. I believe that the class struggle is the most important fact

in the transformation of capitalism into Socialism and I do not see any other way to effect the transformation.

Here I run counter to a whole school of thought which may be labeled for convenience the "social amelioration school." This school offers, it seems to me, the most dangerous challenge to the Socialist theory of the class struggle. The argument runs something like this: Capitalism has been immensely successful in increasing the riches of all classes of people in America and its defects can be overcome without a class struggle, if all people of good will unite in the spread of humane education. Capitalists are already learning to share power and ownership with the workers through stock purchases by workers' councils. To teach the workers' class consciousness and the necessity of the class struggle at this time will only create useless strife and postpone the arrival of a day of co-operation between

all productive elements in society. Capitalism is gradually lifting the workers to a point at which all the workers who are fit to participate in the control of industry will be given the privilege.

Is there sufficient basis for this rosy prophecy? Most certainly there is not. The relative position of the American working class is as bad as it ever has been, and we should not forget that it is relative position which determines social justice. Why should I be content with increased income if I find that men not one half so deserving have gotten an increase twice as large? American capitalists have raised the wages and shortened the hours of their workers, they have sold shares of stock and created company unions, but they have not surrendered one iota of their class power, and their own gains have been much larger than the gains of the worker. They have learned to handle the workers with the gloves of the new social psychology,

but inside the gloves are the same old brass knuckles ready for use.

Class Struggle Cannot Be Voided

I do not see how anyone looking at the American industrial system candidly can prophesy that the class struggle will be avoided by the steady amelioration of capitalism. Please do not misunderstand me when I say that. I am not denouncing social improvement within capitalism or saying that the socialist should oppose that improvement. I believe that the transformation of capitalism will come about partly through steady improvements in human standards, but those improvements can never be a substitute for the class struggle because they do not change the relative position of the classes. The most profoundly immoral fact of our civilization is the feudal control of industry by an owning class and the consequent disinheritation of the workers. The socialist is the only one who seems to give

disinheritation to that fact. The American upper class has many kindly individuals in its ranks who are very decent to individual workers, but it is made of human beings and human beings love power. All history seems to support the socialist prophecy that that class will not surrender its power without a class struggle.

Men like Carver of Harvard offer stock purchases, company unions and like as a substitute for the class struggle and they pretend that a great, silent revolution is making every sagacious American worker into a capitalist. But the very companies which Mr. Carver mentions as proof of his thesis are proofs of the opposite thesis. In not one of these companies which Mr. Carver mentions does the proportion of stock owned by the employees exceed 20%. The figures of the Federal Trade Commission are even more convincing; they show that of the companies reporting stock ownership, employees had only 1.5% of the common stock and 1.95% of the preferred.

But after all, Carver is a straw man and it is easy to attack straw men. So-

(Continued on Page 6)

What Will A Socialist Society Look Like?

By Harry W. Laidler

(Continued From Last Week)

Remuneration

A problem which must be faced by the Socialist society and which has again been forced to the front by the publication of a book on Socialism by the world's most distinguished dramatist and the movement's most scintillating writer, is that of remuneration. I remember in 1921 visiting Shaw in his apartment on the Thames embankment, partly for the purpose of finding out what excuse he had this time for not taking a trip to America. In the course of his truly Shavian conversation, Shaw referred to his contribution to Socialist thought and maintained that if he had done only one thing, he had impressed the movement with the need for equal pay under Socialism. Shaw's recent book is a strong defense of this position. He argues for equality by a process of elimination. No other system, he declared, will work. He brings all possible alternatives in battle array. Some favor the principle, "to each what he produces"; others, "to each what he can grab." Shaw declares that the only sensible plan, however, he declares, is to each an equal income.

This tested by experience. "The great bulk of the daily work of the civilized world is done and always has been done and always must be done," Shaw affirms, "by bodies of persons receiving equal pay, whether they are tall or short, fair or dark, quick or slow, young or old, in or out of years, teetotalers or beer-drinkers, Protestants or Catholics, married or single, short tempered or sweet tempered, pious or worldly, immoderate in the slightest regard to the difference that make one person unlike another. In every trade there is a standard wage; in every public service there is a standard pay. The rule is that workers of the same rank and calling are paid alike and that they neither sink below their condition nor rise above it."

Equal income, furthermore, is the one system, Shaw asserts, that allows real merit to win out. Under all other systems distinction is not based on merit, but on money. There would, of course, be distinction under Socialism. There would be great and little people. "But the great would always be those who had done great things," declares Shaw, "and never the idiots whose mothers had spoiled them and whose fathers had left them a hundred thousand a year; and the little would be persons who never had a chance. That is why idiots are always in favor of inequality."

Shaw, however, never the idiots whose mothers had spoiled them and whose fathers had left them a hundred thousand a year; and the little would be persons who never had a chance. That is why idiots are always in favor of inequality."

equality of income (their only chance of eminence), and the really great in favor of equality."

However, Shaw does not always stand by his principle. For instance, when discussing the problem of disagreeable work under Socialism, he declares that that problem will be solved by giving more leisure to the doer of this kind of work. "Give more leisure," he says, "earlier retirement into the superannuated class, more holidays, in the less agreeable employments and they will be as much sought after as the more agreeable." This is probably what must needs be done, but, if it is done, it will mean the same pay for less hours, or more pay for equal hours, or, in other words, inequality of pay.

Nor does Shaw satisfactorily face the problem of what is to be done with a person under a regime of absolute equality, who refuses to do his share of work, but who demands an equal share of the product. Shaw's pronouncement is that such a one is a thief and should be dealt with as any other thief is dealt with. This, however, raises, at least in my mind, visions of a considerable army of police hunting down the men who have committed the crime of crimes under Shaw's commonwealth—that of evading work. It is not an agreeable picture.

A professor of mine out West years ago declared that, under the present order of society, a number of principles of compensation were at various times and in various places in operation; compensation according to greed; compensation according to speed; compensation according to need and equal compensation. Under Socialism, he maintained, it is to be hoped that the first three forms of compensation will be a thing of the past and that, at different stages in Socialist evolution, the other principles—compensation according to deed, according to need, and the equality principle, will vie with each other for supremacy. Nor can the workings of supply and demand be ignored.

Personally, I feel that it will not be possible for decades to come to follow one principle of remuneration to the exclusion of others. One can work out a beautiful ethical case for either the deed, need or equality principle. But the matter is not likely to be settled as a purely ethical question. It is more pragmatic than that. The kind of compensation that is to be given will depend on the development of the economic and social life of the people at different times and places. My guess is that, though the spread between the maximum and minimum salaries of workers in public

industry will gradually decrease, there will be some difference in income for decades to come, both as an incentive to production and, perhaps more important, as a means of making it possible to shift workers from industries where work is scarce, to those where the demand for labor is great, without using the big stick of compulsion. The criterion should be: What kind of compensation will at the time bring the best social results, will lead to the maximum social happiness, and everything else should be made subordinate to this criterion.

It may be that the time will come when differences in compensation will have no effect on social effort. It may be that the time will come when goods will be so abundant that the communistic principle of need will win out, but that time is not yet, and in the meanwhile, Socialism will have a hard job in totally eradicating the money incentive that has played so large a part in capitalist society.

The Political State

I have left untouched many important aspects of the Socialist society. There is, for instance, the problem of the nature of the political state. Will there be any political state? If there is, will it be based on geographical, industrial or occupational representation, or a combination of all of these? Will there be one or two legislative chambers? What will be its powers of coercion, if any? These and other questions cry for consideration.

In general, Socialists, whatever their opinion regarding the nature of the transitional state, stand for thoroughgoing democracy in political government under Socialism. They stand for the most possible freedom of speech and of movement, so long as such freedom does not bring disadvantage to others. They would have the government slough off its coercive functions as rapidly as possible, although they believe that it will probably always be necessary for some agency, as a representative of the community, to be in a position to curb the anti-social acts of its citizens. Personally, I find it difficult to visualize a time when we can dispense, for instance, with our traffic police and, so long as we have any remnant of private ownership of industry, some agency must be in a position to collect taxes and to enforce their collection against recalcitrant individuals. In the sense that Marx defined the state as an instrument of one class for the oppression of another, I think that the state should pass away under Socialism. In the sense that it is defined by others, as an agency through which all the people of a community may perform func-

tions which all require by virtue of their residence in that community—the cleaning and lighting of streets among them—it will undoubtedly be continued.

Frankly, there is no common opinion in the Socialist movement regarding the best form of representation under the Socialist republic—that will be a matter of some experimentation. At present an interesting controversy is taking place as to the relative advantages of a one and two chamber legislature. Webb wants a legislature which will consist of a political chamber, charged with purely political questions and a social chamber, charged with problems of industry and education, in which numerous sub-committees are elected with general advisory powers over particular industries. Laski maintains that one chamber is to be preferred to two; if the two chambers are continually clashing as representatives of different interests, unnecessary delay and inaction results; if they are continually agreeing, why the two chambers any way?

But in America there will probably be plenty of time to thrash out these and other questions before the co-operative order arrives.

In the meanwhile let us approach the new order in the undogmatic spirit of Kautsky when he said:

"Nothing is more false than to represent the Socialist society as a simple, rigid mechanism whose wheels, when once set in motion, run on continuously in the same manner."

"The most manifold forms of property in the means of production—national, municipal, co-operatives of consumption and production, and private can exist beside each other in a Socialist society—the most diverse forms of industrial organization, bureaucratic, trade union, co-operative and individual; the most diverse forms of remuneration of labor, fixed wages, time wages, piece wages, participation in the results of intensive labor, participation in the economics, in raw material, machinery, etc., the most diverse forms of the circulation of products, like contracts by purchase from the warehouses of the state, from municipalities, from co-operatives of production, from producers themselves, etc. The same manifold character of economic mechanism that exists today is possible in a Socialist society. Only the hunting and the hunted, the struggling and the resented, the annihilated of the present competitive struggle are excluded and herewith the contrast between exploiter and exploited."

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 the necessary leaflets, circulars, applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 123 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Reports from all over the nation to National Headquarters give evidence that this year will find the Socialist battle lines lightened and moving forward in all sections. Nothing sounds sweeter to the National Headquarters than the reports naming state tickets and telling of the lining up of the forces to carry the message of Socialism to the voters. Back of Thomas and Maurer will be a solid phalanx of our comrades well as many others who see the Socialist Party in the light we Socialists do, and that is that it is THE Party of the producing masses. It looks good, comrades. Now for a united effort as we go to battle!

Thomas Ready to Start

Norman Thomas, Socialist nominee for President, kept speaking almost daily ever since his nomination, will start on a regular tour, beginning August 5. The dates for the first tour are as follows: August 5th, Watson and Fairmont, W. Va.; 6th, Charleston, Parkersburg or Clarkson, W. Va.; 7th, Huntington, W. Va.; 8th, Cincinnati, Ohio; 9th, Louisville, Ky.; 10th, Memphis, Tenn.; 11th, Little Rock, Ark.; 12th, Oklahoma City, Okla.; 13th, Wichita, Kansas; 14th, Kansas City, Kansas; 15th, Omaha, Neb.; 16th, Des Moines, Iowa; 17th, Davenport, Iowa; 18th, Dubuque, Iowa; 19th, Milwaukee, Wis.; 20th, Indianapolis, Ind.; 21st, Toledo, Ohio; 22nd, Detroit, Mich.; 24th, Cleveland, Ohio.

West Virginia

Comrade Higgins, State Secretary of West Virginia, informs the National Office that the Party's candidate for Governor is having big crowds at his meetings, that the situation looks good for a big vote and a much bigger Party organization. The state convention on August 5 at Watson promises to be a big

affair. Norman Thomas will be there if possible. National Secretary Henry will also attend.

Tennessee

The State Convention of the Socialist Party of Tennessee will be held on July 22 at Memphis. State Secretary Braun reports that they expect to have a full state electoral and congressional ticket. Readers of our press should get back of our State Secretary and help to put the word "Socialist" on the Tennessee ballot. When this is in print, but the big work after the ticket is selected is still to be done, and every liberal and honest minded person in the State of Tennessee should give co-operation to Comrade Braun in his work.

Colorado

The Socialist Party convention held in Denver for the purpose of naming a state ticket and selecting electors of the Presidential ticket, was a success, and we feel confident that the support for the ticket will be unusually good this year. The candidates follow: Governor—S. A. Garth, Colorado Springs; Lieutenant Governor—James A. Kimber, Wray; Secretary of State—Chas. E. Wingfield, Canon City; Auditor—Geo. F. Near, Colorado Springs; Treasurer—Marshall De Witt, Denver; Supt. Public Instruction—G. N. Falconer, Denver.

Idaho

Comrade Commons, State Secretary of Idaho, writes in to tell us that his state convention will be held on August 28. He also asks us to say that he has 2,000 National Platforms that will be glad to mail out to comrades in Idaho at cost, plus mailing charges.

The Dakotas

J. Mahlon Barnes is making headway in the Northwest, lining up the Socialists and friends in the work of placing our ticket on the ballot in the two states for the fall election. Comrade Barnes was secured by the Campaign Committee to attend to the organization of our forces in North and South Dakota and attend of the placing of our ticket there.

Reports from him show that he has already organized a working force and selected a set of electors for the Presidential ticket for South Dakota, and that the work is now under way for the securing of the necessary signatures to place them on the ballot. From South Dakota he will go to North Dakota, where he hopes to be successful in placing our ticket. The fact that the Party has paid little attention to these two states for several years makes the work doubly hard there, but Barnes reports that he is placing our ticket in the time that North and South Dakota are ready to count noses for the Socialist ticket.

South Dakota's electoral ticket is as follows: Herman Pretzer, Aberdeen; Owen Stensland, Ludlow; Richard Strohmeyer, Aberdeen; Z. F. Anderson, Pukwana; Charles F. Hinz, Aberdeen.

Alabama

Socialists of Alabama will hold a convention in Birmingham August 4-5 for the purpose of nominating Presidential electors and the transaction of other matters pertaining to the welfare of the party in this state.

Kansas

Ross Magill, State Secretary, is preparing for another trip out in the state for organization purposes. He will visit Kansas City, Kansas, to see if a local cannot be formed there. He is preparing for the state convention that is to be held in Topeka. Magill says he hopes to take in one hundred members on this trip.

New Hampshire

Earle B. Young of Laconia reports that a number of people have volunteered help in gathering signatures and that he expects to be able to get a state organization functioning again as soon as an organizer can be sent into the State.

Rhode Island

The Rhode Island comrades, under the stimulus of Louis Rabinowitz, are working hard to put the ticket on the field.

Maine

Comrade Wendell Farrington of Livermore Falls, is putting up the ticket in Maine and building a state organization, too.

California

Aided by the National Campaign Headquarters, the Labor World, owned and published by the California Socialists, has been enlarged. The first enlarged issue is an eight-page tabloid size paper. The management has been successful in securing one of the hardest hitters in the game of pen pushing to edit the paper in the person of John Kenneth Turner. Many of our comrades will remember his name as being in the Socialist and Labor papers in the past.

The enlargement of the Labor World will give the comrades of the western half of the nation a means to better carry the message of Socialism to the masses, and we hope all comrades will get back of this paper right at the start and make it safe for the Socialist movement. By "making it safe" we mean giving it the support that it should have and that will allow the comrades responsible for it to pay the bills and gather a big circulation. Without such co-operation a paper cannot exist. Send your dollar to the Labor World, Room 208, Grant Bldg., 1085 Market street, San Francisco, Calif.

Kirkpatrick in Los Angeles

Geo. R. Kirkpatrick will speak Sunday, August 5, 6 p. m., in Symphony Hall, 232 So. Hill street, Los Angeles.

Connecticut

The State Executive Committee will hold its July meeting at the State Office, 23 Church street, New Haven, Sunday, the 29th. The Committee will plan to send speakers into about sixty of the cities and towns of the state. Campaign news letters will be sent out to all of the daily and weekly papers of the state. Jasper McLevy, candidate for Governor, will make a special issue in his talks throughout the state on the Old Age Pensions and Unemployment Insurance Bills, which the Party expects to have introduced in the next session of the Legislature.

Hartford

Frank Crossworth of New York spoke at a well attended open air meeting in Hartford on July 16.

All roads lead to the Hamden picnic at Carlson's Grove, Foxon East Haven, Sunday, July 22. August Classens, speaker.

Pennsylvania

Nomination Papers Must Be Returned to Party Office by August First

Our papers must be filed in Harrisburg by the middle of August and all comrades securing signatures, must return their papers to the Party Office, 808 Locust street, by August 1. If any comrades have not secured papers, and wish to sign or have their names on the list, send them in their names, addresses and occupations to the Party Office, and we will attend to them. Every signature is needed to get our quota.

There is a lot of clerical work that must be done within the next month, and any comrades who have some time off, can do no better than to stop around to office and help for a few hours. The office will be open at least one night a week for the next month—and perhaps more. Send in your names and addresses and we will give you the information as to when we will be open. During the day, we are open 10 a. m. to 6 p. m.

The Party has secured Platforms, and the new National leaflets "Have You a Friend Out of Work?" and "It Isn't Fun When Men Have to Strike." If you can distribute leaflets—come into the office and get some or drop us a card, stating how many you can use, and we will see that you receive them.

Party News for August will be out by the 15th of the month. If you have not yet subscribed for this little sheet, do so by all means. It will keep you in touch with local Philadelphia and what we are doing. Subscription, 25 cents per year.

Philadelphia

Have you secured cards for the Philadelphia Donation Party? Don't miss it. Send in at once to the Party Office for details.

Y. P. S. L. Outing—July 29

The first outing of that energetic Y. P. S. L. in Philadelphia will be held next Sunday, July 29th—at Riverview Beach. All Socialists and young people interested in knowing something about Socialism are invited. We will meet at the Chestnut street Wharf—outside the door at 9:30 Sunday morning. Price for the round trip, 75 cents.

The Y. P. S. L. are meeting the second and third Wednesdays—during the hot months, they "will meet" the second

Wednesdays only. Next meeting, August 8, will be held at the same place and program. Watch for our announcement in the New Leader and Party News.

Westmoreland County

The picnic of Westmoreland County held Sunday, July 22, was not a failure as the Greensburg Daily Tribune stated it would be in their Saturday issue.

James H. Maurer, our candidate for Governor, made a very successful and wonderful talk. He convinced the 200 who heard him that their place is in the Socialist Party.

Indiana

A new party local has been organized at Richmond. A group of the Indianapolis Socialists visited Richmond, where a good and enthusiastic crowd gathered at a picnic. This is the third local organized by Indiana comrades during the last couple of weeks. A Socialist local in every city and town, is the slogan!

Georgia

Through the efforts of National Campaign Headquarters in New York, Comrade Mary R. Mills, who has kept the banner of Socialism flying in Georgia for many years, will give her efforts to aiding the party campaign in that state. Comrade Mills' address is 277 Tenth street, N. E., Atlanta. The job of putting the ticket on the ballot is under way and all help will be welcomed.

Comrade Mills sends the New Leader the following:

"As the Party intends to put its Presidential candidates on the ballot in every state, Georgia must not be left out. The point of putting up a ticket in every state is that the vote recorded will provide a means of estimating the strength of Socialist thought throughout the country."

"As the comrades know, there has been no Party organization in Georgia since the war. In the confusion of that time, even the records of the State Office were lost, and there is no existing list of those active in the work ten years ago. All Georgians, reading this notice, who are interested in the resumption of Social Party activity in the state, will kindly send their names to Mary Raoul Mills, 377 Tenth street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia."

Massachusetts

Comrade Frank R. Crossworth has had excellent meetings throughout the Western half of the state for the past two weeks and judging from the crowds and the collections,

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

THE NEW SUPER-POWER EDUCATION

IT HAS gotten so nowadays, that a degree from one of our leading universities has about as much relation to education as an Elk's tooth.

My Alma Mater, Columbia University, for example, is now offering a course in press-agentry. It will teach young men how to make stuff into the papers about the fascinating goings on of public utilities, automobile concerns, and tooth-powder manufacturers.

All that remains now for Dr. Butler's institution to provide for "all the sad young men" are courses in pineapple throwing, elementary hi-jacking, and Speak-easy Management.

Speaking of speak-easies and Nicholas Murray Butler, I notice that ex-Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania is running around with a petition asking that Butler be fired from Columbia.

Where have you been, Gifford? Ever since 1909, when I was let out of Columbia, not a year has gone by but what I have written to Butler urging him to resign at once. I might inform Gifford that the only result of my petition has been the receipt of a King's Crown for Distinguished Non-Athletic Activity.

When I was on the wagon with Mayor Walker a few months ago, some low person swiped the crown from me in the back room of a saloon. I understand, however, there are still a few left, and if Gifford keeps up his Butler-baiting, he may get one for himself.

However, he and I do not agree on our reasons for our hearty distaste for Nicholas Murray Butler. Gifford wants him fired because he is a wet politically. I want him fired because he is all wet, politically, socially, and educationally.

It's nothing in my life that Butler wants us to have our liquor back. It's a whole lot in my life that such a man should remain at the head of the largest university in America. It isn't his bootlegging, it's his bootlicking, that depresses me.

He has done more to make Columbia, and all it stands for, a vast institutional joke in the eyes of real liberals than a whole army of go-getters.

And now they are going to teach the boys press-agentry. With a degree of P. A., I suppose, at the end of the course.

To be sure, they are not quite as blunt as this about it. They are using old phrases, such as "public relations," "educational publicity," etc.

May I suggest that the best text-book for this course would be a transcript of the recent investigation conducted by the Federal Trade Commission into the propaganda methods of the big power utilities?

There the aspiring student can obtain an interesting close-up of the way the real stuff is really put over. He can learn the details connected with taking the small-town newspaper editors out on parties.

"These editors," said one of the investigated press agents, "are all of them God's fools. And they are grateful even for a drink."

A sample syllabus of the new course might run as follows:

HOW TO GET A RATE RAISE. (A)

9-10 Havemeyer Hall. 2 points.

Technique for Approaching Hostile Editors. Seminar conducted by Professor Ivy Lee, I. R. T.

This consists of a review of the best methods for throwing parties for editorial writers who have run off the reservation. Ways and means of approaching the editorial room through the business office, with advertising copy and free reading notices. Preparation of utility catchment for school distribution. Planning of exhibits of poverty-stricken railroad, telephone, and light companies, showing that none of these concerns have made a nickel in the past ten years. Planning of widows and orphans stockholders' pageant, with incidental music and words by Schopenhauer.

(Note: The best way of handling public service commissions will be set forth in the cellar of Havemeyer Hall after midnight on Tuesdays.)

A COURSE FOR UTILITY CHIEF LEADERS. (B)

10-11 Business College. 3 points.

This is a course for advanced students only. It requires the compilation of cheers and songs for Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and similar juveniles. It will consist of writing songs along the lines of "Hurrah for Sam Insull, our Leader so True, He works day and night to make money for you; He don't take a cent to feather his nest, He just pays the rent and hopes for the best." Or, "Now Hail to Frank Hedley, an altruist rare, He's giving New Yorkers a seven-cent fare." Or "Glory, glory for the light trust, we're all stockholders now."

LABOR RELATIONS. (A, B, C)

Columbia University Chapel. Rear Pew. 6-8. 5 points.

How to form a company union. Sample company union elections will be given, in which the students, acting as foremen, go among the operatives, carrying ballots prepared in the company office, and blacklists of potential agitators. John J. Raskob and Owen D. Young will tell of his experiences in union-busting.

BRIBING OF LEGISLATORS. (D)

This course is strictly confidential, and the syllabus will be mailed only to those who can convince the authorities that they are in earnest.

RED-BAITING. (E)

Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, 2-3. 4 points.

Emphasis will be laid on "constructive rather than destructive criticism." Constructive meaning of course anything that bullies the company. The League for Industrial Democracy, the Public Ownership League and others will be hatched up somehow to Moscow, and instructions given to our public speakers on how to holler "Revolution" at anyone who thinks that any rate lower than seven and a half cents per Kilowatt Hour is a good thing. John A. Garver, counsel for the Consolidated Gas Company of New York City, will conduct this course if his health holds out.

Commencement exercises will be conducted in the conference-room of the General Motors. After the Democratic Campaign Committee has moved out. An address on the perils of peace will be delivered by Pierre Dupont, and Bishop Manning will pronounce the benediction.

McAllister Coleman.

Walter Lippman Treads Softly

"American Inquisitors" And Other Current Books

By James Oneal

The Inquisition was at one time an official arrangement of Church and State and it had for its object the regulation of thought. The idea was to induce all to think as a ruling class thought. Those who could not be so induced were condemned as undesirable and after some torturing, which was enjoyed by all Godly people, they were destroyed. It worked well for a time but time did not work well with the inquisitors. They in turn were destroyed and the time came when we could think a thought without landing in the calaboose.

However, times change. In many respects thinking has become a public offense in the United States. It is an offense to our ruling classes. It is this situation which is the theme of a small book by Walter Lippman, "American Inquisitors." New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.25. It is a reprint of lectures delivered at the University of Virginia. The author considers the Scopes trial in Tennessee, Mayor Thompson's circus in Chicago. Fundamentalism in general, the teacher and the teaching of history, majority and minority rule, and related issues.

Each chapter is interrupted with a dialogue after the Socratic method in which the pros and cons are argued. This is very cleverly done and on the whole it is a stimulating performance that is calculated to make people think. Yet here and there Lippman ventures a dictum which, as in two other books, impresses us as an apology for the Lippman of 1928 who contemplates the Lippman of 1910. Thus he has Socrates declare that the man who acquires the scientific spirit is one who "is ready to let things be what they may be, whether or not he wants them to be that way."

One imagines a Tammany Sachem squinting over Walter's shoulder as he fired this shot from his blunderbuss. An easy chair in the New York World sanctum may be consistent with this greasy opportunism but it certainly is not consistent with the scientific spirit. The scientific spirit makes no compromise with taboos, prejudices and traditions. Yet this dictum is offset by other passages in these lectures in which opportunism in historical writing is rightly called "patriotic fundamentalism." He objects to the "willingness on the part of well known historians to manufacture a new patriotic tradition to suit the political necessities of 1917." Yet Mr. Lippman is also engaged in the manufacture of "a new political tradition to

suit the political necessities of 1928" in his support of the New Tammany.

One gets the impression that here is a man who has full knowledge of the need of the scientific spirit, who makes out an excellent case for it now and then, yet who is treading on eggs. There is certain rotten fruit which he desires to smash but certain others which he desires to avoid. We are sorry for Socrates if he is made a partner of Tammany Hall.

The Story of Progress

Nothing is more needed in the United States than a general knowledge of the inter-relationship of all institutions, forces and ideas and some comprehension of their origin and history. Americans are the supreme anarchists of the modern world, anarchists in thought and action. Every little Babbitt thinks in terms of his drab habitat. The average voter thinks that the Republican party of Coolidge and Hoover is the Republican party of Lincoln and Chase and that the Democratic party of Jackson is the Democratic party of Al Smith. Evolution has no meaning for the anarchist.

It isn't an easy task to convince such people that we live in a changing world but it is not a hopeless one. A text book on evolution is useless but a simple exposition illustrated with pictures, maps and diagrams is serviceable for those who have not reached the hopeless stage. Professor Leon C. Marshall of the University of Chicago has written such a book "The Story of Human Progress." New York: The Macmillan Company, \$3.50. The first edition appeared in 1923 and a revised edition is now available.

The author sets himself the task of presenting the story of human progress from its primitive origins to the present, considering the whole range of environment, inventions, tools, materials, written and spoken language, art, science, knowledge, organization, struggle, government, production, trade, distribution of wealth, religion and so on. Hundreds of drawings, maps, charts, diagrams and photographs illustrate the text, making the book an admirable introduction to the great panorama of man's ascension from his shaggy ancestors to the contemporary period. The reader gets the impression of the continuity and the relation of all things in the human struggle. There is the idea of universal change. Nothing is static. All institutions, ideas and forces are in a constant state of flux.

It is an ideal book for our confused

anarchists. It will help them to arrive in the twentieth century and they need this help.

Corrupting Elections

American politics has a long history of election abuses but in this it does not differ from what has happened in other countries. At one time British politics was a matter of naked buying of seats in Parliament but in this century elections in England are as clean as will be found anywhere in the world.

It is doubtful whether we have made any progress at all in making politics decent and wholesome in this country. Methods have changed from the days when Gas Adickes bought a Senate seat in the Delaware market or Clarke purchased one in Montana but the idea of offices and legislation as commodities still lives in the old party organizations. State and Federal legislation has been invoked for many years to suppress corrupt practices but the result remind us of inexperienced engineers trying to stop leaks in a great dam. Leaks are constantly being repaired but the dam is so rotten that other breaks continue to appear while repairs are being made.

This view of the corruption of American politics is confirmed by a recent study by Earl R. Sikes of Dartmouth College (State and Federal Corruption Practices Legislation. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C. \$3). Professor Sikes presents a historical and analytical survey of the subject in seven chapters in which he considers bribery, intimidation, fraud, regulation of political advertising, campaign contributions and expenditures, the power of the Federal Government over elections, Federal regulation of contributions and expenditures, and other phases related to the theme. It is an exhaustive study and one that does give much hope of ever destroying those influences and interests that too often make the franchise a farce and elections anything else than a fair registry of the opinions of the voters.

There is an excellent Appendix on state laws dealing with political corruption and a good bibliography. The Appendix should prove a valuable aid to lawyers who handle cases involving political corruption.

The Socialist Part In The Class Struggle

(Continued from Page 4)

cialists being human like to set up some second rate thinker who occupies the exactly opposite position from their own, then knock him down and imagine that their thesis is proved. The best critics of the socialist theory of the class struggle do not say that the theory is all wrong. They simply contend that socialists over-emphasize the class struggle. They say that it is unscientific to prophesy in so sweeping a manner concerning an economic system which is so complex and chaotic. If I could line up before you all the professors of economics I have met in five years wandering in American colleges, you would find very few of them who would deny the reality of the class struggle. If they were called upon to prophesy as to the future of our system of industrial control they would probably predict a drift toward better labor conditions through three agencies:

1. Increasing mechanical efficiency.
 2. The extension of labor and welfare laws.
 3. The class conscious struggle of the working class.
- The economists who rate the factors

in the advance of labor in that order usually vote for Al Smith or Hoover, believe in the right of labor to organize, provided labor is fairly quiet about it, and eulogize Henry Ford. The socialist has no quarrel with these economists when they say that mechanical efficiency, labor laws and the class struggle are important factors in the advance of labor, but the socialist would reverse the emphasis. He would say that the class struggle comes first, because the aim of labor advance is not mere individual welfare but the construction of a new society in which labor is the only possible method of getting a living.

Whether you accept the socialist theory of the class struggle depends on whether you accept the socialist ideal. If you say that the preeminent object of all social change is the attainment of a society of one economic class, the class of labor cooperation, then the class struggle becomes the one important factor in social change. Then reform within capitalism is not enough.

The thing boils down to what you want as the outcome of economic evolution. If you want simply the improvement of the workers' conditions in dollars and cents and shorter hours, then submissiveness and company unions and mechanical efficiency and labor laws may be better weapons for labor advance than is the class struggle. But if the thing you are aiming at is a shift in the whole arrangement of class power, then you must accept the socialist thesis and the socialist prophecy that the main factor in social transformation is the struggle of the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist class.

Violence vs. Peaceful

Well, how about method? I have touched upon the Socialist theory of the class struggle as description and prophecy. What method should the class struggle follow in overthrowing capitalism? As Socialists should we advocate a frontal attack on capitalism with any weapons at our command and end up with the dictatorship of the proletariat, or should we content ourselves with the weapons of democratic change such as labor unionism, parliamentary majorities and the state purchase of industry? Since that question will occupy a whole session of this conference I will attempt only a sentence or two in trying to answer it.

If I were a general in a war, I would use any weapons available to kill and mangle my enemies provided the use of those weapons did not act as a boomerang against me. But if I discovered that by using one ton of poison gas against my enemies, I would bring down upon my own troops ten tons of poison gas from the enemy, then I would consider it foolhardy to use poison gas. The man who urges the American working class to stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat at the present moment is giving the most bitter reactionaries of the upper class pretext for violence, suppression and dictatorship. At the game of dictatorship and suppression the American upper class has the workers beaten to a frazzle before they start to fight. At the game of education and propaganda for democratic change, the working class has at least a fighting chance. To me it is simply a question of sound common sense in the choice of weapons. The method which the American class struggle should adopt is the method best suited to meet the special difficulties with which we are faced, the lack of class consciousness, the confusion of intra-class struggles and the psychological effect of relative prosperity. Considering the weaknesses in the forces of the American working class and the strength of the democratic tradition in this country, it seems to me that American Socialists should advocate a class struggle based on the method of education and organization, of peaceful, democratic change.

But there is no use being bitter about this question of method. The Communists can say to the Socialists in America: "You have tried your method of class struggle and it has failed." And the Socialists can say to the Communists with what I think is even more justice: "You have tried your method and it has failed." What we need to do is to stop shouting at each other long enough to shout at the capitalists: "America has tried your method and it has failed."

Tango . . . Rhapsody for a July Night . . .

Senorita, senorita . . . dance
To the southwind's strumming.
The world is a black tiled floor,
And even the stars are humming
The tango tunes
That pour
In a thousand silvered waterfalls
From innumerable guitars. . . .

Senorita, senorita . . . dance
For the galleried stars,
For me, for me with my mounting sense
With the lulling, wild experience
That lifts me higher than imagined heights
Above, above the pale duenna
Squatting on the skies . . .
Beyond the white horizons of the nights
Wherein I dreamed of beautiful things. . . .
Even further than your flame filled eyes. . . .
Beyond music, beyond wings. . . .

Senorita, senorita, whirl
With the mad words spinning in my brain. . . .
Make a gyroscopic top of everything,
Love, laughter. . . make a fool of pain
Dizzy the constellations, halt the seas,
Just for a moment till they swell and rise
Like seven passion tortured Titans
Bursting all the skies. . . .
Till the galleries fall in a glittering flood. . . .
A billion planets tumbling out of space
Right before the shining altar
To pile themselves in tribute
Of your face. . . .

Senorita, senorita, dance. . . .
The world . . . and you . . . let me make the three. . . .
All things that will endure . . . all matter, thought and space. . . .

Are in your dance, are in your grace. . . .
With what remains of me. . . .
Dance, dance for poor me . . . and the stars. . . .
I am poor now that I have paid
For the tango tunes that pour
Into a silvered serenade
Out of innumerable guitars. . . .

An Open Letter to a Certain Presidential Aspirant

My dear Al:
This week I took a short walk through Madison Street. It led me on through Oliver Street and New Bowery. I was reminded that you have a residence on Oliver Street, and also that you were brought up right in that vicinity. I am wondering if it ever enters into your thoughts, that you have for neighbors about two hundred thousand little children. That most of these kids are out of families poorer than sin . . . that summer is drenched in horrible heat waves . . . and that there isn't a blade of grass for miles about . . . ? I have read your smart speeches on whiskey and beer, your deep dissertations on governmental budgets, and even your encyclical whereby you keep the Pope in the Vatican. . . . You are a smart fellow. . . . You were born and bred on the sidewalks of New York with me and a few other smart fellows. . . . But there is just this difference between you and me, Al. . . . you make speeches that trail along to the White House, while I write little pieces for a Socialist paper about poor men's children that suffer hell in the torrid heat of the city's sidewalks. . . .

Now, really, you shouldn't forget your poor neighbors so. It's alright to keep your eye on bigger jobs . . . but you know we East Side blokes have always had a code of honor about getting swelled heads even if things lifted us out of our hard luck. . . .

I've been waiting ever since Houston for a word from you about the poor . . . your old neighbors and mine. . . . Not a peep. . . . Gee! even Ole Timothy D. Sullivan was a better guy that way. He used to give away free ice to the folks on Chrystie Street. . . . But then thinking it over, I suppose you are right. . . . Why make talk about something that can't pan out? You did talk somewhat about re-building the East Side, and setting up garden apartment houses there, just like those dubb Socialists in Vienna did for their poor workers. That was four years ago. . . . Since then however the housing shortage on Fifth and Park Avenues has dwindled away. . . . Apartments at \$4000.00 to \$6000.00 are just weeping loud for occupants. . . . There is no shortage now. . . . So why build up the East Side? . . . I see. . . . In the meantime, your little dancing mayor is swimming in the cool Pacific, surrounded by all the movie stars, while a million children of New York's poor stand under crude gutter pump showers, and get a bit of cooling delight, mixed up with horse-dung and loose garbage. . . .

Yes, you realize that Tammany Hall is not in business for love. . . . You can't fill up a Tammany Hall War Chest with worries about poor people's children. . . . It takes hard boiled dough to make elections go round, to hire strong boys and "cokeys" to steal away elections from threatening Socialists, to keep the ward heeled in line through the lean seasons, to do the hundred and one chores that hold a political organization together. . . . Right you are, Al. Sickly sentiment about heat tortured babes, and poor men's families choking their lungs and souls out in tenements right before your own home is boloney. . . . I have been reading your Democratic platform on which you hope to get elected. . . . I don't see nor hear one word about those kids. . . . But then again, kids are so unimportant, compared to government statistics and the breweries. . . . Kids don't send in campaign contribs. . . . Brewers and business men do. . . . What really would be the choice then of a smart boy like you? Right you are. . . . Well, I'm not half as sore at you Al, for this little slip on your part, as I feel toward that sweet social working lady, Mrs. Moskowitz who acts the part inverted of Abie's Irish Rose. . . . for political position, I mean. . . . Time was, when this lass used to oose great gobs of tears for the poor, poor people. When she worked in settlement houses and gave up great slices of her time and energy to alleviate the woes and ills and sufferings etc. . . . Now she writes and advises our Al, as to how an Irish lad may squeeze his way into the big job. . . . I never did like social workers anyhow. . . . Most of them did it because it was the thing to do. . . . Now . . . I am doubly certain why I don't like Mrs. Moskowitz and her stripe. . . . I don't like that sort of merchandising, that's all. . . .

So, all I can say in conclusion, old boy, is, that maybe you might pause between cocktails long enough to make up a plank about wiping out the East Side, building big parks and camps for poor men's kids, at State Expense, so that all school kids might get a few weeks of God's country during these horribly hot days and nights. . . .

Sorry to disturb your summer though on "How to Get There" . . . But gee, kids, on Oliver Street, on a hot July day ain't such a pretty sight, neither. . . .

S. A. DeWitt.

Organization
Education
Solidarity

FREE YPSU YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN

EDITOR

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

On Preparedness

LOUIS RABINOWITZ

The advance of Socialism among young people has never been as clear as it is today. Although its motion has been essentially quiet and unobtrusive, its progress has consisted, chiefly, of leaps and bounds.

In practice, Socialist education has consisted of two interrelated phases. First, an analysis and criticism of the capitalist system of production and distribution. And, secondly, the solution in the form of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

Not so long ago, Socialist speakers were almost always confronted with questions which dealt solely with the first phase.

"Why poverty? Because people won't save—they have no brains and can't work up in the world, etc. . . ."

"Why unemployment? Because people are lazy—there are enough jobs—anybody can get one, etc. . . ."

The average young person at that time, backed up the capitalist system and sought excuses for its evils. There were very few Socialist speakers who ever got far beyond this first stage.

But now this condition of youth intelligence no longer predominates. American young people are inclined to agree that the present social diseases are products of the capitalist system. They no longer quarrel with the Socialist system. They no longer ask, "What's wrong?" They have passed that stage. Instead, they cry, "What are you going to do about it?"

Now we have an entirely different matter. We have reached the second phase of Socialist education. Young people know that their social troubles are not results of individual faults, but the consequence of a faulty system of society. And they are anxious to know how Socialism can solve the problem. They want exact information. Many want blueprints. Of course, they must be answered today more fully than ever before.

But the fact remains, that there has been a tremendous advance in the Socialist education of American youth. They are at the second stage, the constructive phase. They are ready to build with the movement. They are on the way to being full-fledged Socialists. All they need is more information and Socialist education.

Each individual Yipsel is an organizer. All Yipsels are educators. They are an important part of the Socialist Movement of today. For it is to them that many of the young people come for answers to their questions.

During election periods questions crop up like weeds after a heavy rain.

To All Yipsels—Get Ready For A Wide Educational Campaign

As in previous years, the Rand School is offering scholarships to the Yipsels of Greater New York. Twenty of these scholarships will be awarded to the members of the Senior Y. P. S. L. Applications for these should be made in person at the office of the Rand School or by letter to the Educational Director. Those who apply earliest will have the best chance, other things being equal. The awarding of the scholarships will begin about the first of August.

SHULMAN IN NEW BEDFORD

After having attended the Party State Convention at Albany, Lester Shulman, of the Brownsville Yipsels, went back to New Bedford to participate further in the strike. He is doing duty on the picket line and addressing street meetings on behalf of the strikers.

The Bronx Boro Committee, at its last meeting, appropriated five dollars from its treasury to help defray his expenses while in New Bedford.

TICKETS FOR BIG PICNIC GOING FAST

The City Office reports that the distribution of tickets among the circles for the send-off picnic to Norman Thomas on August 4 is almost completed. Some circles have not yet obtained their tickets, and are thus depriving their members of a chance to attend. If your circle has sold its quota of tickets or has not gotten a supply of tickets, you can obtain them in Room 608, 7 East 15th Street.

CIRCLE SIX, BROOKLYN, REORGANIZED

Due to the active work of Emanuel Switkes, Chairman of the Organization Committee, the only Yipsel circle in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn has been put on its feet. Morton Salsburg is the organizer of this circle. The other officers are Irving Smith, Educational Director, assisted by Wm. Goofen; Harold Rutheiser, Financial Secretary, and Louis Gansel, Cor. Secretary. The organizer and the assistant educational director are the central committee delegates.

On August 2, it will hold a discussion on George Bernard Shaw's new book on Socialism. All intelligent young people are invited to attend.

MILWAUKEE YIPSELS TO HOLD PICNIC

The North Side (Milwaukee) Yipsels are planning to hold their Fifteenth Annual Picnic at Grant Park, South Milwaukee, on Sunday, July 30. The affair is in charge of Comrade Willet Zander. Many of the Chicago Yipsels who attended last year's picnic are going to attend the one this year.

YIPSEL RADIO PERIOD JULY 30

On Monday, July 30, the second Yipsel Broadcasting period will take place.

Julius Umanasky will speak, followed by Dora Wolinsky, who will give a piano recital.

CIRCLE TWO SENIORS

Circle Two with the 23d A. D. Socialist Party Branch will go to Camp Eden, Sunday, July 29, via automobile. The price of a ticket is one dollar for Yipsels and two dollars for Party members. Those going will meet at the Lyceum 5 a. m. sharp. The rowing, swimming, tennis, baseball and the woods promise a rollicking time for everybody.

The Parable of Usefulness

By ALAN BOMSER

Long years ago, even before Croesus, there lived on the shores of the Mediterranean a merchant whose fortune exceeded that of the Lydians. He lived on a high hill above the heads and houses of his father loved him as all fathers love only sons—or should. His father had ambitions: "My son, bide your time, for you are yet young and have many years to live as he did, stay to me! As your ancestors did, so may you, so must you—for me, for yourself, for our great name!"

Down in the lower city, where lived the harpies of the harbors and the thieves of the thriving lands, was an aged man whose power knew no other than the splendor of silver, much less the glossy comfort of gold. He lived in a cave full of rocks and rusted iron. He had a son who lived as he did, sure as he did, yet lived happily as he did.

They, the both of them, gazed up at the palace of the plutocrat and admired, but none envied. The old man had ambitions: "My son—you see that hill embellished with both the gold and the blood of our compatriots in pauperism; you see that arch-monarch of money and his lovely son rolling in superficial joy; you see all these things, their transient, transparent happiness—those things are useless! Worthless! They waste time and time is short; you are old and old is a curse. Remember these words that I say, 'Let your life be more lasting than brass, not to please the crowd nor to fill your purse; but be thou a friend of humanity! Usefulness! Your name isn't important—your deed!'"

"Father, what you say, I know, and more! Am I a fool? Would that you live and watch your work in the world! And so it happened that the rich man's son while walking 'midst the gold in his father's treasure house, suddenly became inspired. He melted gold to form a rectangular block. After making thousands of these, he built a palace in an obscure wood and lived there till he died, happy because he had satisfied his father's ambitions.

The poor man's son, when walking in his father's cave, saw a bar of iron. In two months he had sharpened the ends into points and had bored a hole in the center. Then he bent it with his brawny arms and put another bar through the hole. Then he died, unsatisfied for himself, but satisfied for his father.

To this day you will see herds of laborers springing like pick-a-see, creating gigantic cities while the rich man still melts his gold to form bricks and still searches for and hopes to find a palace of gold in an obscure wood.

The following was recently noticed on the back of an application for Yipsel membership: Q. What caused you to join the Y. P. S. L. A: The Y. W. L.

Coleman Hits N. Y. Utilities Commission

Socialist Candidate Denounces Refusal to Hear Consumers on Proposed Merger

THE Public Service Commission of New York State has proved itself once more the ally of the large utilities corporations, and cannot be depended upon to protect the interests of the small consumers of gas and electricity," it is charged by McAllister Coleman, candidate for the United States Senate on the Socialist ticket in New York.

Mr. Coleman referred to the decision of the Commission, made at Wednesday's hearing on the proposed merger of the Consolidated Gas Company and the Brooklyn Edison Company. At this hearing, Morris L. Ernst, counsel for the Public Commission on Power in New York State, asked the right to be heard on behalf of the tax-payers and consumers of gas and electricity. Commissioner Prendergast told him that he was not a proper party to the hearing.

"Economic and political liberals," said Mr. Coleman, "who still have faith in the system of regulating public utilities by commissions, will do well to ponder the decision of Commissioner Prendergast that the consumer is not to be heard in matters affecting the mergers of utilities. This case is one of the most important applications ever presented to the Public Service Commission. The merged company will dominate the state of New York in its field, and may easily become a most sinister monopoly. If Governor Smith is still serious in his plans for development of the State's water power on the St. Lawrence, this should interest him for the complete merger of the New York City companies knocks his plan sky-high, inasmuch as there is no possibility that St. Lawrence power will come to New York City unless this merged company consents. Three hundred million dollars are involved in this financing, and there is no guarantee whatsoever that the present excessive rates charged the people of this city for their gas and electricity will not go even higher when the merger is effected. For then all competition will be removed, and the consumers will be forced to pay through the nose.

Commissioner Sympathetic "It was consistent with the propaganda put out by the utilities' press agents that John A. Garver, counsel for the Consolidated Gas Company, should about 'Socialists' at Mr. Ernst. It is an underlying policy of power trust propaganda to label all those who are fighting for lower rates as Socialists. Of course this is a compliment to the Socialists, but in this instance there is no basis for the appellation. No member of our party is a member of the committee which Mr. Ernst represented. And naturally, for the Socialists of this State have a very clear-cut program for the government ownership and distribution at cost of gas and electricity. This would do away forever with those sham regulatory bodies, as our Public Service Commission. Until that time comes, however, in order to bring the Commission somewhat closer to its intended functions, we do advocate that it be illegal for any member of the Commission to appear before it on behalf of private interests for two years after leaving the Commission. And we would further make it a felony for any member of the Commission to solicit funds for political purposes, as Commissioner George R. Van Name, who, by the way, sat in this merger hearing, is now doing on behalf of Governor Smith.

"The entire attitude of the Commission is one of uncritical bootlicking of such representatives of corporations as appear before it, and bullying treatment of those who speak for the consumers. At the gas merger hearing, Commissioner Prendergast, while waving Mr. Ernst aside, fairly sobbered over M. S. Sloan, President of the Brooklyn Edison Company, who read aloud a long advertisement of his corporation, which contained no pertinent facts, and promised nothing in the way of rate reduction. He spoke vaguely of 'uniform rates,' but whether these rates are to be uniformly high or low he did not state. It was evident that the entire proceeding was carefully rehearsed, and that the Public Service Commission has proved itself to be once more the ally of the large utilities corporations, and cannot be depended upon to protect the interests of the small consumers of gas and electricity. The Commission evidently intends to give its approval to the merger, and within a short time we shall all be suffering the consequences."

Make Your Meetings Complete

A Bundle of NEW LEADERS At Every Meeting

You'll be surprised at how cheap the cost. Sale of THE NEW LEADER will help boost your income at meetings. Write today about rates to THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

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

Have Your Branch Order a Bundle Immediately.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

The petitions for the nomination of candidates to Congress, State Senate, Municipal Court Justices, Assemblymen and delegates to the office of State and neighborhood volunteers are requested. Those comrades who desire to help in the required number of signatures for filing. All branch organizers will be in charge of the work of circulating these petitions in their respective branch territories. The whole job must be completed within the next few weeks. Every active and loyal comrade is requested to volunteer some time to assist in the work of obtaining signatures. There are a few spots in the city where we have no organization to do this work and for these neighborhoods volunteers are requested. Those comrades who desire to help in this work and who can give an evening or more are requested to report at the city office, to Secretary Claessens, 7 East 15th Street.

6-8-12th A. D. At a meeting by this branch last Monday evening, July 23, an outing to Valhalla was planned for Sunday, August 12.

Nominations for Justice, 2nd Municipal Court District; Congress, 14th Congressional District; State Senate, 14th District; Assembly, 6th and 8th Districts will be completed within a short time and petitions will be circulated.

Harlem. A joint meeting of the Harlem branches was held last Monday evening. Plans were presented for the campaign in that section of the city. Nominations for Congress, State Senate, Assembly and practically completed. Comrade Frank Greenwald will be the candidate for the Congress in the 20th District, Louis Weil, State Senator in the 17th District. For Assembly, Comrade D. Cantafio, 18 District, Sophie Segaloff, 20th District.

For the first time this branch was organized, the attendance was very small. Despite this fact, the business meeting was lively, up by some peaceful family squabbles. Samuel A. De Wit was nominated for Congressman, 22nd District; Max Dehon, our young and active organizer, for Assembly, in the 22nd A. D. and Mary Goff for Assembly in the 23rd and David Mukol for State Senate—20th District. He carried in through his completed trip with Norman Thomas and advised just what the party intends to do this campaign.

Regular open air meetings will be held every week instead of in-door meetings. The regular indoor meetings will be resumed in September.

BRONX. Bronx Auto Outing Full Success. The automobile outing to Camp Eden of last Sunday was a complete success. In spite of inclement weather, both socially and financially. Every car that was definitely promised was at headquarters on time. The Outing Committee wishes to express its deep appreciation and gratitude to the following comrades who contributed their autos: Max Goldsmith, Mr. L. Teplitz, S. Hoffman, Mrs.

Phila. Shoe Workers Meeting A Success; Others To Follow

PHILADELPHIA.—The First Educational Mass Meeting, held by the shoe workers' Protective Union on Monday, July 16, resulted in a fair attendance of shoe workers. The workers, after listening to the speakers for two hours, were cooled off with the refreshments which were at their disposal. A half dozen refreshments were secured and others promised, and as business seems to be picking up, the workers will most likely look toward organization as their only salvation for better wages and conditions. "I wish to thank the New Leader for its efforts at all times in behalf of the shoe workers, and again I want to thank the various speakers in behalf of the organization in Philadelphia and Joint Council No. 9," Organizer Thomas P. Kelley said after the meeting. The speakers were Leonardo Frizina, from the Italian Chamber of Labor of New York; Bruend Billie, of the Philadelphia Labor College; Mr. Vilidsky, representing the Bag and Suit Case Workers of Philadelphia; Fred Hodgson, Organizer of the Pocket Book Workers of Philadelphia; Edith Louise Christensen, representing the Women's Trade Union League of Philadelphia, and General President of Philadelphia, and General President of the shoe industry and spoke of the prospective growth of the shoe workers Protective Union throughout the country. The mass meeting was conducted by Organizer Kelley, and will be followed up by other mass meetings in the near future.

Bronx Socialists Make Merry at Eden

Camp Eden last Sunday was the recreation ground of the Bronx County Socialists. A large delegation from the Bronx arrived by automobile, headed by many prominent members of the Socialist movement. The day was spent in perfect outing spirit. The camp corps of guides were ever present ready to escort the visitors around the grounds. The falling comrades heartily approved of the fine facilities for sports and social recreation. The afternoon was spent by the Bronx group in listening to a radio musical program. Those who craved the great outdoors were at the lake cheering on the contestants in the swimming and boating races. The most stirring event of the day was the row boat race between Comrades Dr. M. S. Calman and Edelman. It was a race that was closely contested and after it dead heat was finally won by Comrade Edelman. The dining hall porch was the rendezvous of the Bronx County Committee, led by Comrades Orr and Diskant, he business for the day was settled amidst nature's splendid scenery. Camp Eden is situated amongst the beautiful Fishkill mountains, and in a spot where the beautiful Hudson is seen flowing serenely along its way. The camp has all facilities for all water and sports and social activities. A modernly equipped stage and a peppy five-piece orchestra help charm the evenings away. The food is wholesome, not the kind that mother makes, but better. A summer Yipsey group has been formed at Eden, with regular discussions and Yipsey business. Comrades August Claessens this Sunday will lead the group in a symposium. Come on up to Eden, it's worth while, it is a vacation well spent among congenial friends and in nature's playground.

Ida Greenblatt, Samuel Orr, August Jagomier, Emanuel Deutch, Joseph Tuvin, David Kasson, and Alexander Fuhse; also to Jules Meretzky of the Y. F. S. L. and Barney Maringoff for their services as chauffeurs. Many thanks to you, comrades!

BRONX COUNTY COMMITTEE AT CAMP EDEN. On the suggestion of E. Miringoff, a delegate from the workers' Circle, the County Committee held a regular meeting at Camp Eden, for the first time in its history outside of its own territory. One of the important decisions reached was the arrangement of another outing for Sunday, August 20th.

Louis Seiden was again elected chairman of the Outing Committee, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith, Mrs. Deborah, D. Kason, Mrs. Greenblatt, Dr. Weiner and Klepperman. It is hoped that the second outing will be as successful as the first.

UPPER BRONX JEWISH. Street meetings will be held under the auspices of this branch every Friday evening at Claremont Parkway and Washington Avenue. Comrade A. Kaplan and R. Shulman are on the committee to handle these meetings.

BROOKLYN. 2nd and 4th. Regular meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at the clubhouse, 420 Hindsdale Street.

Boro Park Branch. The 9-16th A. D. Jewish Branch, Boro Park, will hold its next regular meeting in the Boro Park Lyceum, 42nd and 14th Avenue on Friday evening, July 27, 8:30 P. M. Comrade Joseph Stein will speak on the work of the League for Industrial Democracy and report on his recent conference held in Group Tammam. A general discussion will follow.

At this special meeting held July 27th, the following officers were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Henry Kruckow; Financial Secretary, J. Levine; Treasurer, J. Sklar; Literature Agent, B. Baylis; Chairman of the Education Committee, M. Sherman; Delegates to the Central Committee, Rose Brody and M. K. Farson. This branch is one of the best Jewish Branches in the city and is engaged in continuous activities. They are working out plans for an active campaign in this territory.

18th A. D. An interesting report on the State Convention was rendered by J. L. Afros, who was one of the delegates from Kings County. Comrade Afros' report was an interesting one and quite enthusiastic and served the purpose of rousing up the members to a higher pitch of enthusiasm. With both the National and State Conventions now behind us, there is nothing left but for the members to roll up their sleeves and pitch into the battle of Socialism, making the 1938 campaign a banner one.

The branch has a fortunate turn in that four of the last five Thursdays it has rained, thus interfering with the outdoor meetings. However, the speakers and committees have been very persistent and the outlook for the street corner campaign in the 18th is very promising. The branch has decided upon running a battle for the benefit of the New Bedford Strikers. As a prize, "Shaw's" An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism will be given, second prize will consist of a year's subscription to the Leader. August 19th has been designated as the day on which the Auto Ride will be started. This latter being most important, as the funds derived therefrom will be the beginning of our campaign chest. The cooperation of Brooklyn comrades is earnestly solicited.

16th A. D. Br. The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Friday evening, July 27th in the Workers' Circle Center, 7316 20th Avenue.

Another meeting of the branch was held last week. It was not successful, due to the extremely hot weather. The comrades that met in the home of Comrade Frank Smith decided to continue meetings for several weeks and in the meantime circulate the district by letters and visits to the homes of the Socialists. Comrade Gerrit Galema is going to Europe to his homeland and promises to be very active in the work of the branch immediately after his return.

Brighton-Sheepshead Branch. The second meeting of this newly-organized branch was held successfully. Every effort is now being made to increase its membership and street meetings will be held once a week in the territory of the branch.

QUEEN'S BRANCH. Branch Astoria. The next meeting of this branch will be held on Friday, August 3, in the Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey Avenues.

Street Meetings

Manhattan. Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—Grand and Pitt Streets. Speakers: S. P. Ulanoff, Louis Lieberman.

Monday, July 30, 8:30 P. M.—137th Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers: Elmsford Brown and others.

Tuesday, July 31, 8:30 P. M.—111th Street and 5th Avenue. Speakers: McAllister Coleman, A. N. Weinberg.

Thursday, August 2, 8:30 P. M.—13th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers: Elmsford Brown, Samuel H. Friedman.

Thursday, August 2, 8:30 P. M.—158th Street and Broadway. Speakers: Leonard C. Kaye, Isidore Phillips and Max Delson.

Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—Grand and Norfolk Streets. S. P. Ulanoff, Louis Lieberman, Harry Ulanoff.

Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—Claremont Parkway and Washington Avenue. Speakers: Elmsford Brown, Murray Gross.

Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—Claremont Parkway and Washington Avenue. Speakers: Elmsford Brown, Murray Gross.

Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—180th Street and Daly Avenue. Speakers: I. George Dobosevage and others.

Wednesday, August 1, 8:30 P. M.—Jerome Avenue and Moshulu Parkway. Speakers: Isidore Feinstein, Louis Paintner, J. George Fritz, S. P. Ulanoff.

Thursday, August 2, 8:30 P. M.—Bathgate and Tremont Avenue. Speakers: I. George Dobosevage, Harry Diamond.

Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—Wilkins and Intervale Avenue. Speakers: I. George Dobosevage and Murray Gross.

Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—Claremont Parkway and Washington Avenue. Speakers: Molly Weinsart and others.

Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—180th St. & Daly Avenue. Speakers: Elmsford Brown.

BROOKLYN. Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—Arion place and Bushwick Avenue. Speakers: Jos. A. Well and others.

Friday, July 27, 8:30 P. M.—Bristol and Pitkin Avenues. Speaker: A. I. Ship-lacoff.

Monday, July 30, 8:30 P. M.—Summer Avenue and Floyd Street. Speakers: Samuel H. Friedman, Herman Greenblatt, Jules Umansky.

Tuesday, July 31, 8:30 P. M.—64th & 2nd Avenues. Speakers: Leonard C. Kaye, Isidore Phillips, Joseph Tuvin.

20th Avenue. Speakers: Leonard C. Kaye, Isidore Phillips, Joseph Tuvin. Thursday, August 2, 8:30 P. M.—Ralph & Sutter Avenue. Speakers: Joseph A. Well and others. Thursday, August 2, 8:30 P. M.—Sheffield & Sutter Avenue. Speakers: Moses Plotkin. Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—East 2d & Boardwalk. Speakers: McAllister Coleman, Wm. E. Folgenbaum, Jos. Tuvin. Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—Arion place and Bushwick Avenue. Speakers: Jos. A. Well, August Claessens. Friday, August 3, 8:30 P. M.—Bristol & Pitkin Avenue. Speakers to be announced.

RICHMOND. Saturday, July 28, 8:30 P. M.—Beach & Water Streets, Stapleton. Speakers: Elmsford Brown, Julius Umansky, Walter Dearing.

Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 4, L. I. G. W. U. 2nd and 4th. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members. A. John Black, Attorney and Counsel, 232 Broadway, Room 2700, N. Y. C. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St., 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. 162 E. 23rd Street. Tel. Gramercy 0843. LOUIS RIFKIN, President. LOUIS RIFKIN, Sec'y-Treasurer. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD. OF GREATER NEW YORK. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

LABOR LYCEUM. 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGO 3842.

United Hebrew Trades. 313 E. 7th St. Broadway. Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same 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 53th St. Middle Square 1934. Executive Board meet every Monday at 8:00 P. M. D. GINGOLD, M. FEINSTEIN, Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas. PETER MONAT, Manager. Office: 175 East Broadway. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

The Milk Drivers' Union. Local 684, I. U. of T. Office: 288 W. 14th St. City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION. Local No. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 621 Stage. Office open for 1st and 3rd Monday, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. CHARLES WEINBERG, President. CHARLES WEINBERG, Sec'y-Treas. SAMUEL PORTER, Sec'y.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps. Always Look for This Label. 1834269. A. C. W. U. Local 1018, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7023. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3847. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 67, I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone ORCHARD 7106-7. A. SYDNER, Manager.

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

German Painters' Union. Local 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular meetings every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. ALVIN BOETTCHER, President. ALVIN BOETTCHER, Sec'y-Treas. 1554 Ave. A, N. Y. C. FRANK WOLFGANG, Fin. Sec'y. 243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters' Union. Local 6839, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Stuyvesant 7078. Regular meetings Second Wednesday of every month at 102 East 23rd Street. Fred Farnsland, N. Ulanoff, President. A. Weitzer, Sec'y. J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres. Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent.

FUR DRESSER'S UNION. Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0798. Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President. SAMUEL MINDEL, 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 9800-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. BERSHONOVITZ, 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.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION. Local No. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 621 Stage. Office open for 1st and 3rd Monday, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. CHARLES WEINBERG, President. CHARLES WEINBERG, Sec'y-Treas. SAMUEL PORTER, Sec'y.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps. Always Look for This Label. 1834269. A. C. W. U. Local 1018, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7023. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3847. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 67, I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone ORCHARD 7106-7. A. SYDNER, Manager.

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

German Painters' Union. Local 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular meetings every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. ALVIN BOETTCHER, President. ALVIN BOETTCHER, Sec'y-Treas. 1554 Ave. A, N. Y. C. FRANK WOLFGANG, Fin. Sec'y. 243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters' Union. Local 6839, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Stuyvesant 7078. Regular meetings Second Wednesday of every month at 102 East 23rd Street. Fred Farnsland, N. Ulanoff, President. A. Weitzer, Sec'y. J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres. Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent.

FUR DRESSER'S UNION. Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0798. Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President. SAMUEL MINDEL, 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 9800-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. BERSHONOVITZ, 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.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION. Local No. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 621 Stage. Office open for 1st and 3rd Monday, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. CHARLES WEINBERG, President. CHARLES WEINBERG, Sec'y-Treas. SAMUEL PORTER, Sec'y.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps. Always Look for This Label. 1834269. A. C. W. U. Local 1018, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7023. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3847. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 67, I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone ORCHARD 7106-7. A. SYDNER, Manager.

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

German Painters' Union. Local 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS. Regular meetings every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. ALVIN BOETTCHER, President. ALVIN BOETTCHER, Sec'y-Treas. 1554 Ave. A, N. Y. C. FRANK WOLFGANG, Fin. Sec'y. 243 E. 84th St., N. Y. C.

Neckwear Cutters' Union. Local 6839, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Stuyvesant 7078. Regular meetings Second Wednesday of every month at 102 East 23rd Street. Fred Farnsland, N. Ulanoff, President. A. Weitzer, Sec'y. J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres. Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent.

FUR DRESSER'S UNION. Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0798. Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President. SAMUEL MINDEL, 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 9800-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. BERSHONOVITZ, 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.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION. Local No. 9. Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 621 Stage. Office open for 1st and 3rd Monday, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. CHARLES WEINBERG, President. CHARLES WEINBERG, Sec'y-Treas. SAMUEL PORTER, Sec'y.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps. Always Look for This Label. 1834269. A. C. W. U. Local 1018, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7023. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3847. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

UNION DIRECTORY

Pressers' Union. Local 3, A. C. W. U. Executive Boards Meet Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple. 11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman. JACOB GREENMAN, W. BLACK, Rec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 171, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 8th St. Orchard 7766. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. ISSIE LEFF, President. L. KOEN, Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 171, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 8th St. Orchard 7766. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. ISSIE LEFF, President. L. KOEN, Manager.

GLAZIERS' UNION. Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A. Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1073. Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M. SAMUEL KAPLAN, PETER KOPF, President. GABRIEL HESCOE, J. GREEN, Sec'y-Treas. JACOB RAFFAPORTA, ARON RAFFAPORTA, Bus. Agent.

United Neckwear Makers' Union. Local 1018, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7023. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. 7 East 15th St. Tel. Stuyvesant 3847. Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. at the office, 201 E. 1st St. M. C. GARDNER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 67, I. L. G. W. U. 117 Second Avenue. Telephone ORCHARD 7106-7. A. SYDNER, Manager.

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

German Painters' Union. Local 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DEC

NEW LEADER

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

Editor: James O'Neil

Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Chaban, Alvernon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph P. Cohen, Clement Wood, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, Moellister, Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association, People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year \$2.00

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. It is a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the labor movement. Contributions 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 28, 1928

Croly! Croly! Croly!

IN A recent issue of "The New Republic," Mr. Herbert Croly spits on his pencil and writes a very long piece indeed telling progressives what they should do in this coming election. We have read Mr. Croly's piece over and over again, and we have had our wife read it, and another intelligent woman, and we had in the only progressive that we know of who hasn't made up his mind to vote for Norman Thomas, and we have had him read it out loud to us, and still we don't know what it's all about.

In tall and fancy language, Mr. Croly seems to intimate that he is going to sit down and tell the progressives just how to vote in the coming election. And then he goes on and on and on, and fancies and fancies, saying apparently that the thing to do is to hang around and see if either Hoover or Smith goes suddenly Liberal. If this miracle happens, the progressives are to forget all about Thomas, and make whoopee for either Herbert or Al. At any rate, that seems to be the compelling note of leadership which Mr. Croly is striking at, but until we receive the translations of his article for which we have sent, we are unable to throw any more light into the darkness of this new Republican mystery.

Appropriately enough, the Republican Campaign Committee in New York City is moving into the Salmon Building. What better place for the schooling of Art Young's poor fish?

Human, Short, and to the Point

There was a time—a more spacious, leisurely time—when every pamphlet writer thought it necessary to be very learned and profound and verbose.

In those days you printed all the statistics on your subject, quoted from academic authorities to prove your point and went professional in footnotes and bibliography.

Nowadays when even the economists are learning to write English, it is necessary to come to the point with a certain hammer-like conciseness and for our part, we are glad that it is so.

The campaign literature of the Party this year is written by men and women who not only know their subjects but know how to present them in lively style. These writers are not those specialists about whom someone remarked, "A specialist is one who knows less and less about more and more." They are people who have been about in America in 1928, who know what folks are thinking and feeling and doing and how to reach those folks with the printed word.

Already a considerable body of literature has been assembled at National Headquarters at 15 East Fortieth Street, New York City. There are pamphlets on women's problems, injunctions, unemployment, the farm question and the Progressive's part in the campaign.

Are you making full use of these powerful weapons in your community? Better write to headquarters for your allotment.

The case of Philip A. Stephan is respectfully referred to the American Magazine and other hoopla success publications. Mr. Stephan started life as an elevator boy in a bank, worked himself up to be treasurer, and is now in jail for swiping \$6,250 from the funds of the bank. There is a lesson in this, no doubt, but it isn't one that we expect Bruce Barton and his pals to emphasize.

What Do You Mean "Public Service"?

The so-called "Public Service" Commission of New York has decided in its wisdom that the one place where consumers of gas and electricity are not wanted, is the hearing-room of the Public Service Commission.

Consumers are all right and should be encouraged when it comes to the payment of bills, the acceptance of higher rates and the general role of door-mat for the utilities. But they are very much out of the picture when two big concerns such as the Consolidated Gas of New York City and the Brooklyn Edison want to get together and merge without any fuss or feathers, or guarantee of lower rates as the result of the "savings" which the merger will bring.

Then it is up to the consumer's mouth.

shut. Otherwise a hard-boiled lawyer for the companies will shout, "shut up, you're a Socialist," as John A. Garver shouted at Morris Ernst, counsel of the Public Committee on Power in New York State last week. Ernst happens to be an Al Smith Democrat. But even if he were a Socialist, we fail to follow the logic of the irate Mr. Garver's remark. Are Socialists barred from representing consumers before a Commission on which sits George R. Van Name, bag-man for Al Smith? Apparently Mr. Garver thinks so, and certainly the commissioners seem to be in hearty agreement with him.

The joke of regulation by commission is getting pretty threadbare. And while we consumers are notoriously beggars for punishment, the time is not far off when we will be done with this farce and own and regulate our own utilities for our own benefit.

Great Britain, under its government of, by, and for Tories, finds that it has 1,242,000 idle workers on hand, and is asking anxiously what to do with them. It has been suggested that they all emigrate to the colonies. The best thing to do is to ignore them, as we do over here, or to give out statements saying that unemployment is highly exaggerated, and is the result of Socialist agitation.

Obregon and Calles

Obregon is dead and Mexico has sore need of the sympathy and understanding of true lovers of freedom the world over.

This is no time for snap judgments, or partisan verdicts. We have as yet no adequate picture of the forces which were set in motion before the assassin pulled the trigger. The newspaper correspondents in Mexico City, with one shining exception, that of Carlton Beals, have been singularly inept in their analyses of events down there. The conflicting reports which they are now cabling indicate how far they are from any true grasp of the situation.

Of one thing we may be certain: that with Calles at its head, Mexico will weather this storm as she has weathered many others under his splendid leadership. To Calles we extend our condolences and our confidence as well. Once more he emerges as a great rock in a weary land. While his friend and potential successor lies dead, he stands, firm and unshakable.

Meriden, Connecticut, is all het up because the principal of one of its schools has taken up car-washing for a summer occupation. The School Board thinks that is undignified. He should stick to intellectual hog-wash, the dignified product of most public schools.

The Disinherited

SAY not the world is weary, old and spent,
To own defeat when all your aims are true!
Come to the feast of joyous full content,
The harvest fair of all the toil ye knew:
There is no heart needs fear the tyrant's sway,
No head needs bow before a lordling's might;
Come, rise, and clear Life's reddened wrongs away,
Sure be your step to front the morning light!

Fair o'er the hills a glorious Dawn is breaking,
To bring new joy to city, glen, and sea;
Within your hearts hear ye the songs awaking,
That urge the pulse of those who would be free!
The dusk adown the Ages goes forever,
Before the light of your own living dream!
Then rise, and dare! and in your strength deliver
The world that waits the toiler to redeem!

EDWARD HUNTER

The Democratic Party

Behold the Democratic Party, my son!
But for it the Nigs would rule and o'er us run.
It's busted Trusts and at the Bankers raved,
The Cotton Crop it oft and oft hath saved,
By law and deed it works, by pen and mouth,
Forever holding up the gutted South.
It saves us from ourselves, the Supreme Whites,
And for our Fathers' Constitution fights.
Through sixty years of grief and graft and toil
It's kept a fence around old Dixie's soil.
It won't let anyone else rob us, no—
That's why it's now fundamentalism so—
Year in and out it strives for common gains.
The blood of chivalry pumps through its veins.
Its tender heart turns no one from its door—
It is all things to all men, and some more.
Pellagras, Tenants, Peons, all
In worship at its ancient altars fall.
The Donkey is its emblem, strength and clench.
Its court of first resort is just Judge Lynch.
The child slaves and their mothers, too, it guards,
As true knight errants watch o'er helpless wards.
It's very virtuous, benignant, wise,
No issue dodges, and it never lies.
Its soul is set on Service, not on self.
It knows no classes. (It says so itself).

COVINGTON HALL

Massachusetts 1667-1927

OLD Granny Green in her garden plot
Hobbles and mutters, "Here's bergamot,
Marjoram, fennel, thyme and rue—
But I cannot see, I used to do—
My hands are heavy, my bones are sore,
Yet folk still come to my cottage door
And ask for simples and herbs to heal,
Or a charm to make the coldest feel.
The warmth of spring, love's eager pain—
Ah me, I would I were young again!
For 'tis cruel hard to grow old alone,
But I have my cat and my own hearth-stone,
And my bit of garden to love and tend—
But times are hard at the winter's end.

Hark, up the road comes a merry shout!
My dull ears ring—'tis a noisy rout—
And what are they calling? "Old Granny Green!"
"Yes, yes, I'm coming." (My apron is clean,
'Twill cover my ragged shift and gown.
Sure, 'tis gentry driving out from town.)

She curtsied and smiled with her hand at her ear,
While her black cat purred, as the crowd drew near;
And then, as a stone flew swiftly by,
He crawled in the bushes to snarl and die.
"Old witch," one yelled, "You've killed my cow!"
While a third sent a stone with well-flung aim,
And she shrieked when it struck her—the old beldame!

They carried her down the market square,
And they burnt her old body to ashes there;
While Cotton Mather and all his kin,
Watched with a sanctimonious grin.

Ah, that was three centuries past, you say—
But is justice done in the world today?
EDITH LOMBARD SQUIRES.

Let Well Enough Alone

CONFOUND it all. Just about the time I have almost convinced myself that this is the best possible country in the best possible world something comes along and spoils it all.

To be more specific, I had been reading the good news from Kansas City informing the waiting world that with the nomination of Hoover and Curtis the present prosperity would continue in perpetuity when my eye fell upon the following joy killer:

Des Moines, Iowa.—Upon a rumor that the city would sell its garbage to feed hogs, instead of carting it to the city dump, 100 persons signed a plea which stated that the dump "is our only means of a living for the food for ourselves as well as for the chickens and pigs that we may have, and if taken from us, then we must ask the city or county to help us, for many of us are old or crippled and can't find work."

The manager of the dump says that many others than those who petitioned secure a living in this manner and agrees that if the privilege is withheld they will become public charges. The commissioner announces that the garbage will continue to be dumped and thus feed human beings instead of hogs. The mayor approves. He says a recent visit to the dump and the sight "almost brought tears to my eyes."

Something wrong somewhere. Iowa is one of the richest farming states of the richest country on earth. The folks out there are of the most God-fearing, law-abiding, frugal and hard working kind. They were even among the very first to inaugurate prohibition as an unfailing remedy against all the evils that beset mankind.

On top of all that, Iowa farmers have persistently voted for protection and prosperity, meaning that they were strong for a protective tariff on everything they bought and for free trade on everything they sold.

Of late there have been signs that this hit-me-as-I-come and swat-me-as-I-go policy is losing some of its charm. Any way, the corn belt intelligentsia in search of office is clamoring for farm relief by means of hoisting the ruralists into the Valhalla of protected industry. The big idea is that being robbed coming isn't half as bad as being robbed both ways—and so it isn't.

Of course, the Amalgamated Association of Bankers and Manufacturers, which recently condescended in Kansas City in the disguise of a political convention, had no ears for the long, sated fellows who raise the corn ears.

Why should they? The good angels who manipulate the G. O. P. manikins prosper on profit and profit is the difference between what one pays for the goods and what one sells them for. From which it follows, as day follows night, as my friend, Shakespeare, used to say, that the lower this cost, the higher the price, the bigger the take-off.

Well then, the good fellows who own the principal industries and money making machinery of the country, which includes political machines, as a matter of course, sell things to farmers. Now, in order to sell these things at the highest possible price, that is, for all the traffic will bear, competition from foreign countries must be eliminated and toward this end the Republican protective tariff was invented.

So far, so good. But the farmers are not only consumers, they are also producers, as they furnish a great part of the raw materials and all the food which goes into the making of goods. And that's why we have Democratic free trade on all the farmer sells!

In other words, the farmers are skinned Republicanly when they buy and Democratically when they sell, with the result that they feel bankruptcy most of the time!

But, as the saying goes, it's an ill wind that blows no good, for what would become of all the corn belt bankers who loan the money they borrow from the gold coast bankers for farm relief at seven per cent per annum and then some? In short, there is no money in trying to loan money to folks who don't need it! So you can readily see that the chronic bankruptcy of the farmers is but another blessing for the wise men of the east who place their trust in trust companies in relieving the farmers of what the other trusts have overlooked.

It's a wondrous scheme, this come and go farm relief which I'm trying to explain in my dumb way. It's making paupers of the tillers of the soil. It is driving millions of them into the cities to swell an already overcrowded labor market. It is robbing the soil itself. All of which may explain why, in the capital of one of the richest farming states of the richest country on earth, 100 human beings signed a plea which stated that the garbage dump "is our only means of a living" and if taken from us, then we must ask the city or county to help us, for many of us are old or crippled and can't find work."

However, let us not despair of the future.

While the Amalgamated Association of Bankers and Manufacturers in convention assembled ignored the agrarian question its presidential candidate has already announced that it is a very serious question and that somebody ought to do something about it. Moreover, the agrarians are sound at heart and solid at head. There will be no rising of the be-headed farmers, no peasant war against castles on the Hudson. Iowa will vote solidly for Hoover and prosperity and so will the 100 sovereign citizens who, in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness petitioned their elected servants not to deprive them of the blessings bestowed upon them by the Republican party and the garbage collector of Des Moines, Iowa!

Adam Coudiger.

The Miners Are Never Beaten

THE decision of the policy committee of the United Mine Workers to abandon national agreements and turn to district bargaining, is but official confirmation of a tragic situation which has been recognized for more than a year by all observers of conditions in the coal-fields.

Behind the coal scenes there have been moving a number of forces, economic, industrial and political, which have driven the rank and file of the miners into their present impasse.

To begin with there is the ever increasing mechanization, or Fordization if you prefer, of the industry. It is estimated that 28,000 men could do the work of the 60,000 miners in Illinois if all the mines in that state were brought up to the machine standards set by a few. An Illinois miner watching a modern conveyor swoop up the coal outside his working place, said: "They have stolen our skill. All a man needs nowadays is to have a strong back to shovel coal into that thing for eight hours."

Fighting Machines. Despite the fact that disinterested economists and engineers pointed out to the responsible heads of the union some ten years ago that the new industrial revolution had finally reached down into the mines, the union leaders were content to sit back and say as one of them did, "Don't worry. We have killed men." There was no attempt to meet the march of the machines with any counter-offensive other than the foredoomed and time-worn method of blind opposition. And fighting machines is always a losing policy.

While the skill of their members was everywhere being stolen by the machines, these same union heads got themselves involved in the most fantastic red-baiting ventures. The editor of the union's official organ busied himself running around to old-line business offices with stories of the attempts of "Reds" to steal the union. This of course served only to provide sorely-needed and greatly-welcomed publicity to a few wild men who had up to that time made no impression whatsoever upon the rank and file of the miners. The loud cries of "Reds" emitted as alibis for union officials who were worried about their jobs, served to harass and render futile the work of the real progressives within the union. Every opponent of the administration policy of doing nothing except strike, was obliged to defend himself from baseless charges. The rank and file of the coal-diggers, hearing only the administration side of the matter, became suspicious of everyone with a remedy to propose and turned in desperation to the strike as the only way out.

All the while the non-union mines south of the Ohio River captured more and more of the soft coal market of the country. At the outset of the last disastrous strike it was conservatively estimated that two-thirds of the bituminous coal was being mined under open shop conditions. Certainly the strike made no serious inroads upon the supply of coal. What it did was to drive union miners from their homes to the scanty shelter of wind-swept tents and board barracks, sink them deep into debt and so weigh them down with injunctions and the ministrations of State police and company guards as to make them virtual outlaws.

The Communists' Opportunity. Very naturally this gave the extremists the opportunity they wanted. With no

"will to organize" on the part of the official organizers, with a rank and file bewildered and without genuine leadership, the professional revolutionists came piling into the picture to make confusion worse confused. From their standpoint the situation is ideal. For them, every strike is but a "means to an end."

For the rank and file of the miners, however, the abandonment of the national scale is nothing but grim tragedy. Now with West Virginia and the other non-union States pointed pistol-like at their heads they are forced to plead for whatever wages they can get from an exultant bunch of hard-boiled operators who are gloating over their victory.

One or two things stand out from all this black business. First, the policy of trusting to professional politicians of old parties to extricate union leaders from their difficulties is sure to be fatal. It is an open secret that Herbert Hoover, as Secretary of Commerce, urged the signing of the Jacksonville agreement, which has now been abandoned, on the ground that it would help close down small non-union mines and give a new lease of life to large union operations. John L. Lewis of the miners' union served on Coolidge's campaign committee with the obvious expectation that a Republican administration would help him hold power. He has been double-crossed, as everyone knew he would be. He did succeed in getting a Senatorial Committee to investigate the brutal invasion of civil liberties in the coal-fields but how effective that was, may be judged from the fact that the most brazen injunction against which the committee protested has now been made permanent.

As to the Future. Again, the ousting of every critic of the administration, no matter what his economic views, left the union devoid of any "long-view" leadership. While the administration became all-powerful, the decline in union membership went on apace.

Finally the lack of ability to adjust themselves to new industrial conditions has proved the down-fall of the present union officials.

It is easy to despair and become critical after the event. It is necessary, however, for all friends of the labor movement to understand something of the causes behind the present coal chaos.

The New Leader does not for one moment believe that this is the end of the miners' union as many over-pessimistic critics are announcing. In that organization which for years has been in the vanguard of labor's bitterest struggles for bread and freedom there is still a splendid vitality. Time after time, the miners have been beaten to their knees only to rise again. What has happened is that a reactionary leadership has proved itself incapable of handling a situation that calls for something more than outworn tactics and discredited strategy.

All through the union today there are young men, coming up from the ranks, who have no patience either with the vacillating and moss-grown policies of the old leaders, or the "barbaric ballyhoo" of the Communists. These are tightening their belts today, knowing full well that they are going into an honest-to-God fight and prepared to face it with that winning mixture of idealism and intelligence which carried their fathers to victory in the first days of the United Mine Workers of America.

Is Socialism The Remedy?

By Jesse Holmes

THE general situation of our western world seems to indicate that it is impossible to reconcile the competitive and capitalistic system with either Christianity or democracy. If it has seemed possible in the past century it is merely because the pioneers of America came into possession of stored wealth so enormous that for a very long time it seemed as if there was enough for everyone. There was in the first place the stored fertility of the soil gradually accumulated in millions of years. Slow growing forests with trees centuries old covered thousands of square miles of territory—an apparently limitless supply of timber for every conceivable purpose. Though as yet undiscovered there was hidden in the hills an accumulation of coal containing potential heat, power, and light which would one day rob winter of her terrors of cold and turn night into our social day—even in many cases into industrial day as well. The earth hid also an incalculable oil supply, in trust for our hurried century, ready to enable us as Mr. Dooley once remarked "to go rapidly to places where we don't want to be, and to come rapidly back again." There was also natural gas, iron, gold, silver and a hundred other stores of the things which make the wealth of man. And all this wealth belonged to nobody at all! The American Indian made practically no use of any of it, and on the whole inclined to welcome the white man as a friend and neighbor.

In a few centuries we have gone through this wealth like a band of looters in a sumptuous palace. Our forefathers sucked out the fertility of the eastern soil and went west leaving behind them a trail of abandoned farms. We have wasted the timber with the lavish abandon of a drunken soldier in an enemy's country. Doubtless we have allowed to burn, rot, or otherwise waste, twice over what we have used; and we have hardly touched the very necessary task of replacement. The prophets of conservation and reforestation like Roosevelt and Pinchot, cried aloud to deal ears and heavy minds, and were able to accomplish very little. Our coal has been and is being wasted, according to the statement of experts, about two tons to every one put to actual use; and although the end of our supply is already in sight, we are wholly unable to deal with this at-

THIS being Presidential year, we have a splendid opportunity of greatly increasing our circulation. Experience shows that the occasional reader often becomes a subscriber; the subscriber is the most likely prospect for membership in the Socialist Party. This is a fact realized by State and local secretaries and it is for this reason that the bundle orders for the paper are on the increase.

The state offices of Wyoming and Massachusetts each order a bundle of 100. Order some sub cards and a bundle of New Leaders for your coming picnic, conference or mass meeting.

Delegates to the N. Y. State Convention did not spend all their time in speechmaking and resolving. The N. Y. County Office went scouting for subs with the result that Henry Gross brought in 11, August Claessens 7, and Johanna Rjasky 1.

Fred Harter sends in 4 from the Hoosier State.

Alfred Baker Lewis, Boston, on the job as usual, fires in 3, and among the big list of singles, the names of Emil Erickson, Worcester, Mass.; Nick Weltlich, Massillon, Ohio; H. M. Johnson, Los Angeles; Rev. J. L. Smiley, Annapolis; Winston Dancs, N. Y.; Mrs. S. Flint and C. D. Wilcox, Elmira, O., and A. Sorenson, Salt Lake City, are noted.

Several branches and locals report that nothing is easier than to sell The New Leader at meetings. The purchasers are bound to become subscribers—eventually.

"I am always glad to help our paper," said Gilbert Blair, as he handed over a ten dollar bill, when visiting The New Leader office.

Kurt Sell, Detroit, sends in 2 subs and orders the Labor Year Book.

From Holyoke, Cal., C. A. Bushnell sends in 3 subs.

"I look for the Socialists to send several congressmen to Washington to help Victor Berger," writes J. F. McCannell, Biggs, Cal., as he orders the N. L.

Chas. Long, Colfax, Wash., orders the paper for a friend. Two more from California sent in by A. M. Starr of Adelaide.

PAGE ADAM COALDIGGER! "What's happened to Adam Coudiger? We miss him. If he can't dig coal in N. Y., let him come to the Lehigh coal region. He will find plenty of coal to dig but many coal diggers out of work." (N. Brown.)

Three more from the Hoosier State, sent in by A. M. Laville, Columbus.

A year's sub and a gift of \$2 from J. P. Miller, Ridgeville, Ill.

Discouraged? "Although I am not over young and have been ill, I continue to pass out the New Leaders." (Mrs. Helen Norton, Auburn, Me.)

"It's hard to make tongue and buckle meet," says Kilgore Horn of Una, Ark. He sends in 2 subs and says more are to follow.

H. K. Churns of Greensburg, Pa., is stirring up the voters with the N. L.

future and for that of their wives and children. Democracy is impossible without men who are free from fear, about their opportunity for earning a livelihood, and without some sense of that equality with which "all men are created." Unless we can restore freedom and equality our great experiment in self-government is not merely threatened but has failed, however we may preserve the empty forms and the high sounding phrases. Who shall say we have maintained our great aims, governed as we have increasingly been governed by "malefactors of great wealth" who have seized power and destroyed liberty? Who claims that the law is equally administered, when hundreds are convicted for petty crimes and the great war gracers never reach trial when the laborer is refused the common every day privileges of life, and the employer rides rough-shod over our most fundamental laws?

Our political parties offer us no remedies and hardly even admit the diseases. Both cater to the capitalist in the hope of donations; neither offers any hope of dealing fundamentally with the evils of the situation. Should not the citizen who believes in liberty and equality use his influence and his vote for the Socialist party, which has nominated men of ability and character, and adopted a platform dealing with just the foundation problems which are being so cautiously side-stepped by the candidates of the powerful parties? The man is not victorious who votes for what he does not want and gets it. A vote in a minor party counts for vastly more in influence than an habitual vote for the party we "belong to." Of course "socialism" is a terrible word and is on the "black list" with many honorable men and ideas. But we have already public control of roads, post offices, jails, schools and many other utilities. There is no principle involved in having the public own concrete roads and private corporations own steel roads. And this time with the effort to seize the last bit of stored wealth still partly in the public hands—which of course, is power—a greatly increased Socialist vote would be a warning which party leaders would not ignore. The writer has never been a party socialist or a theoretical socialist; but is almost ready to be a practical socialist, in view of the disgraced and disgraced situation of our major parties.

(From Unity.)