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Public Ownership The Truth About —New Light Shanghai

By NORMAN THOMAS

TAMIMENT, in the evening sunshine following the day of rain, looked more beautiful than even to the delegates arriving for the first session of the League for Industrial Democracy Conference, on the evening of Thursday, June 25. The comfortable bungalows and an extra fine dinner put everyone in the right humor for the start.

Thursday Evening:

Public Ownership of Railroads
Harry W. Laidler began with a resume of the extent of public ownership of railroads, contrasting conditions before and since the great war. Before the war, outside of the United States, a little over half the world's mileage was in the hands of the public. Since the war the Dawes Plan for the sake of reparations has taken the railways of Germany out of public control, but against that is to be put the success of the Canadian National Railways and the increase in public control in Russia. Even the United States now operates the Alaskan Railway. In 1920, Professor Eliot Jones, of Stanford University, maintained that 60 per cent of railroad mileage in the countries where data was available, outside of the United States, was under public ownership.

In the United States public control is judged by the experiences of Federal operation—there was not Federal ownership—of the railways during the war. A natural reaction against all war-time restrictions, plus a flood of propaganda by private interests, has obscured the real success of public control. It did what private management was failing to do—it eliminated enormous wastes, secured the cooperation of labor, and coordinated the military and civil tasks of the railroads as nothing else could.

Mr. Thomas, presiding, outlined some of the principal problems involved in public control of railroads and referred to the Plumb Plan. He then threw the question open to general discussion.

Marcus Goldman, of Washington, raised the question whether the State might not prove not only bureaucratic, but tyrannical, in its attitude to labor. To which Algeron Lee replied that there was abundant evidence that the State was already inclined to treat a strike on the railroads as a crime even though they were owned and managed privately. That is, we have the disadvantages without the advantages of public ownership. James Simpson, of Toronto, Canada, Vice-President of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, made a most interesting statement of actual conditions of the Canadian National Railroads, where the B. & O. Plan, providing for representation of men in the management of some of the shops, is being put into effect.

Leonard Bright argued that the right to organize and bargain collectively was more important in this connection than the right to strike, an opinion which Mr. Goldman was inclined to doubt on the basis of his experience with Federal employees in Washington. Mr. Laidler declared that the only ultimate remedy to bureaucracy was a thorough organization of the workers on the political and economic field and that such realization should go hand in hand with the development of public ownership.

The conference then turned to the question of public ownership of railroads as it affects consumers. It was agreed that at present public opinion in America is more concerned for service on the railroads than for the rights of the workers. Herman Levine, of McKeesport, Pa., testified to his own experience of elimination of waste through direct routing during the Federal administration of the railroads.

The chairman summed up the discussion by pointing out the strength of the theoretical case for public ownership and democratic management.

(1) In giving the people control over a service so vital as to win the title, "the arteries of our national life." (2) In securing the advantages of unified administration and the elimination of existing wastes. (3) In reducing rather than increasing the bureaucracy which now necessarily exists by reason of the multitude of agencies necessary to regulate private owners. (4) In cap-

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BOOST SOCIALISM THROUGH THE NEW LEADER

THE NEW LEADER'S appeal to its readers for names and addresses of unattached Socialists and sympathizers met a hearty response in Montana. To James Graham of that State belongs the honor of being the first to respond to this appeal. Comrade Graham is one of the veterans of the Socialist and trade union movement and one of the keenest observers of economic and political developments in the West.

From this veteran came a list of nearly 200 names and addresses. This list is already being reached by The New Leader. Every name on the list will receive a copy of The New Leader and a letter. Every person who is reached will become aware of the increasing activities of the Socialist Party in the various states.

Recently William H. Henry, one of the regional organizers of the National Office, wrote that he had found Socialists in Michigan who had not seen a Socialist paper in years. Many of our publications had been destroyed by the Wilsonian adventure in "democracy." Locals and Branches had been destroyed by the 100 per centers. Party members had become isolated. Pessimism and inactivity followed.

It is just such former members that The New Leader desires to reach. In the files of Locals that survived the storm of reaction and in the files of State offices there are thousands of names and addresses of former members and sympathizers we desire to reach. The New Leader will come as an inspiration to them. It will help to revive interest, promote educational activity and lead to organization.

The New Leader is maintained to help organize the Socialists of the United States on a more enduring foundation. It is published to promote sound Socialist education and to

give information of the Socialist and Labor movement all over the world. It realizes that the capitalist world of today is not the capitalist world of the period before the World War. It brings new problems, new duties and new responsibilities. An ill-informed working class is a helpless working class. KNOWLEDGE is the only sure road to final emancipation.

The class struggle is today world-wide. It breaks down frontiers, promotes kinship of feeling and solidarity of purpose among the workers of all countries, and tends to wipe out the abominable race, national, religious and color distinctions that divide the working class into suspicious groups.

But other forces tend to neutralize the drift towards Labor solidarity. The imperialist nations cultivate racial and nationalistic dogmas for the preservation of capitalism. The World State of capitalism is issuing out of the muck and ruin of the World War. Armaments are accumulating on the seas and more wars for the dominion of Capital threaten the peace of the world. Patriotic organizations, financed by the grand dukes of Capital and Finance, cultivate ancestor worship and glorify the institutions that serve the ruling classes. All these tendencies and movements are barriers to class solidarity.

Therefore, we repeat, EDUCATION of the masses is the great necessity. There are millions who yet have to learn to think. The New Leader will help them to think.

Our appeal to our readers now is to follow the example of "Jimmie" Graham. IF YOU HAVE ONLY ONE NAME, SEND IT. Many of you have more. Send them. We would like to have thousands of names and we will have them if YOU will act. Do so and DO IT NOW!

By KIA-LUEN LO

(This article is written by a Chinese scholar and journalist, who is known throughout China, and has taken active part in the Chinese Social Reconstruction Movement for eight years.)

THE struggle for industrial freedom and national liberty in China are two parts of the same question. Let us take the struggle for industrial freedom.

In discussing all contemporary Chinese problems we must remember that China has recently suffered an industrial revolution. Such a revolution is far graver and more dangerous than in Europe and America, for two reasons:

(1) It has come suddenly, and is complete with all the mechanical inventions which have been accumulating in Europe for more than two centuries; and (2) Chinese labor has not only to fight against the Chinese capitalists, but also against the dominant foreign capitalists, behind each of whom stands its respective imperialist government.

The large-scale foreign productive machinery has displaced the small Chinese industrial organizations and handicraft. The foreign-controlled tariff, taxing only 5 per cent for all imported goods, raw or manufactured, is completely incapable of protecting the infant native industry; so that there has been an unscrupulous exploitation of cheap labor by foreign capitalists. These foreign capitalists close their factories in their own countries and establish them in China, getting raw materials in China or importing from elsewhere, thanks to the low Chinese tariff, and exploiting cheap Chinese labor for the manufacturers.

Twentieth Century Slavery

Chiefly on account of the vast unemployment and the exploitation of foreign capitalists, the conditions of Chinese workers are unspeakably wretched. The writer, in spite of his personal knowledge of the situation, wishes to base his statement of facts mainly upon the authoritative "Report of Child Labor Commission" published in July, 1924. This report is doubly authoritative, because the Commission was composed of foreign experts appointed by the Municipal Council, Shanghai, June, 1923, which in turn consists of foreign capitalists and has been traditionally dictated to by foreign Consuls.

The average wage of workers varies from \$4.00 to \$8.00 per month, which is below the amount necessary for bare existence in Shanghai. There is no time off before or after childbirth for married women. There is no life or accident insurance, no compensation, no old-age pension, etc.

The working hours for men, women, and children are counted by shift, which varies from 12 to 15 hours in succession, with not more than an hour off for a meal. "The children frequently have to stand the whole time they are at work. In many industries day and night work is the rule, there being two shifts of twelve hours each." The Commission heard evidence that contractors obtained young children from the country districts, paying the parents \$2.00 a month for the service of each child. By employing such children in the mills and factories, the contractor is able to make a profit of about \$4.00 a month in respect of each child. Many of the children employed are very young, being certainly not more than six years of age. The children are frequently most miserably housed and fed. They receive no money, and their conditions of life are practically those of slavery. Young children, who are supposed to be working, but who have been over-come by fatigue, lie asleep in every corner, some in the open, others hidden in baskets under a covering of raw cotton.

Workers Organized Selves in 1919

The factory workers in Shanghai did not organize themselves effectively until 1919, after the general strike. They have constantly appealed to the owners and the Municipal Council for better treatment, but have always been refused. Their headquarters have often been raided by the municipal police, under foreign control, and consequently suppressed, because they have been so

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DEBS STIRS MINNESOTA SOCIALISTS

By MURRAY E. KING

THE Debs' meetings in Minneapolis in connection with the present nation-wide organization drive of the Socialist Party amount in their effects to a practical re-birth of the Socialist movement in Minnesota, in the minds of many leading Socialists here.

Into a State bewildered between Farmer-Labor opportunism and Communist impossibility, where there was but one precarious local of the Socialist Party, Debs and his militant cohorts thrust themselves. They leave this State with a score of applications for membership in Local Minneapolis; with St. Paul and other localities clamoring for organization work and the forming of locals; with more than 3,000 subscriptions for the American Appeal pledged; with a Socialist spirit and determination not known here since the war manifesting itself on all sides.

The first of these meetings, the Socialist conference, in its success, was a surprise to most of the Socialists here. More than 50 Socialists from Minneapolis, St. Paul, several up-State localities, and several points in western Wisconsin assembled. In the gathering were several farmers very enthusiastic for the complete restoration of the Socialist Party in Minnesota and clamorous for the early organization of locals in their neighborhoods. The conference was thrown open to all Socialists, affiliated or unaffiliated with the party. It drew quite a number of outstanding veteran Socialists who have been inactive for years. Some of these for years have been connected prominently with the Farmer-Labor movement.

Thousands of Pledges

Comrade Debs was at his best. Following and inspiring speech by this veteran leader setting forth the purpose of the gathering, an unexpected enthusiasm for Socialist organization and the early establishment of the American Appeal developed. Speaker after speaker brought out the fact that the cause of Socialist disorganization and apathy, in Minnesota, was the almost total suspension of propaganda activities during the past six or seven years and the general absence in the State of Socialist papers connecting the readers with the national and world Socialist movement. Unusual enthusiasm for the proposed national Socialist propaganda paper swept the conference, resulting in the passing of a resolution asking that the American Appeal be started on Labor Day this year, rather than at the beginning of 1926. About three thousand subscription pledges were made.

An important decision was made regarding the attitude of Minnesota Socialists toward the Farmer-Labor party of that State, in the



'Gene Debs, As Seen by Art Young

form of a resolution that it be the sense of the conference that the Socialists of the State may continue for the present to co-operate as individuals with the Farmer-Labor party, but that the Socialist Party should be built up and maintained as an educational force in the State, ready, if the Farmer-Labor party should fail to function as the party of the real producers, to resume its activities as a full-fledged political party. This resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote after a comprehensive debate on the question.

Neglect of Fundamentals

The debate strikingly brought out the present strong trend in Minnesota toward the resumption of Socialist organization for propaganda purposes. "Most of the speakers dwelt up on the fact that since the political ascendancy of the Farmer-Labor party real propaganda along the line of fundamental economics had ceased; there had been a steady recession from a fundamental stand on economic and political truths, increasing confusion and decreasing morale and enthusiasm. The general consensus of opinion was that it would be folly for the Socialists at present to attempt to set up political machinery in the State in opposition to the Farmer-Labor party, but that Socialist organization for educational purposes had become imperative and that the proper form of this organization was the regular Socialist local and State organization affiliated with the national organization in the regular way. "It was felt that this kind of organization only would be prepared, in case the Farmer-Labor party should fail to function as a working-class organization, to step in its place and become, as in other states, the essential political party of the workers. Most of the speakers expressed the belief that the Farmer-Labor party would be a thing of the past within a year or two.

Out of this debate and decision issued plans to begin at once the

rehabilitation of the Socialist Party in Minnesota and, in order to insure the permanency of this work, to conduct an intensive drive for subscribers for the proposed national weekly, the American Appeal.

Debs Routs Communists

The conference adjourned in the midst of an enthusiasm, hope and purpose such as has not been felt before in this State since the war. The only discordant note during the conference was created by a group of Communists masquerading as Socialists. Their spokesman, one Solitis, opened the attack by hurling broadside charges against the Minneapolis Socialist aldermen. Debs literally gave these disruptors the rope with which they hung them-

selves. He listened patiently to the vituperative harangue of the spokesman and patiently gave the latter the floor whenever he asked for it. When the "psychological moment" arrived and Solitis brought up the question of the "United Front," Debs let loose his entire battery of eloquence, wrath, wit and sarcasm in the most complete exposure of Communist party insanity and crookedness that has ever been heard in Minnesota. Solitis and his associates literally shrunk up and melted away under this withering blast and were seen and heard no more during the conference.

The meeting at Camden Park, Minneapolis, Sunday, June 21, drew a crowd that was estimated by the leading capitalist paper here to be 5,000. It was at least four times as large as the largest crowd the Farmer-Labor party was able to muster at its final open-air rally at the climax of the recent municipal campaign. It was the largest outdoor crowd that has assembled under any Labor or progressive auspices since the era of disorganization and apathy set in several years ago. Names and addresses handed in for organization purposes reveal the fact that this crowd was made up of men and women not only from the Twin Cities, but also from various up-State points. This has greatly encouraged those here behind the drive for a State-wide organization, as there has been no Socialist organization up-State for years. This assemblage was moved to great enthusiasm by Debs' masterful address. Its response left no doubt as to the possibilities for Socialist reorganization and education in Minnesota.

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP — SOME NEW LIGHT

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turing for the public what is now diverted to private profit takers.

On the practical side, our own experience during the war and the Canadian experience at present justify confidence in public ownership. Nevertheless, public ownership is no magic formula, not even when combined with democratic operation. How to obtain real efficiency, to divorce administration from politics, and to correlate the interests of workers and consumers, are problems requiring the utmost thought. Public ownership in an atmosphere of capitalism without adequate organization of the workers on the political and economic field may prove a dubious blessing.

Friday Morning:

The Problems of the Coal Mines
President John Brophy, District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, led off with a succinct and graphic picture in the coal fields, especially in the bituminous territory. We have a potential production in mines now opened of a billion tons with a present annual requirement of only 500,000,000 tons, that is, there are too many mines, too much capital invested, and too many miners. The soft coal industry sprawls over the whole country. It does not give to the miners a decent living or the rights commonly considered native to America. It does not give to the consumer scientific and efficient service at a reasonable price. It robs posterity by the wasteful methods employed. Annually the coal industry extorts the lives of some 2,500 miners—double the loss of life in Britain with 40 per cent more miners and worst natural conditions in the mines. From time to time, especially in the non-nion territories, these conditions result in a condition of civil war.

To remedy this situation the operators have no program. Each man fights for his own hand. The miners today, while in record in favor of nationalization, are actually engaged in the fight to maintain the standards and wage scale they have won. Overproduction makes the strike weapon relatively ineffective. The situation is bad, but by no means hopeless. The unions can count on the strength of the organized miners in the anthracite field, which, as contrasted with the bituminous territory, is very compact, not overdeveloped and solidly organized. The union can also count on the strength of union feeling and organization in the central competitive field in the bituminous territory. In time a more intense and intelligent interest in the reorganization of the industry is bound to arise, largely through the instrumentality of such study classes as the Workers Education Movement promote. Of these classes, District No. 2 has 12 or 14, and through them, in spite of difficulties, President Brophy hopes to see his own ideal of public ownership and democratic management achieved.

H. S. Raushenbush, who has been employed as an expert by the anthracite miners, spoke with special reference to anthracite. According to figures submitted to the United States Coal Commission, the cost of the anthracite mines is about \$283,000,000. It is carried on the books as \$600,000,000 and it pays

dividends on a monopoly value of about a billion. Governor Pinchot rightly insisted that the wage increase, granted in 1923, could be absorbed in most cases by the companies, but the companies not only refused to absorb any of it but added about 14 cents per ton more than was necessary to pass on the increase to the consumer.

In this situation publicity has not proved an adequate remedy. After the publication of the Coal Commission's figures on anthracite profits the operators were able to increase their margin per ton, from 59 cents to \$1.18, in the first quarter of 1923. This situation led to the miners' proposal, in 1923, for the liquidation of ownership in the anthracite region. Since the courts would probably rule against this proposal a second plan was suggested, namely, the retirement of the capital by the industry itself. Mr. Raushenbush submitted figures to show that by the substitution of 6 per cent bonds for outstanding capital, in 50 years all existing capital could be retired at a cost ranging from 31 cents to 79 cents per ton, according to what valuation was accepted, while the present cost for interest, profit and depreciation approximate \$1.20 a ton.

These substantial savings cannot be won without the conscious desire of the miners, nor can Government ownership be effective if the miners sabotage. You can't mine coal with guns. Since 1923 the miners' fear of being dubbed Bolsheviks, fear of the arbitrary power of the Government, fear of a fixed wage, have kept them from effective propaganda for public ownership of the anthracite industry.

Questions by Messrs. Laidler, Sabloff, Jones, Potter, and Levine, emphasized some of the points of the speakers. Mr. Simpson, of Canada, called attention to the success of New Zealand in operating some Government mines and wondered whether anything could be achieved by a similar attempt in America. The dinner bell brought the discussion to an abrupt close, but not before the chairman, Norman Thomas, had expressed his doubt of the efficacy of an experiment of public ownership of a few Government operated mines in the economic conditions prevailing in the United States.

Friday Evening:

Canada—and China
Mr. Thomas opened the evening session by reading a cabled appeal from the L. I. D.'s own Field Secretary, Paul Blanshard, and Professor Harry F. Ward, for relief for the Chinese strikers in Shanghai. On motion of Morris Hillquit, the officers of the L. I. D. were instructed to cable Messrs. Blanshard and Ward for more details, with the understanding that if the reply warranted they would take the initiative in arranging for relief.

Mr. Thomas then introduced Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly as the chairman of the evening. Mrs. Mailly in a graceful speech expressed the pleasure of the camp in having the L. I. D. Conference and introduced the speaker of the evening, James Simpson, Vice-President of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who spoke on the extent of public ownership in Canada. (Mr. Simpson's address will appear in a

subsequent issue of The New Leader.)

Saturday Morning:

Public Ownership or Super-Power
The morning session was opened by Harry Laidler's report on the work of the L. I. D. since the last summer conference. It was summarized last week in The New Leader.

Robert Bruere discussed certain phases of the super-power development. First he called attention to the extraordinary progress of electrical science. Even the difficult problem of finding super-power generating sites with an abundance of water is today no longer the barrier it once seemed. In Germany a great plant is already in use in which air is used for cooling, necessary for condensation. In considering the technical side, however, we must not forget that coal rather than water will continue, even after the effective development of water power sites, to be our main dependents for super-power.

Just why certain enterprises have passed under public management, while others are under private control, it will be hard to say. In Ontario the original impetus toward public ownership came from the Chamber of Commerce, from the small town of London, Ontario, which felt that Ontario enterprises could not be left to the tender mercies of private owners of power.

In American states constitutional change in some cases would be necessary to permit the State to go into the business of supplying electric power. Only in New York, Washington, California, and to some extent in Oregon, is there a practical question today of public versus private ownership of hydro-electric power. In the national field such a question exists with regard to Muscle Shoals.

Private utilities people are making a great play of what they call consumer ownership, that is, the sale of stock to consumers to check the growth of public ownership sentiment. Also, one of the heads of the California companies recently said that they now intended to give cheap irrigation and power to farmers even at the expense of city people in order to buttress their popularity. Yet the private utility companies of the United States have long denounced the Ontario Commission for doing—so they say—this very thing. In this country less than 3 per cent of the farmers have the convenience of electricity. In time they will make a demand for it, though at present they are more interested in their desperate financial problem than in electrical power.

Saturday Night:

Public Versus Private Ownership
Even the thunder conspired to make our big night a success. The storm granted a reprieve until the lights were out and the campers safe in bed. Some time before the debate began every seat in Mailly Hall was taken. Clement Wood sang a group of Negro spirituals to the delight of the audience. Then came the debate between Morris Hillquit and Arthur Williams. It is the present intention of the L. I. D. to have the debate printed or photographed so as to make it generally available.

Then followed the somewhat painful task—for the chairman at least

—of raising money. Mr. Thomas made a brief statement of the value and needs of the League, explaining that since coming to camp he had received word of one generous offer of \$1,000 from a friend not at camp, but that at least \$4,000 of new money would be necessary to finish out the year. No gifts, he said, were planted in the audience. As a result of the appeal about \$300 was raised.

Saturday Afternoon:

Discussion for College Students
The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion for college students, led by Roland A. Gibson. Plans were discussed for the annual student conference next winter, as well as concrete ways and means for students in and out of college to cooperate with the Labor and radical movements.

The Chinese uprising was discussed and it was generally felt that the Chinese students were to be highly commended for assisting the strikers who are fighting against foreign exploitation. Some delegates, however, maintained that the Chinese situation was too remote from the immediate interests of American students to warrant taking any action on the matter, and suggested that a campaign against militarism in the schools and colleges of America was the most important activity for students to engage in at the present time. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That it is the sense of this meeting that public meetings should be held in the immediate future, wherever possible, to educate the public against imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and to raise funds for the relief of the strikers in China.

"And be it further Resolved: That similar action be taken in the colleges in the fall against the particular manifestations of imperialism at that time, such as possible aggravations of the situation in China, the possible encouragement of a revolution in Mexico by American capitalists, and the militaristic activities of the War Department in the schools and colleges of the United States."

That cleared the way for the play, which was generally voted the best of our annual productions. Our dramatic critic sends us this somewhat enigmatic message. "Brains, the great farce-satire by the L. I. D. Players, is an amazing production. Broadway has never seen anything like it." On the stage were gathered Mr. President (Harry W. Laidler), John D. Oilyfeller (Norman Thomas), Henry Flivver (Solon DeLeon), Chief Justice Daft (McAllister Coleman), Bishop Banning (Leonard Bright), Admiral Blackjack (Sam Friedman), Secretary of Agriculture Sardine (H. S. Raushenbush), Iva Scoop (Clement Wood), Dr. Blank Brain (Mr. Finkel), Ma Texas (Gertrude Goddard), Mrs. Vincent Asthma (Edna Porter), Baby Grand Dutchess Anesthesia (Gertrude Weil Klein), Miss Steno (Nellie Nearing). Accompanist, Mrs. Tannenbaum, Assisting in Stage Costuming, Gertrude Goddard and Mr. Wolfe.

The play opened with a conference of "brightest minds"—a first without the ladies—called to settle the problem of public ownership. The intrusion of the lady conferees, the President's ride on his hobby horse and the "brainy" opinions of the delegates furnished occasion for songs and dialogues. Solon DeLeon and Clement Wood wrote the dialogue, Sam Friedman some of the

The League For Industrial Democracy In Instructive Session At Tamiment

The Setting

This story is not complete without reference to the perfection of the setting—lake, woods, sky and clouds—and the joy of good fellowship. Games on land and water and the combined comfort and good taste of the camp helped to make the conference a success. Thanks are due to the management and staff of Camp Tamiment and to Miss Dubrow and Miss Straus of our own staff, for the admirable handling of all administrative details. To them no less than to our speakers, playwrights and actors the success of the conference was due.

The conference registration was 175. Other guests at Camp Tamiment and a large delegation from Unity House gave us an audience well over 300 on Saturday night. All in all 1925 set a mark for the summer conference that we shall have to work hard to surpass.

A man with \$200,000 a year eats the whole fruit of 6,000 men's labor through a whole year; for you can get a stout spadesman to work and maintain himself for the sum of \$30. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals. What do those highly benefited individuals do to society for their wages? Kill partridges? Can this last? No, by the soul of man it cannot, and will not, and shall not.—Carlyle.

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TRUTH ABOUT SHANGHAI

(Continued from Page 1.)

daring as to claim their human rights, and therefore are "Bolsheviks" or "Red Terrorists," and are paid by the "Russian" or "sinister agents."

It is worth while noticing that in Shanghai the British and Japanese owned spindles amount to 967,432 out of 1,740,556. The remainder is still largely under foreign capital. During the Great War the Chinese who owned cotton mills were often very prosperous. But on account of the increase of foreign competition, the lack of sufficient reserve capital and the low tariff, they became bankrupt, one after the other. A well-known Chinese owner who once had three mills with more than \$20,000,000 capital, has now nothing left. Another has saved his mill by raising a foreign loan of five millions. When the aforesaid "Report" printed the objections of Chinese mill-owners to the enforcement of the Labor protection law in the Settlement, it forgot to mention that their mills are also in the Settlement and are loaded with foreign loans.

Native Factories Are Insignificant

When the Commission was to make some recommendations to the Council it was advised "to deal with the settlement as if it were in the nature of a watertight compartment." It had to consider seriously "how far, if at all, it is practicable to regulate or restrict the employ-

ment of children within the Settlement without injuring or unduly interfering with the industries employing them, which industries have to compete with those outside." The writer merely wishes to say here that the whole of Shanghai is practically a Settlement, that the native factories in the Chinese city are very insignificant, and that the foreign works outside the Settlement, under the protection of extra-territoriality, are also free from Chinese jurisdiction. So in dealing with the problem of improving Chinese labor conditions, the question of abolishing the whole system of extra-territoriality is essentially involved.

The foreign capitalists, while perpetuating the cruel practice of exploitation, argued that if they would condescend to be benevolent, they might be handicapped in competing with the native industry. The native industrialists would argue in turn that if the foreign capitalists, with more capital, better bank credit, and under special protection, were not willing to improve working conditions, how could we maintain the existence of our industry, to say nothing of competition. So the circle is complete; but it is not impossible to break it, if somebody is willing to take the initiative.

Suggestions For a Remedy

1. For the time being the Municipal Council should take immediate action to urge and even to compel the favored side, i. e., the

foreign capitalists, to take the initiative and to bring about some immediate betterment of labor conditions as an emergency act in order to release the present high tension of social grievances and national indignation in China.

2. Then let the Chinese Government provide a set of well-considered Labor Protection Acts which should be universally enforced, i. e., which should be observed by foreign and native capitalists within and without the settlement alike.

3. The inspectorate system should be immediately established by inviting foreign experts, who must be closely associated with the Labor movement in Europe, to work in cooperation with the Chinese.

4. Fundamentally, the whole system of extra-territoriality should be abolished, which has given the foreign imperialists so many immunities and privileges that they are bound to abuse, and which has wrecked the whole economic and administrative structure of the Chinese nation.

The first suggestion would get no hearing; the second can only be established nominally by the Chinese Government, and surely will not be observed by foreign capitalists; the third is quite practical only as a sequel to the second; and the fourth is the most fundamental because it strikes at the root of all evils, but is the most difficult because no Imperialist Government will concede it.

WHOSE INDEPENDENCE DAY?

By EDMOND GOTTESMAN
Secretary, Neckwear Workers' Union

The Fourth of July and the Workers

TODAY we celebrate the 149th Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. We celebrate and rejoice that the inhabitants of the Colonies freed themselves from the reign of the Kings of England, and have established a Republic wherein every man and woman is a free and sovereign citizen, and under the Constitution are guaranteed the inalienable right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, also freedom of speech and assembly.

At that time machine production, division of labor, and wage workers did not exist. The men of that day were hunters, fishers, tillers of the soil, traders, and merchants. The King of England interfered with their trade and commerce, taxed and ruled without their consent, and committed numerous acts described in the Declaration of Independence, which actuated them to rebel and establish a Republic.

When the Constitution was framed and this Government established, it was done for and in the interests of the merchants, traders and farmers of 1776. Today the situation is different. We now have two distinct classes: 1. The wage workers who produce everything and own nothing but their labor-power. They are about 90 per cent of the people of this country. 2. We have a class that owns the land, the minerals, the coal, iron, steel and copper mines, the mills, the railroads, the steamships, the gas, electric and water power plants, the shops, factories, the banks and the credit system, and finally they own the Government. This class of owners, that

constitute about 10 per cent of the people of this country, are the dominant factors on the political and economic field and control the Government alternately through the Republican or Democratic parties.

Just recall the last Presidential campaign. Senator Borah with a committee of the Senate of the United States conducted an investigation of campaign contributions. This investigation has disclosed that \$5,000,000 were contributed to the Republican party and Mr. Coolidge's campaign. Mr. Coolidge is President of the United States, Mr. Dawes, of the open-shop crusade fame is Vice-President, and both houses of Congress are Republican.

Mr. Coolidge has filled his Cabinet, the Supreme Court, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission with men who are safe and sane for the National Manufacturers' Association, the Chambers of Commerce, the food and grain speculators, the corporations, and the trusts. These gentlemen will make this Fourth of July a solemn celebration, and no doubt they are sincere.

But you, who are one of the 90 per cent who own only labor power, are an American citizen and a workman; will you celebrate because you are an independent? Are you as a worker represented in Congress by your own working class representatives, who legislate against exploitation, unsafe mines, mills and factories, against child labor, and long hours of work for women in industry? against 365 days' work

in a year on the railroads, against low wages and against the high cost of living and housing? Of course you are not. Are you represented in the Executive branch to enforce all the guarantees of the Constitution, for freedom of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Of course you are not. The nearest approach to a workman's point of view by Mr. Coolidge was when he donned a pair of overalls, and pitched hay, which was featured in the movies to demonstrate his relation to the toiling man. Since his election to the Presidency can you recall a single concrete law he has advocated in favor of Labor and had it enacted by his Republican Congress? Are you represented in the judicial branch of the Government, that interprets the Constitution and the laws? Of course not. Can you recall a single law that the Judiciary has interpreted humanely and progressively in the interests of the millions of toilers?

Do you expect a President elected by the contributions of the coal and textile barons, oil, steel, and the hundred and one corporations, the bankers, manufacturers and real estate owners, to appoint judges, Cabinet officers and members of various Commissions hostile to the interests of these contributors?

When the miners, railroad workers, garment, textile, shoe and all other workers go on strike for humane conditions and better wages, the judges do not hesitate to issue injunctions prohibiting picketing talking to workers not to take

strikers' places and to hold meetings. If you insist on rights of free speech and assembly and continue to picket or to hold open-air meetings the Judge will promptly send you to jail without a jury trial, for contempt of court. And if a strike threatens the power of the exploiting capitalists, the Executive will send the militia to suppress it. Mr. workingman, you know this from your many experiences in strikes. The miners, steel workers, the garment workers, especially the Ludlow miners, vividly remember their experiences with the injunction and the militia.

Americans dethroned King George III, in 1776. The world has been dethroning kings ever since. But we have enthroned money kings, whose rule is despotic and cruel. Through their power of the purse they control elections and legislatures. The army and the police stand guard at the gates of their mines, mills and factories. Their battalions of dollars are today a greater force than the battalions of soldiers were.

The money monarchs control all social, political, economic and educational institutions. Their divine right of possession and ownership is upheld by all the agencies of Government.

In view of all this it behooves every worker and producer to give earnest thought to their status in our economic, political and social life. An intelligent reflection should inspire them to greater efforts to free themselves from their economic overlords. The struggle can be carried by organizing into trade and Labor unions, into Labor political parties. If all the toilers of this land would heed this, Independence Day would have a new meaning for them, it would bring about the emancipation of nine-tenths of the people from the exploitation of one-tenth.

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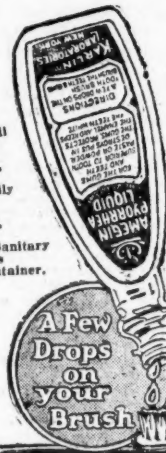
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:- BUILDING GREAT FORTUNES :-

By JAMES ONEAL

PROBABLY no doctrine is more sincerely held by Americans than the belief that the success of American capitalists is due to their individual efforts unaided by Government support. It is expounded in history text books, by editors and politicians, by economists and clergymen, and is woven into the political traditions of the nation.

It is also probable that no other doctrine is less entitled to belief on the basis of evidence.

In contradiction to this belief it may be asserted that each group that has been prominent in our history has had its origin in Government support and favors. Even the settlement of the colonies was a series of business ventures. European government gave land speculators great tracts of land in the American colonies. They gave the speculators powers of sovereignty over these lands and enacted laws favorable to their investments.

Then as the colonies grew up and labor was required, the colonial

The Fable that Capitalists, Unaided, Earn the Wealth They Accumulate

legislatures passed laws legalizing the slave trade. Laws were enacted to protect and to insure the exploitation of Negroes. The jails of England were opened and whites were sent to the colonial masters to exploit. British political prisoners were shipped to the speculators and employers, and worked as bond servants. The colonial statutes were littered with laws to recapture runaways, to punish them, and to increase their terms of service for the slightest offenses. In the case of wage workers their wages were regulated by law.

The first forms of capital in this country had their origin in all these measures of Government aid. The current belief is that capital had its origin in the self-denial and savings of some early workers. The majority were lazy, careless and thriftless. Only a few were willing to sacrifice and save until they accumulated enough capital to go into some form of business. The facts are that the first forms of capital had their origin

in slavery and the slave trade, land speculation, and Government aid, support and protection of slavery, speculation, fraud and enforced labor of convicts and political prisoners.

Once accumulated in this way these forms of capital acted like snowballs rolling down hill. They gathered more capital and, as it increased, more labor was exploited, and the more labor was exploited the more capital increased. Then in order to reconcile the masses to their subordinate position in society and to keep them working for the masters, the history of the original accumulation was obscured by politicians who serve the owners. The fiction of the "thrifty man" who saved and the "lazy man" who wasted his earnings was created to justify the continued exploitation of millions.

But this process of Government aid to create capitalists and masters did not end with the original accumulations. It has continued down to the present day and, despite the evidence, the apologists of capitalism teach and millions of workers believe that our millionaires owe their success to their own unaided efforts. They even ignore the fact that the sons who inherited the wealth filched from slave labor in the South and invested it in capitalist enterprises owe their success not to their own

efforts but to the fact that their fathers and grandfathers robbed Negroes and whites for generations.

The first Congress under Washington created a group of new rich by certain legislation. It enacted laws to redeem at par the worthless certificates of public debt. Then the same Congress robbed thousands of workers and soldiers by repudiating the paper money which they received for their labor or service in the army. If paper money was to be repudiated, the paper tokens of indebtedness owned by the more wealthy or speculators should have been repudiated.

A class of new rich was again spawned after the Civil War. A great territory in the West over which the war had been fought was largely given away to railroad speculators, timber and mineral grafters. The Government aid to expectant capitalists in this period created the modern type of millionaires. Their sons, who never saved or worked in all their lives, inherited this plunder and today they constitute our "eminent families." Even today we observe the tendency to give away great power sites, and thousands of laws are enacted to protect and increase the fortunes of our ruling classes.

Forget the fictions and get the facts. Workers are not underlings because they do not work hard. They are a subordinate class because they accept the falsehoods which they are told and have not yet supported a party that represents them and which seeks to recover the rich heritage of which they are deprived by Government aid to those who live on their labor.

LABOR'S DIVIDENDS

QUEBEC, June 27.—Nine men, the whole crew of the tugboat Ocean King, which went down in the St. Lawrence River here when rammed by the Canadian Pacific liner Marloch, have been lost.

GLOUCESTER, Mass., June 28.—The Cunard Anchor Lin. steamer Tuscania rammed and sank the fishing schooner Rex of this port with the loss of fifteen lives today.

ST. JOHN'S, N. F., June 25.—Four fishermen of Burin were drowned when the wreck of the Swedish steamship Argos, on which they were at work, suddenly broke in two and sank.

PLAINFIELD, N. J., June 23.—Charles Angerbauer, 24 years old, a lineman for the Public Service Electric Company, was shocked to death here this morning while working atop an electric pole at Plainfield avenue and West Eighth street.

SPOKANE, Wash., June 24.—Four miners were trapped in the Ajax mine near Burke, Idaho, and the mine flooded, today, when a raise from the main shaft to the water-filled old workings broke through before intended.

BUTLER, N. J., June 23.—One man was killed and four seriously injured in a freight wreck on the Susquehanna Railroad at 3:27 a.

m., today, at Smith Mills, west of Pompton Lakes.

The dead man was Joseph Cornetti, 25, of Paterson, N. J., fireman.

MT. CARMEL, Pa., June 24.—As the result of a cave-in in the Locust Spring mine of the Reading Coal and Iron Company, two miners have lost their lives.

WATERTOWN, N. Y., June 29.—Three workers lost their lives in a dynamite explosion in the plant of the New Jersey Zinc Company here.

BALTIMORE, June 13.—Jeremiah Macks, a seaman, died today under fifty tons of coal on the British steamer Rhode Island, moored at Locust Point. Macks plunged fifty feet from the upper deck of the vessel with an iron bar in his hand when he and another seaman tried to dislodge a lump of coal jammed on the hatchway. The bar suspended his body part way down into the hole and he was suffocated under a stream of coal.

More Would Join I. T. F. Among the organizations recently announcing their intention of applying for admission to the International Transport Workers' Federation are the Estonian Railroadmen's Union, with 2,000 members; the Union of Italian Port Workers, organized at Genoa on April 10, and the Portuguese Union of Maritime and River Workers.

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of the United States of America.

Organized 1884

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On the authority of Republican Senator Arthur Capper the following summary of the general cussedness of American society under Capitalism is presented for your prayerful consideration as one year's inspiring output:

"Taken in 'holdups' in 1924, \$2,650,000,000.

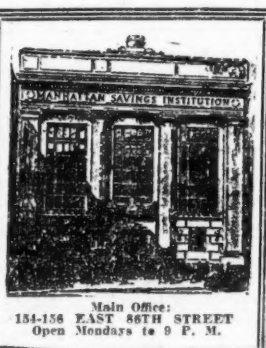
"Lost in forgeries by trusted employees, \$100,000,000.

"Lost in swindling stock sales, \$6,000,000,000.

"The total cost of all our crime exceeds the nation's annual budget."

So you can easily see at a glance what the situation will be when "under Socialism everything goes to the dogs." Won't it be awful?

It is a bit refreshing to note that, according to the police authorities of the United States, of all the large cities in this country, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is the cleanest in the list with respect to criminality. Thus it seems that when our enemies ask God for help against the crime waves that are sweeping the country, no special favors need be requested for Milwaukee, which has had a Socialist administration for many years.



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THE COMMUNIST PLAGUE IN OUR UNION

By MORRIS SIGMAN
(President of the Int'l Ladies'
Garment Workers' Union)

IT is common knowledge that our Union has, in the last few years, been suffering greatly from the demoralizing influence caused by Communist propaganda among our workers. The so-called "Workers' party," the American section of the Communist International in Moscow, has set before itself the definite task of discrediting and destroying our International Union, as well as the American Federation of Labor. A day seldom passes without savage and venomous attacks upon our Union appearing in the numerous publications issued by the Communists in various languages in every part of the country. The leaders and active workers of our Union, who are against the Communists and their tactics, are being daily maligned and slandered in these sheets and represented to the workers as "agents hired by the bosses to betray the interests of the workers," and servants of the Department of Justice. Whatever our Union undertakes to do or is engaged in doing in order to improve the work conditions in our industry, these enemies of ours attack, ridicule and deride, urging the workers to disobey the constitution of the Union and to violate its laws.

In the very recent past they have gone so far as to incite the workers not to allow the Union to reach any settlement or agreement with the employers, proposing instead that the Union inaugurate at once a general strike, and agitating for such demagogic and impossible demands as obviously cannot be won.

In our trade, seasonal in its nature and always beset with many complicated industrial problems, there always has been, and always will be, a dissatisfied element of workers. Some of them become dissatisfied with the long periods of "slack" between seasons which they are compelled to endure, and which is the result of the seasonal nature of our industry, and to some of them it appears that the Union or the officers of the Union are, for some reason or another, responsible for this unemployment. They are inclined to assume that the officers are not energetic enough to force the employers to give them work. Other workers are disgruntled because the Union has set into operation strict working rules which must be observed.

Destruction or Capture Is Aim

It is this element that furnishes the vanguard of the malcontents, who become easily incited against the Union and its officers and active workers by the organized machinery of the Communist party in this country, and the Communist Red International—organizations which have only one purpose: to capture the existing trade unions, and make them the pliant tools of the dictatorship of the secret Communist central committee, or to destroy them entirely if they cannot be captured.

But our Unions have refused to take orders from the Communist party, and the Communists have therefore declared war upon us. They are moving heaven and earth to destroy our organization. Faithful to the sacred mandate of their pope, Lenin, who preached that a political opponent may be slandered and maligned, if he can only be blackened in the eyes of the masses, and that "if necessary, the Communists may use trickery, shrewd maneuvering and any illegitimate means, including the suppression of facts" (see Lenin—"The Infantile Disorders of Leftism and Communism"—Russian edition, page 51—Moscow, 1925), the Communists stoop to the meanest forms of falsehood and slander in order to discredit our

Union in the eyes of its members and before the general public opinion. The small number of Communist sympathizers who are found in our Union could have been entirely ignored were it not for the fact that behind them there stands the entire machinery of the Communist party with its fourteen daily papers, maintained by funds of the Russian Communist Government.

The strife kept up by the Communists in our unions is in no sense a conflict between cloakmakers and cloakmakers or dressmakers and dressmakers concerning means or methods for improving the conditions of the workers in our trades, but a fight between the Communist party and the organized Labor movement in America. The Communist party is concerned very little with the economic welfare of the

A Powerful Progressive Union Meets the Challenge of Disruption

workers as such. They are not worried whether the workers are prepared to go out on strike for the winning of any given demands, just as it does not matter to them whether the demands advocated by them may or may not be realized. They are primarily interested in creating turmoil, in arousing one group of the workers against the other, in breaking down the authority of the leaders, and in this way gain followers for their party through the tumult which they thus arouse. The scandalous manner in which they conducted the recent strike of the textile workers in Paterson, N. J., may serve as an example of how little they care for the true interests of the workers. The Communists have only one interest and that is—the interest of the Communist party.

states that in the course of one year, between the first congress of this International and the second, the Moscow executive of the Red International had dealt thirty-three times with matters pertaining to the American Trade Union movement. (Minutes of the Congress, Russian edition, page 21, Moscow, 1923.)

Losovsky reports further:

"During this time we have carried out the decision concerning the joint work of the 'Profratern' (Red Trade Union International) and the 'Comintern' (Communist International). Anyone who is familiar with the A. B. C. of the international movement will admit that the revolutionary minorities in the old unions in an overwhelming majority of the countries and themselves today under the influence of and are being led by the Communist party." (Minutes, page 26.)

Specially about America, Losovsky reported as follows:

"During the past year, there has been formed in America with the aid of the 'Profratern' (Moscow Trade Union International) and directly with your participation a movement which works under the banner of the Trade Union Educational League. This movement has embraced wide masses and today represents the root of the American revolutionary Labor movement."

"This, no doubt, must be placed to the credit of the 'Profratern,' as this movement, about which I speak, adopted our program and our tactics, and through it our ideas are being spread throughout America. This opposition is becoming the united opposition in the American Trade Union movement." (Minutes, page 33.)

Among the instructions of the Communist International published in No. 14 of the Communist "International Press Correspondence," of February 24, 1924, it is stated:

"All Communist factions in the unions, regardless of size and importance, must be subject to the party organs (the executive committee of the nuclei) or to the central committee. These party organs must give the necessary instructions to the Communist factions, and all questions with regard to which these party organizations had adopted decisions in strict accordance with these decisions."

develop and spread the League. An attempt must be made to convert the Trade Union Educational League into a great opposition movement of the Left Bloc. All attempts of the reactionary trade union bureaucrats to isolate the Trade Union Educational League, to undermine its influence in the unions, and to limit the activity of its members to Communists and their closest sympathizers only, must be energetically combated." (See "Freiheit," Monday, May 25, 1925.)

From all this it becomes clearly evident that the destructive activity which is systematically carried on in our unions, the campaign of hate and incitement that is being waged by this so-called Trade Union Educational League against our International and its leaders and active workers is being directed by the Communist International, and that the members of the Union who belong to the League or to the Communist party are only carrying out the orders of the Communist Central Committee.

In his report to the congress of the Moscow "Red Trade Union International," Losovsky, the Chief Commissar of this Red International,

Who Meets the Deficit?

And further:

"Communist factions in the unions elect with the sanction of the proper party committee, their executive committee, which is responsible to the party organs for the activity of these factions. The Communist factions in the local executive boards, in the trade and labor councils, State Federations of Labor, etc., are to serve as the leading organs for all Communists in these organizations. All the factions must submit to the control of the local or district committee of the Communist party."

Paragraph 7 of these instructions reads:

"The Communist factions in the unions must reach an agreement with the proper party organs with regard to candidates for executive boards in the above mentioned organizations and organs."

Paragraph 10 reads:

"Each question which is to be decided in the non-partisan institutions or organizations in which the Communist factions carry on their activity must first be discussed at a general meeting or the executive board of the Communist faction."

Paragraph 12 states:

"At the general meetings of the non-partisan organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, etc.) all members of the Communist faction must act and vote as a unit in all questions. Members violating these rules will be punished by the party."

The Communists in the unions, therefore, are a State within a State. They are subject to the iron discipline of the Communist party, and they must act and vote in each and every union matter or problem not as union members, or as their conscience would dictate to them, but in accordance with the decision of the secret central committee of the Communist party. The Central Committee of the American Communist party, however, is itself only an agency of Moscow, and the interest of the "world revolution" in Moscow demands the destruction of all existing Labor unions, wherever they cannot be captured by the Communists, and wherever they refuse to accept orders from Zinoviev and Losovsky or their local agents. That the whole Communist movement in all countries is not only directed but also financed by the Russian Government is today no secret to anyone. Herbert Morrison, Secretary of the London section of the British Labor party, recently figured out that the total income of the English Communist party for 1924 could not have exceeded the sum of \$5,000 sterling (twenty-odd thousand dollars), while its expenses were at least ten times that sum, and this deficit could have been covered from no other source but Moscow. The same is true of all other countries, including the United States.

According to the financial report of the Workers' party, this party had in 1924 15,233 members. The organizational expenses of this party alone amounted in 1923, according to the financial report of its secretary, to \$140,000, of which sum only about \$40,000 was covered by membership dues. The report does not mention where the remaining \$100,000 came from.

This, however, is not all. The Communist party of America pub-

lishes fourteen daily papers, eight weeklies and several monthly magazines. Not one of these publications pays for itself, and, with the exception of one or two, these Communist periodicals have neither readers nor advertisers. The Italian Federation of the Workers' party, which has 319 members, issues its own daily paper. The Hungarian Federation numbers 359 members and publishes a daily paper. The Polish Federation has 245 members and also publishes a daily newspaper. The English central organ of the Communists, which carries no advertisements whatever and has only an insignificant number of readers, comes out daily in six pages, and issues a special supplement on Sunday. Notwithstanding the fact that most Communist papers have no income whatever, they are coming out regularly, and some of them have even purchased buildings and are equipped with linotype and printing plants. (All these figures, bearing on the condition of the American Communist party, are taken from the "American Labor Year-Book" for 1924, pages 159 and 160.)

The deficit incurred by these fourteen Communist dailies reaches the sum of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. The question arises: Who covers all these immense expenses of the Communist party? The reply to this was given by no one else than Zinoviev, the President of the Communist International, who is also one of the triumvirate which governs Russia. This reply consists of but one terse phrase:

"To give every form of assistance to the American Communists is one of the principal tasks of the Communist International." (See article "Five Years of the Comintern" in the Moscow Pravda for February 29, 1924.)

In the "Theses," published by Zinoviev in the Moscow Izvestia of April 26, 1925, which were endorsed by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party, which means by the actual Government of Russia, we read:

"It is the task of the Russian Communist to give special and ample assistance to the Communist International" (Thesis 15) "and, therefore, while yielding daily more and more concessions to the growing capitalistic elements in our land, it is necessary at the same time, by every means and in a full measure, to support the divisions of the proletarian revolution in all countries." (Thesis 5.)

Such is the program adopted by the Russian governing party at its last conference on April 29, 1925. It is clear that Moscow does not intend to give up Communist propaganda in America. And as long as the Russian treasury will subsidize the local Communist newspapers, and maintain at its expense a staff of paid organizers and agents

to fight and demoralize our unions, their existence will remain in jeopardy—unless we take energetic and timely measures to cut this cancer from the body of our organization without delay.

We must adopt against the Communists the same methods which are applied against them by the progressive trade unions all over the world. Already in May, 1922, the Amsterdam Trade Union International issued a declaration in which, among

other things, it said:

"Even if we should assume that the Moscow leaders do not intend to 'split' the Labor movement, the methods which they use lead in practice inevitably to the destruction of unity in every country and to the greater subjugation of the workers to the powers of the capitalists."

A few months later, the Executive of the Amsterdam International adopted the following decision:

"Having reached the conclusion that the activity of the Third International is greatly strengthening the menace of Reaction, the Executive of the international Federation of Trade Unions decided that the activity of the Moscow International is bound to bring dissension and splittings in the Labor movement, and therefore any organization which joins the 'Profratern' or the 'Comintern' places itself squarely outside the International Federation of Trade Unions."

A War for the Union

The Central body of the German Unions went still further. At its special congress on December 15, 1920, it adopted the following decision:

"The unions are obliged, with all means at their command, not to allow the Communists and the followers of the Moscow Government to carry on their destructive activities."

In January, 1921, the German Metal Workers' Union, at the head of which is the well-known radical Socialist Dismann, adopted a decision that anyone pursuing within its unions any activity prescribed by the Communist International "increases thereby the already difficult struggle against the capitalists, and must therefore be regarded as an enemy of the Union."

The German Union of Railway Workers acted with even greater firmness in this matter, when its Berlin locals elected Communists as members of their local executive boards. The General Executive Board of the Railway Workers declared these elections invalid on the ground that the Communists were opposed to the platform of the Union and were disregarding its decisions.

The Central organ of the German Trade Unions Die Korrespondenz Blatt, in its issue of August 12, 1922, states:

"The worst enemy of any fighting organization is the enemy within the ranks. If the unions desire to maintain their strength, they must first clean their own house."

On August 28, 1922, the central body of all the German Trade Unions, together with the Union of State Employees, issued a declaration in which it is stated, among other things:

"There can be no greater treason to the workers, at this difficult time, than to incite members of trade unions against their elected leaders, and to spread dissension and dissatisfaction between workers and officers, as the Communists are doing."

As the Communists, however, have continued their destructive work, some of these unions were finally compelled to expel them entirely from their midst, while others adopted decisions barring Communists and Communist supporters from holding any office in their organizations. The trade unions of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Austria, and several other countries, all followed one of the two courses above mentioned.

It is high time that our own International adopt, once and for all time, radical and firm measures to check and eliminate the Communist plague that is raging within our own ranks. The Communist party has declared war upon us. The Communists are doing everything under the sun to harm us at every step and turn. In its unholy crusade against our Union, the Communist party is employing every means, no matter how foul or despicable. Each Communist, whether he be-

longs officially to the Trade Union Educational League or not, is bound by party discipline to act in all union matters, not as the interests of the organization would dictate, but in accordance with the orders of the secret Communist Central Committee. It is clear, therefore, that anyone who openly supports in any manner Communist activity aids thereby our bitter enemy in fighting our Union, and must therefore be regarded as an enemy of the Union.

We need not and, under the circumstances, it may be hardly desirable to expel all Communists and their supporters from our Union. But our Union must not permit any members of the so-called "Workers' party" or any of its followers to hold any paid or unpaid office in our organization. The Union must not allow any of its officers, elected by our members, to receive orders from an outside enemy organization, from a political clique which constantly engages in conspiring against our Union. We must have discipline in our ranks. No Labor union can exist without discipline, and any one of our members who places the discipline of the Workers' party above the discipline of his or her union and aids thereby our enemies to plot against and injure our organization, is himself an enemy of the Union and must not be permitted to hold any office in it.

We have, therefore, reached the conclusion that our International Union must put an end, with a firm and unfaltering arm, to the Communist demoralization in its midst. The Communists have declared war upon us and our reply to them must be—WAR! Whoever is with the Communists is an enemy of ours, and for such there is no room within our ranks.

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:-: A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES :-:

An Open Letter to The President

DEAR Sir and Bro. Cal:
I hope you will excuse me for sending this letter through the paper. But you see I have to fill this column every week or lose my job, so I thought I might just as well kill two birds with one stone and do it this way. Besides, my handwriting ain't as good as it might be and my buddy, who does the typewriting for me, has fallen off the water wagon again.

What I want to tell you is that I saw you and the missus in the movie the other night and that reminded me that the prosperity you promised before the election hasn't showed up yet. I wrote you some time ago about this little matter, but I guess my letter got lost among other State papers because I haven't heard from you yet.

Now I don't want you to think that it's me that's belly-aching for that prosperity. Prosperity means nothing to me but work, and I'm constitutionally opposed to that. Besides, I'm not one of those dumb-bells who imagines that prosperity can be coaxed out of a ballot-box with a piece of paper.

When there ain't any work, there ain't any, that's all there is to it and not even master minds like yours and mine can bring about good times when the country is suffering from over-production. About all that the best Government on earth can do in an economic way is to distribute taxes so that those who pay them don't, while those who think that they don't do, and spend the net proceeds in wars for justice. But the boys in the coal camps are political minded, and when they vote for prosperity, they expect to see it come back in empires. So if I were you, I'd write a spread eagle letter telling them that on account of the Balkan situation and the embroglios in China and Morocco you have been unable to attend to prosperity and that as soon as you can get down to it you'll send it to 'em by special delivery. Then after awhile, when times are better again, you drop another letter saying in a kind of easy, off-hand way that you are sorry you couldn't send the prosperity any sooner, but better late than never, and that you hope they will enjoy it in spite of the delay, and so on. All of this is hokum, of course. But before the proletariat gets next to this, the stork will have delivered a new batch of little fish which will start biting about the time the last batch is losing its teeth. Besides, letters like that give the boys something to talk about, and so long as folks talk a-plenty they can't think, and that in itself is a blessing in times like these.

No, as far as the horny-handed sons of toil are concerned, you won't have to worry so long as you keep 'em jollied up in the way I told you. But when it comes to the petty bourgeoisie, as we scientists call the electric light town merchant princes, you will have to be a heap more careful in your utterances than you have been of late or get yourself in a peck of trouble.

For instance, there is a gent's furnishing dealer across the street from me who was a wild and enthusiastic Coolidge man last fall, and in spite of the fact that I fed him all winter with clippings from your speeches he boosted you for a third term. In fact, he was so enthusiastic about you and prosperity that he ordered a special big stock of straw hats for this spring. On top of that he had doped out a selling scheme that looked like it would be a sure fire.

He had kept back quite a number of those life-size campaign posters of yours and when the straw hat season opened he cut your picture out of them cards and placed a straw hat on each of them with the inscription, "Keep Cool With Coolidge." Those pictures, slogans, and the bunting he wove all through and around them made his show windows look like an old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration, and folks came for miles and straw hats went like hot dogs.

But after a few days of Republican prosperity, a cold wave comes along and knocks the straw hat business into a cocked hat. He might have gotten over the cold wave, but a few days later the newspapers came out with the story of how you had your old straw hat cleaned to make it do for another season, which was the straw that broke the camel's back. Like all politically minded folks, he forgot the cold wave and blamed the whole calamity on your remarks concerning the virtue of renovated straw hats, and the next thing he threw your pictures in an ash barrel as a token that he was off you for good.

However, as the saying goes, it never rains but it pours. So it happened that the Greek who runs the shoe-shining, clothes-pressing, and hat-cleaning parlor below me fished those pictures out of the ash barrel and placed them in his window. Then on each of them he set a straw hat that was cleaned on the east half and left dirty on the west half to show the contrast and topped off the whole with a stream bearing this beautiful poem:

"What's good enough for Coolidge
Is good enough for you;
For the small sum of four bits
We make your hat like new."

Well, that Greek has been doing a land office business ever since, and this has so curdled the milk of human kindness in the bosom of the gent's furnishing man across the street that he told me only this morning that before he would vote for you again, he'd see you in the place where even you couldn't keep cool.

If that gent's furnishing store man was the only merchant who lost faith in you, it wouldn't matter, although that Greek hasn't even got a vote to express his gratitude. But lots of other merchants are getting down on you on account of the buyers' strike they say you inaugurated with those frugality sermons of yours. The bankers are still with you because they loan the savings of depositors, and the more some people save the more others must borrow, so those saving sermons of yours are right in their line. But for every banker who wants people to save, there are hundreds of merchants who want people to spend, and if it's the function of Government to bring the greatest good to the greatest number, then you surely have been getting off the right track.

Saving money and spending it at the same time are irreconcilable contradictions, as Marx put it in that plain blunt way of his: You can't afford to offend the whole mercantile world by preaching

Confession of a Money-God

I am the perfect gentleman who gives his gold for God.
My money flows into my pockets filtered from the sweat
Of children toiling every day on mine and nature's sod.
They slave, of course, to pay a debt.

Their creditor is I, you know, but I am rather kind.
I let them labor only twelve or fourteen hours daily,
For work is good for little souls. They really do
not mind
The job at all. They do it gaily.

I pay them wages that are good: Two dimes or less
an hour,
For if I give them TOO much, they might spend it
rather quickly.
No doubt, the work they do is not within a lovely
bower.
In fact, it makes the children sickly.

I'll tell you how it is: You see, I got a piece of ground,
And on that ground, I built a factory of iron and
steel.

Of course, the land I own is really no one's, but I found
The earth, and for that luck I kneel.

I thank the Lord he placed it in my fat and eager
hands,
And that is why I let him have some money, as
you see;

However, there is nothing to prevent a pack of bands
From playing praises all for me.

It's just like that. Each time I happen to donate
some money,

I rather feel it's owing to me that the public know it;
And so, you see, in making folks and churches rather
sunny,
I ask the people that they show it.

Well, God must think I'm quite a man. No doubt, I
really am.

I earn my gold, and then bestow it on a church or
college.

The world is therefore happy, and I do not give a damn,
For think of what I've done for knowledge!

HENRY HARRISON.

German and Italian Utopias

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph.D.

ANDREA'S Christianopolis: About the same time as the "New Atlantis" appeared two other utopias, one written by a comparatively obscure German traveler and social reformer, Johann Valentin Andreae, and the other by an Italian monk, philosopher and teacher, Thomas Campanella. Both these writers followed the communistic visions of Plato and More, rather than the more individualistic teachings of Francis Bacon.

Andreae, who writes the more appealing utopias of the two, finds himself wrecked upon the shore of an island, dominated by the City of Christianopolis, a clean, orderly city of 400 inhabitants, "a republic of workers, living in equality, desiring peace, and renouncing riches. The city is divided into zones for light and heavy industry. The workers consciously strive to apply science to production, thus introducing a sort of efficiency system. The men are not driven to a work

frugality and neither can a man in your position afford to offend the bankers by counseling liberal spending. What's good for the goose is bad for the gander in this case and unless you do something to harmonize these irreconcilable contradictions, your name is Dennis. With this noble aim in view, I have doped out a few slogans which in my opinion will kill two birds with one stone. Here they are:

"Save that you may spend.

Save dimes to spend dollars.

Save and pay cash.

Pikers spend cent by cent.
It's spending rolls that make the gent.

Save the little violets,
To say it in bouquets of roses.

Many a jitney ride,
Buys an auto for the bride."

These are only a few samples I dashed off in a hurry. I can write bright, snappy things like that by the mile, and if you say so, you can have them. They won't cost you a cent. Not a cent. I'm a patriot. My genius belongs to my country. There isn't a thing within the gift of this great nation I would ask for myself. But if you could give an appointment to my wife's brother, I surely would appreciate it. That ornery skunk has been staying with us ever since Christmas and hasn't paid a cent for board yet. The last dollar he earned was when he voted for you. He's a steady, reliable man and not afraid of work, provided it doesn't interfere with sleeping in the daytime. Besides, he is a good Republican. He voted three times at the last election, and would have done better if one of them La Follette Bolsheviks hadn't scared him: I can't recommend him too highly, and if you could make a berth for him in Washington or some other place besides here, I would be deeply grateful to you.

If you want more of those catchy slogans of mine just holler, and if you can find a place for that brother-in-law wire me at my expense and I will pay for the telegram. Well, I guess that's all for today. Say hello for me to the folks at the White House.

Ever your friend and admirer,
Adam Coalidigger.

P. S. It has been awfully hot here of late, and I wish I was on the Mayflower right now to keep cool with Coolidge. Ha, ha, ain't that a hot one?

Adam Coalidigger

with which they are unfamiliar, like pack animals to their task, but they have been trained before in an accurate knowledge of scientific matters."

The motto of this new utopia may be summed up in one of Andreae's sayings, "To be wise and to work are not incompatible, if there is moderation." The artisans are most all educated men. "For that which other people think is a characteristic of a few . . . , the inhabitants argue, should be attained by all individuals."

Communism of Christianopolis: All things produced are brought by the workers to a public booth, somewhat after the manner of Utopia, and every workman receives the things he needs for his work during the ensuing week. Production is thoroughly organized and those in charge "know ahead of time what is to be made, in what quantity, and of what form, and they inform the mechanics of these items. If the supply of material in the work booth is sufficient, the workmen are permitted to indulge and give free play to their creative genius. No one has any money. . . . And no one can be superior to the other in the amount of riches owned, since the advantage is rather one of power and genius."

Other Institutions: The houses are inhabited by single couples, rather than by patriarchal families, as in Utopia, and have a maximum of light and air. There are covered walks in the streets, five feet wide, supported by columns twelve feet high, to shelter the citizens from the rain—a foretaste of Bellamy's "Looking Backward." The furniture in the homes is very simple, so that the household work, performed by husbands as well as wives, will not be arduous. For the people of this city believe that "only those persons are rich who have all of which they have real need, who admit nothing else merely because it is possible to have it in abundance."

A special effort is made to obtain as teachers the very best available material in the community. The Government is in the hands of a Legislature, and an executive, and latter consisting of a Minister, Judge and Director of Learning. An attempt is thus made to place the control of the city in the hands of religion, justice and learning.

Campanella's City of the Sun: Of greater renown, though, perhaps, of less merit than Andreae's social projection, was Thomas Campanella's "City of the Sun." The vision of Campanella bears a distinct resemblance to those of Plato, More and Andreae. A sea captain of Genoa is compelled to go ashore on a far away island, and is led to "The City of the Sun," which appears resplendent on a high hill overlooking an expansive plain. The communism in Campanella's ideal State is absolute—more absolute than any of his predecessors. Whatever the citizens "have, they receive from the community, and the magistrates take care that no one receives more than he deserves. Yet nothing necessary is denied to anyone."

No Riches or Poverty: They suffer neither poverty nor riches to exist, holding as they do that "grinding poverty renders men worthless, cunning, sulky, thievish, insidious, vagabonds, liars, false witnesses, etc., and wealth makes them insolent, proud, traitors, assassins of what they are not, deceivers, boosters, wanting in affection, slanderers, etc. . . . With them all the rich and poor together make up the community. They are rich because they want nothing, poor because they possess nothing; and consequently they are not slaves to cir-

cumstances, but circumstances serve them."

Nor does communism stifle their incentive to action, as "they burn with so great a love for their fatherland as I could scarcely have believed possible."

The Family: Communism enters even into family relations, as is the case with the magistrates and soldiers in Plato's Republic. Campanella, after watching the work of destruction wrought by the great families of Italy during his lifetime, was convinced that the desire to increase the prestige of family and that of giving perfect devotion to the State were not compatible. "For when we raise a son to riches and dignities, we become either ready to grasp at the property of the State, if in any case fear should be removed from the power which belong to riches and rank, or avaricious, crafty and hypocritical, if any one is of slender purse, little strength and mean ancestry. But when we have taken away self-love, there remains only love for the State."

Honoring the Producer: They honor only those who toil—there is no slave class—and the occupations that require the most labor are regarded as most praiseworthy. "Therefore they laugh at us in that we consider our workmen ignoble, and hold those to be noble who have mastered no pursuit, but live at ease and are so many slaves given over to their own pleasure."

Four hours a day is the normal work day, for all engage in useful labor and no one needs to support another.

Visual Education: Campanella believed in new educational methods—methods centuries ahead of his time. He would have education presented to the growing youth by visual means. And so in the City of the Sun he had history, geography, mathematics and botany presented pictorially on the seven great walls of the city, in such a way that the children could be learned "without toil and as if for pleasure."

Aristocracy of Learning: The Government in Campanella's city is in the hands of an aristocracy of learning, elected by the people, and the chief of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the State must be informed concerning practically every branch of knowledge known to that day. So desirous are the people to perpetuate only the eugenically fit members of the race, that they give almost unbelievable powers of regulation of the race to their magistrates.

While a repetition in many respects of other utopias, as has been stated, the City of the Sun was, nevertheless, the most comprehensive scheme of social reform proposed in Italy since the days of Savonarola, a century before, and exerted a considerable influence over the disturbed political conditions of the times.

Campanella was born in Calabria in 1568, seven years after the birth of Bacon. When but a boy he entered the Dominican order. While there he emphasized the need of studying Nature through his own works, not through books. During the Calabrian revolt against Spanish rule, Campanella, who was an Italian patriot, was arrested and sent to prison. He was also attacked by the Spanish Inquisition, was accused of writing books he had not written, and of holding opinions he did not hold, was seven times put to the question, and suffered imprisonment for twenty-seven years. The Pope himself interceded for him with the King of Spain.

Following his imprisonment, he went to Rome where he was defended by Pope Urban VIII, but was finally compelled to make his escape from that city. In Paris, Richelieu became his friend. He received a pension of 3,000 livres from the King of France while the Sorbonne vouched for his orthodoxy. He died in Paris in 1639 in the Convent of the Dominicans at the age of 71.

Bed Time Stories for the Bourgeoisie

JUST back from Tamiment, boys and girls, and the Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy; and our new sunburn smarts a bit, and our right arm is stiff from putting over those sizzling serves which it is lucky Bill Tilden didn't see, he being likely to quit tennis altogether if he knew how our game was going.

Next to our perfect interpretation of the part of Chief Justice Taft in the play by Clem Wood and Solon De Leon, the outstanding feature of the Conference was undoubtedly the debate between Morris Hillquit and Arthur Williams on the subject of Public Ownership.

Mr. Williams is a nice, slightly befogged old gentleman who ballyhoos for the electrical trust.

We didn't envy him his job when he tried to prove that there is no use getting het up about public ownership because, after all, the utilities are really publicly owned, now that the workers are allowed to buy stock, and besides, the publicly-owned tramways of Glasgow are the cause of poverty and communism in that delightful Scotch burg and we are "a nation of capitalists," anyhow.

It seems, according to Mr. Williams, that we, the people own the saving banks, the insurance companies, the electric light companies and the Bell Telephone system on account of all the stock we own in these beneficent institutions.

When Mr. Williams let us in on that secret, it was all we could do to refrain from shouting, "Goody, goody. Hooray for our side!" and as soon as we got back we decided to run and look over our property and see how our employees were doing.

Among other things, Mr. Williams told us that the telephone company had grown so smart that they could connect you up with a party in Chicago in the length of time that it would take you to go up to the top of the Woolworth Tower and back.

He didn't say how you went up to the top of the Woolworth Tower, but, judging from our experience, he must have meant going up the stairs on one foot, blindfolded, or pushing up a peanut with your nose the way they settle election bets.

For just now we took our telephone receiver and got our central on the wire and told our system to hitch us up with Caledonia 2240, and asked how all our girls were getting on, and said if they worked hard all day we would let them see the soldiers parade on the Fourth of July or maybe take them to our savings bank and let them shake hands with our president. And then we waited.

Just to show how happy our system was that the Boss had got back from Tamiment all right, some of our girls fired off a howitzer in the central office. At least that's the way the noise sounded in our ear. And then one of them said, "What number did you want?" and hitched us up with a party named Sam, who at first we thought was Sam De Witt, one of our fellow-owners.

It turned out, however, that this was none other than Sam, Mollie's beau, who had just sneaked out from the office to find out how Mollie was making it; and wasn't she dead from lack of sleep? Sam was, and we were just going to learn the bright thing Sam had said to the fresh guy who had slapped him on his sunburn when our system turned us into a Bronx fish-market so that we could have a little chat with the proprietor, he being lonely, poor devil, as Monday is a rotten day for fish sales in the Bronx.

By this time our statistician had figured out we could have gone up to the top of the Woolworth Tower on our knees, the way the United States Ambassador to Great Britain goes to Buckingham Palace, according to Mr. Dooley.

That might be a good thing at that. We recently read that the Spanish ladies have the finest and most beautiful knees in the world because they spend so much time on them in prayer. We don't ask you to take this on faith. All us "proletculturists," as Doc Horace Kallen calls us in his new book, have to be shown nowadays, and if you want to find out you can join the Committee for the Investigation of the Knees of Spanish Ladies, with headquarters at 70 Fifth avenue.

But to get back to our telephone. We jiggled our hook for awhile, and finally found that Caledonia 2240 had been busy all this time and we hadn't heard a thing about it. So we said goodbye to all our girls and went out to make the rounds of our life-insurance companies and savings banks.

It is a pleasure to report, fellow-stockholders, that everything is going on all right with our properties. It is true that we had to jack up our president over at the Mutual Life for spending more than twenty minutes at his lunch and we spoke quite tartly to our paying teller at the savings bank for the careless manner in which he threw one of our thousand dollar bills around, but we figure that all the boys and girls know that under the Boss's gruff exterior beats a heart of gold.

And speaking of Tamiment, as we were some time back, we are here to say that some of the happiest hours of our life have been spent by the lovely little lake there. The camp is greatly improved this year, the water is just as good to boat on or swim in as ever, the tennis-courts are in good shape, and the folks are as friendly as only those who think along the same lines as you do can be.

If this he advertising, make the most of it and drop around and see us some time at the Owners' Room of the New York Edison Company.

McAlister Coleman.

A FOUR POWER PACT

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

ANOTHER witches' cauldron is being stirred in Europe. The reactionaries in England, France and Belgium have concocted an understanding for "security." The agreement is of the like ingredients to that concocted among these nations prior to the war. It is, like the old one, an arrangement with regard to a prospective war.

The trinity stand ready to admit Germany into the deal. Upon consent to concede the present boundaries as permanent, Germany could make it a four-power pact.

Italy, being of a mercurial nature, does not count.

Against whom would this four-power entente stand for security? Who menaces their peace?

Evidently no power in Western Europe. Certainly not the Balkans. Hardly Austria, Poland, Spain or Portugal. Decidedly not Denmark or the Scandinavian countries. Where, then, is the danger?

There are but two countries against whom the four-power pact might be armed. They are Russia and America. If they are not armed against either or both of these, they should throw away their arms.

A Modern Holy Alliance
They could be armed against Russia. However long and fearful may be the travail of the Great Bear out of absolutism into democracy by way of revolution, industrial democracy remains the goal. Just as the ancient powers formed a Holy Alliance against political democracy after the French Revolution, so the present autocracies could form an alliance, altogether profane, against the coming industrial democracy.

Is this the bird of prey to be hatched from the curious breeding of the ephemeral statesmanship of the descending social order?

No doubt they would raise their hypocritical eyes to heaven and deny it. Not their blood guilt!

But it was just such connivance as this which kindled the last conflagration. Plenty of tinder is scattered about for another, and more devastating catastrophe.

In the one camp are the scheming Machiavellas of capitalism, bent upon repeated attempts at imperialism, to keep the minds of the destitute population away from their own misery and focused upon foreign splendor. Once war cannot be made, capitalism will end.

In the other camp are the brooding revolutionists, who are quite as remorseless in their faith in dictatorship at home and world revolution in the yet unaffected lands. They deem violent civil strife in-

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Witches' Cauldron In Europe —Reaction Stirring Another

evitable. They expect no quarter in the class struggle. They keep aflame the camp fires of an army on the march.

Two Antagonists

With two such antagonists squared against each other, it is indeed far from sure that social change can be made by parliamentary procedure in the old world.

Labor, with but a flavor of power in England, sent forth a dove of hope. France and Belgium tendered an open hand. Germany made a gesture of acceptance. But Ramsay MacDonald, Herriot and Ebert are gone. Until their like return the friends of peace are beleaguered.

As heretofore, when Labor swings out of political influence, it returns to dependence upon its trades union action. That explains their talk of greater industrial solidarity in England and with the continent. That is back of the drive for the reorganization of the international Labor movement.

Here is the remaining chance for enduring peace. For when the might of the workers is so fortified that it bears as a unit against splitting into hostile, frenzied armies commanded by the interchangeable spokesmen of capitalist powers, then will war no longer be possible.

The peace of Europe can be maintained only if, by contrast with the four-power aggressive pact, there is the unbreakable combination of the forces of the toilers.

That the four-power pact may be a thrust against America is not to be taken seriously. To be sure, the juggling of the war debts can-

not much longer entertain our own bankers and investors. They look to see the spinning apples drop into their expectant laps. Instead they will likely vanish in ledgerdom. Already there is a whimper. Pretty soon a howl will go up.

Gathering More Dynamite

But fruit there will be none. Even the seed cannot be returned. Will there then be talk of armed collectors? And does the four-power fact mean that the European domicile is not to be invaded on point of resistance?

That does seem very far-fetched. In fact, if the truth must be told, the gentlemen who are fashioning this new entente cordiale are playing with spent coin. They are going through the repeated motions of assembling dynamite, that brought such fearful havoc a while ago and the end of which is not yet. But they overlook the chapter of revolution which followed their war.

It seems as though they have learnt nothing. They may be ready to chance their all upon another throw of the dice. It can be that, before their folly is stopped, another explosion will have happened. For they are playing with upheaval.

But if confidence in the growing solidarity of Labor is not misplaced, if reliance upon statesmanlike wisdom in the midst of different elements is not baseless, then the tossing of empty phrases into the four-power pact may be accepted with a smile, as entertainment more than mischief, and as a swan song of departing serenaders, long past their hour of welcome.

LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Another International Founded
After several months of preliminary work, the International Association of Clerical Employees, Petty Officials and Teachers in Public Service was founded at a Congress held in Paris, May 11-15, attended by delegates from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Holland, England, France, Ireland, Rumania and Sweden, representing organizations with about 400,000 members. Unions in Portugal, Greece and Norway sent expressions of sympathy and announced their intention of affiliation, while groups in Hungary, Denmark, Switzerland and America asked to be excused for not having sent delegates. An Executive Committee to serve for two years, and made up of representatives of Austria, England, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Holland, was elected and Mynheer Northoff of Holland was chosen General Secretary. The Executive Committee will meet in Strasbourg in October to select a Managing Bureau and lay down definite organization plans.

The next Congress of the New International will be held in Nuremberg in 1927. The organization is to be a genuine trade union body and it hopes to obtain the cooperation of the International Federation of Trade Unions in the task of defining its jurisdiction and avoiding disputes with the existing International bodies that cover much of the same ground. In fact, it would seem that the principal field for the new International lies with the teachers, as the Paris conference expressly declared that it was not concerned with postal, railroad and public service workers in general. This point was raised some time ago by L. Vernechet, French Secretary of the International of Educational Workers, the existing teachers' organization, which is not affiliated with either the Red Trade Union International or the International Federation of Trade Unions, but is considered pro-Moscow, especially as 520,000 of

its claimed membership of 600,000 belong to the Russian Teachers' Federation. The founding of the new International was something of a shock to the conservative French press, which commented bitterly upon the unpleasant possibilities opened up by the existence of such an organization of public employees.

Workers' Education Spreading

Supplementary to the article on Workers' education abroad printed in The New Leader of June 13, it may be noted that a late report sent out by John W. Brown of the Educational Department of the International Federation of Trade Unions tells of the good work being done by the Education Center of the General Federation of Jewish Workers of Palestine and asks for contributions of interesting books in any language and on almost any subject to be addressed to the Educational Department of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Erez Israel, P. O. Box 411, Jerusalem. At the 1925 conference of the Workers' Educational Association of New Zealand in Auckland, it was reported that the movement, which was started ten years ago, had more than 3,000 students in 100 classes and was extending its work to the rural districts. The movement is financed by the trade unions, the Government, the universities and municipal bodies. The Italian General Confederation of Labor has just established a National Federation of Workers' Education and at a recent meeting of the Executive of the General Confederation of Labor of France it was proposed to hold periodical meetings of regional union leaders at which some representative of the national organization would lecture on current Labor problems.

Dutch Seamen In British Ships

The International Transport Workers' Federation reports the conclusion of the following agreement between itself and the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union

Daughter of Socialist Enters Legal Rank



MARGARET F. KARLIN

Among the ten honor graduates at the law school of New York University this term is Miss Margaret F. Karlin, daughter of Joseph Karlin, a veteran in the Socialist movement, and the niece of Comrade William Karlin, former member of the New York State Legislature, and himself a leading Socialist attorney. Miss Karlin secured a B. S. degree at Hunter with such high scholarship ratings that she was awarded a State scholarship at N. Y. U.

What sort of society is this that has, to the extent that ours has, inequality and injustice for its basis? Such a society is fit only to be kicked out through the windows—its banquet tables, its orgies, its debaucheries, its scoundrelisms, together with all those who are seated leaning on the backs of others, whom they keep down on all fours. The hell of the poor is the paradise the rich love to solace themselves in.—Victor Hugo.

Another International—Education Movement Spreading— Dutch in British Ships—Miners Dropping Communists—Japan For Amsterdam

of Great Britain: "All members of the Seamen's Section of the Central League of Transport Workers in Holland, or any other seamen's organization affiliated with the I. T. F., shall be allowed to register and to obtain employment on board British ships in Dutch harbors on production of union book showing that they have been members over six months.

German Glass Workers For Unity

By a majority of about four to one the members of the German Glass Workers' Union have voted in a referendum for amalgamation with the German Building Workers' Union. This will add about 35,000 to the some 430,000 already in the Building Workers' Union and lend impetus to the movement for the unification of all workers engaged in construction. One of the arguments advanced in favor of amalgamation by President Emil Girbig of the Glass Workers was the constant improvement of glass-blowing machines, with the consequent displacement of skilled workers by unskilled.

Miners Dropping Communists

Final results of the spring election of members of the Shop Councils in the mining industry of Germany confirm recent reports of the decline of Communist influence upon the miners. Of a total of 5,428 councilors, the Union of Hand and Brain Workers (the Communist organization) elected only 889, against 1,112 last year out of a total of 4,970, while the number elected by the regular Socialist miners' union was 3,351, against 2,618 in 1924. The Christian Unions won 903 seats, against 769 last year, while the other scattered groups made only a poor showing. Practically the same thing happened in the recent election of Shop Councils in the railway industry, the Communists losing much ground, while the Socialist union made good gains.

LAND OF LIBERTY

American Civil Liberties Union Report on Civil Liberty Situation for Month of May

Mob Violence & Ku Klux Klan

1. OKLAHOMA. Ray Pierson and J. H. Munroe, alleged Klansmen, were convicted in the State District Court at Okemah on May 21 on a charge of riot in connection with the flogging of S. S. Llewellyn, a farmer, on May 4.

2. LOUISIANA. Five men of Cedar Grove were convicted on May 15 on a charge of "conspiracy to commit assault," growing out of the mob attack on John Barker in April, and were sentenced to seven months in the Parish Farm.

3. NORTH CAROLINA. A. Griffin, a barber, leader of the mob which took Joseph Needleman from the jail at Williamston in April and seriously mutilated him, was sentenced on May 23 to thirty years in the penitentiary by Judge N. A. Sinclair. Other members of the mob were given shorter sentences, except five who turned State's evidence. The jury which convicted the mob virtually cleared Needleman of the charge of rape for which he had been arrested. The Ku Klux Klan is held responsible for the attack upon Needleman, who is a Jew.

4. NEW YORK. A meeting of the Workers' party at Buffalo, on May 1, was interrupted by the police when Jacob Dworin addressed the audience in Yiddish. Dworin and Thomas Sullivan, the chairman, were arrested. Both of the men were discharged by Judge Maul in the City Court.

Criminal Cases

5. CALIFORNIA. The third trial of Tom Connors, former secretary of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee, began at Sacramento on May 27 before Judge Charles O. Busick, author of the Busick injunction. Motion by the defense for change of venue on grounds of prejudice was denied. Connors was arrested at San Francisco in 1923 on charges of violating

the criminal syndicalist law and of attempting to influence a juror who had received an I. W. W. leaflet during one of the I. W. W. trials. His first trial resulted in a hung jury and dismissal of the syndicalist charge. The second trial in February, 1924, resulted in conviction, which was reversed by the District Court of Appeals last December.

6. WEST VIRGINIA. One hundred and twenty-seven men and eleven women, striking miners picketing the New England Fuel and Transportation Company mine at Grant Town, were arrested on May 15 for violation of a recent court order forbidding more than three persons in a picket line.

7. On May 16, eleven others were arrested on the same charge, including U. A. Knapp, attorney for the United Mine Workers, and McAlister Coleman, a newspaper man of New York. Coleman and Knapp were released in \$1,000 bail.

8. "Peaceful persuasion" to join the union was upheld by a decision of Federal Judge W. E. Baker at Wheeling on May 8 and declared not in violation of the injunction granted two years ago to the Virginia-Pittsburg Coal Company.

9. Following Judge Baker's decision, application was entered by this company in the Federal Court at Wheeling on May 11 for a new injunction restraining the United Mine Workers from engaging in organizing activities in the Panhandle district.

10. The United States Supreme Court on May 25, in a decision in the Coronado Coal Company case, absolves the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America of responsibility for damages in connection with the coal strike in Arkansas in 1914, but orders a new trial for local unions and individual defendants who were heavily fined by a lower court.

11. TENNESSEE. John Thomas Scopes, a teacher of biology in Rhea Central High School at Dayton, Tennessee, was arrested on May 6 on a charge of violating the statute which forbids the teaching of evolution in the schools supported in whole or in part by State funds. Scopes pleaded guilty on May 9 before three Justices of the Peace and was bound over to appear before the Rhea County Grand Jury. On May 20, Judge John T. Raulston called a special session of the Grand Jury for May 25.

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ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

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

Office 231 East 14th Street

Telephone Lexington 4180

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The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
H. GREENBERG, President. SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

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

Office, 231 E. 14th Street

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. Lexington 4840

SECTION MEETINGS

Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 6 P. M.
Brooklyn—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.

SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

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

130 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 147

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY

TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 88, I. L. G. W. U.

Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and

Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board

Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 31st

Street. Telephone 7148-Walkins.

LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary

Waterproof Garment Workers'

Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1884

Executive Board meets every Monday

at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Secy-Treas.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

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

Telephone: Stuyvesant 8500-1-3-3-4-5

SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-3-3-4

DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

799 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4330, 9510, 9811

JOS. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

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

Office: 44 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 5598.

Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.

MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Secy-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

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

OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1351

Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.

MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOY, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Children's Jacket Makers

of Gr. N. Y. Local 10, Sec. A. C. W. A.

Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 8387

Executive Board meets every Friday

at 8 P. M.

MAX B. ROYAKSKY, Chairman

A. LEVINE, Sec. Gen.

M. LENCITZ, Fin. Secy.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.

A. C. W. A. Section "B"

Office 353 Bushwick Ave. Bkn. Stage 10180

Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 p. m.

Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.

J. Berkowitz, Chairman

L. Feltman, Sec. Gen.

J. Forner, Fin. Secy.

Sua. Agent

Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.

Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3809

Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.

ALBERT ENYDER, Chairman

KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary

ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

at the Amalgamated Temple

1127 Arlon Pl. Bkn. N. Y.

LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman

H. TAYLOR, Sec'y

LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Mark's Place. Phone Orchard 1200

Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.

Upson Office: 19 West 27th Street. Phone Fitzroy 1936

LOUIS SMITH, President. MORRIS WALDMAN, J. KNAPPER ANNA MUSCANT, Treasurer.

HERMAN WIENER and JOE DIMINO, Organizers.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

Downtown Office: 640 Broadway. Phone Spring 4548

Upson Office: 19 West 27th Street. Phone Fitzroy 1936

Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening.

Chairman: J. MULINAK. Recording Secretary: ALEX. ROSE

Organizers: NATHAN SECTOR, L. H. GOLDBERG, M. GOODMAN

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Five district organizers are now in the field: Emil Herman in California; Murray E. King in Minnesota; William H. Henry in Illinois; Joseph F. Viola in Ohio; and Alfred Baker Lewis in New England. Two, perhaps three, more will presently be in the field, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, and in Missouri. The first three have taken up their work. Alfred Baker Lewis is energetically canvassing his territory. He now has an automobile and is able to cover his territory much more rapidly, making many more calls each day than could be made otherwise. His latest is eight new members at Weymouth, Mass. This growing local will run a field day the latter part of July. District Secretary, Warren Edward Fitzgerald is doing organizing work in Haverhill, Mass., and reports that local coming back in fine style. Local Haverhill is preparing for the city election which will take place in December.

OHIO

Comrade Leo Harkins has made a great impression on the movement in Cleveland, Ohio. That local has already "come back," and is now laying plans for continuous, energetic organization work for months to come. The local would like to have Comrade Harkins stay right on the job indefinitely.

In Akron, Ohio, where organizer Viola formed a local, the local is planning for activity in the school board election. Mrs. Mae Diebler, sister of the late Marguerite Prevey, is on the firing line to battle in the coming contest, with Mrs. Mary Stotler and Mrs. Etta Wager as comrades-in-arms in the fray.

IDAHO

In far-away Idaho lives C. H. Cammans, State Secretary. He

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening. M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas. PETER MONAT, Manager.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U. Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St. Melrose 7690. CARL GRABER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union. Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: 9798. Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. M. REISS, President. S. FINE, Vice-President. E. FRIEDMAN, Sec'y. H. WENNER, Fin. Sec'y. H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

FUR FLOOR WORKERS' UNION LOCAL 3, F. L. C. A. Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. N. Y. Tel. Stage 5320. Regular Meetings Every First and Third Wednesday. Executive Board Meets Every Second and Fourth Thursday. FRANK BARROSI, JAMES CARUSO, President. Secretary.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Stuyvesant 7678. Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 122 East 15th Street. Fred Eastabrook, N. Ullman, President. Henry Lutz, Recording Sec'y. J. Koenigs, Financial Sec'y. Gus Levine, Chas. Razono, Treasurer. Business Agent.

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 925). Phone Spring 2358-2359

ALDO CURSI, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer.

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Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.

Local 242—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.

Local 243—Executive Board meets every Thursday.

Local 245—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.

These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union.

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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

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MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.

ANDREW WENNER, General Secretary-Treasurer.

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK

Office: 22 EAST 22ND STREET - Phone: CAL edonia 0350

Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office

FUR FINISHERS' UNION

LOCAL 15

Executive Board meets every Monday at

8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.

A. SOIFER, Chairman.

L. ELSTER, Vice-Chairman.

ROBERTS, Secretary.

FUR CUTTERS UNION

LOCAL 1

Executive Board meets every Thursday

at 8:30 P. M. at 23 East 22nd St.

F. STAUD, Chairman.

E. ROSEN, Vice-Chairman.

H. SCHINDLER, Secretary.

writes that he plans to stay in that State primarily to protect and promote the movement. He is busy with the struggle for existence, but gives every bit of spare time and energy to the Socialist movement.

CALIFORNIA

State Secretary, Lena Morrow Lewis, of California, is putting energy and "pep" into her work in conjunction with the coming regional conventions and demonstrations. They have a plan for an immense addition to the party membership at the regional conventions, pledging each of 1,000 persons to new or renewed membership on condition that the other 999 become members. Now that is a happy idea. It will work in a smaller but effective way in the reorganization of a new local or in the reorganization of a smaller group. District Organizer Emil Herman is now in California to cooperate to the limit of his ability. The Conventions' Managing Committees had a host added to their ranks when Comrade Herman came down from Washington to take a hand.

At the biggest meeting of Local San Francisco in recent months twenty six comrades volunteered to interview unaffiliated Socialists and solicit them to become part of the proposed 1,000 new members. Street meetings are being held and from now on things will hum in Socialist circles around the bay and in all northern California. This is a challenge to the rest of the State.

INDIANA

The Terre Haute Tribune carries an interesting story of the Socialist campaign and an interview with Phil K. Reinbold, Socialist candidate for Mayor. Comrade Reinbold gave some interesting personal reminiscences, stating that while he was "hoboing" as an unemployed cigarmaker he got his first Socialist ideas in 1893. Eugene V. Debs had just won his victory on the Great Northern. Standing on the rear platform of a train leaving St. Paul, Debs was enthusiastically saluted by section men, each man tilting his cap as he stood with one foot on the blade of his shovel. Debs was in tears as he returned the salutations of the proletarians. That night Reinbold left St. Paul in a leaky box car and for the first time thought of the injustice of a social system that made a tramp of a man willing to work. Later he obtained books of Theodore Debs and Louis Billings and became an avowed Socialist.

CONNECTICUT

The State Executive Committee met at Machinists' Hall, New Haven, Sunday, June 28, at 3 p. m. The Committee voted to ask for donations for the Willamantic strikers. Locals to be circulated from Bridgeport proposed that each congressional district have an organizer to act as assistant to the State Organizer, which was referred to Local Bridgeport to consider the matter further and bring it up at the next meeting of the State Executive Committee. Comrade Zolo of

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET

Phone: Orchard 9840-1-2

The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.

S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.

Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.

Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the

Headgear Workers' Lyceum

(Brethoven Hall)

210 East 5th Street.

Ansonia was elected to fill a vacancy on the State Executive Committee in the Fifth district. A very active campaign of organization was reported by the Bridgeport committee-man. Many old-timers are returning to the party. The S. E. C. will meet at Carlson's Grove, Foxon, New Haven, July 19.

The following candidates were nominated for State officers of the Socialist Party: State Secretary, Martin F. Plunkett; Organizer, Karl R. Jursek; Literature Agent, William James Morgan; Executive Committee, 1st District, no nominee; 2nd District, William James Morgan; 3rd District, Louis O. Krahl; 4th District, Carl R. Johnson; 5th District, no nominee; at large, Walter E. Davis, John Kennedy, Karl Jursek and Joseph Pede. Where there is a contest the nominations will be put to a referendum vote.

For the first time there was held a State picnic at Greenville, June 21, arranged by the Finnish local of Canterbury, Conn. Providence and Westerly, R. I. Over 300 people attended. The editor of the Finnish paper, Raivaaja, Comrade F. J. Szejala, was the principal speaker. Sport and games with prizes were also on the program and fresh farm products for refreshments.

ILLINOIS

Local Chicago has surely "come back." The picnic in Riverview Park, Sunday, June 21, was a tremendous success. Chicago dailies estimated the audience from 5,000 to 10,000 people. The general enthusiasm was far in excess of that of former years for a very long time. Frequent comments were: "The best spirit in many years," "By far the largest attendance we have had in a decade," "Keener attention to speeches than for a long, long time," "Literature sales phenomenal," and so on.

A speech by V. Vacira, member of the Italian Parliament, was a specially attractive feature of the program. Comrade Vacira has already been engaged for sixteen speeches in Chicago. Kurt N. Marx, relative of Karl Marx, now lecturing in the United States, vigorously presented the matter of "European Politics." Walter Thomas Mills was Mills again, always excellent before an audience. Oscar Ameringer, editor of the Illinois Miner, surpassed himself. He had the thousands of people thinking fast, seeing clearly and laughing, even more so than is usual for the one and only Oscar.

Everything indicates that the Convention-Demonstration rallies in Chicago will be rousing successes.

MINNESOTA

Comrade A. T. Oberg, financial secretary of Local Minneapolis, is the only Socialist who escaped the reactionary landslide here which resulted in the defeat of the Socialist and Labor aldermen running for reelection. Comrade Oberg was elected to the Board of Park Commissioners over his conservative opponent by a substantial margin.

Comrade David Shier, secretary of the Jewish Socialist branch of Minneapolis and local correspondent for the Daily Forward, fought along distinctly Socialist lines in his candidacy for election to the Library board. He raised the issue of working-class participation in the control of public education and information. Every other candidate for election to this board was a millionaire or representative of great wealth. Shier received nearly 25,000 votes.

MARYLAND

State Secretary Smiley writes that the comrades of Western Maryland are ready to put up some money, a good bunch of it, for cooperation with the National Office whenever the District Organizer can be spared for the upbuilding of that part of the State movement.

NEW JERSEY

Among the actions of the State Committee of June 14 was a contribution of \$10 to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Fund. The State ticket has been filed. New branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband are being organized in Jersey City, Bayonne, Elizabeth and elsewhere. Party members are urged to in-

crease the circulation of the new German party organ, the Volkstimme of Philadelphia. Hudson County's street campaign has begun and will continue till November.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of \$238.15 and \$25 was voted for the services of the State Secretary. Reports showed that county tickets have been filed in Bergen, Essex, Hudson and Passaic counties. Recommendation that Comrade Newman be not employed as District Organizer was concurred in. The State Secretary was instructed to write the National Office urging the selection of an organizer.

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(Continued on Page 9.)

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WHY A WAR WITH ANYBODY?

By HENRY HARRISON

MAJOR A. HAMILTON GIBBS, in an address before The Writers at their recent annual dinner, deplored the continual talk of war. Especially did Major Gibbs feel appalled by the jingoism that obtains at present in the minds of various American and Japanese gentlemen. The youthful novelist thought it high time that the writers of this country get together in an effort to eradicate all talk of war from the face of the earth, and especially to abolish this talk of war with Japan.

Major Gibbs made an excellent psychological point in his brief address. He believed that the minds of the laymen were being stimulated to the point of war with Japan. For example, he cited the title of an article that recently appeared in the Nation. The article was called "War With Japan." Thought Major Gibbs: The average man glimpses the title of this essay, the title being printed in large letters, and passes by with the feeling of "War With Japan." Of course, were the average man to peruse the article, he would not be particularly desirous of having a war with Japan. But "War With Japan" is sufficient for him, for the average man is more or less a very busy creature, and he has no time for perusal of articles. The titles and the decks are enough for him.

At all events, Major Gibbs solicited the help of the writers of this country in an effort to stem the tide of war with Japan. As a so-called professional writer, I appear in the ranks of Gibbs' disciples. I hate war. Despite the fact that I am of the age when a young man feels the urge to have himself decorated with medals, I loathe war.

Let us assume that the writer, myself, is a highly unsophisticated young man. Suppose that I know nothing of politics, political intrigues, Washington, Tokio, munition factories, Wall Street, and the like. Who does, indeed? Let us suppose that I am a poor fellow (which I am) and that I am eager for education and enlightenment.

The very first question that I shall be so easy as to ask is this: Why a war with anyone? Why war? Why a war with Japan, in especial? I have nothing against the Japanese. I do not know very much about the Japanese. I do not believe that there are many Americans who do know much about the Japanese. But I do believe that there are many Americans who would go

A Young Writer Wants Some Information

to war against the Japanese if called I disliked, either instinctively or upon to do, even without the knowledge. Perhaps it is a prejudice edge of the Japanese. I am aware of mine, but I think that the Japanese of a few things about my slant-ese are a highly gentle people, not eyed brothers. I know that they at all addicted to slaughtering people to Coney Island in the summer-pleas of other nations. And yet they time, and make excellent rice-cakes, talk of war with Japan. I have never met a Japanese whom Maybe I am wrong. Maybe the

The Party Builder

ORGANIZING THE PARTY

By JOSEPH VIOLA

HERE is some news about Ohio. Although I am to cover both Michigan and Ohio, my activities will be in Ohio until we have an organization worthy of the name. I worked Cleveland, the first week, formed plans and began an active drive for membership. Two hundred dollars was furnished by the Jewish Branch to place a permanent organizer in Cleveland, and Comrade Leo M. Harkins consented to stay for about one month. He has informed me that results are very encouraging.

My next city was Lorain. You probably remember that a tornado hit this city last June. I soon learned that the Communists struck it in 1919, wiping out a weekly paper and a city administration. This destruction was led by an active Left Winger who was city service director. Six years later, I have learned that there are three lefts, very dormant ones, still living in the city. After four days work, I established a Local.

Two of the active spirits of this Local are F. W. Goll, secretary of the Local during the war and now serving in the same capacity, and Joseph Hazzard who was a councilman for four years and the most popular man in the city. Besides the old members, I found a few new ones formerly of New York City. One in particular, David Jacoby, a successful merchant, promises to be of great help in developing a powerful Local.

My next point was Akron, the rubber city. I have been here since Monday. By the way, the three K's

reign here. We will hold a meeting Tuesday or Wednesday and a Local will be formed. How I secured the names of former members would make a story too lengthy to explain. One Jewish Comrade informed me upon my arrival that numerous efforts had been made since 1919 to establish a Local without success. He is not only amazed but encouraged to note the change.

Comrades everywhere are eager to see things started again. They assure me that Akron will be the map again shortly. I begin on Barberton, the home of O. C. Barber, the match king, Sunday. It is only a few miles from here and I can watch the development of the Akron Local at the same time. From there I go to Canton. I have been told it is no use as there is only one Socialist in that city and he is sick. Wait until I get there; I'll bring them out and put the city back on the Socialist map.

Judge Panken to Sail

Comrade Jacob Panken will sail July 8th on the George Washington for an extended tour of Europe. While this trip is taken primarily to attend the International Socialist Conference at Marseilles, to which he is a delegate from the United States, Comrade Panken will tour Germany and Poland. In Poland he intends to make a special study of conditions of the Jewish workers, and while there expects to address a number of meetings. From Poland he will return to Germany to attend a Conference of "The Ort." The trip will keep him abroad about two months, returning to the States in September, in time to take an active part in the municipal campaign.

Japanese are very bad people. Maybe they are playing the United States a series of dirty tricks. Perhaps the Japanese are trying to run this country for us. Well, very few people have been able to run it well enough to suit very many people. Perhaps, again, I am prejudiced. Maybe, after all, it is all a business deal to have the United States go to war with Japan. I do not see why the Americans should feel a particular grudge for the Japanese. Neither do I see why the Japanese should feel a particular grudge, or a general one, for that matter, against the Americans.

I fear that I am very stupid. I read the newspapers rather assiduously. And yet I do not know why there should be a war with Japan. To be sure, Arthur Brisbane and Mr. Hearst—or should I have reversed the order?—seem to feel that a war with Japan is more or less necessary. They tell me that William Randolph is extremely interested in the welfare of California, and that many Japanese are attempting to do or enter the Golden State. As I say, I fear that I am very stupid. And yet I believe that there are many others who are likewise very stupid, and who likewise do not know why we should have a war with Japan. Well, it serves us stupid ones right. When war is declared, we shall be the first in the trenches.

Nevertheless, I rise to repeat: Why a war with anyone, especially with Japan?

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The New Leader Mail Bag.

Not An Uplifter

Editor, The New Leader:

I am still smiling over the editorial in your June 20 issue entitled "The Uplift Pests." You see, I'm a preacher, and I enjoy nothing more than to have a real radical cuss like yourself tell us "stuck-up ecclesiastics" just what you think of us. And I heartily subscribe to much in that editorial and quite agree that the vast majority of us are H.-B. H., that is, hard-boiled hypocrites; but not all of us, dear Comrade, and it is "in puncto veritatis" that your orthodoxy really good editorial errs. It reminds me of the fellow who, driving a good new machine, steps on the gas, and then forgets his foot; or, better yet, your logic reminds me of the jazz drummer who was told to play "mf." and came out with "fff." I think you are more than a trifle unfair to those among us, who may be few, but who nevertheless "are," those of us who fall under none of the condemnations of your editorial.

Now, I am preacher of a "College Church" (see enclosed picture!), and I neither pick on peccadilloes of my parishioners, nor do I spare the rich, nor do I acquiesce in the economic or political status quo, nor do I uphold prohibition, nor do I inveigh against bobbed hair, short skirts, bare knees, sex-enlightenment (whatever that may mean), realism in drama and art, evolution, and the other popular bogies of the pulpit; I do, however, and that very often, knock hell out of our rotten economic and political system; I treat capitalism (with several genuine capitalists under the pulpit) rough, and in general let my people know what I think of the whole bally mess of hypocrisy and sham that we call Christian civilization.

I have refused the American flag a place in my sanctuary; I show up the assnity of our patriotism and the horrible stupidity of war at every opportunity and I lend neither prayer nor moral countenance to any parading of the spirit of nationalism or imperialism in my church.

How I do it? Gosh, Comrade, I don't know; but I am ready to be "canned" any time, and that time may come this "Fourth," when I shall refuse to join in the Halle-lujah chorus of 100 per cent hysterical Americanism, or it may come

later when at some time or another I shall have offended the powers that be by finally getting under their hide, than which I love to do nothing better.

Yes, I have just dedicated a fine church-building; here's a picture of it. And I consider my work here a real failure because of that, and very long I may have to ask you to let me read copy for you, for only the Lord knows what may happen when and how to a preacher who herewith begs to be excepted from the crooked clan of "uplift pests." Thank you for your patience so far; may you never need to exercise it again upon such a document.

Karl M. Chworowsky, Elmhurst, Ill.

To the Platform Committee

Editor, The New Leader:
I respectfully offer the following plank for the consideration of the Joint Committee of the Socialist and American Labor parties: "We favor the public ownership of all public utilities and that the same shall be obtained, maintained and operated, with the rent of land and not with the wages of labor."

George Lloyd, Brooklyn.

Adam Misrepresents Solomon

Editor, The New Leader:
This letter is to my dear Comrade, Adam Coldigger. Adam may have present conditions down "kappat" and know how to rub it in, but when he undertakes to quote Scripture or from Jewish history I'm afraid his memory is short or he has things confused. I mean in his assertion that Solomon sent Uriah to the front trenches to be killed.

Is it not a fact that David, his father, did so, and that Uriah's wife became Solomon's mother? And is it not a fact that David wrote the Psalms and sang them, or at least got the credit for them?

But Adam certainly hit the head on the nail when he explained that conscience is no sure thing to follow or as a divine gift to follow, as many of us are led to believe, but simply the effect of what we are taught is right or wrong. As clay is used in the hands of the sculptor; so the mind can be trained by tuition, right or wrong; and as capitalism has the biggest share of tuition on its side, through control of Press, Church, Government and

A SUCCESSOR TO SENATOR LUSK

By LESLIE H. ALLEN

MEET Mr. Hopley—the Hon. James R. Hopley of Bucyrus, Ohio. Mr. Hopley is a distinguished person whom everybody should know. Mr. Hopley is a pillar of the State and part of the rock foundation of the nation. Mr. Hopley fights in the front line of those who are preserving the nation against the machinations of Moscow and the surreptitious schemings of the Socialists. Were it not for men of Mr. Hopley's intrepid spirit the flag would wave in vain.

You'll not find Mr. Hopley in "Who's Who." That is not his fault. You'll find him in Ohio S. J. R. No. 46. Of this resolution, this child of Mr. Hopley's wary brain, there are only a few copies left. Everybody wanted to read the thing. It is really quite funny.

It shows, first, that Mr. Hopley's memory is long, if not intelligently selective. He hasn't forgotten the Lusk Committee report yet. According to the Lusk Committee, Frank Bohn formed a "Socialist circle" right in the chapel of Ohio State University; later with Bill Haywood, "Gene Debs and twenty-seven others, signed the first I. W. W. manifesto; and now, with Scott Nearing, Jane Addams and Rev. H. S. Bigelow," is on the executive committee of the Civil Liberties Union, which "recruited bodies of 'conscientious objectors' among the draftees in camps and is securing money and printing propaganda for the defense of thirty-two Communists on trial in Michigan."

Hopley's Hapless History

That Michigan trial was over long before Mr. Hopley introduced his resolution, but he doesn't care much about facts. What's a fact among red-baiters?

Mr. Hopley shows, too, that revolutionary organizations are active in Miami, Ohio and Ohio State universities, and that the "loyal legion" (Mr. Hopley never wastes capital letters) has protested against the teachings of bolshevism in Ohio University.

Here the resolution becomes funny:

"Opprobrium attached to the name 'Socialist' after testimony in the trial of officials of the party for treason, so, in order to masquerade under a name which did not indicate their purpose, a conference of the most influential leaders in the several states was called and they adopted the name 'the Committee of 48.'" (Italics and all snickers ours.)

Nobody needs to tell you what a fool statement that is. The next paragraph is even more ridiculous. It says that the 48ers "reorganized the Socialists in Ohio State University" in 1920; and it publishes the names of charter members and national leaders, including "J. H. H. Hopkins, Amos Pinchot, G. E. Record, and Harvey (his real name is Howard) Williams."

Then Mr. Hopley's statesmanlike opus explains the iniquitous connections of these gentlemen. He even describes the sinister record of Roger N. Baldwin, though Baldwin is not mentioned in the previous list at all! Just a pot shot for good measure.

Hapless Hopley's History

Hopley then has Hopkins attending the "Communist convention" in St. Paul last May. And here's another Hopley contribution of history which never happened: Communist leaders called a mass convention of Socialists at Cleveland and joined them, the 48ers and the C. P. P. A., in nominating La Follette.

Imagine the Socialists responding to a Communist convention call! Among the many things Mr. Hopley doesn't know is that the Communists were excluded from the La Follette nominating convention.

Mr. Hopley then whereas that the 48ers demand the "legalization of strikes." He doesn't know that strikes are legalized already. Then, for no apparent reason, a tossed-in paragraph says that Labor unions are expelling Communists, and another states the dangerous fact that the Ohio State University Liberal Club tried to get La Follette to speak on the campus.

Then came the Be It Resolved. They provide for a legislative investigating committee of three, with only \$2,500 to squander for the purpose of inquiring into the teaching in Ohio State universities and normal schools.

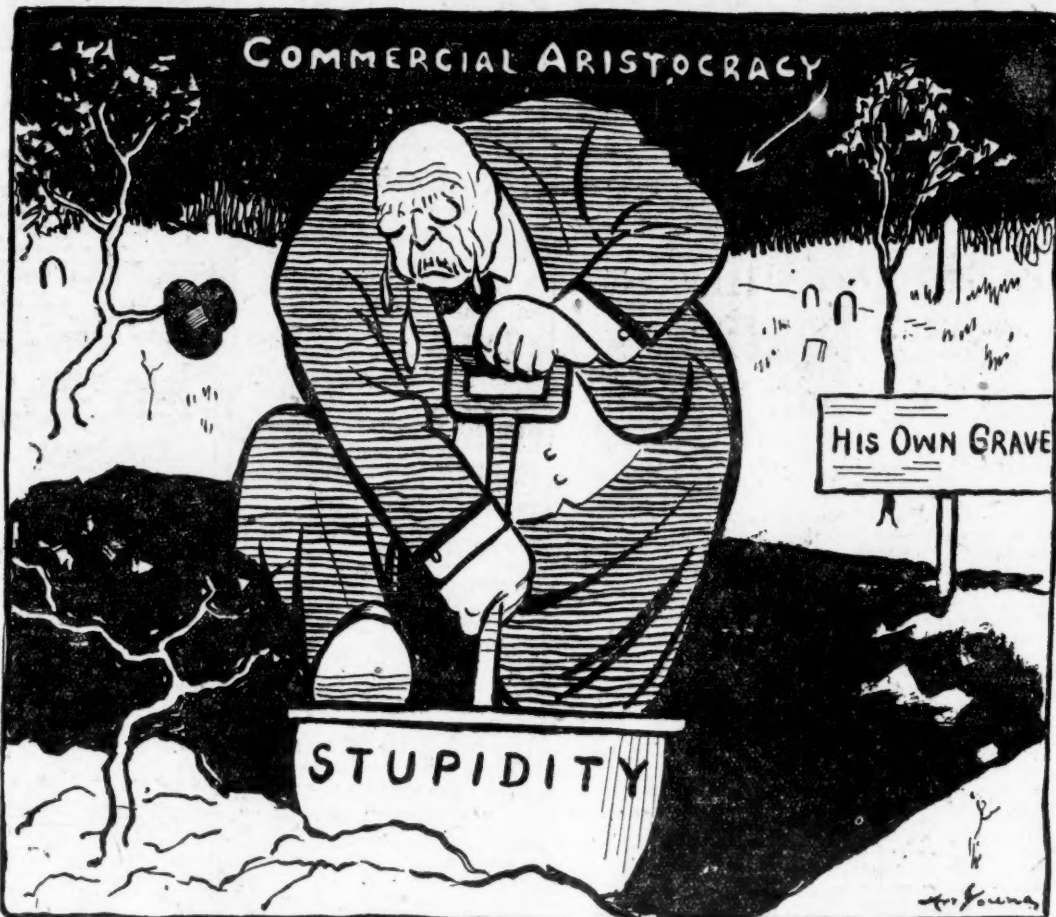
The resolution would also deny to any teacher publicly active as a Socialist, atheist, Communist or other organization of revolutionists. Hopley, you see, is fighting God's battle also.

And there you are. This Mr. Hopley is an omniscient person. It wasn't necessary for him to ask the Committee of 48, the Socialists or anybody else against whom he made his charges, for any facts upon which to base them. The Lusk Committee report was good enough for him.

Hopley Beyond Hope

Fortunately, the Ohio Legislature had the good sense to waste no time over Hopley's nightmare. At this writing his resolution is resting in

FOR WHICH WE OFFER THANKS



THE CITY MANAGER PLAN AGAIN

By HERBERT W. MERRILL
State Secretary, Socialist Party

Can It Be Made Democratic in New York State at this Time?

MR. WALTER J. MILLARD, one-time Socialist lecturer and present representative of the National Municipal League, is valiantly striving to make a case for City-Manager Government in the Empire State, but with very doubtful success. As the compiler of the statement of the State Executive Committee on the subject of Plan C Manager Government to which Mr. Millard alludes in his contribution to The New Leader of June 13, as well as the secretary of a non-partisan committee of Schenectady citizens responsible for the defeat of Plan C by the overwhelming vote of 13,500 to 5,200, I have had occasion to look into the democracy of this all too "simplified" government.

Throughout the Schenectady campaign for Plan C which terminated June 15, the proponents of Manager City Government talked and argued in terms of Cleveland, Dayton and the West, and carefully avoided reference to the four cities of New York State that actually adopted this specification of "economy and efficiency," namely, Niagara Falls, Newburgh, Auburn and Watertown. It is amazing to think that the league that employs Mr. Millard should have sent him into our State to urge the adoption in Yonkers, Schenectady and elsewhere of a certain plan of Manager Government that our four Manager cities had found so indefinite and unworkable that they straightway went to the State Legislature for complete supplementary charters or substantial amendments!

Plan C's Deficiencies
However, the technical deficiencies of Plan C of the Optional City Government Law of 1914 are beside

committee while the revolution tears along.

But Mr. Hopkins has written an open letter to Mr. Hopley, to which Mr. Hopley, being so busy preserving American principles and institutions, has not yet replied, and which concludes:

"If you wish to cease to appear in a ridiculous light, you will withdraw your resolution and manfully acknowledge your mistake. The Ohio Legislature should not be asked to waste its time on charges which reflect not only a lack of information as to facts, but also a lack of any desire to obtain such information."

"To your careful study we recommend the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, especially its paragraph about Free Speech. First-hand knowledge of the fundamental principles upon which the Government of the United States is based will often protect a legislator from being responsible for libellous charges against organizations and individuals about whom he really knows nothing."

the question of democracy, and that is the subject with which I propose to deal with very briefly on this occasion. And I shall dispose of the democracy of Plan C by asking Mr. Millard and his friends a few simple questions, the answers to which should be conclusive. The issue of democracy as between Plan C and the "White Charter" Government of second-class cities revolves around responsiveness of elected officials to the people.

Is a Mayor, who can be turned out of office at the expiration of two years, less responsive to the people, forsooth, than a city manager who is not responsible to the electorate at all?

Is a limited council or commission of seven, the members of which might all come from the "silk stocking district," and who hold office for four years, more responsive to the people than a large council elected by wards, the members of which may all be "fired" when two years have elapsed?

Are elected officials more responsive and amenable to the people when their terms are doubled, or less so?

Much was made in Schenectady of the power of the Mayor over the boards of estimate and apportionment and of contract and supply, and the executive of a second-class city was pictured as a municipal Kaiser by virtue of his control of these boards; but let us in-

quire whether a Mayor, who may be flung out of office in two years, is more of an autocrat than a manager whose employers, the select little council, cannot be touched or "bounced" by the people in four years?

The Issue of Democracy

It is fearful and wonderful reasoning to claim for a single instant that Plan C is more democratic than Federal municipal forms. Nevertheless, it would be possible to so frame a scheme of City-Manager Government that would be equally democratic. Such a plan would have a large council or legislative body, the members of which would be chosen biennially by districts, or, better still, according to the theory of proportional representation. If the members of such council could be elected yearly, it would make it even more representative, but unfortunately the State Constitution stands in the way, providing, as it does, that cities must elect in odd-numbered years. Councils of Prussian size would not be too large—60 members for cities of 100,000—as such council would permit of almost every shade of political and economic opinion being given expression.

Manager Government with such a council would escape practically all the objections of the Socialist Party manifesto against Plan C, and could be framed, in my opinion, under the provisions of Section 20

of the City Home Rule Law. Chambers of commerce of large industrial corporations naturally prefer Plan C to any such arrangement as this, for those who shouted the loudest about "saving the world for democracy" while they were plundering the public hate the spirit of democracy in their hearts.

As to the theory of administrative and legislative functions, one may agree with Mr. Millard without much difficulty.

The function of legislation is to ascertain those things that promote the "happiness of the greatest number," and to crystallize them into policies, laws and ordinances. The function of administration is to make the determination of legislation effective in the shortest possible time and with the least friction and resistance. In a word, that Government will be most efficient the legislative power of which is most diffused and the administrative power of which is most concentrated.

Without Initiative, Referendum and Recall, a Manager-form Government with a small and limited council of seven absolutely fails to satisfy the first condition of efficiency, and may well become, through abnormal administrative power, a terrible instrument of tyranny and oppression.

Plan C, condemned by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, if one may employ a biological analogy, is much like a dinosaur—a mountain of bone and muscle with infinitesimal brains. It is lopsided, unbalanced, dangerous. I, for one, rejoice that it was slain in Yonkers and Schenectady.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

(Continued from Page 7.)

tant for the summer months as members often neglect this duty and thus hamper the State Office in its work.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Thomas on East Side
Socialists of the Lower East Side are planning a big demonstration for Norman Thomas, Socialist and Labor candidate for Mayor, for Friday, July 10. The Sixth A. D. is arranging for the meeting that night at 137 Avenue B.

Realizing the importance of this first meeting of the campaign on the East Side, the Sixth A. D. is planning to reach the masses with publicity regarding the meeting. The district is being thoroughly circularized in preparation for a rousing rally.

Executive Committee
Monday, July 6, 8:30 p. m. at 157 East 15th street, Room 505.

Upper West Side Branch
Tuesday, July 7, 8:30 p. m. at 51 East 125th street. Marius Hansome, Rand School lecturer, will speak on "Contributions of Biology to Sociology."

6th A. D.
Friday, July 10, 8:30 p. m. at 137 Avenue B. Norman Thomas, Mayorality candidate, will talk on "Why the Socialist Party?"

Thursday, July 9, 7:45 p. m. Organizer Schwartz will meet Sixth A. D. Branch members for canvassing among the enrolled Socialist voters for party membership and subscriptions for The New Leader.

22nd-23rd A. D.
Wednesday, July 7, 8:30 p. m. at Billings Social Club Rooms, 3785 Broadway, corner 167th street. All members are requested to attend a special meeting for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Board of Aldermen and Assembly. Organizer Schwartz will be present at this opening of the Washington Heights new headquarters.

Finnish Branch
Tuesday, July 7, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting at 125th street and Seventh avenue. Speaker: Leonard C. Kaye.

17th-18th-20th A. D.
Wednesday, July 8, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting at 116th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: William Karlin and Alexander Schwartz.

3rd-5th-10th A. D.
Thursday, July 9, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting at 35th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Leonard C. Kaye, Ernest K. Harrsen and Nina Frey.

5th A. D.
Friday, July 10, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting at 10th street and

Second avenue. Speaker: Patrick Quinlan. Chairman: Ben Goodman.

Jewish Harlem Branch
Friday, July 10, 8:30 p. m. Street meeting at 114th street and Fifth avenue. Speakers: May Harris Mainland and Ernest K. Harrsen.

Tuesday Street Meeting
Tuesday, July 7, 8:30 p. m. Irving place and 14th street. Speaker: Patrick Quinlan.

Noon-Day Street Meeting
Thursday, July 9, Irving place and 14th street. Speaker: May Harris Mainland.

BRONX

More than fifty street meetings have been held during May and June in various parts of Bronx County. These meetings were addressed by August Claessens, Nettie Weiner, David Sommer, Hilda G. Claessens and others. The audiences were very responsive, collections and book sales were fair considering the hard times, and many new members were obtained for the party and the Y. P. S. L. Too much praise can not be given to Circle 1, Y. P. S. L., for the splendid assistance they gave Local Bronx at these street meetings.

Richard Boyajian has been engaged for the month of July and he will deliver a series of lectures on the following street corners: every Friday at Wilkins and Inter-

vale avenue; every Saturday at 170th street and Grant avenue; every Monday at 141st street and St. Anns avenue; every Tuesday at 180th street and Daly avenue; every Wednesday at 163rd and Simpson streets, and every Thursday at 163rd street and Prospect avenue. Meetings start at 8:30 p. m. promptly.

Branch 3, 4 and 5 A. D. will meet Tuesday evening, July 7, at headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

Y. P. S. L. Circle 1, will meet on Friday, July 10. A jolly evening is promised. Comrade August Claessens will entertain at headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

QUEENS

Oneal Heads the Ticket

James Oneal of Richmond Hill, editor of The New Leader, was named candidate for Borough President at a general party meeting of Local Queens held at 57 Beaufort avenue, Jamaica, June 26. Candidates for members of the Assembly and the Board of Aldermen, respectively, were named as follows:

1st A. D., Harold G. Anderson and Israel Goldin; 2nd A. D., Charles Rens and Elsie Ehret; 3rd A. D., Matthias Palm and Charles Frey; 4th A. D., Sadie C. Smith and Ernest Megerlin; 5th A. D., Ernest Welsh and Peter J. Flanagan; 6th A. D., William Burke, Jr. and Harry Anderson.

Primary petitions will be in circulation within a few days, and after the business of preparing for the official nominations is out of the way the real campaign work will begin. Barnett Wolff was elected to represent Queens on the new Greater New York City Committee.

Jamaica's Picnic a Success

Braving the showers of rain and blasts of wind that swept Gerken's Cypress Hills Garden last Sunday, the Socialists of Branch Jamaica and their friends turned out in good numbers and helped make their combination picnic with the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society a real success. The spirit of comradeship and optimism was more than a match for the bad weather and everyone who attended felt well repaid for having defied the elements.

YIPSELDOM

Junior Yipsels

At the Semi-Annual Convention of the Junior Y. P. S. L. the following officers were elected: Louis Yavner, Executive Secretary; Estscr Milgram, First City Organizer; Isidore Ostrowsky, Second City Organizer; Lester Shulman, Financial Secretary; Lillian Kaplan, Recording Secretary; David Asherowitz, Educational Director; Victor Spivack, Athletic-Social Director.

Members were present from all the six Junior Circles and made the Convention a success. The new Central Committee will meet during the months of July and August on Thursday evenings, at 7:30 p. m., at 219 Sackman street, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Brooklyn.

Circle 2 will meet Tuesday evenings, at 7:30, at 219 Sackman street, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, during the months of July and August.

Circle 7 will meet Tuesday, at 7:30 p. m., at 204 East Broadway, Manhattan, during the months of July and August.

Circle 11 will meet Mondays, at 8 p. m., at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, during the months of July and August.

Circle 11 and Circle 1 will hold a Joint Meeting on June 26, at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn.

The term "scientific," as applied to Socialism, has nothing to do with "measuring and accounting," but with the fact that Socialism has an historical foundation on the systems of society that have gone before, and is the next step in social evolution if the peoples of the nations have the intelligence and organization to take hold of the huge forms of production which capitalist development has brought into being.—London "Justice."

FOR GERMAN WORKERS

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The New German Weekly for New York and Eastern States

Published Every Wednesday

by the

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107 NORTH 6TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

--- DRAMA ---

Rome's Art Theatre Opens Luigi Pirandello, Director



LUIGI
PIRANDELLO

A THEATRICAL event of some importance took place in Rome this past month, when the new Art Theatre, of which Luigi Pirandello is director, opened its doors. Pirandello, not satisfied with the laurels won by his plays in Europe and America, has decided to become a manager, and has placed himself at the head of a company of young men and women with the intention of producing in a bijou play-house dramatic works outside the scope of the commercial stage, as well as plays by young dramatists of talent.

Foreign playwrights will also be represented. In fact, on the opening night Lord Dunsany's "Gods of the Mountain" was included with his own "La Sagra del Signore della Nave" ("The Festival of Our Lord of the Ship").

Luigi Pirandello has in his latest play compressed the whole soul of Italy. He has conjured up its riotous love of life, its animalism, its superstition, its brutality, its feverish, noisy vitality, its color, its joy, its throbbing beauty. With the aid of crucifix and squealing pig, the clashing of sacred and profane, of squalor and wealth, of serious thought and ribald laughter, he has endeavored to extract the soul of his country and hold it up to human pity and contemplation. Has he succeeded? Emphatically yes.

For English purposes his piece is quite impracticable. There are no less than sixty-six speaking parts in this work, which occupies in representation barely sixty minutes. At one time it seemed as if there were as many performers on the stage as there were people in the audience. For the Teatro Odescalchi in Rome is a tiny place. Formerly the home of marionettes, it has now been taken over by Pirandello and his company Del Teatro d'Arte di Roma. The opening ceremony proved more of a social function

than a theatrical display. Mussolini was present, and his entrance to a box was cheered and clapped, as though he were one of the actors in the drama. And, indeed, he was, for had he not, through the Government, lent financial support to the venture?

"La Sagra del Signore della Nave," as Pirandello calls his playlet, would tax the skill of Mr. Basil Dean to produce. Its crowds, its movement, its mingling of the grotesque and the devout, were handled with singular adroitness. The voices of the players were most naturally adjusted to the scene. The utilization of the auditorium as entrance passages for the actors transformed the theatre itself into part of the scene, and lent added realism to its verisimilitude.

There was no enforced silence whilst each actor spoke his lines, but a continuous babel of accompanying music, noise, speech, ejaculation or effect of laughter, song or dance. It was an orgy, a frieze of actual Italian life.

Of equal interest to the cultured audience assembled seemed the performance of Lord Dunsany's "Gods of the Mountain." The religious imposture, the vigorous mendacity and mendacity of this latter play, appealed specially perhaps to the Italian temperament. It was, anyway, given the greatest attention.

The Rome Art Theatre, or Pirandello's theatre, is housed where was, until a year or so ago, the Teatro dei Piccoli, or Marionette Theatre, which Signor Podrecca seems to have definitely abandoned after his London and New York triumphs. The theatre contains only 400 seats, all at one price, and though tickets will be sold at the doors it is hoped to secure the success of the season by means of a subscription list of regular patrons. Among the plays to be given during the forthcoming season are, in addition to the two lately mentioned, O'Neill's "Oil," Villard's "The Pilgrim," Schnitzler's "The Companion," San Secondo's "Talk With a Sunflower," and Giovanniotti's "Pauline," a play on the subject of Napoleon's famous sister. Pirandello and his company of young actors hope to give to Italy a Little Theatre such as that of Lugue Poe, or the Everyman or Birmingham Repertory in England.

If Wishes Were Horses

"The Beggar On Horseback" Dismounts Into a Film At Criterion Theatre

The fantastic possibilities of "The Beggar On Horseback" are so great that one is inclined to believe the motion pictures will revel in the opportunities afforded. The authors of the play apparently share our conviction that these chances were decidedly overlooked in the transference of the action to the screen, for George S. Kaufman, with the help of Dorothy Parker, has put a spoken skit of four brief scenes before the film. "Business is Business," as this playlet is called, manages to recapture the satire of the original play evoked; its satire is obvious but well-pointed and strong, its speeches and attitudes are those we might expect of an attack on the complacencies of big business men. So far, our hopes are realized. Wilton Lackaye plays the part of the business man. Orlando Daly and Hugh Chilver appear as liveried butlers, Catherine Hayes has the role of the magnate's wife, Mary Walsh does a bit as a stenographer, Austin Coghlan acts the part of a reporter.

The picture itself brings sharp disappointment. The scenes in the studio of the poor musicians are lengthened, delaying the action through many close-ups and lingering attitudes; the fantastic elements, instead of expanding the possibilities of the play in a glorious riot of imagination and fancy, are little more than tame reproductions of what the stage presented. To those who had not seen the drama, the motion picture had some elements of interest, though even to these it was little of a novelty and less of a thrill; but to all who enjoyed the rich humor and effective satire of the play this seems but a sorry travesty. The genuine sense of fantasy in the films has been foreshadowed, in one or two pictures, such as "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligaria"; its light has yet to spread across the screen.

J. T. S.

Mabel Normand in Broadway Show the Coming Season

Mabel Normand, noted screen star, will appear on Broadway next season as a dramatic actress, according to word last night from Los Angeles. She has signed a five-year contract with A. H. Woods.

Her first play will be "The Five o'Clock Man," which will open at the Ritz Theatre on August 24. This is an adaptation from an English farce by Clifford Grey. Arthur Byron and Janet Beecher will have important roles.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"EARL CARROLL VANITIES," third edition, will open Monday evening at the Earl Carroll Theatre. The Revue is described as "A unique and different form of amusement."

The music has been supplied by Clarence Gaskill; dialogue by William A. Grew; dances and ensembles by Dave Bennett; art effects by Willy Fogarty; direction Bernard Lohmuller.

The principals include Julius Tannen, Ted and Betty Healy, Jack Norton, Bobby Folsom, Marjorie Peterson, Wallace McCutcheon, M. de Jari, Oscar Lorraine, Kathryn Ray, Vivian Hart, and Cele Neff.

"ALL WET," a new play by Willis Maxwell Goodhue, will open at Wallack's Theatre Monday night. Edward Emery, Charles Brown and Mary Duncan head the cast.



JULIUS TANNEN
will act as Master of Ceremonies
in the new Earl Carroll "Vanities," which opens Monday night
at the Earl Carroll Theatre.

A Great Show

"Artists and Models," with 18 Gertrude Hoffman Girls At the Winter Garden

The Winter Garden is housing a most pretentious revue of outstanding excellence, the new "Artists and Models, Paris Edition."

The Messrs. Shubert have gone out of the usual course of producers to provide an evening's entertainment, which for its beauty, speed, comedy and dancing surpasses any show seen at the Winter Garden.

Harold Atteridge and Harry Wagstaff Gribble are responsible for the sketches, with the music furnished by Alfred Goodman, J. Fred Coots and Maurice Rubins. Clifford Grey furnished the lyrics. The credit for the artistic production goes to Watson Barratt—and if any man deserves credit for beautiful effects it is Mr. Barratt.

There is no doubt that a principal share in the success of the revue must be laid to the Gertrude Hoffman Girls—eighteen in number. This group is probably the most versatile combination ever gathered for a show of this kind. They appear some dozen times on the stage, and in each number, whether it be a wild "Charleston," a dainty and clever aerial act called "ebbing," or in the ballet number "Spring"—with music by Strauss, their work is simply astounding. The fencing scene was most remarkable.

Two numbers stand out for their originality and beauty: "Mothers of the World," a group representing six nations; the principal role sung by Lora Hoffman, who possesses a voice of much excellence and phrases well. The other number, a novelty called "The Rotisserie," an effective scene representing a restaurant scene with the girls acting the part of the chickens and fowl being prepared for the dinner.

There are many comedy offerings in the revue, some very amusing and others screamingly funny—the scene with Phil Baker and his plant in the box Ted Silvers' was very amusing and furnished much laughter.

Of the principals who go to make up the entertainment, special credit must be given to Walter Woolf, who has the principal singing roles; Lulu McConnell, who handles many of the skit numbers exceedingly well. Billy B. Van is there with the laughs. Brenan and Rogers in their "Margie" act; George Rosener, Aline MacMahon, and Herbert Cortell have effective scenes. The music is the weak part of the show—but why find fault here? If the melodies are not tuneful and catchy to be carried away—the Fifty Beautiful Models from the studios will have that effect; for the Girls are one of the important features of this glorious revue.

"Cyrano De Bergerac" Filmed From Rostand's Comedy At Moss' Colony, Sunday

"Cyrano De Bergerac," Edmond Rostand's comedy, will receive its initial American presentation on Sunday, at B. S. Moss' Colony Theatre. The film is presented in natural colors. This experiment in colors: the Banners of the famous Cadets, the yellow glint of Roxane's hair, the lurid glare of the cannons in the battle scenes, and the gorgeous greens, browns and reds of the soldiers' doublets are done with seeming fidelity.

The screen version of "Bergerac" follows very closely the stage version presented last season by Walter Hampden. The title role is portrayed by Pierre Magnier, a well-known figure on the stage in Paris. He has appeared in support of Bernhardt and Rejane, and he has also played the swashbuckler hero, Cyrano, in France and in other countries. Mr. Magnier is supported by a notable cast including Linda Moglia, as Roxane; Angelo Ferrari, as Christian; Gemma De Sanctis as De Guiche; and Alex Bernard as Ragueneau. The direction is by Augusto Genina. All are well-known figures on the Continent.

The musical score has been especially adapted to the film from Walter Damrosch's opera.

Darwin Theory To Be Shown on Rivoli Screen

Hugo Riesenfeld has just secured the first motion picture version of the Darwin Theory, to be shown at the Rivoli within the next few weeks. This exclusive production is claimed to give a clear, unbiased explanation of the evolution theory, now being discussed through the civilized world. Riesenfeld's announcement is unusually timely on account of the tremendous nation-wide interest in the Scopes trial in Tennessee.

--- THEATRES ---

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18 Gertrude Hoffman Girls
— AND —
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46TH ST. THEATRE
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BREAKING BUSINESS

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SO?
The Laugh Sensation
By JAMES GLEASON
(Co-author of "Is Zat So?")
and RICHARD TABER

ELTINGE THEATRE
42nd Street, West of Broadway.
Evenings Only at 8:30
THE COMEDY TRIUMPH!

THE
FALL
GUY
By JAMES GLEASON
(Co-author of "Is Zat So?")
and GEORGE ABRAHAM
with ERNEST TRUAX

THIRTY YEARS AGO
An item in the London Morning Post recalls the fact that it is just thirty years ago since Robert W. Paul's discoveries in cinematography astonished London. The cheers which came from his Hatton-garden workshop at three o'clock one morning and brought the police on the scene as if a riot were taking place betokened more than the paragraph suggested, that here was the first film being shown which had been taken by a British camera. It was really the first film ever thrown on a screen and shown simultaneously to a number of spectators. The police and Robert Paul's mechanics and friends were the first cinema audience, just as a year later, when Sir Augustus Harris persuaded Mr. Paul to show his films in public, Olympia was the first purely cinematograph theatre. One wonders why no official celebration of these feats is arranged.

The famous camera was invented simply to provide films for the Edison one-man "peep-show" kineoscope, which Paul had been manufacturing in London. No patents had been taken out to cover the kineoscope, but the Edison camera was an American secret. The Paul camera, however, was so successful and the films it took were so good that the Edison plant in New Jersey had to close down. British films reigned supreme for a time.

It was Paul who also discovered the principle of intermittent movement of the film in both camera and projector, which ensured efficient acquisition and projection of sequential exposures.

The discoveries made by the Lumieres in Paris at the same time (and at this moment being very properly celebrated in France) were designed with the same ends in view as Paul had. The Lumieres were quite as successful, but one curious factor hindered them: They did not adopt, as Paul did, the Edison standard of perforation in the edges of the film, by means of which the film is given motion, with the result that they could not compete with Paul's prodigious output until they came into line with him. They thereby lost valuable time.

Thais Lawson will play the leading role in "The Snake," by Myron C. Fagan, soon to be produced by Mr. Fagan.

"Spooks," now playing at the 48th Street Theatre, will be transferred to the Cort Theatre, Monday night.

"The Gorilla," the satirical mystery play at the Selwyn Theatre, will reach its 75th performance Monday night. Ralph Spence's play opened in London last Monday night at the Oxford Theatre.

The official fight pictures of the Greb-Walker, Wills-Weinert and Slatery-Shade bouts, will be shown at the Cameo and Broadway Theatres, beginning this Friday.

William A. Brady's much talked of play, "A Good Bad Woman," by Wm. J. McNally, will continue at the Playhouse indefinitely.

"Engaged," the W. S. Gilbert burlesque with lyrics and music of the period found by Brian Hooker, will move from the 52nd Street Theatre to the 48th Street Theatre, Monday night.

"Is Zat So?", the Gleason-Tabor comedy, at Channin's 46th Street Theatre, celebrated its 200th performance Tuesday night.

IAN MACLAREN
one of the principals in the delightful "Grand Street Follies," now crowding the Neighborhood Playhouse.



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39th and Broadway
Evenings at 8:25.
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5th BIG MONTH OF THE
MUSICAL HIT
WILLIE HOWARD
"SKY HIGH"

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GREATEST DANCING
GIRLS in THE WORLD

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PRINCE
in HUNGARY

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Symphony Orchestra of 40
Singing Chorus of 100
Balcony (Reserved)
\$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30
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EVERY EVENING (Except Monday). MATINEE SATURDAY at 2:30

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"Full of absurdities and acted with a whoop. It is the best of the series." Says the EVE WORLD.
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LONGACRE THEATRE
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THE PULITZER PRIZE PLAY
THEY KNEW
WHAT THEY
WANTED
A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD
PAULINE LORD with LEO CARRILLO

Broadway Briefs
The Messrs. Shubert will present a new operetta by Oscar Straus, "Riquette." The book is by the authors of "Maytime." Harry B. Smith will do the American version. Stanley Lupino and June are to have important roles. The operetta is now running at the Deutsches Kunstlertheater in Berlin, and in September will be produced by James White in London.

A stock season of eight weeks, beginning with "Mrs. Warren's Profession," will be inaugurated July 4, in Woodstock, N. Y., by Jessy Trimble. In the cast will be Charlotte Walker, Minette Buddecke, Whitford Kane, Olivia Kenmore, Stuart Brown, Emmet O'Reilly, Alan MacAteer and Clement O'Loghlin.

Robert Warwick will play Sergius in the Theatre Guild's production of "Arms and the Man," which will open the Shaw season at the Garrick Theatre on September 15. Alfred Lunt will play Captain Bluntchli and Lynn Fontanne will play Raina.

The musical version of "Captain Jinks" will be produced by Schwab and Mandel, at the Martin Beck Theatre, on Labor Day. Lewis Gensler and Stephen Jones are writing the score, and "Buddy" DeSylva the lyrics.

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JIMMY HUSSEY, assisted by Eddie Mickey and Sammy Sept; Moran and Mack; Albertina Rasch and Her Dancing Girls; Ben Meroff and His "High Hatters"; Jim McWilliams; Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland Bromer; Lauretta Rhodes and Ruth Watson; and Bob and Lucy Gillette.

REGENT
Monday to Wednesday—Mallon and Case; Parker, Rand and Cagney; Johnson and Baker, others. June Marlowe and Irene Rich in "Man Without a Conscience."
Thursday to Sunday—"I'll Show You the Town," with Reginald Denny. Ray E. Ball and Bro.; Eastman and Meers.



ETHEL SHANNON
with Harry Carey in his latest
Western film, "The Texas Trail,"
opening Sunday at the Cameo

Faudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

At B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, the feature picture will be "Passionate Youth," with a cast including Beverly Bayne, Frank Mayo, Bryant Washburn and Carmelita Geraghty.

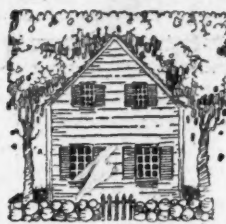
Other screen attraction is the official motion pictures of the Walker vs. Greb, Wills vs. Weinert, Slatery vs. Shade ring battles.

The vaudeville acts will include June Day and Leo Henning, assisted by Paul Tiesen and His Band; Harry Rose; The Hamilton Sisters; and Jesse Fordyce in a playlet, "Playtime," by Tom Howard; The Four Bellis; Thomas Holding and Jack Bentley and other acts.

PALACE
Jimmy Hussey, assisted by Eddie Mickey and Sammy Sept; Moran and Mack; Albertina Rasch and Her Dancing Girls; Ben Meroff and His "High Hatters"; Jim McWilliams; Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland Bromer; Lauretta Rhodes and Ruth Watson; and Bob and Lucy Gillette.

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THEATRES


EUGENE ONEILL'S GREATEST PLAY
DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS

WALTER HUSTON

GEO. M. COHAN

35th SENSATIONAL WEEK



COLONY—BEGINNING SUNDAY JULY 5th

CYRANO de BERGERAC

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"Struts and Frets"

A Review by RAYMOND FULLER

FISH AND ACTORS. By Graham Sutton. 1925. New York: Brentano's.

ONE of the signs that the publishers—at least the British ones—are not in serious straits is the publication and sale in America of books like this. Not at all that it is an unworthy volume—only that the word "unimportant" seems aptly to fit it; unimportant I mean to us over here. It will of course prove "summer reading" of some anesthetic value for a few thousand of our chronic revolvers against thoughtfulness in any form: those who find the new theory of the relativity of time such a justification and relief. It will not, however, find a host even of these easily pleased ingenuities, who will bring enough interest or background to the subject-matter to make them greatly relish the book.

In a word, the "subject-matter" is the life of the barn-storming "actor" of the Irish provinces. A totally untouched field, I think. A pathetic, catch-as-catch-can sort of profession. A disappearing one, too, the author tells us; for the "tenth-rate motion picture" is too good a competitor for the favor of Irish villagers. A handful of characters from this pursuit in life run through the short stories of the book, and we are certainly given a vivid scenario of the existence of these struggling mimes. By cleverly contriving to set most of the short stories into the covers in a reverse-chronologic order, as the author does, he works us along backward into intimacy with the personnel, and this scheme gives a peculiar element of interest.

But as literature, as fiction, nay, even as Short Stories—American style—they too obviously, too athletically, put "the technique of the short story" (as our American exploiters headline it) through all its sweating pages over to pass as very sincere writing. The author undoubtedly has lived the stories in most part, yet he has emerged with the W. W. Jacobs view of life rather than with that of a deep feeler or thinker. He utters never a syllable, either by portrayal or by digression, in arraignment of the causes of so much poverty, deceit, drunkenness and misery. There would have wrought a great artist, one who dared deal with fundamentals, and one who had stethoscopes for ears.

Before dropping the subject, I must remark that if a reader has had his 1890-1900 period in some country town of our own cis-Mississippi topography, he will see conjured up before him by this odd book ghosts and ghosts of reminiscences of his own past and of the hams and hamlets which are tenant therein. Personally, while I read "there flashed across my inward vision"—as the tales about men suddenly faced by death always say—not all my life's sins and shortcomings, but the scores of unspokeable cheap and artless "shows" of my boyhood days, perpetrated by the barn-stormers that are no more in America. Perhaps this justifies offering such tales as this for sale over here—but I should have thought there were too few of us!

Notes on Books

William Smith Culbertson's new book, "International Economic Policies," has just been published by Appleton. It forms a survey of the economics of diplomacy, and affords strikingly interesting reading for everyone who is thoughtful of public affairs and international relations. It shows how competition for markets, for supplies of raw materials, for loans, and for concessions are major causes of controversies and misunderstandings and wars between nations.

Donn Byrne, author of "Messer Marco Polo," "O'Malley of Shanegagh" and those other romances of delicate beauty, is an addict of boxing, and he has just made a flying trip to this country to see the Tunney-Gibbons fight. His ship, however, came in too late, and Mr. Byrne, with his wife, a successful playwright, left for Europe on June 20. His next novel will be entitled "Hangman's House."

This month sees the publication of a new play by Francis Neilson, "The Day Before Commencement" (Huebsch), a comedy in four acts satirizing—among other things—censorship. The scene is Enochtown, Illinois, and the principal characters are members of the Pure Books Club, bent on the uplift of their fellow-townsmen.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Literature
VOICES OF THE STONES. By A. E. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$1.25.
CARL SANDBERG. By Harry Hansen. Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius.
Social Sciences
IRELAND. By Stephen Gwynn. N. Y.: Scribners. \$3.00.
THE WORLD AND ITS MEANING. By G. T. W. Patrick. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. \$3.50.
THE PUBLIC LIFE. By J. A. Spender. N. Y.: Stokes. \$10.00.
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Vol. I. By Homer C. Hockett. N. Y.: Macmillan.
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Vol. II. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. N. Y.: Macmillan.
MORE PROFITS FROM MERCHANDISING. By Edward A. Filene. Chicago: Shaw.
NOW AND FOREVER. By Samuel

The Realm of Books

Eastman's Futile Labor

A Review by B. C. Vladeck

SINCE LENIN DIED. By Max Eastman. New York: Boni and Liveright.

ONCE upon a time Max Eastman wrote a brilliant essay on Humor, so it is quite natural that humor should be the only quality lacking in the book under review. It is Eastman's purpose to prove to the world that the only man of any worth in Russia, since Lenin died, is Leon Trotsky. According to him, Trotsky is as near a deity as any human being and revolutionist can be. Even his defects are virtues, even his shortcomings are due to the loftiness and altruism of his character. Only a bunch of villains and blasphemers in the persons of Zinoviev, Stalin and Kamenev, et al., conspired to rob Trotsky of his rightful leadership and to denounce him, humiliate him and destroy him in the eyes of the Russian people. For that purpose they lied, falsified, intrigued and applied all possible tools of oppression and suppression.

We have no doubt that whatever Eastman says about the triumvirate is right. His adjectives in describing them are like pointed arrows, his logic infallible, his proof uncontrovertible. However, after one is through reading, one feels that a new scholasticism has come into the world, a new art of hair-splitting over matters that have no direct bearing on reality. Somehow there is a lack of living wisdom in the book and also a lack of understanding of the historical background of happenings in Russia.

From a religion and an ideal, Communism is becoming a canon and a church. The place of martyrs, leaders and teachers is being taken by priests and bureaucrats. The grim realities of reconstruction eat more and more into the fabric

of the ideology, leaving nothing but a transparent screen to cover up all the incongruities and contradictions of life.

One of the troubles of Trotsky outside of his abilities and outside of the jealousy of his former comrades, is the fact that he is still a Communist of the vintage of 1918-1920 and he can be tolerated in the present Russian order as much as Christ could be tolerated as leader of the Catholic Church.

The Russian Communists have already discarded the illusion of a world revolution and they are engaged in saving their power inasmuch as they can no longer save their principles, and in this process any man who still carries the idea of a "permanent revolution" and of a military revolution cannot be tolerated.

Logic and fairness and ability are on the side of Trotsky, but Russia is not ruled by logic or fairness or ability, it is ruled by a party that came into power quite unexpectedly and found before long that it is much more comfortable and much more profitable to possess power than to possess the truth, and only to the extent that Trotsky will abdicate from his principled positions and will stoop to cooperate with the ruling bureaucracy will he be recognized and given a responsible position again.

Max Eastman put into this little book a lot of energy and brilliance, a lot of research and labor, but it is a futile book. It is not conducive to any greater or deeper understanding of Russia; it is nothing but a commentary of a one-sided partisan on a theological discussion which has very little significance per se, which in fact cannot be understood without its background and antecedents.

President Lewis Speaks

A Review by Louis Budenz

THE MINERS' FIGHT FOR AMERICAN STANDARDS. By John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America. Bell Publishing Co., Indianapolis.

SOFT COAL is a heart-breaking business. "Too many mines and too many miners" have produced a harvest of unemployed men, from the fields of Pennsylvania off to faraway Utah and Washington. It is something of a morbid jest of the present economic system that is starving coal diggers and their families in the heart of the world's finest coal-producing area.

As a challenge to this situation, the United Mine Workers have called their strike in West Virginia. Hoping to force the non-union operators to unionize their workers and put them on the same scale as their union brothers, the miners' union expects in this way to halt the de-unionization of soft coal and to bring about a condition that will force a reorganization of the industry.

President Lewis gives the miners' case, as he sees it, in his little booklet, just off the press. His appeal is rather to the "thinking business man" than to "visionaries and utopians." In his own words: "The policy of the United Mine Workers of America is neither new nor revolutionary. . . . It proposes to allow natural economic laws free play in the production and distribution of coal"—the new and unique job of the union is that of "restoring American ideas of business to the coal industry, and making the ideas work."

This is to be done through the maintenance of a high wage scale, which will drive out the "unfit" operators and force a reorganization of coal. The high wage theory is supported by him in a strong and effective fashion. He adduces arguments of the employing interests themselves that the welfare of industry in general depends upon the purchasing power of the masses. There he has made his strongest point. Further, he scores again in showing the discrimination in freight rates in many instances against the union mines. The Interstate Commerce Commission was forced to admit last year that an inequitable

situation existed, and readjusted rates accordingly. But a bit later, the Commission decided that it would wait, in putting these new rates into effect, upon a general survey of coal freight rates all over the country.

In attacking "devouring overhead," in pleading the benefits of organization, and in defending the check-off, President Lewis is on familiar ground. He is less successful, however, in laying low those recently-developed "substitutes for unionism," such as the various "industrial democracy" and "employers' representation" schemes. This is because he sidesteps the stand definitely taken by the American Federation of Labor at Portland, in favor of workers' control in industry through unionization, and takes the attitude that Labor unions must "compel capitalists to act like capitalists, and to discharge the social functions of capitalists." Rather than planting himself on the solid ground that workers' control must be always the outgrowth of unionization, he views all democratic ownership as "red" and tainted with "European syndicalism." Thereby, he apparently weakens his case. For it is pretty clear, as the "American Federationist" has repeatedly pointed out of late, that workers' control in industry—in real or sham form—is the next order of the day in American economic development. The union's job would seem to be to advance it in a real way, by linking it up with the democratic demand for unionization.

Nor does the "painful process of survival in a combat between economic mines" (which he recommends) seem to promise much in the way of relief. Mr. Hugh Archibald and other experts have shown that the over-development of soft coal is a "compounding" proposition, ever increasing. When depression comes on, the uneconomic mines become idle—and so do the "economic." When boom periods return, still more "unfit" mines crop out, to add to the confusion.

Only a powerful 100 per cent union, such as President Lewis aims to create, but with a definite determination to reorganize the industry—or drastic steps upon the part of the American Government—can check this process. An exclusive public monopoly, through Nationalization, can turn the trick—though that is rather far off. But Nationalization must logically be the basis of any effective appeal to the "public," because you can thereby show a clear-cut remedy and you can also show the "public" that its interests, through ownership, will be protected.

President Lewis has made a helpful plea for the miners' immediate fight; but he could have helped the situation still more by showing the ultimate solution to which the soft coal must come—Public Ownership with Worker Participation in Control.

The Long View

A Review by McALISTER COLEMAN

THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT. By R. H. Tawney. Yale Press. New Haven. \$2.00.

ONE of the best beloved of the intellectuals of the British Labor party went to the Williamstown Institute of Politics last summer to tell that conservative gathering something of the policies and ideals of the workers in Great Britain. Ramsay MacDonald was in office then, coal miners held Cabinet posts and there was wide speculation the world over as to what the Labor Ministry would do. It might seem that the recent Tory victories would make this book of Tawney's, consisting of the speeches he delivered at Williamstown, interesting only as the history of a brief phase of British politics. He was foresighted enough, however, to realize that MacDonald's ministry might be overthrown almost any day and he deals rather with the philosophy and the peculiar brand of Socialism back of the British Labor Movement rather than the doings of the party and its personalities.

It is this "long view," as the engineers call it, which gives the book a lasting value. It is written with extreme moderation—Mr. Tawney had one eye on his Williamstown audience of old-time economists—and much mellow humor. It puts the case for Socialism fairly before readers not inclined to be sympathetic. Typical of the sly digs which Mr. Tawney takes at opponents of public ownership is the following:

"I remember a delightful visit to the West of America. After passing some weeks in a State-owned park, and driving through fifty miles of State-owned forests, I crossed a river on a public ferry, and after travelling some distance on a municipal tram, was conducted over the civic electric works, the tax-supported hospital and the public schools, tried in vain to obtain refreshment at several saloons which had been closed without compensation by the State, and finally visited the State University. I heard a professor of economics, whose salary was defrayed from public funds, deliver to a body of several hundred students, whose fees were paid from the same source, a lecture on the importance of untrammelled private enterprise and the dangerous immorality of Socialism."

The Farm Laborer

THE ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL LABORER, 1300-1925. By Montague Fordham and T. R. Fordham. London: The Labor Publishing Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d.

THERE is little doubt that the British Labor movement is doing more in the way of exploring the economic and social history of the nation and bringing this to the masses than the movement in any other country. The result is the accumulation of a mass of facts and a growing proletarian culture that are indispensable to an intelligent movement of the working class.

This little book is an addition to many publications of the kind in England that show what sound scholarship in the service of the workers can do in making the past clear. All institutions, ideas and movements have their roots in the past and to understand the present it is essential that we should understand the past. In this booklet of 62 pages the authors are only able to take a sweeping view of the life and struggle of the agricultural worker over a period of 600 years. They present sufficient phases of these struggles to inspire the reader to take up the more thorough writings of authorities like the Hammonds.

Nevertheless, the outline presented is clear. For nearly 600 years the agricultural laborer contended with adverse economic forces, rural exploitation, terrible privations and a Parliament in the hands of his enemies. One thing that stands out is the ruthless seizure of lands in various forms with the aid of Parliament and the transformation of the rural population into beggars and outcasts. The cruel legislation that pursued the laborers in their misery is also a sad and disgusting thing. It is another story of the early accumulation of capital which answers the fiction of the professional economists that the first accumulations were the reward of "thrift," "abstinence," etc.

When our own movement gets down to the serious task of publishing books like this and the organized workers begin to digest them, we will be less susceptible to the creeds of mere theoreticians who soar in cloudland without knowing that there is a past to explore before we can forecast what the future should be.

J. O.

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Stadium Concerts Start Monday

The eighth season of the Stadium Concerts will begin Monday evening at the Lewisohn Stadium of the City of New York, when the Philharmonic Orchestra, augmented to 110 musicians, will begin an eight weeks' season of nightly performances. Willem Van Hoogstraten will begin his fourth season as conductor, and will conduct for five of the eight weeks.

The program follows:
Monday: Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony, the prelude to "Die Meister-singer"; Strauss' "Don Juan"; the Air from Bach's Third Suite for Strings, and Rimsky-Korsakoff's "The Russian Easter."

Tuesday: Dvorak's "New World" Symphony; Smetana's "Bartered Bride" Overture; the "Waldweben" music from "Siegfried"; Liszt's Second Hungarian Rhapsody and Berlioz's Rakoczy March.

Wednesday: "Peer Gyn" Suite of Grieg Overture; Nocturne and Scherzo from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream"; Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet"; Strauss' "Wiener Blut"; Polovetzian Dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor"; and "Finlandia" by Sibelius.

Thursday: Brahms' First Symphony; Wagnerian excerpts from "The Flying Dutchman"; "Lohengrin"; "Götterdämmerung"; and "Tristan and Isolde."
Friday: Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; Strauss' "Death and Transfiguration"; Dream Pantomime from Humperdinck's "Hansel and Gretel"; "Roman Carnival" Overture of Berlioz.

Saturday: Mozart's E Flat Symphony; Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Flight of the Bee"; Beethoven's Third "Leonore" Overture; "Freischütz" Overture; Handel's "Largo," and the "Blue Danube," by Strauss.



WILLEM VAN HOOGSTRAATEN will conduct the first three weeks of the Concerts, at the Lewisohn Stadium, which begin Monday night with a Tchaikowsky program.

Revival of "H. M. S. Pinafore" To Begin Polo Grounds Opera Season

The Municipal Opera Company of New York City will begin its summer season in the Polo Grounds on Wednesday night, July 22, with a spectacular revival of Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera classic, "H. M. S. Pinafore." The stage will be the deck of an old-fashioned British frigate.

The ship will be moored with broadside facing the circle of the western end of the grand stand at such distance as to afford seats for an audience of 15,000 within proper view of the stage. The rest of the field will represent Portsmouth Harbor.

The stage is being built in sections ingeniously contrived with large roller wheels on which the various sections may be readily hauled off the grounds, whenever necessary, between performances. The ship will be 130 feet long and 60 feet wide, with practical masts, rigging, etc. R. H. Burnside, who will direct the staging of this revival, will also provide the equipment of scenery, costumes and effects. There will be 100 choristers and 60 musicians in the orchestra. Tom Burke, general director of the enterprise, is arranging a cast of singers and comedians from grand opera organizations and from Broadway stages.

Music Notes

Schubert, MacDowell and old music will form the programs for the fourth week of the Goldman Band Concerts on the Campus of New York University. The concerts are given every evening except Tuesday and Thursday.

"Roxy and His Gang," the title given by radio fans to S. L. Rothafel and his group of broadcasting artists of the Capitol Theatre, left Tuesday night for a three weeks' tour of the Province of Ontario, as guests of the Ontario Government.

George Engles announces another addition to his list of artists for next season—Lewis Richards, harpsichordist, and with Landowska ranking as the world's leading exponents of the instrument of olden times.

At the Cinemas

B'WAY—"Passionate Youth," with Frank Mayo, Bryant Washburn and Pauline Garon. Greb vs. Walker, and Wills vs. Weinert fight pictures.

CAMEO—Harry Carey in "The Texas Trail," Wills-Weinert and Greb-Walker fight films.

CAPITOL—"The White Desert" from Courtney Ryley Cooper's novel, with Claire Windsor, Pat O'Malley and Robert Frazer.

COLONY—Ed. Rostand's comedy, "Cyrano De Bergerac."

RIALTO—"The Happy Warrior," from Hutchinson's novel, with Malcolm McGregor, Alice Calhoun and Mary Alden.

RIVOLI—Richard Dix in "The Lucky Devil," by Byron Morgan.

THE NEW LEADER

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Editor JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager U. SOLOMON

Contributing Editors:

Eugene V. Debs Morris Hillquit
Victor L. Berger Algonson Lee
Abraham Cahan Norman Thomas
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Saturday, July 4, 1925

THE FOURTH OF JULY

THIS year's celebration of the Fourth of July has been captured by our pompous little militarists and the goose-step will mark time in the streets of American cities. Every local patriot will have his innings. Raucous voices will be raised for "preparedness" against the evil day when the country inherited by Standard Oil and the United States Steel Corporation is in danger.

That our pestiferous Junkers can get away with this is only evidence that the army tests that disclosed our average intelligence to rate at the age of a fourteen-year-old boy are largely verified. Who the militarists fear we do not know. They do not know themselves. Nobody else knows. Japan on her little half-barren island is often hinted at, yet only a fool would contend that with her much smaller population and resources and the wide Pacific intervening she would hazard her power in the East by attacking the United States.

As for England and the nations on the Continent, we may sleep in peace. Our imperialists have become sycophants of British imperialism and would fight for it rather than against it. Germany and Austria are cripples. Russia is not powerful outside her own frontiers. As for the rest, they are smaller powers that know their weakness.

Why the greater army and the greater navy? The only answer is to bluster and brag, to accumulate arms and get the itch to use them in Latin-America and other outlying sections of the world where our benevolent masters have their dollars invested. The capture of the Fourth of July is only one strategic maneuver in this imperialist game. Our imperialists do not fear anybody—they want to grab some real estate.

DECLINE OF THE RURAL REVOLT

ALL reports indicate that the farmer political uprising in the West continues to subside and that the drift is back to the kennels of the capitalist political parties. This has happened in every political revolt of the farmers of this country. The Granger movement, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Populist party are notable examples of this tendency of farmers to revolt and then to quietly return to their old parties.

One fact that generally holds good regarding these revolts is that they appear when a depression in agriculture occurs and decline as the industry returns to stabilization. As prices of farm products sink the rebellion appears; as prices begin to rise the rebellion declines. Over and over again this has happened in American politics.

In the case of the workers of the cities we may observe a different situation. The return of "prosperity" has never affected the growth of the Socialist Party. On the contrary, its history shows that it has been during periods of industrial depression and widespread unemployment that the movement has suffered from apathy and often a decline in membership and activity. When employment has been generally satisfactory the Party has been active and growing.

The farmer has demonstrated throughout his career in American politics that he is a very unstable and uncertain political ally of the urban workers. This despite the fact that he works long hours and that millions of him receive a labor income less than the average received by workers of the cities. As an owner or prospective owner of land he tends to accept the political views of the greater capitalists who have the big stakes in capitalist society. His isolation also tends to form an individual

psychology which makes him ill-adapted for social and collective ideas and programs.

CIVIL WAR IN THE UNIONS

THE article in this issue by Morris Sigman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers is a document worthy of preservation by all who are interested in the trade union movement. The evidence he submits of the intimate connection of a faction that directs numbers to wage war in the union is overwhelming. No union can possibly tolerate a situation whereby its members are directed by an outside agency. To permit it would be to sanction dual allegiance that would tear the organization to pieces.

The Communists began their career by calling for civil war against capitalist society. They are closing their career by bringing civil war into the organizations of the working class. The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly had to expel them a few months ago. The miners in the Scranton convention of 1923 threw them out. Two weeks ago they tried their "Leninist" methods upon the Labor Fusion Convention in New York, trying to break that convention up, and were thrown out of the hall. Now it is the garment workers who face the issue.

Only a small percentage of the wage workers of the nation are organized. If there is any group that

wants to give whole-hearted service in building up the trade unions it has a great field among the unorganized. Any sincere group would enter this field. It would not bring civil war into one of the advanced unions, one that has been an inspiration in Labor education, one that has helped to take a whole sweated industry and raise its workers to a higher level of human existence.

The history of capitalism has never contributed such a destructive faction as the Communist movement is. It is pledged to intrigue, to cunning, to concealment of the truth and to deliberate lying to gain its ends. A movement that openly avows this low creed is a leprous thing. It deserves and it will get oblivion.

SACRIFICING BABIES

BUCKLE many years ago observed that crime increased with the increase in the price of bread and thus shocked many good people for whom the price of bread had little interest. They and their descendants who never missed a good dinner would deny that economic conditions bore any intimate relation to the conduct of human beings.

That the death rate of babies in well-to-do families is lower than in families of the working class is well known. A study which the United States Children's Bureau has been making for more than ten years of the death-rate in workers' families in

eight American cities shows that low wages kill babies. Where the worker receives less than \$450 the infant mortality rate was twice as high as where he received \$850 and \$1,049.

A study of women in industry also shows that when the mother worked for wages infant mortality was still heavier. Out of 1,000 children whose mothers worked away from home in the period before the child was born, 176 of the children died. If the mother worked for wages at home, 114 died. If the mother did not work for wages, 98 died. All indications are that infant mortality was about 40 per cent higher when mothers worked.

There is no mistaking what these figures mean. The economic necessity that forces mothers to work for wages also requires that they shall sacrifice their babies to the needs of capitalist production. The fathers whose wage does not permit them to adequately care for their children also offer a certain percentage of their children as a sacrifice to capitalism in industry.

With the powers of wealth production we have, this sacrifice of the young is a criminal indictment of the capitalist order of society. Workingmen and women who give their votes to the parties of capitalism also sign the death warrant of many babies. Quite a price to pay for the continuance of a system that enriches workless idlers and gives prestige to their political brokers.

THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Curses and Blessings

The earthquake at Santa Barbara with its loss of life and destruction of buildings is followed by certain reactions that are interesting to observe. In the presence of such disasters all that is best in humanity finds expression. Relief in abundance is immediately available, but in many cities thousands will be found in destitution almost as acute as that suffered by some residents of Santa Barbara and it awakens no sympathetic attempts to relieve it. Unemployment is widespread, but millions of human beings have become so accustomed to this by-product of capitalism that they accept it as a matter of course. It is only when Mother Nature strikes man with adversity that his plight is recognized and relieved. Moreover, this disaster will be welcomed as a blessing. It "gives work." It is a peculiarity of the capitalist system of production that a blessing becomes a curse and a curse a blessing. If an earthquake leveled a dozen large cities in this country, millions would find work to rebuild what had been destroyed. On the other hand, when we produce in excess of the market, the over-abundance which should be a blessing is immediately transformed into a curse. Wage workers are thrown out of employment, shelves and warehouses are glutted with goods, and human beings suffer for want of them. It's a sorry world which "initiative" and "enterprise" have built, a world ready for a Socialist foundation.

Forcing Union Solidarity

That the modern world is linked in a network of international relationships which no movement can escape is given further emphasis by an issue that has arisen in Washington, D. C., between the A. F. of L. and the British Embassy. It seems that all the embassy buildings in that city have been built by organized workers, but the British Ambassador has given the contract for a new building to the largest non-union contractor in the city. The Building Trades Council has protested and now the A. F. of L. is requested to take the matter up with the British trade unions. To obtain any favorable action by the British unions means cooperation across the Atlantic. Thus actual situations force any tendency towards isolation to be gradually abandoned. The overseas expansion of modern capitalism also enforces the lesson of international solidarity. When American capitalists export their capital for investment in China, for example, no American union pickets can prevent the competition of the lower-paid labor of China with American Labor. The American capitalist does not have to bring the unorganized Chinese worker to his factory; he exports his factory to the Chinese worker. Thus the need of solidarity and understanding with the masses of China is necessary. How can efficient cooperation across frontiers be effected without union in some international of Labor?

French Socialist Policy

That the French Socialists gained nothing by their vote of confidence in the Painlevé Government last week was swiftly demonstrated by the vote on their measure for a capital levy in the Finance Commission. Their proposal was rejected by a vote of 21 to 16, while Callaux's proposal, which carries with it another inflation of the currency, was adopted by a vote of 20 to 10. It appears to us that it would have been much better to have obtained those 16 votes as a party challenging the Morocco adventure, rather than one giving it a qualified support. That the party has been maneuvered into an obscurantist position is evident from the statement of Leon Blum, as cabled by a Times correspondent. He declared that, "conformably with the Socialist will expressed in the recent referendum, his party would in future maintain objective reserve on all questions, but while maintaining liberty toward the present Government, would seek to remain faithful to the unions." The statement is weak, capable of various interpretations, and characteristic of a group uncertain of its own mind. We are glad to note that the

England expressed disappointment over the drift of the French Socialists and we are inclined to think that this criticism will also be general on the Continent.

Doheny, the Noble Patriot

More than a page of the New York Times is used by Edward L. Doheny to "explain" his relations with the notorious oil leases. Here we get the assurance that Edward is a godly man who was engaged in a heroic effort to defend the nation in a coming war in the Pacific. Not a word is said about the profits he expected to reap although when on the witness stand he had said that the California leases would net him \$100,000,000. He does not go into the transaction whereby a satchel carrying no less than \$100,000 was delivered to Secretary Fall as a "loan." He merely observes that his lawyer advised him to not say anything about this. Wise lawyer, noble Doheny! We now know why this vulgar parvenu, spawn of American Babbitts, itched to come into possession of rich oil deposits. As an attempt to rationalize one of the dirtiest deals in the history of a country reeking with such nasty transactions, Doheny's statement will prove an interesting study in the new psychology.

Baldwin vs. MacDonald

By a majority of 230 the British House of Commons rejected the vote of censure offered by J. Ramsay MacDonald for the Labor party. The motion was an indictment of the Baldwin Government on the ground that little had been done to relieve unemployment of the workers, MacDonald contending that the number of unemployed had increased since May of last year from 1,057,000 to 1,253,000 in May of this year. He also opposed the budget on the ground that it proposed to help classes not in need of it, and urged that, as the fisheries along the east coast of Scotland were suffering, the unemployed in that section could be helped by arranging for Russia to take a large quantity of Scotch herring. Baldwin admitted the fact of unemployment, regretted it, but asserted that as the average pre-war emigration of 200,000 had fallen to 130,000 this decline had been partially responsible for the increase in the number of unemployed. Baldwin continued the conciliatory attitude which he assumed when a few months ago he intervened against a private bill which struck at trade union levies for the Labor party. His program is "peace in industry" by conceding the necessity of organization by capitalists and workers. However, he hinted at subsidies for various industries and an electrical scheme, the details of which he was not ready to reveal. It is this program of subsidies which induced MacDonald to charge that the Baldwin Government proposed to help those least in need of aid. It is probable that Premier Baldwin also has in mind a union of technical science with water power when he said that "victory in the long run will go to the nation which can harness most efficiently science to its industry."

Mussolini's Court Clears De Bono

The latest move in the farcical investigation into the murder of Deputy Giacomo Matteotti, Secretary of the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy, on June 10, 1924, by prominent Fascists was the clearing on June 27 of General De Bono, head of the police at the time of the murder, by the Senate High Court of Justice of all connection with the crime. While there is still talk about the trial of other Fascists for the murder, it is taken for granted that when the royal decree of amnesty, scheduled to be issued on July 29 in honor of Victor Emmanuel's twenty-five years as King of Italy, comes out it will cover all Mussolini's friends. In the meantime, the lira continues to be the football of speculators, despite the \$50,000,000 Morgan loan to Italian banks, and reports of violent clashes between Fascists and Communists and Socialists are regular features of Italian papers. Invasion of the offices of the Press Association by a gang of Fascists has drawn sharp protest to Minister of the Interior Federzoni from Deputy Roberto Ben-

civenga, President of the Association. A proposal by the Communists in the Chamber of Deputies for a "united front" in defense of the workers and peasants has been turned down by the Unitarian Socialists and the Republicans and it is expected the Maximalist Socialists will do likewise. Communism abroad apparently does not shock Mussolini, as cablegrams tell of increasingly cordial relations between Italy and Russia, Italian business men going the limit in entertaining Russian commercial missions, Italian aviators planning a flight to Moscow, and some folks even asserting that the dictator himself is seriously thinking of making a trip to Russia to study conditions there.

Abandoning Communism

Russian Communism again bulks large in the week's news. Grand Duke Nicholas is reported as preparing for another military invasion of Russia, but it is doubtful whether the Powers want to burn their fingers again by staking this Romanoff. Whatever may be our differences with the Communists we should oppose intervention by any reactionary adventurers. Paris broadcasts a story by reactionary Russians of a program of assassination of French officials planned by Moscow. Coming at the time of the preparations of Nicholas this rumor is evidently a bid to French imperialists for support of the Romanoff banner. From Moscow comes the report of an interview with Kalenin, President of the Soviet Union, which confirms much that may be gathered from the Soviet press regarding the abandonment of Communism in Russia. But while it is abandoned there it is still peddled among peasants and tribesmen of other countries as the solvent of all their problems. Kalenin states that "the peasant (in Russia) is by nature an individualist. His environment does not permit him to develop a collective psychology," hence the peasants are now permitted to hire labor which carries with it exploitation and the abandonment of Communism in agriculture. However, the dictatorship of the Communist party will not be abandoned until the danger of intervention is passed, observed Kalenin. That danger will always be present, and the statement means that if the working class of Russia is ever free to work out its destiny, it must overthrow the handful of men who rule in the name of a Communism which they themselves admit has been abandoned.

China's Demands Of the Powers

All honor to the continued protests and demonstrations of the Chinese against the alien usurpers. In another generation, China is likely to recover control of her own institutions, thanks to the Chinese workers and students. The Peking note to the Powers, which we commented on last week, has been followed by a note of the Civil Governor of Canton against the killing and wounding of more than a hundred Chinese. The British Consul General denies that the foreigners fired the first shot, but no matter who did, China's awakening is due to the exercise of sovereignty by foreigners in China. An attempt of the foreign legations to confer with the latter by excluding everything from the conference not directly related to the strikes in Shanghai. In other words, the extra-territorial power of the foreigners will not be debated by the latter. It is true that they may not have the power to negotiate in this matter, but it is also certain that China will never be permanently at peace as long as this power is possessed. The American Government heroically comes to the rescue of the British-American Tobacco Company by instructing American Consuls that if the Chinese boycott the corporation's tobacco they will strike at the investments of American capitalists. Terrible, isn't it? Meantime, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Office, at Canton, has demanded the removal of the foreign consuls and an apology for the killing of Chinese in that city. The tension continues and the whole situation is charged with explosives that may break into a general upheaval at any time.

THE Chatter-Box

XXIII.

You are of that permanence that gives
A fuller presence when the flesh is gone,
Like the sweet measure of a song that lives
Long after the cymbals and the strings
are done.

These partings from your gracious self
contain
Only a moment's qualm, a sudden sigh,
Like the soft shock of earth when touched
with rain.
After the drouth has sapped it hard and
dry.

I say farewell since such it means to you,
I say farewell since it is sad to say—
And sadness gives this hour a sainted hue,
As twilight sanctifies the sinful day.

Yet be content in this, that I will find
You at my side, each morning of the mind.

XXIV.

Take these soft thoughts with you; I can
not send
Harsh words for parting, although pique
dictates—
A lover is less lasting than a friend,
A friend as solid as the flimsy fates:

A lover gives in one extravagance,
A friend meters out with calculation set;
One spends his frenzy early in the dance,
The other lends it through a minute.

I would I knew a way to bear the lie
Of friendship, since you will not venture
higher;
One might forego the dread hypocrisy
Of feigning warmth when he is mad
with fire,

And but to linger longer in your reach,
Barter embraces for the dross of
speech.

Epitaph

For an Anthology of Modern Radical Verse

Oom dee dah.
Trees are mountains, mountains, moun-
tains.
Oom dee dah.
Soak a baillif on the nose.
Oom dee dah.
Ghosts are walking on my ear.
Oom dee dah.
All the world's a crazy place.
Oom dee dah.
Henry Harrison.

The outstanding feature of the L. I. D. Convention at Camp Tamiment last Saturday and Sunday, when we attended, was Mac Coleman's now historic leap and outcry against the hills—"Whoopie! Two more Gentiles have arrived in Camp." That shall go down into the memory of future generations with the same pungency and inspiration as Bunker Hill's command, "Don't shoot until you see the whites of their eyes."

Of course, there were such incidental occurrences as the debate over Public Ownership of Public Utilities, or some such subject, held between the Vice-President of the Edison Co., Mr. Williams, and our own Morris Hillquit. We envied Comrade Hillquit the sinure he had. Williams came to beard the lion in his den. Instead he found a quiet logician presenting a clear and impregnable position, against all the voluminous "Facts, Figures, and Proofs" that vice-presidents of corporations always carry around in their vest pockets for Rotarian and Masonic Lodge banquets.

Moreover, it was a study to watch said Mr. Williams' face when he saw that now classic comedy called "Brains," presented by the L. I. D. Masque and Wig Club, written by Solon de Leon and Clement Wood.

Comrade Morris Hillquit had announced previously a donation of twenty dollars each from Mr. Williams and himself—from a friend and a foe, as he aptly put it. If we were Mr. Williams we would renege on the pledge, absolutely. Who would pay any such sum to see all his ideals, and heroes, smashed to hamburger steak—as were Coolidge by Harry Laidler, John D. by Norman, Bishop Manning by Leonard Bright, Fatty Taft by Mac Coleman, the Army and Navy by Sam Friedman, Bascom Slemp by Clem Wood, and Capitalist Society in general by such inimitable mummies as Edna Porter, Gertie Klein and Goddard, Solon de Leon, and the non-parallel non-union stenographer, Nellis Nearing?

We acted as prompter behind the scenes, so we know how prettily everybody had forgotten their lines, and how each one of the aforementioned geniuses improvised rhyme and sally that out-shone the original text.

Norman Thomas forgot more of the text than any of the others, and consequently spoke the most brilliant lines and gave as fine a presentation of deceptitude and oil-soaked senility for a John D. as ever we have seen. Norman needn't worry much about his future. Such histrionic talent even Broadway will not fail to recognize.

The music in particular was catchy and we were more than surprised to hear quite a few persons whistling the tunes as soon as we arrived in the city. One song in particular, "Old Pal Cal," had already been paraphrased by some sentimental song parodist "My Gal Sal," which was rather the vogue on Avenue A.

All in all the memorable convention was enjoyed by most everybody who attended except, perhaps, Mr. Williams and some few ultra-intellectuals who attend nightly sessions at the Russian Bear and Royal Cafes of Second Avenue. Consequently, nothing short of ten miles of barricades and revolution between meals could stir a thrill in them.

Here's waiting for the next convention with great impatience.

S. A. DE WITT