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# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement

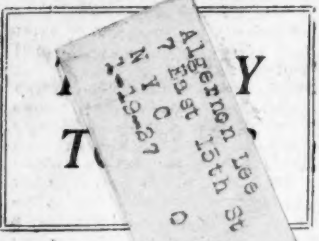
VOL. III, No. 26

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1926

"Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879."

Price Five Cents

# SUBWAY STRIKE SMASHES COMPANY UNION



By Norm

YOU certainly have given credit to New York's Interborough Rapid Transit for nerve. It has invented the most extraordinary excuse for refusing to arbitrate the demand of motormen and switchmen for more wages ever invented. It says that it has a company union from which the strikers have seceded, and that this union would have its feelings hurt if it should arbitrate the wage question. The men might even strike. In proof of all this it cites the action by the general committee of the union. Now it is quite likely that by bribery and threats and the appeal to the wounded dignity of the hand-picked officers of the company union, the I. R. T. has been able to make its puppets say the words it has put in their mouths. But to assume that the rank and file of the workers would strike against arbitration proceedings which if successful in raising the wages of motormen and switchmen would probably tend to raise their own, is too absurd for belief. Here before the eyes of the world is revealed the real purpose of a company union. It is a device to make it a little easier to hold men in slavery to the job.

There is another argument used by the I. R. T. and editorial defenders of it like the New York Times. These spokesmen say that the company is on the verge of bankruptcy and cannot pay more. The argument has no merit. It is the business of a public utility to pay at least the prevailing rate of wages for work of equivalent difficulty. Neither the stockholders of the I. R. T. nor the City of New York and the traveling public have a right to expect the workers to pay in low wages the cost of conducting an essential public service. The primary question is: Are subway workers properly paid for their difficult and important work? The strikers were willing to have this question arbitrated at the Transit Commission requested. The company refused. The facts, as the New York World admits editorially, are against the company. Switchmen begin with a daily wage of only \$4.64 and motormen with a wage of \$5.25. They work seven days a week and they have upon their shoulders enormous responsibility. By every test this is an inadequate wage. The I. R. T. has no right to maintain even the five-cent fare at the cost of such a wage rate and such working conditions.

But, let me hasten to add, by no means is the proper remedy the abandonment of the five-cent fare. The company has contracted to give a certain service to the city. Originally it made a very good thing out of the contract. The fact that it cannot now live up to the contract—if true—except at the cost of sweating its labor, is an additional reason why it should surrender that contract to the city, so that the I. R. T. lines may become part of a citywide system managed by a municipal corporation on which the workers as well as the users of subway service shall be represented. It ought to be the business of the city administration to use this new evidence of gross mismanagement on the part of the operating company to force the company to surrender its contract on financial terms that are not prohibitive. The courts might make the process difficult, but the city administration should be on the alert to do what it can.

Meanwhile our sympathy and support should go to the underpaid workers, even if it means inconvenience to us. It is unfortunate in this, as in the Passaic textile strike, that the regular A. F. of L. unions were not aggressively on the job organizing the unorganized. That fact is no reason

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## GERMAN LEADERS URGE SACCO-VANZETTI TRIAL

BERLIN.—The infamy of Massachussetts in brazenly framing Sacco and Vanzetti, labor leaders, has reached far beyond American shores. German leaders have joined British laborites in urging new trials for the two Italian radicals.

Paul Lebe, President of the Reichstag, has joined with Maximilian Harden and other German liberals and Socialists in urging Governor Fuller to grant the two a new trial.

The German Federation of Trade Unions has urged the American Federation of Labor to intercede in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

## PANKEN HEADS SOCIALIST TICKET

Mrs. Blatch Will Make Race for Senate in New York

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

WITH a fighting ticket of Socialist propagandists, and with a State platform that is a rallying cry to the workers to unite in their own party, the Socialists of New York entered the campaign of 1926 at the close of the State convention that was held Saturday and Sunday, July 3 and 4, at Finnish Hall, the home of the Finnish branch of the Socialist party.

It was the best attended and most fruitful convention of the party in at least six years, according to Comrades in attendance, and it showed a remarkable recovery both in size and spirit from the slump of recent years. Over 125 delegates were credited to the convention, representing every part of the State, and at the convention dinner held Saturday night over 350 Comrades broke into the three-day Fourth of July week-end to meet their Comrades and renew their loyalty to their cause.

The 1926 convention was noticeable also for staging the first debate on prohibition ever heard in a Socialist convention in this State, the Platform Committee having brought in a plank calling for modification of the 18th Amendment.

The tone of the delegates was sober; there was little of the spirited enthusiasm that has characterized some other conventions in the past, but neither was there any of the gloom or despair, nor yet the bitterness of other years when Communists came to party conventions seeking to jam their "theses" down the throats of the convention, as was the case six years ago. It was a fine, Comradely, thoughtful convention of men and women who had a job to do and who did it with spirit and good cheer.

The State ticket, headed by such fine propagandists and Socialist leaders as Jacob Panken, Harriot Stanton Blatch and August Claessens, with Charles W. Noonan, H. D. Wilcox, Darwin J. Messerole and William Karlin to fill it out, has struck fire everywhere. It is a popular ticket among the Comrades, as it was a popular ticket in the convention.

There was the usual Communist incident when a letter from the Communist organization of New York addressed the "dear Comrades" of the Socialist party, and suggested a "united front" was read. The reply of the convention, while emphatic and unmistakable in its refusal, leaves the way open, in the opinion of many delegates, to future negotiations as soon as the Communists give clear and unambiguous evidence that they have abandoned their present tactics of lying and vilification.

The keynote of the convention was struck in the words read by State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill in rendering the report of the State Executive Committee for the past year.

The convention was opened by Comrade Merrill in the absence of State Chairman S. John Block, and Julius Gerber was elected chairman of the day's session. It was remarked by many that the chairman of the second day's session was G. August Gerber, son of the first day's chairman. After the roll call of delegates the first business of the convention was the adoption of a resolution presented by William M. Feigenbaum on the death of Comrade Meyer London, and the sending of a message of greeting to Comrade Debs, who is recovering from a serious illness. Later a message of greeting was sent to Comrade B. Feigenbaum, who is not in good health.

After the election of committees the convention was addressed by Comrades Hillquit, James O'Neal, Panken and George H. Goebel of New Jersey. The platform as drawn up by the preliminary sub-committee of the State Executive Committee consisting of Comrades Feigenbaum and Norman Thomas (printed in the two last issues of The New Leader) was referred to a platform committee consisting of Comrades Feigenbaum, chairman; Hillquit, Waldman, Karlin and Noonan.

Saturday evening was spent by the delegates in their various committee meetings, at the dinner given by Local New York to the delegates, and at a soul-stirring play written by Signor Nathan Fine, entitled "The U-knit-it"

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## Strikers' Chief



Edward Lavan

## SCHOOL BOARD PLAYS LOW POLITICS

Lefkowitz Ban Exposed as Case of Revenge Against Labor Leader

By Henry R. Linville  
President, Teachers' Union

IN anticipation of the purpose of the Board of Superintendents not only to refuse earned promotion to Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, but also to attempt to discredit him in the public estimation, the Executive Board of the Teachers' Union has authorized me as President to issue a protest against the action of the superintendents and to endeavor in other ways to secure just treatment for our member and Legislative Representative.

In building up charges against Dr. Lefkowitz, the Board of Superintendents has made use of a trivial collection of "backstairs" gossip brought together as a report by one Aaron I. Doty and presented to the Teachers' Council in 1919-20. This material, which reflected on practically every liberal in the entire country, was approved by the Teachers' Council, which in turn requested favorable action by the Board of Superintendents and by the Board of Education. But neither board has ever taken action to accept the recommendation of the report that all the condemned citizens mentioned therein be excluded henceforth from appearing on the platforms of school buildings. Although the Board of Superintendents in 1920 did not consider the fanatical demands of Doty to be worthy of being approved, it has used what suited its purpose in preventing Dr. Lefkowitz from enjoying the promotion earned by virtue of the fact that he stands first on the Board of Examiners' list of teachers eligible to appointment, as first assistant teacher, or head of department.

In August, 1925, certain members of the Board of Superintendents endeavored to prevent the placing of Dr. Lefkowitz's name on the eligible list of the Board of Examiners, whose sole function it is to create the eligible list. The Board of Examiners, after an investigation of all the evidence, voted unanimously to place the name of Dr. Lefkowitz on the list. This action was then approved by the Superintendent of Schools. Thus balked in their attempts, the Board of Super-

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## PINE REFUSES PERSONAL TRIBUTE; GIVES FUNDS TO THE NEW LEADER

ANOTHER example of the inspiring unselfishness of the men and women of the Socialist movement has been given by Max Pine, for many years the head of the United Hebrew Trades and one of the builders of the great labor movement in New York City.

At a recent dinner given Pine by fellow-workers in the movement in recognition of his great services, a collection was taken up with the object of making a gift to Pine.

Pine immediately rejected the idea of a personal testimonial. "Turn the funds over to the Socialist movement," he urged.

The labor leader asked that the funds be given to the Socialist press and as a result The New Leader has received \$36 collected at the dinner for Pine. The New Leader assures Comrade Pine that it will never cease to strive to make The New Leader worthy of the support of such genuinely unselfish working-class leaders as himself.

## HEDLEY'S FAKE REPUDIATED BY MEN

'Brotherhood' Reduced Men to Slavery by 'Yellow Dog' Contract.

By Robert W. Dunn  
Author "The Labor Spy"

THE Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees is the name given to the ten-year-old company union on the I. R. T. lines. It was organized, as many company unions are organized, immediately after a broken strike in which the workers belonging to the A. F. of L. union were beaten back to their jobs or fired and their leaders blacklisted.

Since that day attempts to organize the workers on the I. R. T. have been wrecked by company spies, guards and under-cover men, who, if they catch a union man distributing a leaflet to an I. R. T. worker, promptly kick the "agitator" off the platform or hand him over to the police for disorderly conduct.

The so-called Brotherhood operates a "closed shop." Article I, section 4, reads as follows: "Each newly employed person who is eligible for membership in the Brotherhood shall, upon appointment and as a condition of employment, agree to join the Brotherhood and to accept its obligations."

"Yellow Dog" Clause And this "obligation" of the worker who upon entering I. R. T. service must join the company union reads in part:

"In conformity with the policy adopted by the Brotherhood, and consented to by the company, and as a condition of employment, I expressly agree that I will remain a member of the Brotherhood during the time I am employed by the company and am eligible to membership therein; that I am not and will not become identified in any manner with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, or with any other association of street railway or other employees, with the exception of this Brotherhood and the Voluntary Relief Department of the company, while a member of the Brotherhood or in the employ of the company, and that a violation of this agreement or the interference with any member of the Brotherhood in the discharge of his duties or disturbing him in any manner for the purpose of breaking up or interfering with the Brotherhood shall of itself constitute cause for dismissal from the employ of the company."

If there was ever a "yellow dog contract," there it is. It could not be improved as a weapon for destroying any worker who might have the faintest interest in real labor unionism. The minute he opens his mouth out he goes. Let him choose to join a labor union, even the ultra-respectable and conservative Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and he is marked for immediate discharge. Let him express the vaguest hope that some day the workers will transfer into a real union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and he thereby severs his employment contract with the company. Let him question the motives of Mr. Hedley or criticize the company union official dummies, or ask for an improvement in working conditions and he finds himself on the street. This is human freedom on the lines of the "safest railroad in the world," one hundred and fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. To the open shop advocates who are forever complaining about the lack of "individual freedom" under trades unionism we recommend the above "document" for careful study and contemplation!

How the Phoney Union Works What we have here is a 100 percent "closed shop" AGAINST real trade unionism and in favor of a boss-inspired and initiated "brotherhood," with which Mr. Hedley tells us—with tears in his voice—he cannot break faith!

The company union is divided into many local units, some 33 in number. They have always held meetings separately, for the purpose of the company has been to play one against the other.

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## Thomas Urges Strikers to Seek American Federation of Labor Aid

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, speaking at the subway strikers' meeting, urged them to seek affiliation with the American Federation of Labor at the earliest opportunity. He said that if the Interborough is bankrupt, then it is the duty of the officials to notify the public of that fact and not keep the employees in slavery by paying starvation wages. He said it would not take the riding public very long to realize the value of trained motormen after they had ridden a few times with the strike-breaking motormen now running the trains.

Thomas cited three reasons why, he said, the motormen and switchmen should receive higher wages. They were:

1. The responsibility placed on them by reason of the nature of their jobs.
2. The high cost of living in this city.
3. The skill and experience required to operate the trains and switches.

He said that, because of what has been called the "company union," the men had been held in virtual slavery for the last seven years and that slavery for the workers was worse than inconvenience to the public because of the strike.

## TRAFFIC ON LINES CRIPPLED BY WALKOUT

Low Wages and Fake Union Cause Motormen and Switchmen to Revolt

By Louis Silverstein

A STRIKE to secede from a company union is the remarkable occurrence which has taken place on the subways of New York City. It will constitute a landmark in labor history. At first the issue was not clear. There was a demand for increased wages, but as events continued to shape themselves, it became more and more evident that, come what may, no real victory could be gained if attachment to the corporation's hand-made union constituted a condition of the settlement.

The crisis occurred on Thursday, July 1, 1926. A meeting of Local 7 of the Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees was in session. This group consisted of the subway motormen and switchmen. (A switchman is really a motorman-apprentice. He runs vacant trains, and once in awhile takes out a passenger train.) Their three delegates to the General Committee of the Brotherhood, E. P. Lavin, Harry Bark and Joseph C. Phelan, had reported to them that the General Committee, representing all the employees of the Interborough, except the supervisory staff, had the day before accepted a continuation of the existing wage scale, or, as it is generally expressed, "as is." The news rankled the men. They were receiving, if they were motormen, 59 to 82 cents an hour, and if switchmen, 58 to 61. They were demanding flat rates of \$1 for motormen and 75 cents for switchmen. The General Committee dominated by the less skilled workers and by delegates under the thumb of the company had thwarted the increases demanded by the subway motormen and switchmen.

Men Are Desperate

This had caused a state of irritation that had become marked within the last half dozen years, but really dated back to the founding of the Interborough Brotherhood in 1916 after the failure of the subway trainmen's strike of that year. The motormen had continually protested against their rates of pay. During the last two years they had proposed an amendment to the Brotherhood constitution making it possible for them to negotiate separate wage scales, but the General Committee had turned a deaf ear.

On Thursday, July 1, the men were in a determined mood. They had had enough of the General Committee and the "brotherhood," they declared. They were through with "Pat" Connolly, the company union's president, and his crew. They would strike out for themselves. The night shift, making its forenoon, and the ground. In the evening the day shift shifted on to work. The Consolidated Railroad Workers of Greater New York emerged from the old Local 7 of the Brotherhood. The officers, who headed the fight, were, of course, retained. The members instructed them to call at the office of the president of the Interborough, Frank Hedley, the following day, inform him of the new organization, present their wage demands and announce a walk-out for Tuesday, 12 o'clock, if their wishes were not complied with.

The following morning the leaders of the men, Lavin, Bark and Phelan, called at the Interborough's office. Hedley was too "busy" to see them. They called at the City Hall, a few streets away, to see Mayor Walker. He was occupied with the momentous work of entertaining "Bobby" Jones, the golf champion. The Mayor's secretary, however, advised them to see the Transit Commission. They returned to the company's offices, and, growing impatient, left their ultimatum with George Keegan, assistant to the president, and proceeded to the headquarters of the Transit Commission. There they were given a royal reception. Commissioners Gleicher, Godley and Lockwood listened attentively to their tale and then offered their good offices to act as arbitrators. The men were asked to give their reply by Sunday, 10 a. m.

The Union Forms

Saturday morning, July 2, the night shift reported at the old meeting place of Local 7, a dreary lodge room, of the regulation type. The day was hot, and the men were to be backed with eager motormen and switchmen, there was not a man that did not sweat. Lavin, the president or chairman, did not arrive until 11 o'clock—he was col-

## Bosses Seeking Peace With Garment Strikers

Garment Union Leader



David Dubinsky

## 2,000 CAPMAKERS STILL OUT

600 Return to Work Victorious — Fight Now Is Against Association and Jobbers

ALTHOUGH the strike of the New York Cap Makers' Union is only several days' old, it has already gained some substantial victories and the outlook is for a complete victory for the workers.

Settlements with a number of large independent manufacturers are now being made which will result in the return to work in several days of about 600 workers.

These employers agree to establish the 46-hour week beginning with July 1, 1927. The agreement is to last for (Continued on page 3)

## Paper Box Union Warns Contract-Smashing Firms

Paper box manufacturers have been wont to wreck the industry by their irresponsible breaking of the union contract each time the dull season in the industry draws near. If they try such tactics this time, they will find themselves up against a different proposition than they have hitherto met.

"It is these contract-breakers," says Fred Calola, general manager of the Paper Box Makers' Union, "who may be characterized as a bunch of double-crossers and panhandlers, that keep the industry in its present mucky condition, making wrecks of its strongest workers, weaklings of its youth and paupers of them all."

"It is these few irresponsibles who, perhaps, suffer from an acute attack of G. R. Q. mania, that never grow big enough to rule, but sometimes grow numerous enough to rove and roar, to rack and ruin."

"The contract, to which we and they are bound, and to which the New York State Department of Labor stands as witness, expires September 28, 1926. Until then we are entitled and must have a guaranteed peace. The few who will declare their places open shops will have to abide by the existing contract, which provides for a new contract backed by cash security. The contract shall be and will be enforced."

Hyman contended that what the union now seeks is in effect work, or "bunfies." "We want to give our people a reasonable assurance that they will have enough work to see them through a season," he told the strikers, amid applause.

"It is for this reason that in addition to our demand for contractor registration and limitation, we also ask for a guarantee of 36 weeks of work a year. Certainly that is little enough," Mr. Hyman added.



lecting his pay as a matter of routine—Bark, Phelan and Henry Barnett, treasurer and acting secretary, were busy enrolling recruits not only among subway motormen and switchmen, but also among men in other divisions of work. The Consolidated Railroad Workers automatically became an industrial union. Few realized at the time the full significance of this development.

When Lavin arrived the meeting got under way. His attention had been called to a statement by Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, that the strike was an attempt of the motormen and switchmen to help the I. R. T. boost fares. Lavin denied this emphatically. Hugh Frayne must have underestimated the seriousness of the men, knowing as he did how they had been fed on company unionism "bluff." But there was no doubt about it to every observer at close range that these men were in earnest, that they were through with Hedley.

An attempt was made to take a ballot vote on the acceptance of the Transit Commission as arbitrators. The leaders themselves were not quite sure of what the best step would be. They refused to advise the men. "This will not be an autocracy as it was under the Brotherhood," said Lavin. The men were in an uncertain mood when a switchman by the name of Schaeffer, a former motorman who had recently returned to the company's service after having failed in an independent business venture, arose and heatedly demanded that arbitration be rejected. Hedley would either come across or they would strike. The men's minds were thus turned in one direction. A ballot now seemed a tedious process. By a standing vote arbitration was refused. A strike seemed certain.

**Cooler Heads Prevail**  
As the afternoon papers began to appear announcing the stands of the night shift, cooler heads began to prevail. The leaders began to realize that an excellent strategic move had been overlooked. Suppose they did accept arbitration, the Interborough never would. So, as the time for the evening meeting of the day man approached the sentiment for arbitration grew. In this shift, also, were the more experienced, the more moderate men, since through the exercise of seniority rights the old-timers generally avoided the night runs. There were Harry Post and George Camp, for example. In cool reasoned language, interspersed with a story or two, they and others deliberated with the men. They carried the evening. Arbitration by another standing vote was accepted unanimously and since the day out-numbered the night shift the total count of the Consolidated Railroad Workers was in favor of arbitration by the Transit Commission. By amendment of Harry Macy, a sturdy motorman—even as motormen go—a time limit for a reply from Hedley was set at 9 o'clock Monday morning. At the suggestion of Jack Gallagher the funds of old local 7 were placed at the disposal of the present officers.

It was at this meeting also that the question of affiliation with other unions became prominent. The sentiment was wholly against joining the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The older members told of their disappointment with the conduct of the B. of L. E. in the fatal subway strike of 1905. Besides, joining the Brotherhood would mean exclusion of those who were not motormen and switchmen. And that was entirely impossible. The prospect of an independent union, eventually embracing all transit lines in Greater New York was looked upon favorably because it was the simplest to understand. A. F. of L. affiliation met with approval, but it meant very little to most of the men with their lack of trade union experience. They did not realize that they would come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees but when later this dawned upon them, they were willing to make such affiliation.

#### At the Transit Board

The following morning, Sunday, July 4, Lavin, Bark and Phelan appeared at the Transit Commission's offices at ten o'clock. They told the commission of the decision of the men they were representing and retired to another room. Frank Hedley and James L. Quackenbush, attorney and during the strike publicity man for the company, were called into conference. Within half an hour they arrived. They informed the commissioners that they would not accept or decline the offer of arbitration until the General Committee of the Brotherhood with whom they had an agreement would set upon the proposal and since this committee could not be assembled before ten o'clock Monday morning they asked for an extension of the time limit to noon of the same day. Lavin and his co-workers did not want to give the company the opportunity of placing the responsibility of the strike on themselves. Then, too, at this stage of the game, the company union idea had not yet been shattered. The delegates of the men consented to the extension of the time.

Any more questions would have been risky.

That evening the Interborough official called a special meeting of loyal motormen and switchmen at Anderson Hall, the meeting place of the Broth-

## "When Did You Get Out?" I. R. T. Scabs Greeting

"HELLO, Ho! When did you get out of jail?"

Such a greeting is heard often within the confines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company's steel-barricaded fort at 147th Street and Seventh Avenue, where the company's strike-breakers have been herded, according to information brought The New Leader from the inside.

One of the favorite topics of conversation in this scab-pen is jails, jail terms.

"When did you get out? I got out two months ago myself," is a frequent salutation.

For the Interborough has gathered from the gunman dives of the eastern cities and Chicago the usual type of individual who volunteers for strike-breaking duty.

Of the more than 500 would-be strike-breakers brought here as the result of a recruiting campaign by private detective organizations, scarcely two dozen have been found who could pass even the easy tests the "safest" railroad in the world has set for its motormen and switchmen. One of these, who "worked" the Interborough for a free ride, has given The New Leader a picture of this peace-time fort.

Fifty enough, the scab-barracks resemble Sing Sing. Huge cement walls stretch two blocks from the main building at 147th Street. To gain an entrance, unless you have "business" there, is about as easy as walking into or out of Tomba Prison. All information is refused inquirers. "See Hedley," is the nervous and insistent answer to requests of reporters for information.

"I got to New York," The New Leader's informant said, "by answering an ad in a Chicago paper. I've never had any experience driving a train or switching cars. The most I know about cars are of the freight car kind. I also know how to ride the brakes."

"I wanted to get to New York; so I just went along with a couple of other fellows. When we told them we were experienced motormen there were no further questions asked. We rode de luxe to New York and turned in at the barracks. Once there, we knew our bluff was up."

"A fellow would be a damn fool to try and take out a car with as little experience as I had. Even though the Interborough was willing to take a chance, we weren't, and we told them so. Non-combatant service was all we were fit for, we told Mr. Buck, who has charge of training the strike-breakers—and what a job he has!"

"I recognized a lot of the fellows as part of the crowd I usually mix with while roaming around. Lots of them had last seen each other behind prison bars. There is a pretty big percentage of convicts among them, while most of the others could very easily be in jail, I imagine, for lots of things they've done."

"They took pictures of us in the mess-hall. You may have seen them. Half of us were eating; the other half were sleeping. Believe me, that's the best thing they do."

"I wouldn't trust any of them with a kid's car, let alone a train. Most of them are no good, anyhow. Buck and the other teachers swore by the hour at the fellows who had enrolled to drive trains and then didn't know the difference between a switch and a spark-plug. At one time we heard that they were going to fire the whole bunch out. They're not much as motormen, but they sure are fast crappers."

The press was kept in the dark about this move but Lavin was able to send down a half dozen of his representatives. About 80 persons came to the meeting. Twelve were members of old Local 7, including Lavin's six. Fifty were members of the General Committee, who could not be gathered together in time to make up the arbitration question. The remainder were what the workers called "beakies," secret service men. Hedley and Quackenbush spoke. They repeated their publicity releases orally. They answered questions but nothing new of any consequence developed.

What the purposes of these "practical" men could have been in calling this meeting is hard to tell. It seemed to be the last wiggle of a drowning man.

**The Zero Hour Comes**  
Monday morning rolled around. The night shift was told of the situation. The men were satisfied and waited for the zero hour at noon. Everybody was on edge yet few would admit it. There was a semblance of conducting the regular business. The leaders were optimistic. In fact, it seemed to many at the time that Hedley was simply passing the buck to his General Committee to save his face.

Quackenbush had declared emphatically that there would be no strike. It was evidently a camouflage to conceal war preparations.

Twelve o'clock came. No answer. Twelve fifteen. No answer. The zero hour had passed and strictly speaking, the strike was on. The men were impatient. They began to feel that Hedley was playing with them, that he had broken his word. Lavin went to the phone to call up the Transit Commission. He was asked please to wait a little longer. The General Committee was still in session. Had not Hedley given its members order after all, that they had to hold a discussion?

It was not until one o'clock, when Lavin went to the phone again to demand an immediate reply, that the Transit Commission informed him that the General Committee had rendered its verdict but that it was sealed and had been sent to the Commissioner's office by messenger. That meant another delay of half an hour.

When finally the decision of Hedley's "snakes" as the men preferred to call the General Committee, was read to Lavin over the telephone, it turned out to be a long-winded legal document in the language of Quackenbush. So that was why the General Committee had been so long in session. Counsel had to be given time to draw up a statement!

"Stop," interrupted Lavin over the phone. "We don't want to hear a document of Quackenbush. Will Hedley arbitrate or will he not?"

The Commissioner at the other end of the wire then continued to read to him that portion of the verdict which dealt with arbitration. The General Committee was to choose one arbitrator, the company another and the wages of the motormen and switchmen were then to be settled. In case of disagreement, the two arbitrators were to choose a Justice of the State Supreme Court to render the decision.

Lavin could not be trapped, anxious as he was for a peaceful outcome. He recognized the proposal as sections nine, ten and eleven of article six of the Brotherhood constitution. Sadly he told the "boys" the news. They howled down the proposition. They would have nothing to do with the General Committee. Would Hedley arbitrate or would he not?

Lavin returned to the phone. He thanked the Commissioners for their efforts and informed them that only arbitration between the Interborough and themselves would do. Hedley, you see, was driving them into a position of complete separation from the Brotherhood by his consistency, by his loyalty to his own union.

"Wait a minute," came the voice of the Commissioner over the wire. "Come down here and we may be able to straighten things out."

Again the men were communicated

with. No they were through. Let Hedley or whoever wanted to see them come to them.

"All right," said the Commissioner.

"We're coming right up."

Another half hour that seemed an eternity. The men were furious at the delays and the trickery. Many were determined to report for work. They decided not to. They wanted to know whether or not they were to strike at midnight for as the night shift, it concerned them most. It was Hedley's fault, if they did not yet know. Incidentally, they expressed the view that if any member of the General Committee came up, that they would keep him out.

The Commissioners arrived and closeted themselves with Lavin, Bark and Phelan in an ante-room. Soon the leaders emerged with a proposal. Which the Interborough would select one satisfactory to the General Committee. It was not made clear to the men what the company was supposed to do but evidently the workers would have a similar privilege with respect to three named by the Interborough.

"Who are the three we named," came from the rear of the room.

"We've chosen four: Samuel Untermyer, Bishop Brown, Father Duffy and the Rev. Dr. Cushman."

"Untermyer's rich," called out someone from the floor.

The cry was taken up.

"All right," said Lavin. "What could be better than three clergymen?"

But the men also had to be convinced as to the desirability of submitting the names to the General Committee. They recognized that the company union idea was still kicking for life.

"Wait a minute," expostulated Bark. "We don't care whom Hedley has to satisfy. We're dealing with him alone."

Bark's plea won the day. So the strike was on unless called off before midnight. The men scattered to go to work as the smoke and flashes of the photographers added to the excitement.

The decision was told to the waiting Commissioners. It was decided that Harry Bark should accompany them to their office to await the answer of the Interborough. Later he told his story. He was placed in a room next to that in which the General Committee was in conference with the Transit Commissioners. He was within hearing distance. It made his heart feel good to hear the Committeemen roundly reprimanded for their attitude. The strike was placed squarely on their shoulders. But they did not budge—or was it Hedley?

Bark returned late in the afternoon. Everybody was by now reconciled to striking, so his message made little difference. The uncertainty was removed. Strike preparations were in order.

The day shift appeared in the evening in leisurely fashion. It was not until nine o'clock that the meeting got under way. There were speeches. There were dispatches announcing new recruits from this division and then that. The tension was relieved. At about ten a number of men asked to be excused to report to work in time to go on strike. At ten thirty several others followed suit. At eleven those with automobiles left for the terminals to bring in the strikers as the latter left their work.

Twelve one arrived.

"Hall, hall, the gang's all here!" sounded lustily through the hall. The strike was on.

Within a few minutes the first strikers came running into the hall with their kits and tools.

"Hall, hall, the gang's all here," was taken up again.

They were lined up on the platform. Congratulations on all sides.

More strikers arrived.

Some elevator motormen brought the house to its feet cheering. They were the first of the hupped or so that were to follow.

All night long the ovations were repeated.

"Missionaries" were sent out to round

## HEDLEY'S FAKE REPUDIATED BY MEN

'Brotherhood' Reduced  
Men to Slavery by  
'Yellow Dog' Contract.

(Continued from page 1)

and make each one believe it could do nothing, for all the others would be against it. One of these locals—No. 7—covers the motormen and switchmen on the subway division. It is this group of more than 700 workers who have become sick of the company music and are now out to lay their own tune in a union owned and controlled by themselves.

Why are they sick of the company union bluff and pretense? Ask them and they will tell you that year after year they have come into the June "wage conferences" with the company and have been told that their demands for wage increase were out of order and that they would have to wait a while.

At last year's conference, which lasted just 30 minutes, the same action was taken as previously. The General Committee, composing some 62 delegates from the 33 locals, found itself up against the same company argument. They submitted.

Local 7 Kicks the Traces  
This year it happened again. But this was too much for the motormen and switchmen's local. Its leaders, who had already tested their strength a few weeks before in making the company rescind one of its orders requiring more work for the same pay, decided it would no longer stand for the fake "wage conferences" dominated by Hedley and his company agents. The present strike is the result of this blind revolt against company union tyranny.

Now we have the spectacle, perhaps for the first time in the labor history of this country, of a company union corporation shouting "outlaw" at a group of workers who attempt to unionize themselves into a real labor body. We have heard the term used before in referring to unions outside the A. F. of L. But here we have the "outlaw" a union that is on the way to becoming a part of the A. F. of L. And Mr. Hedley will not deal with this "outlaw" worker-controlled union. He will carry on his spurious "collective bargaining" only with the company "brotherhood," which he controls body and soul.

**Machine Like Tammany's**  
According to the striking motormen and switchmen, as well as station men, with whom the writer has discussed the matter, the General Committee is completely under the domination of the company. A political machine, which one worker compared to the Tammany machine, runs the business and controls the elections. No worker who is considered "disloyal" to the company or a believer in real trade unionism is permitted to run as a candidate for delegate to the General Committee. Those who by accident may be elected and who put up a fight against the company are soon disposed of. A certain Green, who was once a leader in the company union, was removed from office by the company because Hedley didn't like his attitude. Only those who are "sold" to the company's program and acceptable to management are admitted to the General Committee of this bogus brotherhood.

One worker describing the company union sham said, "The corporation has always depended on the motormen to stand by the 'brotherhood.' Every time any other class of workers asked for more pay, Hedley or his agents would say, 'What can you boys do? The motormen won't go out with you.' Now the motormen and switchmen are leading in the fight for wages. The company union must be doomed if these men are sick of it." Another worker, a motorman on strike, tells how the few funds the new union has in its treasury, taken over from Local 7, were collected in the face of the opposition of the company and the General Committee. "The company objected to our having dues or raising money. They knew we would strike for conditions as soon as we had any money in the bank. They wanted to keep us powerless and bankrupt." This in spite of the fact that Article V, section 5, of the company union constitution does permit locals to "assess their members for local funds, welfare funds, or any other funds a majority of the members shall consider necessary for their welfare."

The company has tried to interpret the word "welfare" for the workers. And "welfare" in its opinion, does not consist in raising funds to carry on a strike against the Interborough Brotherhood form of slavery.

The Consolidated Railway Workers of Greater New York, one of its officials explained, wants to take in all workers on the I. R. T. and other lines and be the union that will deal the death blow to the company organization. The motormen have been the first to become conscious of the semi-paternalistic chains with which the Interborough Brotherhood has bound them. They want the other traction workers of New York to rally to their fight against the "reptile company union" as Lavin calls it.

Much of the conversation was of a confidential nature, but enough information has been made public through other sources to enable the writer to reveal a number of things. He asked whether the Amalgamated would accept the strikers into the fold.

"Yes," answered Coleman.

"Would you approach them on this matter?"

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## THE NEW LEADER

Is Making Arrangements to Issue

# STRIKE EXTRAS NEXT WEEK

Follow the Real News of the

SUBWAY STRIKE

CAPMAKERS' STRIKE

GARMENT STRIKE

TEXTILE STRIKE

SHOE STRIKE

IN THE NEW LEADER'S  
SPECIAL EXTRAS

WATCH FOR THEM

## Private Ownership Blamed By Panken For Train Strike

VOICING strong criticism of both Governor Smith and Mayor Walker for permitting the Interborough Rapid Transit lines to be tied up by the strike of engineers and switchmen, Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist candidate for governor, declared that if the transportation system of the city had been municipally owned, the demands of the workers for increased wages could easily have been met without tying up the entire transportation system of the city.

Judge Panken, who sailed Wednesday morning for a two months' tour of Europe on the George Washington, said that it is because of private ownership of the transit lines that the present situation has arisen.

"Socialists have been demanding the municipal ownership of the transportation system of these utilities for many years," he said. "While Governor Smith's party and Mayor Walker's party has had the political power to establish this municipal ownership, they have done nothing except maintain Mr. Hedley's company in its place. The I. R. T. has taken enough millions in dividends and surpluses during the past twenty-two years, much of it in returns on watered capitalization, to meet any deficit they may complain of today if they really wanted to establish living conditions. Mr. Hedley's war is on trade unionism or feudalism, and both Mayor Walker and Governor Smith have become virtual allies of Hedley's anti-union campaign."

Judge Panken urged acceptance of what the Socialist platform, adopted at the Convention, at which he was named, calls the Steinmetz plan, drawn up by the late Charles P. Steinmetz in collaboration with Socialist assemblymen, rather than what platform calls "the Republican grab," or Governor Smith's plan.

"The Republicans," said the judge, "would lease the water power sites to private companies for exploitation. Governor Smith's plan provides for the public ownership of the water power sites, but that the current generated should be sold to private companies, which would sell them to the people at a profit. Our plan is to have state ownership and operation of the water power sites, the current to be sold to the people at cost, thus making a big cut in the cost of living."

## A. F. of L. Traction Union Ready to Aid Subway Strikers If Help Is Asked For

By Laborite

WHEN the New York City subway strike was getting under way, those interested in the labor movement immediately inquired as to what the A. F. of L. union, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, had to do with it. The answer is: nothing.

Ever since their defeat in the 1916 subway strike under the leadership of Fitzgerald, the Amalgamated had steered clear of New York, though hoping some day to return. It did not even maintain offices in the city, though it had a number of members on all transit lines and a local of the employees on the municipally run Williamsburg Bridge trolley cars. The Newark office was busy with New Jersey matters while the New England organizer seldom visited New York. It was, therefore, no surprise that during the momentous July 4 week-end all efforts to reach a representative of the Amalgamated Association were unavailing.

Then, it was discovered that James Coleman, organizer of the Amalgamated, was in New York City. The New Leader correspondent obtained an exclusive interview with him immediately. He learned that Coleman was in town on purely routine business to make some adjustments for the Williamsburg Bridge local. He had no instructions from headquarters at Detroit with reference to the New York situation. He would do nothing until told to act.

Much of the conversation was of a confidential nature, but enough information has been made public through other sources to enable the writer to reveal a number of things. He asked whether the Amalgamated would accept the strikers into the fold.

"Yes," answered Coleman.

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## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

for withholding our support to the workers.

I fail to understand how any union man, or, indeed, any worker or friend of the workers, can hesitate as to where he stands with regard to the Passaic strike. You are either for the strikers, who are putting up one of the most gallant fights in labor history, or you are for the bosses, who have employed steadily every despicable method known to employers for breaking strikes. There is no middle ground. It is quite too late to discuss whether this is the best time or these the best conditions for a strike. The strike is on, the morale of the workers is high; the one thing that may defeat them is lack of relief.

There is only one conceivable reason for withholding relief, and that is gross mismanagement of funds. Of that there is no evidence. There is a great deal of evidence with which I am personally familiar to the contrary. The few Communists prominent in the leadership of the strike could not amass a war chest for other than strike purposes, even if they wanted to. There is not enough money. Every cent that can be got for relief must be used in order to hold the strikers together. I know that the United Front Committee and the General Relief Committee would both open their books to proper inspection. I believe that they might be willing to have a sympathetic A. F. of L. man co-operate in the business of relief. It is a tragic failure in duty for officials of the A. F. of L. and others who claim to champion labor's cause so to act as to punish the strikers by restriction of relief because they are suspicious of Weisbord and the little handful of Communists who have been active in this strike. I have repeatedly said that I wish the strike were under A. F. of L. auspices. If, however, the A. F. of L. by its action helps to starve the strikers into submission, it will not be Communism but the whole labor movement which will suffer. The one vital thing in America today is the organization of the unorganized workers. The defeat of the Passaic strike will set that cause back for an indefinite period. If there is any statesmanship in the A. F. of L., any such devotion to a cause as Weisbord has shown, the A. F. of L. can handle the Communist problem at Passaic and elsewhere. If a united front can be achieved among the striking cloakmakers, it can ultimately be achieved in the textile industry. The last way to do it is to check the flow of relief by spreading, openly and secretly, unwarranted insinuations as to the conduct of relief in Passaic. It is not yet too late for the A. F. of L. to take steps to aid these heroic strikers under conditions which need not involve any endorsement whatsoever of Communism or Communist tactics.

One further point must be made. The strike is not already lost. If it were, do you suppose the employers would be trying so hard to frame up Weisbord on a false breach of promise case? Would they be importing strike-breakers? Would their allies, the Babbitts of Passaic, be as active as they are against the strike? Certainly the textile industry is in a bad way. There may not be work for all the strikers. The important thing is that there should be recognition of the workers' own organization and something like a decent wage for those who can work. Starvation wages and company unions are no cure for a sick industry. This is no time for friends of labor to ignore this fact, as they do when they talk of inevitable defeat.

Remember, there is only one choice before us. Inevitably we shall either support the strikers or we shall support the bosses, with all that implies. Where do you stand? The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 799 Broadway, which is raising a milk fund, will be glad to submit your answer.

I have come to the limits of my proper space. But there are two more things I must say. First, I want to extend my good wishes to the great strike of the cloakmakers. I rejoice in the genuine united front that has been achieved for the purpose of the strike. I hope that, whatever else is accomplished, the strike will put an end to the jobbing evil which is undermining all union standards. It is significant that the jobbers contemptuously ignored the report of the Governor's Commission.

The second thing that is on my mind is to express my gratification at the splendid ticket chosen by the New York State Socialists. I was speaking for the Party up in New England—more about that later—at the time of the convention, but I was delighted when I learned the names of our candidates. They ought to appeal even to some of our A. I. Smith Socialists.

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## SCHOOL BOARD PLAYS LOW POLITICS

(Continued from page 1)

Intendents bided its time and took the action above referred to.

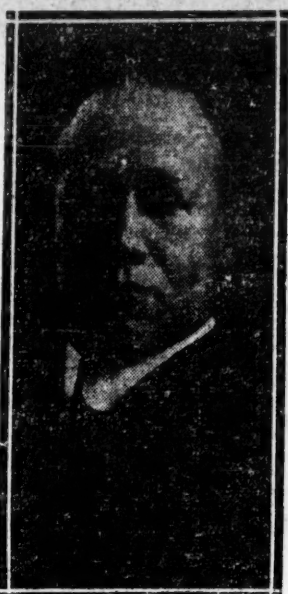
Dr. Lefkowitz, having insisted upon a hearing, was summoned on Thursday, June 24th. He appeared before the Board of Superintendents and was questioned on his political and social views. It was charged then by certain members of the Board of Superintendents that Dr. Lefkowitz is a political radical of the most extreme type, and hence unfit to have charge of a department of history in a high school. Dr. Lefkowitz stated his political sympathies frankly before the Superintendents, and the Teachers' Union will defend him in his right as a citizen to hold whatever political views he desires to hold. It is well known that Dr. Lefkowitz has been affiliated for many years with the Farmer-Labor political movement, and in 1924 supported the late Senator La Follette for President. For purposes of their own the majority of the members of the Board of Superintendents charged Dr. Lefkowitz with being a Communist. As a matter of fact, in his capacity of delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, and elsewhere, Dr. Lefkowitz has opposed Communism vigorously at every opportunity. His record in this matter is open and thoroughly understood by organized labor, as well as by the Communists themselves. A majority group in the Board of Superintendents has insincerely made use of this trumped-up charge in an effort to discredit a respected leader of the teachers and to provide a cover charge for the real causes of the board's action.

The Teachers' Union's records give the clue to the full explanation of the vote against Dr. Lefkowitz in the Board of Superintendents. Every one of the five associate superintendents who voted against Dr. Lefkowitz has been severely criticized by the Teachers' Union within the past few years. These officials are now seeking reprisals against a leading member of the Union for what the organization has done. It is the right of the public to know these facts in order that the teachers of the city may in the future be protected against malicious activities of this character.

The associate superintendent who has been most aggressively malicious in his attacks upon Dr. Lefkowitz, both in New York and in the discussion of legislation at Albany, is Associate Superintendent Edward Mandel. Mr. Mandel has been active in legislation designed to favor individuals or special groups within the system at the expense of the city and the teachers. An early measure promoted by him in the Sulzer regime was a bill specifying peculiar qualifications which he alone could meet. The Union has on occasion called public attention to Mr. Mandel's record in promoting this selfish, unworthy and unethical piece of legislation. Another measure promoted by Mr. Mandel was a pension bill which was killed by the opposition of the Union and the teaching staff. Other measures were his educational "trippers" bills which sought to destroy the merit system, his salary bill which would have given local educational authorities control over teachers' salaries, and his recent pension bill which would have undermined the tenure law of teachers. The Union has led the opposition to these measures. This activity on our part explains his resentment. Mr. Mandel has openly threatened Dr. Lefkowitz with dismissal for bringing about the defeat of the Farrell Pension bill introduced in the 1925 session. He was heard to say at a meeting of the Board of Superintendents, in the midst of an attack on Dr. Lefkowitz, "Don't forget, Lefkowitz is the legislative representative of the Union." The Union's strong public opposition to the appointment of Mr. Mandel as associate superintendent in 1923 and to his pernicious political activities in the educational system are, in our judgment, sufficient explanation for his bias and personal animus in this case.

In 1925 Associate Superintendent Joseph M. Sheehan was charged with irregularities by the other six members of the Board of Examiners. The president of the Board of Education and the Commission of Education disapproved of the conduct of Examiner Sheehan. Nevertheless, while charges of unprofessional conduct were pending before the Commission of Education, Mr. Sheehan, because of political pressure, was elevated to the position of associate superintendent. The Teachers' Union, on various occasions, both in its periodical, the New York Teacher, and in special releases,

## Raps School Board



Dr. Henry R. Linville

severely criticized the promotion of Mr. Sheehan, calling attention to the demoralizing effect of the promotion upon the morale of the teaching staff.

As evidence of Mr. Sheehan's personal resentment of the criticism of the Teachers' Union, we can cite the incident of Mr. Sheehan's ordering a reporter of the Brooklyn Eagle to leave his office because his newspaper had reprinted an editorial of the New York Teacher in which Mr. Sheehan's promotion was sharply criticized.

The Teachers' Union opposed the appointment of Miss Margaret J. McCooey as associate superintendent because of her lack of educational qualifications, and because it was generally recognized that her promotion was due to the political power of her brother—a fact admitted by herself to a reporter of the New York Herald.

The maladministration of Associate Superintendent Edward W. Stitt of the evening schools was first exposed by the Teachers' Union about January, 1925. The Union called public attention to his participation in the dropping of 300 or more evening school teachers, which brought about the establishment of unwieldy classes with an attendance varying from 90 to 105.

As a result of the campaign of enforced economy, adults were forced to leave the evening schools in disgust. The activity of the Union in calling public attention to the scandal of the evening schools brought about the abandonment of the policy of false economy and its general condemnation. The action of the Union, although beneficial to the public, earned for it the hostility of Mr. Stitt.

The animus of Associate Superintendent Edward B. Shallow, is explained by the following record of facts:

The Teachers' Union, on the basis of the Hanus Report of 1913, publicly recommended the abolition of the Board of Superintendents, and the substitution thereof of a democratically elected supervisory council composed of teachers and school officials. It was known to the Union at that time that Mr. Shallow personally resented the attitude of the Union, charging it with a desire to oust him from his position. This resentment was intensified when Dr. Lefkowitz, the legislative representative of the Union, supported the merit bill which had been introduced at the request of the Public Education Association in the 1925-26 sessions of the legislature. The application of the president of the Teachers' Union for a leave of absence to make a survey of the schools in 1926 was refused by the Board of Superintendents because of an embittered report prepared and submitted by Mr. Shallow. In an address before the Newman Club of Brooklyn a few years ago, he betrayed strong racial and political prejudice against members of the Teachers' Union. In this manifestation of prejudice, the Union criticized him publicly at that time. When Mr. Shallow quizzed Dr. Lefkowitz in the recent hearing on the views of organized labor as embodied in its reconstruction program that was submitted to President Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Shallow displayed his bitter hostility to labor's views on such questions as the use of the injunction in industrial disputes, the right to picket, their stand on civil liberty, and the curtailment of the power of the Supreme Court as advocated by the political program of the American Federation of Labor.

It is the conviction of the Teachers' Union that the action of the Board of Superintendents in the Lefkowitz case is sufficiently explained by the evidence of bias and personal resentment against the Union for having criticized these officials in the public interest.

This summary of our indictment of the majority members of the Board of Superintendents shows conclusively that this board has become so de-

## ACT TO ORGANIZE MORE PENN. MINERS

Soft Coal Workers in Indiana and Jefferson Counties to Be Brought Into Union

By Art Shields

Clearfield, Pa.

THE hardships of a non-union mining community are summarized in a statement by John Brophy, president district 2, United Mine Workers, announcing a movement to organize the men employed by the big coal subsidiaries of the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railroad interests in Indiana and Jefferson counties. Field offices have been opened in Indiana, Pa., some fifty-odd miles east by north of Pittsburgh and organizers are getting busy despite injunctions, mounted guards and ever-present company "spotters."

Brophy's statement fits the "spotter," as well as the company store, and the fraudulent weighing that robs the miner at the tipple, the 40 per cent and 50 per cent wage cuts and all the other leading features of the scab coal town scheme. The statement follows in part:

"In addition to the direct wage cut of more than 30 per cent, there are indirect reductions that bring the total cut down to 40 per cent and 50 per cent. Little or no pay for 'dead work' has become the rule. Complaint about short weight is general. Without a union there is no checkweighman on the tipple to guarantee that the men get paid for all the coal they load. The high price company store still further slashes the miners' standard of living. Men complain that if they purchase goods from independent merchants—who charge 15 per cent to 20 per cent less than the company stores—they are endangering their jobs."

Conditions Worsen

"Working conditions are worsened. For example, more car pushing is required of the men than formerly. Motormen and other day men have been speeded up. The men are worked to the point of exhaustion. Constant complaint is made that non-union management neglects safety rules."

"To mention a grievance to the boss invites discharge. 'A large and oppressive police and spy system is maintained. The B. & P. miner is constantly under scrutiny, even in his personal life outside of working hours. The company 'spotter' is everywhere. And the cost of these spies is thrown on the industry while the management refuses to bear the cost of the American standard of living."

"With all this, full time is not secured, though the management had promised that the lower wages would bring steady employment. Some of the B. & P. mines are not operating at all, and the rest average but three days a week. Non-unionism has not brought prosperity. Instead several Indiana merchants have gone bankrupt and commercial travelers say business was never worse."

"Under these irksome conditions the miners who yielded to the blandishments of contract-breaking operators are beginning to realize that their promises are not more binding than was their wage agreement."

graded through the prevailing system of political preference for those high educational positions that the members are willing to prostitute the ideals of the office:

1. By denying to a teacher whose qualifications and fitness have been certified by the Board of Examiners and the Superintendent of Schools, of his right to promotion under a merit system;

2. By enacting an educationally destructive policy of withholding advancement to persons who are not political conformists; and

3. By arrogating to the Board of Superintendents the right to determine the fitness of teachers—a function which since the establishment of the city charter has belonged to the Board of Examiners alone.

The Teachers' Union, in presenting this statement of the case of Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz calls upon all public spirited citizens and organizations interested in public education, to take note of the injustice against a teacher with a notable record of 22 years of successful service. Especially does the Union call attention to the menace in the policy of the Board of Superintendents to every effort now being made by enlightened educational authorities elsewhere to improve the qualifications of teachers and the quality of teaching.

## Cap Union Leader



Jacob Roberts

## 2,000 CAPMAKERS STILL OUT

(Continued from page 1)

three years. Substantial increases in wages have also been made over the present wages, as well as over the present minimum scale. The strike committee, through its chairman, Jacob Roberts, presented this agreement to a large mass meeting of all the strikers for approval, and it was accepted by an overwhelming majority.

The rest of the strikers, numbering over 2,000, will continue on strike against the association manufacturers and jobbers.

These employers not only refused to consider the demands of the union, but in turn presented counter demands that would rob the workers of essential gains made in the past.

The union is determined to fight to a finish not only in refusing to yield previous gains, but under no circumstances to return to the shops until the workers' demands for better conditions are secured.

The settlements made with the independent manufacturers, it is believed, will force the others to settle with the union.

## PAVERS, RAMMERMEN TO HOLD CONVENTION

The Sixth Annual and Eighth Biennial Convention of the International Union of Pavers, Rammers, Flag-Layers, Asphalt Workers and Road Builders will be held beginning Monday morning, July 12, 1926, at 10 o'clock, at Maennerghor Hall, 265 East 56th Street, New York City.

The first day of the convention will be open to the public.

Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York, has been invited to speak. After the first day's session, it is the rule of the International Union to go into executive session for the transaction of all business which is submitted to all affiliated local unions for their approval on a referendum. There will be approximately 430 delegates present from all sections of the United States and Canada.

## "ROAD TO FREEDOM" CAMP PLANS SYMPOSIUM

A symposium on the social philosophies will take place at the Open Forum of the Road to Freedom Camp, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., Sunday morning, July 11, at 10:30 a. m.

This discussion will have a representative of each philosophy. These are most prominent in the movement: P. J. Quinlan, Socialist; Harry Kelly, Anarchist; M. Olgin, Communist; and Carlo Tresca, Syndicalist.

Those wishing to come out Sunday to this discussion should take the 8:47 train (daylight savings).

## Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, July 11, we hike to Hunters Island near Pelham Bay. Bring your bathing suit along. Meeting place, East 180th street subway station (downstairs). Time 7:30 a. m. Fare, 20 cents. Walking time about two hours. Leader, August Faude.

For sturdy, hardened hikers we have a night hike from Riverdale over the Pompton Mountain range to Midvale, N. J. Meeting place, Erie R. R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River. Time 11:45 p. m. Saturday evening. Fare, \$1.50. Walking time about five hours. Leader, Herman Ursprung.

All nature-loving proletarians are welcome.

## City Urged to Name Square for Meyer London

The Sheet Metal Workers' Sick and Benevolent Association, at a recent meeting, adopted a resolution urging the New York Board of Aldermen to change the name of Rutgers Square in the East Side to Meyer London Square in honor of the great Socialist and labor leader who died a few weeks ago.

The association also adopted a resolution mourning London's passing.

We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them; They master us and force us into the arena. Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them. —Helene.

## VANDERVELDE IS GIVEN PARTY VOTE

Entry of Socialist Into Cabinet Approved by National Congress in Brussels

THE action of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party in approving the entry into the new Cabinet formed late in May by M. Jaspard of Emile Vandervelde and three of his comrades was defended so ably by Foreign Minister Vandervelde before the thirty-seventh national congress of the party held in Brussels, June 5 and 6, that practically every delegate rose to his feet and joined in the great ovation that followed the speech. Despite some criticisms voiced later by Delegate Hubin, the sentiment of the congress was so overwhelmingly in favor of the stand of Vandervelde and the other moderate leaders that it was not even considered necessary to take a formal vote on the matter.

Vandervelde pointed out that it had not been easy for himself, Anseele, Wauters and Huysmans to decide to stay at their posts in the government and collaborate with the Clerical Conservatives, but that their sense of duty to the party and to the great masses of the working people of Belgium, who were menaced with the loss of the greater part of their material gains in case the exchange value of the franc should fade away into nothingness, had been the cause with the German mark, had forced them to accept some rather hard terms dictated by the domestic and foreign bankers calculated to stabilize the currency before it was too late. On the other hand, he pointed out that, as the Socialists formed the strongest political force in the country, there could be no question of the bankers being able to make them swallow too strong a dose of capitalist medicine as that would mean the overthrow of any government that attempted it and possibly new elections with big Socialist gains.

### Tax Bill Put Through

In fact, the new tax bill put through the Belgian Parliament at the beginning of June is calculated to raise about 1,500,000,000 francs (worth about 3 cents apiece) from luxuries and real estate; and the reorganization of the national railroads into an independent unit upon which to raise a loan of 2,000,000,000 francs as reported on June 22, does not mean that they will become private enterprises but that they will be operated more efficiently as a separate corporation owned by the state, but cut loose from direct financial dependency. This scheme has been approved by the Belgian railroad men's unions, provided the workers' rights are not infringed, something not likely to happen as long as Edouard Anseele remains Minister of Railways.

During a lengthy debate on the question of maintaining party discipline it was brought out that, owing to the fact that the political party was made up of various units of organized labor it was possible for a man like M. Jacquemotte, the Communist leader in the Chamber, to be technically a member of the Labor Party because he belonged to a union affiliated with it. Following charges of indiscipline raised against several members of the Chamber of Deputies, a resolution was adopted emphasizing the necessity of unity of action in the Chamber and elsewhere and urging the General Council to take steps to enforce discipline. Another motion adopted almost unanimously called upon the General Council to take up the matter of discipline with the General Commission of the trade unions.

### Red Guard Makes Progress

Louis de Brouckere made a speech on the progress of the Red Militia, the body of militants founded last winter for the purpose of nipping in the bud any attempt to set up a Fascist dictatorship in Belgium, and reported remarkable enthusiasm and a far flung fighting organization fully able to take care of would-be emulators of Mussolini without calling in the police. With cheers, the convention approved his plea for 100,000 francs to help perfect the organization of the Red Militia.

The report of Joseph van Roosbroeck, general secretary of the party, showed that, due to hard times and some shifts in the affiliated unions, there had been a loss of members last year, the total on Dec. 31, 1925, having been 529,007, against 626,238 a year before. This comparatively slight falling off was not regarded as a serious menace to the organization and it was asserted that, with a little more effort, the loss would soon be made good and the upward march resumed. The work of education and mutual help during 1925 was on a broader scale than ever before and the outlook for further progress is good.

With nearly 40 percent of the voters of the country behind them, the seventy-nine Socialists of the total of 157 members of the Chamber of Deputies were able to block any attempts by the Clericals and Liberals to batter down the protective labor legislation won during the last few years. Their influence was well illustrated on June 4 when the Chamber ratified the Washington Eight-Hour Day Convention by a vote of 111 to 2.

In my early days I constantly made the foolish supposition that conclusive proofs would change beliefs, but experience dissipated my faith in man's rationality.—Herbert Spencer.

ADDRESS WANTED

Information wanted regarding present address of ERNEST D. CONDIT, a stenographer, formerly employed with the firm of Ryan & Garlick of New York. Information how he may be reached will be appreciated. Write to A. H. O'Connell, New Leader, 1 East 11th Street, New York City.

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For Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals, WILLIAM KARLIN, former Socialist Assemblyman, and for over 25 years a Socialist propagandist of rare ability.

## SOCIALISTS OUT TO ORGANIZE ALGERIA

French Party Strive to Line Up Workers of Imperialist Ridden Colony

The campaign of agitation and organization recently undertaken in Algeria by Mm. Thivrier and Capgras has been a decided success, according to reports found in Le Populaire, the official organ of the Socialist Party of France.

Well-attended meetings were held in nearly all the larger towns and the workers displayed much interest in the propaganda. The organizers urge the Permanent Administrative Committee to not neglect the work of agitation in Algeria, as the masses are beginning to fight against oppression by the French authorities and are filled with enthusiasm and idealism that may easily be directed into Socialist channels.

In the city of Oran the propaganda was blocked by the mayor, a disciple of Fascism, who was supported by the leading paper, a reactionary sheet.

## INCREASED PENSIONS FOR FRENCH MINERS

A proposal by the Minister of Labor covering increased pensions for miners and their widows and the financial reorganization of the independent mine workers' pension funds is reported accepted by the French Chamber of Deputies.

The result of this is that old-age pensions for miners of 55, after 30 years' service, are increased from 2,500 to 3,000 francs, and widows' pensions are raised proportionately. Miners with more than 30 years' service are to receive an additional 36 francs for each further year, instead of 30 francs as formerly. As both in the North and in the Pas de Calais, there are very many workers in the mines who have given 40 years service, many miners will now be entitled to a pension of 3,360 francs. At the present rate of exchange a franc equals a little less than three cents.

For still the people are no more than slaves;  
Each State a slave ship; and no matter which  
The figurehead—a President or King—  
The people are no more than common grass  
To make a few choice cattle fat and rich.  
—W. H. Davies, "The Song of Life."

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# New Fashions in Trusts---Modern Competition

By Stuart Chase

Author, "The Tragedy of Waste"

**F**ASHIONS in trusts change as do fashions in skirts, although it is to be noted that while the latter are abbreviating, the former are tending to elongation and expansion. The good old swashbuckling horizontal trusts of the gay nineties—or, as Thomas Beers has it, of the Mauve Decade—the trusts to whose undoing Senator La Follette dedicated his life, are giving way to new forms, new methods, new techniques. Even the terminology has changed, and today financial etiquette demands the word "merger" to replace the antiquated "trust."

Adequately to analyze and explain the changing fashions in trusts and mergers since the beginning of the century would require untold research, and Heaven alone knows how many fat volumes. Great as is my love and devotion to that paragon of program makers, Professor Doctor Laidler, and gladly as I have nailed myself to his paper crosses in the past, I capitulate before this task. I do not know, no man knows—least of all the merry merger makers themselves—the essence of the story. All that I can hope to do is to describe a few general tendencies, quote a few summary figures, and enumerate a few general conclusions, which, lacking an adequate body of underlying research, can amount to little more than reasonably intelligent speculation.

## A Mythical Report

Senator Walsh recently introduced a resolution into the Senate calling upon the Federal Trade Commission to make an exhaustive study of the whole merger situation. I wish I might come before you with a copy of that report in my hand. Then, indeed, I might say something worth listening to. But one suspects, things being what they are, such a report will continue to be purely mythical one for some years to come. The majority at once of the Senate and of the Federal Trade Commission has a clearer conception of its duties than in the unhappy days of the meat investigation. In his resolution, however, Senator Walsh helps us by clearing the ground. He describes certain new forms which mergers are taking and enumerates specific examples. He quotes Mr. A. F. Myers, special assistant to the Attorney General as follows:

"Notwithstanding all the years of legislation on the trust problem and all the years of legislation in enforcing anti-trust laws, I think it must be recognized that we are just on the threshold of the trust problem. You cannot pick up a paper without reading of some merger in business, and unless it appears that the merger would result in RESTRAINT OF TRADE WITHIN THE DECISION OF THE STEEL CASE, or unless it is brought about by stock acquisition which results in elimination of competition between two companies within the meaning of section 7 of the Clayton Act, there is not now any legislation covering the situation. Congress did regulate on the subject of mergers in section 7 of the Clayton Act when it provided that no corporation engaged in commerce should acquire all or any part of the capital of another corporation where the purpose or effect might be to eliminate competition. But we find in practically all these recorded instances at the present day that the companies buy not the stock of each other, but the PHYSICAL ASSETS, and that, of course, takes the transaction out of section 7 of the Clayton Act."

## The Clayton Act Notwithstanding

In other words, instead of a holding company acting as trustee (hence the name "trust") for the stocks of subsidiary operating corporations, and thus hushing up their naughty competitive squabbles, the new fashion in mergers is for one operating company to buy the physical assets of a competitor, and of another, and of another, thus accomplishing the same result, without ever coming into conflict with the anti-trust laws.

Then we have new forms of mergers in the growth of so-called vertical trusts, where a large manufacturing



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company—such as Ford's—reaches back to control its raw material and transportation and reaches out to control its distribution. We have the growth of a whole new financial technique around the principle of issuing no-par-value common stocks, whereby the investing public pays the total cost of the tangible assets acquired, while the insiders pay nothing, but with their series X voting and management shares, control the whole enterprise and take the cream of the profit. There is, in fact, literally no end to the ways and means which learned counsel have devised for aiding and abetting the principle of merger, while remaining safely beyond the lariat of the Clayton Act.

## A Few Questions

Which is all, doubtless, very distressing. But before I, for one, do much viewing with alarm and writing to the newspapers, I want to know the answer to three further questions:

First—Do mergers, new style, result in a net social saving by reason of operating economies which are always potential and often real?

Second—What are the changes in the functioning of the business structure itself which result in such a rush of mergers, near mergers and alleged mergers? How fares competition today?

Third—Despite all the smoke, how much fire actually remains? What proportion of the going economic structure is interpenetrated with the merger principle?

Alas, there can be no clear answer to these questions until the Federal Trade Commission, or some similar body, makes its investigation. All one can do is to hazard certain crude generalizations.

## Size and Efficiency

When I was working for the Federal Trade Commission in its examination of the so-called beef trust, I had it very clearly borne in upon me—in the face of certain emotional preconception—that sheer size was no earnest of efficient operation. The packers had spread themselves out too thin; had gone into too many side-lines—from grape juice to winter wheat—and as a consequence, were operating certain sections of their business wastefully and unprofitably. On the other hand, as I read Ford's new book, "Today and Tomorrow," I see an organization as large as the Big Five packers combined, operating not as a horizontal but as a vertical trust, which has made, in making, and I venture to say will continue to make, operating economies, short cuts, better and cleaner technical ways of doing things which stagger the imagination; which make one wonder in irreligious moments whether we wouldn't all be better off if we resigned the industrial system to a dozen Fords and let them run the works. My generalization is that you cannot generalize about the economics of mergers or the economic inevitableness of mergers as a total phenomenon. It depends on management, the kind of product being manufactured, the level of the technical arts attained in the particular enterprise, in labor saving machinery, in a hundred things.

## The New Competition

As to the second question, a recent article by a prominent banker in the "Nation's Business," lets in a little light. The article is entitled the "New Competition," and the author knows what he is talking about. He outlines the great changes which have come over the day by day performance of American business in the last decade, and how competition has at once expanded widely and forced the development of mergers to relieve the

pressure. But such relief still bulks small against the surrounding pandemonium of high pressure salesmanship, national advertising, installment buying, and Florida land boom. The analysis of Mr. Cheney, our banker, is worth careful attention. The new competition, he says, operates through five main channels. The gist of his argument is as follows:

In the good old days competition used to run between businesses on the same horizontal plane. Lumber mill competed with lumber mill, railroad with railroad, shoe manufacturer with shoe manufacturer, wholesale grocer with wholesale grocer, drug store with drug store. It was a knock down and drag out fight, but at least you knew whom you were fighting. It was that short-changer Thomas in the next block. Nowadays, you still have to keep an eye on Thomas to be sure, but God knows where all the other bricks are coming from. (I am translating Cheney accurately but freely.) The skies are full of strange new thunderbolts—group advertising, trade association drives, installment contracts, resident buyers, chain stores as impersonal as weighing machines, house-to-house canvassers, high pressure mail order methods, boomers, boosters and peddlers for this and that, "endless chain" artists, the higher merchandising in a thousand forms.

## Industrialism Over-Built

The reason for this hullabaloo is not far to seek. Due to the steady excess of profit over wages in the past generation, the industrial plant of America has been very greatly over-built. There is at present capacity to produce 100 per cent. in excess of normal

demand. Purchasing power has not been released fast enough to absorb the potential production within a vast margin. Increases in the technical arts only tend to aggravate the difficulty. This excess plant capacity presents a grave problem to the business man, whether he be coal operator, textile manufacturer or distributor. It is intolerable to see idle machines and idle space eating their heads off in depreciation, interest, insurance, taxes and overhead generally. Something has got to be done. Outlets have got to be found to keep the machine operating on an economical balanced load basis. The fact that the purchasing power simply is not available to keep the national industrial plant—considered as a whole—operating on such a basis worries no industrial business man, nor no individual industry. The spellbinding of success and personality, and you have it—in you—send no money—but clip-the-coupon have driven their lesson home. The individual business man has no conception of a national economic synthesis to begin with, and if he did have it, it would still be his pleasure and duty to get on his toes, go into conference, pump up his blood pressure, and he-man enough purchasing power in his direction to keep all his machines busy. The reduction ad absurdum in national economics is utterly irrelevant from the standpoint of practical business. And as we all know, we would all starve to death instantly if practical business were not in full control. The good Coolidge can hardly sleep of nights for thinking up ways and means for making practical business even more practical. It is a consecration beside which those of church seem feeble indeed.

## The Higher Salesmanship

To come back to Mr. Cheney. Excess plant capacity has intensified the struggle for outlets. This "distributive pressure," as he terms it—and the phrase is a happy one—gives birth inevitably to the new competition, the higher salesmanship, in all its forms. Production is relatively easy, distribution is the tough job. The best brains, the most thought, the most money, concentrates on ways and means for sales outlets, and the five channels of the new competition swell and grow.

The first channel Cheney calls "Intra-Industrial Competition." Instead of the old horizontal competition, suddenly wholesalers, who are vertically removed from retailers, start opening chain stores and begin to compete with retailers. Retailers retaliate by organizing a wholesale buying association of their own. Manufacturers compete with wholesalers by selling direct to the retailer, and compete with the retailer by selling direct to the consumer. Wholesalers and chain stores and groups of retailers compete with the manufacturer by starting manufacturing plants of their own. Meanwhile manufacturers compete with raw material and supply houses by adopting the vertical trust technique and buying up their own natural resources, operating their own raw material and supply plants. They may, like Ford, compete with the going transportation services by means of their own railroads and steamship lines. Thus the whole horizontal competition scheme has been turned upside down and inside out.

The second channel is "Inter-Commodity Competition." As an ultimate

consumer you are sick of paying rent and want to make yourself sicker by building a house of your own. The realtor boys have sold you the wife and kiddy stuff together with an elegant site in "Applesauce Acres"—where Cozy Comfort Klings. It is announced that you are thinking of building. From now on may God have mercy on your soul. The National Lumber Dealers' Association arrives on the scene with the Pace Brick Association only half a lap behind. The Purple Quartz Building Stone Fraternity lands in an aeroplane. And your roof develops into a bloody struggle between the National, Rose-Fingered Shingle, Sewer-Pipe Tile, Sun-Drenched Copper, Hulluliah Asphalt, Serenely Zinc and Tar Associations. Who ever heard of one lumber dealer doing anything else to another lumber dealer save passing him in the eye? Now they kiss each other. And form a trade association wherein all lumber dealers may get together to crucify the brick men and the stone men. Do you suppose that all these active trade associations which have been springing up like mushrooms in the past few years—the old trade associations never did anything but hold an annual banquet to which each brother brought his own chicken? Do you suppose that they grew from yearnings about co-operation, fraternity and service, as announced, or because something else was kicking them harder than they found time to kick each other? I will not insult the intelligence of the readers by analyzing such a question. Enough that distribution pressure has proved powerful enough to sink the competitive traditions of a hundred years, and build powerful trade associations—themselves on the border line of mergers—for the purpose of grabbing purchasing power away from alternative commodities.

## To Make the Nation Conscious

The third channel Cheney terms "Inter-Industrial Competition." It is the drive of a given industry not only against allied industries—lumber against brick—but against all other industries whatsoever, in order to get a maximum slice of the national income. Here the trade association becomes even more important. Here originate the holy crusades, backed by million-dollar publicity funds, to make America shoe-conscious, silk-conscious, rayon-conscious, sauerkraut-conscious, walnut-conscious, solid-mahogany-conscious, davenport-conscious, butter-and-egg-conscious, halitosis-conscious—all in a desperate attempt to break down sales resistance before the consumer's bank account becomes unconscious.

The fourth channel is Inter-Territorial Competition. The embattled Realtors of Yaptown call on high Heaven to witness the virtues of that enterprising community as against the degenerating Paptown. To which come answering yells and reprisals from the Paptown men of vision. The exchange of pleasantries between, say, California and Florida, comes under this general head. And more than yells and pleasantries are involved by a good deal. This competition actually shifts population, makes and breaks countless businesses, upsets buying habits.

Fifth and finally Cheney calls attention to the growing danger of International Industrial Competition. America is not the only nation with excess plant capacity. The policy of any such nation must be to try and keep its machines turning over by dumping abroad what cannot be absorbed by failing purchasing power at

home. All this leads to lively times, as well as into the subcellars of diplomacy. And when a certain level of liveliness is reached men prepare to make the world safe to diplomacy, or whatever other slogan comes handy.

## Shift Is Away From Production

This, then, is the new competition as outlined by one who ought to know. Whatever liberties I may have taken with his words in order to keep you from sleeping on me, I have taken no liberties with his thesis. It follows more or less relentlessly that such a pandemonium is costly, nerve racking and overstimulating to those engaged in it. They make blind efforts, they make concerted efforts, to get out of it. And these efforts largely take the form of mergers, agreements, understandings, division of territory, spheres of influence, what not. The trade association is one such effort, but as we have seen it only intensified competition from another and wider viewpoint. Let Col. William J. Donovan, assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, summarize the situation:

"The earlier combinations were directed more against the competitor. Attempts were made to secure all the plants in the industry whatever the condition or character, and in that way to limit competition. Today in mergers and combinations, selection of plants is made with regard to strategic location and efficiency of operation. The object of the old type of consolidation was to kill off competition. Today there is more of a spirit of cooperation, and it is sought by agreement to stabilize prices and to allot territory and consumers. So that in the present era of consolidation the consumer has more to fear than has the competitor. The earlier combinations dealt with the basic supplies of industry—raw materials, prime manufacturing. Present day combinations for the most part deal with the immediate necessities of life."

In other words, the shift in mergers is away from production, to processes more in touch with final distribution, more intimately bound up with consumers' goods—bread, chain stores, thermos bottles, electric refrigerators, typewriters, shirts and collars, ice cream, rayon, tobacco.

## Where the Control Lies

But that this drift has by no means broken the control of the older type is evidenced by a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission where it is announced that:

Six companies control one-third American water power. Eight companies control three-fourths anthracite deposits. Thirty companies control one-third immediate bituminous deposits.

Two companies control one-half iron ore deposits. Four companies control one-half copper deposits. Thirty companies control one-eighth petroleum reserves.

What shall be my final speculation covering these newer defenses of capitalism? The fact that obscures itself most forcibly is that despite the growth of mergers, the new competition is still running amuck like a bull in a China shop, and still dominating what one suspects is by far the larger fraction of our industrial life. No merger is safe from at least a part of its devastating influence. The going structure as it stands furnishes, Heaven knows, no defense to the ultimate consumer, but one wonders how much it is strengthening the defenses of capitalism. That here and there an industry, or a Henry Ford, digs in, is not conclusive evidence that all the ramparts are being consolidated.

## Capitalism Flounders Along

My private opinion for whatever it may be worth is that nobody knows where he is going. Capitalism is living from day to day, grabbing all it can get against tomorrow, but with no seasoned philosophy or program of constructive defense, except insofar as it is stubbornly determined to allow nobody else to have a program. Mergers operate to protect a group against certain competitive assaults, but are often completely defenseless against other wider aspects of the new competition. What price a wool merger, for instance, if the cotton and silk industries can manipulate styles in their own direction; or if blind

(Continued on page 7)

# What Labor Banking Strives For

**L**ABOR banking was a topic that aroused much interest at the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy.

J. S. Potofsky, vice-president of the Amalgamated Bank, at the Saturday morning session, gave an outline of the idea and progress of labor banking. His address did not contain much of a controversial nature, being largely a recitation of facts and figures:

As the purpose and philosophy of labor banking, Potofsky gave the following:

"Sidney Hillman, one of the fathers of the movement in this country, in a speech before the Academy of Political Science, summarizes its purpose and philosophy thus: 'Labor's interest in banking is a product of the post-war attitude of organized labor toward the general problems of industry and of political and social life.' . . . Organized labor today, Mr. Hillman says, 'is looking beyond the formula of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. It exhibits a growing tendency to become a constructive and positive force. It is looking for a way to use its economic power to its own advantage. Labor seeks to assume responsibility for management, to obtain greater security for its members, to extend its sphere of influence in all directions, and to receive whatever benefits may come from accepting these responsibilities.' 'This movement,' he further tells us, 'puts large organizations in touch with industry; aims at the acquisition of the knowledge of management by these large groups. It means placing a larger group of people in direct contact with the problem of our complicated social and economic life. It means the introduction of democracy into industry.' 'Warren Stone, who was first to introduce the limited dividend idea as well as the idea of sharing profits with depositors, thinks that in ten years the American working men, by saving and carefully investing their savings, can collectively become one of the dominant financial powers of the world.

This may seem a bit over-enthusiastic. A comparison of the total resources of all labor banks with the resources of the National City Bank, for instance, will disclose the fact that so far labor banks are not a large factor in the financial world. Who, however, knows what the future will tell? The possibilities are vast. All the banks throughout the country have on deposit, exclusive of commercial funds, over ten billion dollars. A substantial portion of these savings are working people's money. When the working people come to the realization of the necessity of marshalling their savings through the channels of labor banks, Warren Stone may prove to be right. And that will be nothing short of a transfer of financial power from Wall Street to labor."

Concerning investment policy, Potofsky said: "The policy of the Amalgamated Bank with respect to loans is conservative, safety being the basic consideration. It has organized an advisory board of business men of many years' experience who assist the officers in passing on commercial loans. The Amalgamated Bank has made every effort to avoid making loans for anti-social purposes and others that it considers non-essential. On the other hand, it has extended loans to credit unions, sound and well-functioning co-operative and other institutions of a social character. The Amalgamated banks have made it a rule not to extend any loans to clothing manufacturers. This is done for the purpose of segregating the union from banking operations."

In adopting such a policy the labor bank is introducing a new code of ethics into the banking business."

"As to dampening the militancy of trade unions," Potofsky continued, "it has often been assumed by some students of the labor movement that the revolutionary spirit of the unions who enter the field of labor banking will tend to become dampened. The prem-

ise for this assumption is largely the unavoidably business-like and conservative administration of the labor banks. There is little merit to this assumption, as may be proved in the case of the Amalgamated. Some of the most aggressive and costly strikes in its history were fought since the inauguration of the bank. If a union is genuinely radical and socially minded there is no reason why the additional strength that comes to it from ownership and control of banks should influence it to be otherwise. It is a matter largely of leadership and strategy. A leader who would subordinate the interests of the membership to the interests of a labor bank would eventually lead himself out of leadership."

In conclusion, Potofsky said: "It is difficult to predict the course of labor banking because it is still in an experimental stage. A great deal will depend upon the leadership and the policies that will be adopted by the labor banks. Guided properly, we may look forward to a sound system of co-operation based on conservative management and inspired with an ideal that will tend to bring about both confidence and inspiration of the large masses in labor control. In itself the movement is a great boon to labor power, an educational process for the diffusion of ideas for a better world. Already the success of labor banks has produced a favorable impression on liberal thinking people."

"Labor has a right to look to the future with much hope. It has made stupendous progress. It has exhibited a social-mindedness that heretofore has been sadly lacking. Its interest in education, co-operative housing, insurance, and banking marks the beginning of a new chapter in American labor history. It is of great significance. It is proof of a new idealism and tendency that will root the unions in the everyday life of the community as no other tendency has so far done. It may prove to be the beginning of the march toward the new social order."

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Getting It In the Neck

THE above headline has really nothing to do with what follows. But my buddy, who runs this great journal, and who, between you and me, ought to be a journeyman hod carrier for all he knows about running a newspaper, insists that there must be just so many words in a headline and no more. Otherwise, I would have called this literary baby: "The Present Stage of Medical Science in the Territory Betwixt the Gulf of Mexico and the Southern Shore of Lake Superior."

Now, a headline like that looks like something. It is extensive, comprehensive, smacks of profound learning and leaves the impression that here at last is something worth reading.

Well, as I was trying to say when that carbuncle of mine about which I told you a month ago developed on my neck, me and my neck were in Louisiana, which is about as far south as a person can go in North America without getting his feet wet. So the three of us formed a committee and called on Medicus No. 1 to get the low down on the situation.

M. D. 1 allowed that a red hot poultice of flaxseed applied externally fifty times during the day and twice as often during the night would make life so infernally hot for both of us that a separation from carbuncle and neck would speedily follow. But as the M. D.'s medicine chest was just out of flaxseed and neither the grocery, hardware or hay and feed stores in town carried flaxseed at this season, I coddled by pet with hot towels and electric light bulbs in the hope that he would head the heat without the seed. The only effect I noticed, however, was an encouraging growth in the size of the carbuncle which filled his soul with still greater ambition.

At this stage of development I was forced to take a journey to a city about 200 miles north in which dwelled a celebrated M. D. of whom it was told that he was a bear on boils and carbuncles.

When I entered the reception room of the aforesaid celebrity, I realized immediately that I had struck the latest in the M. D. line. After waiting an hour or so to get acclimated, a solemn looking female statistician asked me for my name, address, occupation, religion, politics, nationality and previous condition of servitude, which were indexed on a chill and fever card.

Two hours later a ghostly female in the full regalia of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan picked me from the collection of sorrowing humanity scattered over the reception room and escorted me to what I took to be the outer sanctuary of the innermost sanctuary of the famous M. D.

Arrived there, I was motioned into an electric chair with my face turned toward a glass case containing a choice collection of cutlery. Above the cutlery exhibition hung a chart portraying that part of the human body which is left after the doctor and undertaker have taken their share. So, by the time the famous M. D. entered this psychological torture chamber, I was in as hopeful a frame of mind as a fellow standing on the death trap with noose around neck, black cap over face and all wires down between county jail and governor's mansion.

Followed then a confusion of urine test, blood test, tongue gaping, pulse feeling, subdued murmuring between Doc and squad of nurses. Then came the grand exodus of the morgue maidens, and as each one passed, she gave me a look which said plainer than words: "Poor youth, how sad to die so young and so beautiful."

"Your case," announced the M. D. when we were alone at last, "is not necessarily fatal, but serious enough to call for an immediate operation."

"But, Doctor," I expostulated meekly, "is there no other way of putting the kibosh on such a trifling thing as a carbuncle? The doctor in Louisiana advised flaxseed poultice."

"Did he?" replied the M. D. with a dignified sneer, which conclusively placed the Louisiana doctor in the category of astrologers, Indian medicine men and gypsy palm readers. And then he continued in the bantering tone applied at the burial of unknown heroes.

"In the first place, carbuncles are not trifles. On the contrary, they are frequently fatal, resulting often in death and similar inconveniences. In the second place, the therapeutic properties of flaxseed are less than nil. The heat from these poultices may delay the inevitable end, but that is all. At the present stage of medical science, we have ceased temporizing with carbuncles, hence we cut them out. The operation is painless and the cost but trifling."

At the word cut, I regained full consciousness and said, "Doctor," I said, "not changing the subject, but are you in need of a new car?"

"No," he replied, graciously overlooking the irrelevance of the question, "the old bus is as good as new outside of a new set of tires."

"Well," I answered, much relieved, "if it's only a case of casings, you may go ahead with the operation."

On the fatal day of the operation I had walked twelve blocks to the hospital in the delusion that outside of my pet I was in perfect health. But this criminal buoyancy was soon to be taken out of me. Arrived at the hospital, I was put to bed in solitary confinement in the company of a couple of dead saints, which produced deep reveries concerning the futility of life, the high cost of dying, unpaid funeral bills and a leaning tombstone in lonely graveyard. I recovered a little when a rather comely looking nurse took my pulse and temperature, but experienced another sinking spell when she left to make room for a somber sister, who announced that the execution room was ready.

Ah, how brief and fleeting are health and life! Only a short hour ago I had walked twelve blocks on my own hooves, whistling and smoking my old briar as if all eternity was before me, and now a broken invalid in a wheel chair escorted and perambulated by goodness knows how many mourners to the brilliantly illuminated operation room! Then strapped down like a mouse in the last stages of delirium tremens, the wrong end of a funnel over my mouth and then forgetfulness, blessed forgetfulness, without which I surely would have preceded my carbuncle to the hereafter. For, if these kind healers had overlooked one item intended to scare a fellow to death, I failed to notice it. However, my pet was out and out for good, as the smiling surgeons and nurses assured me.

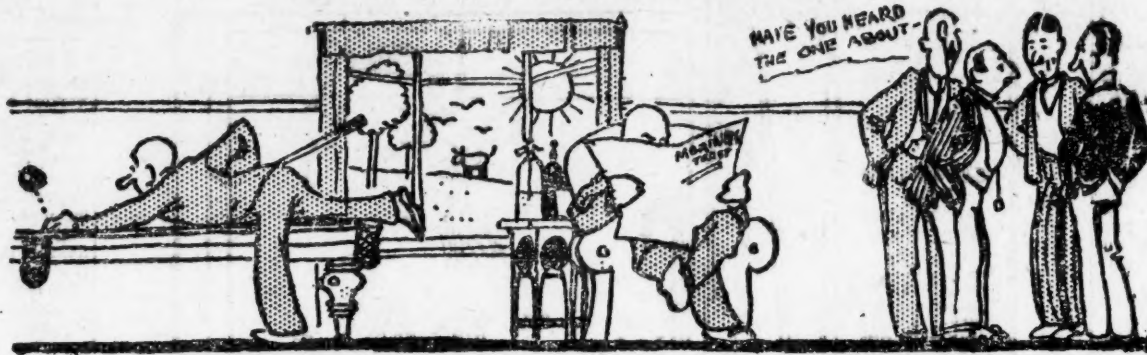
Two days later, I found myself in an M. D. office four hundred miles further north to have the wound dressed, as per painstaking instructions on the part of M. D. No. 2.

"A nice wound," said M. D. No. 3, pocketing my two bucks. "Cut perhaps a little too soon and too deep, but a nice wound just the same."

Three hundred miles still further north M. D. No. 4 expressed the opinion that the operation could easily have been avoided through the persistent application of hot flaxseed poultices. At the same time he consoled me with the statement that the wound was a

(Continued on page 6)

## The Country Club



When the Summer Is at Its Best

## "Revisionism" Summed Up

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

FINALLY, Bernstein believes that the Socialists should use moderation in their attacks on liberalism. Socialism is the legitimate heir of liberalism. Socialists have always stood four square for civil liberties. In fact, "the security of civil freedom has always seemed to it to stand higher than the fulfillment of some economic progress."

"The aim of all Socialist measures, even of those which appear outwardly as coercive measures, is the development and the securing of a free personality." A careful examination of Socialist measures will indicate that the coercion involved in the application of these measures is far less than the liberty which they make possible. Thus the sum total of liberty in society is vastly increased.

"The legal day of a maximum number of hours' work, for example, is actually a fixing of a minimum of freedom, a prohibition to sell freedom longer than for a certain number of hours daily, and, in principle, therefore, stands on the same ground as the prohibition agreed to by all liberals against selling one's self into personal slavery."

There is, in fact, no liberal thought which is not also found in the ideology underlying the Socialist philosophy. Take the question of economic personal responsibility. Without responsibility there is no freedom. A healthy social life is impossible unless the economic personal responsibility of all those capable of work is assumed. The recognition of individual return to society for services rendered or offered him by society. Critics of Socialism have accused Socialists of giving little consideration to responsibility. Indeed, some Socialists have assumed that society under the new order would give an absolute guarantee of employment to all of its members. Under Socialism society would indeed do far more than at present to see that the individual obtained and kept positions suitable to his abilities and tastes.

"But a right to work, in the sense that the state guarantees to everyone occupation in his calling, is quite improbable in a visible time, and also not even desirable. . . . In such great and complicated organisms as our modern civilized states and their industrial centers an absolute right to work would simply result in disorganization."

**Socialism and Freedom**  
Socialism will create no new bondage whatever. The individual is to be free, not in the metaphysical sense of the anarchists—free from all duties toward the community—but free from every economic compulsion in his action and choice. Such freedom is only possible by means of organization. In this sense Socialism may be regarded as organized liberalism, for

"when one examines more closely the organizations that Socialism wants and how it wants them, he will find that what distinguishes them above all from the feudalistic organizations outwardly like them, is just their liberalism, their democratic constitution, their accessibility. If democracy is not to excel centralized absolutism in the breeding of bureaucracies, it must be built up on an elaborately organized self government with a corresponding economic, personal responsibility of all the units of administration as well as of the adult citizens of the state. Nothing is more injurious to its healthy development than enforced uniformity and a too abundant amount of protectionism and subventionism."

Both Marx and Proudhon agreed, declares Bernstein, in this, that they favored decentralization and federalism in their new social order, a democratic organization from the bottom up. Thus here they meet again in liberalism.

The growth of liberalism, Bernstein believes, makes possible a peaceful transition not to be attained in former days. "Feudalism, with its unbending organizations and corporations, had to be destroyed nearly everywhere by violence. The liberal organizations of modern society are distinguished from those exactly because they are flexible and capable of change and development. They do not need to be destroyed, but only to be further developed. For that we need organization and energetic action, but not necessarily a revolutionary dictatorship."

### Immediate Tasks

Bernstein then gives his attention to the immediate tasks before the social democracy—the task of working out a peasants' program, of encouraging co-operation and municipal ownership, of formulating a foreign policy, of removing the existing class franchise, of "emancipating itself from a phraseology which is actually outworn," and of making up its mind to appear as what it is in reality today, "a democratic Socialist party of reform," "a party that strives after the Socialist transformation of so-

cety by the means of democratic and economic reform."

In conclusion he warns the party that a theory that does not permit a movement to give its consideration at every stage of development to the actual interests of the working classes will always be cast aside.

In Marx's writings he finds a dualism, resulting from the fact that his works aim both at scientific inquiry and at a proof of a theory laid down long before the inquiry is started. There is, he contends, a real residue of Utopianism in the Marxian system. Nowhere in the writings of Marx do we find a systematic investigation of what may be expected from legal, and what from violent, revolutionary action. In general it may be said that the violent method is quicker, insofar as it deals with the removal of obstacles which the privileged minority places in the path of social progress; that the strength of this method lies on the negative side.

Constitutional legislation, on the other hand, works more slowly in this respect. Its path is a path of compromise. "But it offers greater advantages where it is a question of the creation of permanent economic arrangements capable of lasting; in other words, it is best adapted to positive social-political work."

"In legislation intellect dominates over emotion in quiet times; during a revolution, emotion dominates over intellect. But if emotion is often an imperfect leader the intellect is a slow motive force. Where the revolution sins by overhaste, the every day legislation sins by procrastination. Legislation works as a systematic force, revolution as an elementary force."

"As soon as the nation has attained a position where the rights of the propertyless minority have ceased to be a serious obstacle to social progress, where the negative tasks of political action are less pressing than the positive, then the appeal to a revolution by force becomes a meaningless phrase."

In conclusion Bernstein makes a plea for thinkers in the Socialist movement who base their principles on ascertained facts, not on dogmas handed down to them from above.

"Today the movement needs, in ad-

dition to the fighting spirit, the coordinating and constructive thinkers who are intellectually enough advanced to be able to separate the chaff from the wheat, who are great enough in their mode of thinking to recognize also the little plant that has grown on another soil than theirs, and who, perhaps, though not kings, are warm hearted republicans in the domain of Socialist thought."

### Summary

Bernstein, therefore, suggests a revision of Marxian doctrines at many points, although many of his criticisms are directed against the crude statements of Marxian principles, rather than against their more mature elaboration. He criticizes the exclusive emphasis laid by some Socialists on the economic factor in history. He maintains that, while, surplus value exists as an empirical fact, the Marxian doctrine of surplus value is an abstraction. He maintains that Marx was wrong in holding that the middle class was decreasing and that the lot of the workers was becoming ever more miserable. Industrial combinations, he asserts, have not developed in a uniform fashion in the various industries and in agriculture concentration in the generally accepted sense of that word has hardly taken place at all. Economic crises there are, but they give no indication of leading to the world catastrophes which Marxists predict, although cataclysms due to political events are at any time possible.

Bernstein also puts his hope in the evolutionary processes of democracy. He sees socialism as the logical carrying out of certain liberal principles, and puts much faith in the efficacy of the co-operative and trade union movements as means of progress. He agrees with the social democrats of his day in most of the immediate demands contained in their program, and for which they so ardently work, although he insists that a number of these immediate demands are likely to ward off the cataclysm which many Socialists regard as the necessary forerunner of an industrial revolution. Therefore, he insists, there is a certain inconsistency between the declaration of principles in the Erfurt Program and the demands for social reform which follow this statement. However, Bernstein's criticisms of Marx in no way interfere with his support of the social democratic movement, but merely lead him to the belief that tactics proposed by Marx for the attainment of a co-operative commonwealth, during the early days, should be changed to meet the realities of the situation.

Though many of Bernstein's contentions have been vigorously assailed by Marxists under the leadership of Kautsky, they have had quite a profound influence on the movement and it must be admitted that many of the prominent social democrats of pre-war days who still officially proclaimed their belief in the Marxian formulas, acted in their way-to-day agitation for practical, peaceful, measures of social reform as though they had accepted in essence the teachings of the Revisionist School.

## Rand School Announces Fall Courses

THE June-July issue of The Labor Student carries preliminary announcements of the Rand School's plans for the coming fall season.

There will be classes in English, as usual. Mrs. Beatrice Becker will conduct a course in correction of accent; David P. Berenberg, in composition and literary criticism; August Claessens, in public speaking; Algernon Lee, in the history of civilization; Berenberg, in modern world history; Berenberg, in American Socialist history; Marjorie Hansome, in data of sociology; Handsome, in problems of sociology; Joseph M. Osman, in psychology of personality; Lee, in descriptive economics; Lee, in economic theory and problems. There will also be courses in fundamentals of Socialism and trade unionism and labor problems. Professor Brissenden, Claessens, Nathan Fine, Morris Hilquit, David J. Saposs, Roy E. Stryker and others will co-operate in the latter course. Special classes for young Socialists will deal with social theory and movements and problems of the youth movement.

Popular lecture course will be given by Professor Henry E. Crampton on "The Evolution of Life"; by Professor Samuel C. Schucker on "Man's Growth Into Humanity"; Claessens on "Elements of Social Progress"; Claessens on the "Sociology of Prejudice"; V. F. Calverton on "Contemporary Writers and Social Thought"; Leo E. Salda on "Main Tendencies in Modern Literature."

As she had progressed in the narrative, Agatha became more impersonal—an impersonal fury, lovely and relentless.

"Uncle Gaylard, of course, took care of us two after that. I was about 12 at that time, and when I had finished high school he proposed to send me to Vassar, with the provision that I come and live with him afterwards. He and Aunt Susie did not have children, you know. . . . Father was furious. I'll never forget that day." She tried to laugh. "Father enjoyed a scene. He got us all into the tiny living-room at home and demanded that I choose between him and Gaylard. But first he called uncle everything he could find in his extensive vocabulary—vile names, like 'grafter' and 'lackey to the idle rich.' He seemed to feel that Uncle Gaylard was responsible for all his misfortunes; that he himself had been mistreated, and had never been given a chance. Oh, it was humiliating and terrible."

She had paused here to master memories that seemed too harsh to bear. "When I told father simply that it seemed best for all of us that I accept Uncle Gaylard's proposal, he grew melodramatic, ordered me out of the house, and disinherited me—not that I could see anything to inherit. . . . Well, since then I have seen mother once a week downtown; but father, never. . . . He has moved his shop again, I understand, to the house, the house you were about to rent. Uncle Gaylard keeps them, I guess."

She had ended in shame, tears softening her eyes. Together they had sat in silence, wonderingly. How amazing was the spectacle of their lives stretching backwards in perplexing webs of chance and motive!

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## A Company Union and You

(As sung to the Volsteadian tune of "A Cup of Coffee, a Sandwich and You.")

"WHEN we bosses gather to confer,  
All we think about is how can we  
Make our workers happier  
In our jolly, home-like factory.  
-Here's a little plan  
We're certain can  
Help each working man.  
Chorus

We've got a union all ready for you-o-o,  
Why bother building another anew?  
Why start to worry and fret and stew?  
When we're so eager to give you your due?  
We know your wants are simple and few—  
We'd like to help you cut them in two;  
Here's how to make all your dreams come true  
The company union's all ready for you."

When Gertrude Weil Klein sang that at the now historic League for Industrial Democracy Conference at Tamiment, it was the hit of the evening. As a matter of fact Gertrude is always the star performer at L. I. D. shows and just why our leading impresarios have overlooked her is a mystery to us.

But we've printed the song here, not to give Gertrude a boost that she doesn't need but to suggest that it be made the official marching song of the New York Interborough Subway. And for that matter the Standard Oil, the General Electric and all the other concerns that have doped out this new way of fooling their help.

If we had enough money we would get out a circular to all labor and liberal organizations warning them against John J. Leary, Jr., the so-called "labor reporter" of The New York World. To put it bluntly but truly, Mr. Leary is an enemy of labor, a snake in the grass and a first-class, all-around trickster. He was largely responsible for the volte face of the New York Central Trades Council on the eve of the last Presidential election when that organization brazenly repudiated its endorsement of La Follette and came out for Davis. Pretending to be a great friend of the coal miners and boot-licking their leaders, he wrote viciously against them during the last anthracite strike. Now he is busy trying to prove that the subway strike is a failure. A short time ago he violated all newspaper ethics by printing a confidential talk that he had with Weisbord, the leader of the Passaic strike.

Have nothing to do with this bird, brothers. It is irony indeed that a paper which prides itself on its "liberalism" should keep such a labor-baiter on its staff.

The King of England and the Queen with her umbrella of course, were inspecting some cheeses at a fair. Said the King a bit wistfully, "I like cheeses." Said the Queen tartly, "I do not like cheeses, they are full of little animals. I prefer cheddar."

And judging from the pictures we have seen of the Queen we take it that cheddar will be served in place of cheese at Buckingham Palace.

Oscar Ameringer says that he was all worried about reading an account of an auto accident which befell the Prince of Wales. One of his tires blew out and he narrowly averted going into the ditch. "Unser Gott," exclaimed Oscar, "I thought that now the Prince had fallen out of his limousine."

We are about to go on a canoe trip with Charlie Boni and Al Leeds to shoot rapids. We have never shot any rapids and we are all thrilled at the prospect. When we shoot one we will have our picture taken with one foot placed on the back of a prostrate rapid to be printed in the rotos under the caption, "M. Coleman With Wild Rapid Which He Shot in Desperate Struggle."

Next time we see you boys and girls we will be all brown and bearded like the guy in Sinclair Lewis's "Mantrap," which despite Calverton, we still insist is a grand book.

McAlister Coleman.

### The Call

I'm goin' down to the seas again, where the air is strong as wine;  
I'm goin' soon when the Spring arrives an' the lever grips the spine;  
I'm goin' down to the same black hole with the same black gang to sweat—  
For the land is accursed with poverty that I would fain forget.  
I'm goin' back to a fo'c'sle dim, where a man at least can swear;  
I'm goin' to sweat for a wealthy guy who sits in an office chair;  
I'm goin' to toil that a human crab may loaf in a limousine,  
While I ooze sweat with my lips pressed tight on a wad o' nicotine.  
I'm glad if you've liked my bits o' rhymes—they're ready an' rough an' plain.  
I ain't one o' them highbrow bards; an' at times I'm most profane.  
My singin's poor an' it's out o' tune, but you won't mind that, maybe—  
So, I wish you well 'ere I answer to the callin' o' the sea.  
—Michael Delaney.

### A Farm Girl's Prayer

O, God, I will be good, so good—I swear  
You will not recognize me after it.  
Will milk the cows, and scrub, and darn, and knit;  
Will never dance; will never bob my hair;  
Will wear my larger shoes and longer skirts;  
Will never speak to Tom and make him think I kidded him and never cared a wink—  
And, God! If you just knew the way this hurts!  
Yes, I will marry Jackson, build a nest  
For little ones, and none will guess I grieve  
Except at times my apron or my sleeve:  
Will do as you and they agree is best—  
But, God, why should you all the time agree  
With Pa and Ma, and never once with me?"  
—Israel Newman.

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week)

"Drive me," she had commanded, "out yonder to the country." In silence they had driven, and did not speak of what was important to them until they had found a road they knew and liked, a tree-lined, unfrequented lane by the river. Here she told him.

"Papa and mamma live in that house."

Her pain had gone; the old defiance had appeared in her voice. She waited as if for him to grow used to the perplexing thought.

"Now don't judge me, Daniel, until you hear me out—"

"You don't know father," she continued, her mouth hard, her voice velvety. "One of those soft men who defend their softness with the hardness of hard men. Oh, so shiftless. After he had run through mother's money on silly ventures, and started his book-store, he ruined the little business that he got with his tongue. Mountains of talk on every conceivable subject—

theosophy, birth control, socialism, vegetarianism, Voodooism, every-ism. He is a collector of "isms." He has a

high, shrill, insistent voice, stubborn intellectual pride, and a hasty critical sense that make him the ideal disputant.

"I have seen him stand for hours trying to beat down a customer's opinions with his own, while other customers waited to buy books. When I was scarcely out of pinafores, I used to run about the store trying to make up for his deficiencies, and many a time I have come home, gone upstairs, and cried myself to sleep because my papa had such bad manners. . . ."

She paused to ruminate. Her smile was ironic. "I was more a Gaylard than a Morre-son, I guess," she had continued, quieter now, plunged into a sea of bitter memories. "It's strange where the ideas that fill children's heads come from. Dan. As far back as I can remember, I thought of myself as a grand lady; and father was so indifferent to clothes. All he cared about was books and his pet ideas. Well, we got poorer. He moved his store from one location to another, until it came to occupy a dingy hole on Washington Street. Here he sat and spun his theories, and left mother and me to starve. . . ."

As she had progressed in the narrative, Agatha became more impersonal—an impersonal fury, lovely and relentless.

"Uncle Gaylard, of course, took care of us two after that. I was about 12 at that time, and when I had finished high school he proposed to send me to Vassar, with the provision that I come and live with him afterwards. He and Aunt Susie did not have children, you know. . . . Father was furious. I'll never forget that day." She tried to laugh. "Father enjoyed a scene. He got us all into the tiny living-room at home and demanded that I choose between him and Gaylard. But first he called uncle everything he could find in his extensive vocabulary—vile names, like 'grafter' and 'lackey to the idle rich.' He seemed to feel that Uncle Gaylard was responsible for all his misfortunes; that he himself had been mistreated, and had never been given a chance. Oh, it was humiliating and terrible."

She had paused here to master memories that seemed too harsh to bear. "When I told father simply that it seemed best for all of us that I accept Uncle Gaylard's proposal, he grew



## Subway Construction Men To Call One-Day Stoppage; 2,000 Sign Up With Union

### The Field of Labor

**A** SHOCK is due the New York subway contractors within two weeks or so, when they find that the workers engaged in building the new tubes will cease work for a full twenty-four hours. This was decided at a mass meeting of the Subway Construction Workers' Union held Thursday evening, July 1, 1926. The Executive Board meeting on July 6 made detailed plans to execute this move.

The subways that are now being built in New York City, or will in the near future, will entail an expenditure of perhaps a half billion dollars. The construction is let out to contractors in sections, of which there are now about thirty. According to the law on the statute books, the workmen on this public work, as on all others, are supposed to receive the prevailing or union rate of wages. As was pointed out in The New Leader of June 24, 1926, this is not the case on the subway construction work in the great metropolis. The law is defied and will have to pass thru the gamut of the courts before its constitutionality can be finally determined.

Meanwhile contractors have brought in workers, chiefly foreign-born. A large proportion are Italians, but there are many Negroes, Spanish and other nationalities. There exists a veritable Tower of Babel. The employers have found it easy to keep wages down.

Then, the Italian Chamber of Labor took a hand in the situation. Leonardo Frisina, one of its organizers, was put in charge of the work. He placed notices in the Italian papers announcing a mass meeting at the Italian Labor Center. The date was May 14, 1926. When the evening of the meeting arrived the hall was sardined with subway construction workers. Frisina could barely find room enough to stand up to deliver his message of unionism.

Since then about a half dozen meetings have been held in all. The workers have kept flocking. To join the union they have been required to pay an initiation fee of five dollars—on the installment plan, if they pleased. Large as this sum has been to most of them, it has not been so detrimental. So the work has progressed. Within a month of the first meeting an organizer, Oscar Mazzitelli, had to be brought in. An Executive Board was organized from among the men. Frank A. Lewis and Ernest Chermetz were asked to become delegates to deal with the contractors when the moment for negotiations arrived. Organization was based upon the section of the subway and the gang of workers as units. Two thousand workers have already joined the union. They make up about 80 per cent. of the total semi-skilled employed. And new members are ever coming. A more enthusiastic lot the writer has seldom seen.

At the July 1 mass meeting several important steps were taken. A set of

demands was adopted demanding (1) union recognition, (2) a forty-four-hour week, time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays and Sundays, and (3) a wage scale, increasing the lowest rate of 50 cents per hour to 75 cents and the highest, 85 cents, to one dollar an hour. At the same time it was decided that hereafter admission to meetings will only be by union cards, which could be secured upon payment of five dollars initiation fee and three dollars for a quarter of a year's dues. The proposal to call a twenty-four-hour stoppage of work for the purpose of permitting the day and night shifts to ratify these demands simultaneously and of showing the union's strength met with a rousing reception. Thus the Subway Construction Workers' Union has become a full-grown organization.

### THE REVOLUTION IN THE AMALGAMATED PRESS

It may now be publicly stated that beginning with July 2 the Advance, the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, will begin to carry a number of pages of text in Polish, Russian, Bohemian and Lithuanian. At the same time the separate organs of these respective language groups will be abolished. A member will be able to ask for any edition of the Advance he pleases, including the all English, The Yiddish and the Italian papers. The Yiddish and the Italian papers are not affected by these mergers.

This reorganization of the Amalgamated press is not done as an economy measure. The cost will be the same, if not more, and the foreign language reader will actually receive more rendering matter in his own tongue than before. It is simply a recognition by the Amalgamated of changing conditions within the union. Little by little, English has been advancing as the language of its members. Not only have many persons of the second generation entered the trade, but even the foreign-born have been turning more and more to English as their vehicle of speech. The immigration restriction law has, of course, had its influence. Besides, it is desired to bridge the gulf between the foreign-language speaking members and their children at home who are subjected to the anti-labor propaganda of the schools and daily press. The Amalgamated, as usual, sees the future and is guided accordingly.

### THE TEACHERS' UNION TURNS THE CORNER

The tenth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers at New York City will no doubt be looked upon in the future as a turning point in the history of that union. Matters had been coming to a head for the last few years. In 1925 the only paid officer, the secretary-treasurer, Charles G. Stockert, had stated in his annual report that he would not be offended if another person were to replace him. He realized that the Federation might demand new blood in its officials. This year criticism against him had become quite severe. He was thought to have been not active enough, to have neglected to capitalize the trade union affiliations of the union and to have done little to increase the membership. In the elections at the convention he was, therefore, replaced by Mrs. Florence C. Hanson of Chicago.

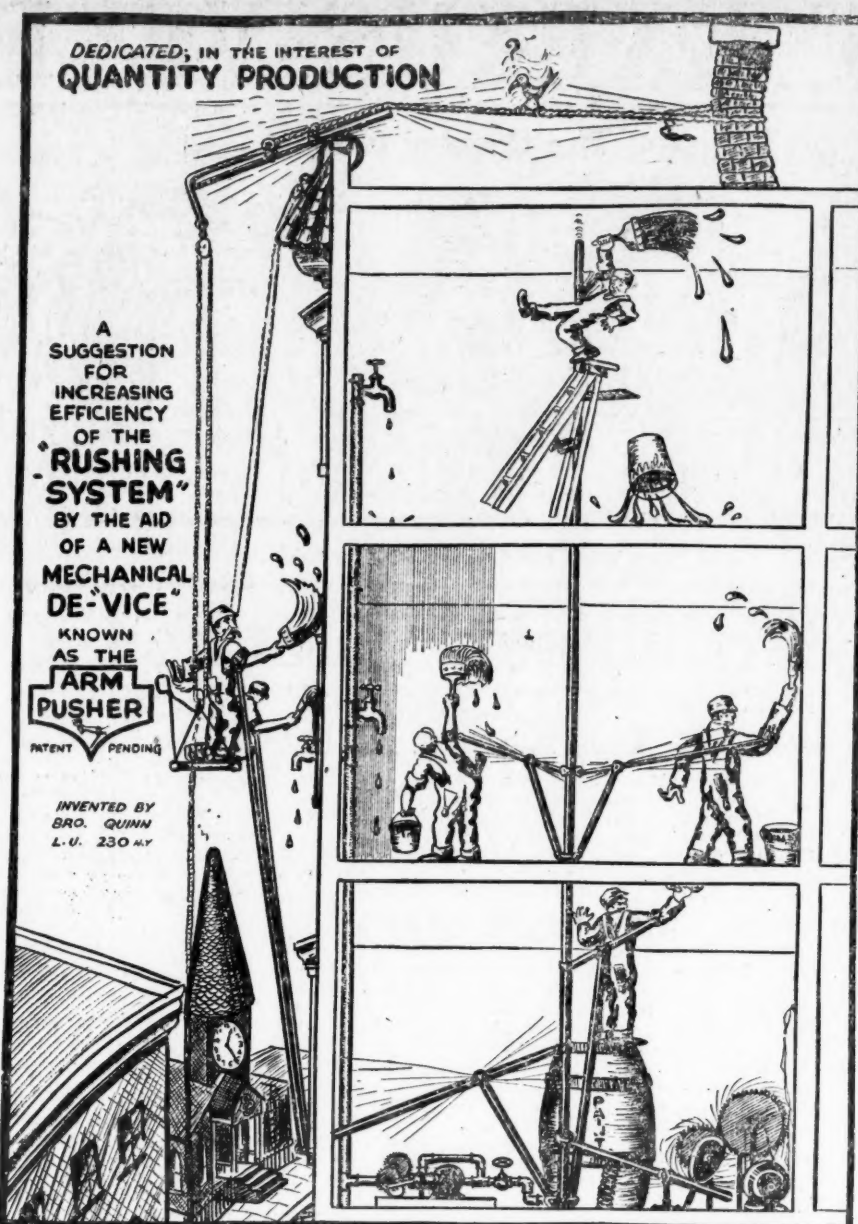
The delegates also adopted some important organization measures. Standing committees with nuclei in various cities were created to work out recommendations for the Executive Committee to consider and carry out. The Committee on Promotion and Organization was authorized to draw up an order of business for next year's convention to eliminate floundering about in the future. A campaign to raise \$25,000 was also approved. The American Fund for Public Service (the Garland Fund) will be appealed to for support. This suggestion came from none other than Delegate Scott Nearing, a member of the fund who is noted for his extreme care in appropriating money. The delegates were duly grateful for his proposal. Finally, closer co-operation with organized labor was agreed to. The next few years ought to bring interesting changes in the American Federation of Teachers.

### LABOR LEADERS ENTER BUSINESS

The announcement that a group of union leaders in conjunction with some business men have bought out G. L. Miller & Company, a concern specializing in investments in first mortgages, may have increased the respect of capitalists for organized labor but it is doubtful whether the latter has anything to be jubilant about. It is made clear that the individuals concerned are acting entirely in their private capacities. So much the worse. Their action is reprehensible. If labor banking results in training union officials to become bankers or financiers, then it ought to be condemned. It is one thing to learn the intricacies of

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### Introducing the Arm-Pusher



Brother Quinn of Local Union 230, N. Y., the Brotherhood of Painters, has supplied the following suggestion to bosses who are sitting up nights worrying how they can get the painters to rush their work even more.

### NORWEGIAN WORKERS ACCEPT COMPROMISE

The wage conflict in Norway, involving about 30,000 workers, or about 80 per cent. of the total trade union membership, which began on April 24, when the employers locked out their men for having refused to accept a wage reduction, came to an end on June 9, when both employers and unionists agreed to the proposals of the State Arbitration Court.

The cause of the struggle was a demand by the employers for reductions in piece rates of from 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. and an average reduction of 25 per cent. in the wages of other workers. The demand was made on the occasion of the expiration of wage agreements, and was based on the appreciation of Norwegian currency and the fall in the cost of living. The employers also put forward a demand for holidays to be cut down. Finally, the State Arbitration Court intervened and gave an award which left holidays and hours of work unchanged, but proposed the following wage reductions: In the mining industry, 14 per cent.; in the building trade, 12 to 13 per cent.; textile, 17 per cent.; metal trades, 17 per cent.; and boot and shoe trades, 17 per cent. This award the members of the trade unions concerned rejected by a large majority, chiefly on account of the proposed re-assessment of wages on the basis of new index figures to be published in August of this year (which would mean another reduction in wages). The consequence was the lockout.

Under the new proposal submitted by the Arbitration Court the wage cuts will range from 12 to 18 per cent., but the provision for a readjustment in August is omitted and the agreements are to run until next February. No changes have been made in holidays and hours of labor.

God, what a world!—if men, in street and mart,  
Felt the same kinship of the human heart  
Which makes them, in the time of flame and food,  
Rise to the meaning of true brotherhood.  
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

modern business and prove that any bricklayer or garment worker can comprehend its mysteries. It is another matter when this experience is used to undertake exploitation according to the rules of the capitalist system. We are all wedded to modern industrialism but a line can be drawn somewhere.—L. S.

### Getting It in the Neck

(Continued from page 5)  
remarkably nice wound, thus corroborating M. D. No. 3.  
Nearing Lake Superior a few days later, M. D. No. 5 broke the sad news to me that while the wound was a very nice wound indeed, there was not enough of it. In consequence whereof a direct descendant of carbuncle I had settled down to housekeeping and was raising a large family an inch below the former habitation of his illustrious sire, and that the only possible remedy at the present stage of medical science, was a better and bigger excavation on my neck.  
Not willing to undergo the ordeal of another mental preparation for an operation, and too patriotic to spend American dollars with Canadian M. D.'s, I wended my weary steps toward the Gulf of Mexico,

### "Story of the Painters' Union" To Be Concluded Next Week

"The Story of the Painters' Union," which has attracted so much attention in labor circles, and in the Painters' Union in particular, will be completed next week in The New Leader with an article dealing with recent developments on a national scale in the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.  
The Painters' Union article is the first of a series telling in simple terms the story of the rise of each of the great American labor unions. Following completion of the series on the painters, The New Leader will begin to tell the inspiring story of the growth of the International Typographical Union.  
No union man should miss it.

### Porto Ricans Alarmed at Wood Scheme

Washington.—Antonio Barcelo, political boss of Porto Rico and president of its senate, has arrived in Washington, breathing defiance of the Coolidge administration's scheme, hatched by Gen. Leonard Wood, for broadening the powers of the American appointive auditors for both the Philippines and Porto Rico. Barcelo realizes that control of expenditures means control of the government policies. He demands that American business interests, with whom he has been in close alliance in Porto Rico, kill this measure. He demands further that they have Congress grant to Porto Rico the right to elect her own governor. If that bill is passed he anticipates election for himself.

Santiago Iglesias, head of the Socialist party in the island, invited by Barcelo to join the delegation in its demands, has asked his chief opponent what interest the workers in Porto Rico have in this struggle between their native and foreign exploiters. He asks Barcelo to join him in getting an investigation of wages and poverty in Porto Rico, as a basis for improving the condition of the masses.

### U. S. Corporations Grab Honduras Land

Information has reached the Pan-American Federation of Labor Office, through organized labor of the Republic of Honduras, protesting against certain American corporations' activities in connection with representatives of the dominant political parties of the country. The obtaining of illegal concessions of great lots of land without the consent of the people of Honduras is charged.

The information states that a tremendous manipulation of an imperialistic character dominates the activities of Honduras on a commercial and economic basis, and as a result misery and oppression are being imposed on the masses of the people.

They accuse the financial authorities of Wall Street of being behind these enterprises. Fortunately, the information says, the Cuyamel Fruit Company has been aware of the situation and the excitement that prevails among the population of Honduras, and has suspended for the time being the taking of more land, owing to the prevailing situation. Some other companies, the statement says, are taking advantage of the political situation to get great portions of land without the consent of the people.

It is Labor which produces everything, all the riches, all the splendor, all the wealth. Nothing has any value until turned over by the hand of Labor. Everything is begun by the hand of Labor, and is finished by the hand of Labor. Labor has produced all the wealth of the world.—American Steel Magnate Charles M. Schwab.

The world is naturally averse  
To all the truth it sees or hears,  
But swallows nonsense and a lie  
With greediness and gluttony.  
—Butler.

Men's discontent dig the channels of  
their progress.—Dr. Albion W. Small.

No laws are binding on the human  
subject which assault the body or  
violate the conscience.—Blackstone.

It can only be with the ending of  
the commercial and military classes as  
classes that peace can come to the  
world.—Edward Carpenter.

Countries continue to profess friend-  
ship for each other, and to pour out  
money in getting ready to smash those  
friendships.—J. R. Clynes, M.P.

once more attended by a faithful retinue of carbuncles.

Our relations are more friendly now. Perhaps in the course of time we may even learn to love each other. We even may become inseparable until naught but death will us part. But I have still one consolation. If at the present stage of medical science, I might have had blind staggers by the time I reached St. Louis, and hydrophobia as I neared Lake Superior. As it is, I am no worse off than when I started.  
Moreover, my carbuncle has brought a shower of inner tubes, castings and Ford parts into the homes of hundreds of poor but deserving M. D.'s. I could not buy automobiles for all of them, but I did my best, and the good deeds a man has done to the M. D.'s lives long after the M. D.'s are through with him.  
Adam Coaldigger.

## Swiss Planning Bank; Emigration Discussed; Wu Wars On China Labor

### Labor Doings Abroad

Swiss labor will soon have a bank of its own, in line with the organized workers of the United States and several European countries.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, reported in the Berner Tagwacht of June 7, the progress being made toward establishing a labor bank was noted as satisfactory, and it looks as if, when the national convention opens in Neuenburg next October, the delegates will find everything ready for the launching of the financial institution. A report by the party's treasurer showed that the membership was increasing at a good pace.

Taking up the question of control of the liquor traffic, the Executive Committee adopted a resolution calling for a revision of the liquor laws in the interest of the people's health and the support of social legislation, such as old age, widows, and invalids, pensions. Home distilling is to be combated, the interests of the consumers of fruit are to be defended, and the net state income from the liquor business is to go to the social insurance funds.

The Executive Committee unanimously censured Deputies Koller and Oprecht, members of the Alcohol Commission of the National Council, for having come out with a decidedly unsatisfactory minority plan of their own without having consulted with the party officials or with the other Socialists in the National Council.

### GENEVA SUGGESTS PLAN TO HANDLE EMIGRANTS

The net results of the Eighth session of the International Conference of the Labor Organization of the League of Nations, held in Geneva from May 26 to June 5, are summed up by the International Labor Office as follows:

By 72 votes to 35, the Conference adopted a draft convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship. This convention is based on the principle that the official inspection carried out on board an emigrant vessel for the protection of emigrants shall be undertaken by not more than one government—as a rule, that of the country whose flag the vessel flies—in order that the present duplication and overlapping may be avoided.

By 89 votes to 19, the Conference adopted a recommendation concerning the protection of emigrant women and girls on board ship. This recommendation provides for the appointment of properly qualified women conductresses to give to women and girl emigrants while at sea any material or moral assistance they may need.

By 75 votes to 19, the Conference adopted a resolution in favor of the carrying of an interpreter on any emigrant vessel carrying at least 50 emigrants speaking a language not that of the country under whose flag the vessel sails.

By 66 votes to 33, the Conference adopted a resolution in favor of the appointment of a committee of experts to examine the annual reports from governments, under Article 468 of the Peace Treaty, on the application of conventions ratified by them, with a view to facilitating the scrutiny of the reports by a committee set up by the ensuing session of the Conference.

By a unanimous vote, the Conference adopted an amendment to its standing orders designed to enable all delegates who so desire to take part in the discussions of committees of the Conference. The Conference also adopted unanimously a number of amendments to the standing orders intended to substitute a "double discussion" procedure for the scheme of first and second readings which had been applied experimentally to proposed conventions and recommendations at the two preceding sessions.

The Conference further adopted resolutions concerning native labor, the scientific organization of industry, unemployment, the hours convention, and the establishment of a correspondence office in India.

It must be remembered that the suggestions of the International Labor Conferences must be ratified by the various governments concerned before they are of any practical value.

### WU-PEI-FU WAGES WAR UPON CHINESE UNIONS

Directly after the recent victories of General Wu-Pei-Fu and his ally, Chang-Tao-Lin, over the so-called Government of China and the halting of the advance of the forces of the National Army under General Feng's subordinates, General Wu has, according to a statement by the new director of the Peking-Hankow Railroad, ordered the suppression of the railroad men's unions.

At a recent meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce in Hankow (Wu-Pei-Fu's headquarters), when the question of assistance was discussed, the chairman quite frankly stated his intention of giving open support to Wu, and the British Cigarette Company arranged a loan of 4,000,000 Mexican dollars. In order to show his gratitude and to give these generous foreign capitalists the most favorable opportunity of compensating themselves by the unfettered exploitation of the workers, Wu-Pei-Fu now obliges by suppressing the labor movement.

### ANOTHER LABOR CHIEF GONE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Another severe loss has been sustained by the workers of Czechoslovakia. Following the death on May 26 of Anton Nemec, the veteran Czech Socialist and labor leader, came the untimely passing on June 3 of Oswald Hillebrand, one of the most popular and militant leaders of the German-speaking workers. Hillebrand's funeral in Karlsbad was the occasion of the greatest demonstration of sorrow and affection ever recorded in that city. More than 25,000 workers marched in the procession, and tens of thousands of others lined the streets. Addresses were made by representatives of the German and Czechoslovak Socialist and labor organizations and of the Socialist and Labor International.

Oswald Hillebrand was born on August 7, 1879, in Hotzenplotz, in Silesia, the son of a stonemason. As a young man he became party secretary in Silesia, where he won much attention on account of his brilliant eloquence. In 1905 he became editor of "Volkswille" and branch secretary in Karlsbad. Under Hillebrand's direction the "Volkswille" became a great daily in West Bohemia. In 1907 he was elected to the newly-founded National Party Executive in Bohemia, and four years later entered parliament. In 1920 he entered the Czech Parliament, and later was elected first vice-president of the German Socialists in Czechoslovakia. His last illness began in the autumn of 1923, but he persisted unflinchingly in his work until compelled to withdraw in March, 1926.

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# The New Leader Mail Bag

Questions for Mr. Hibben  
Editor The New Leader:

I am curious to know what sort of a man is Captain Paxton Hibben, because yesterday, at the Conference of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, held at Concord, Mass., this man made statements in a public address which puzzled me.

Said he, among many other things: 1. The Russians have found the only way to stop war, namely stop fighting. In the late unpleasantness they decided to end the war by ceasing to fight. So they stuck their guns in the ground, put their hands in their pockets and went home. (If my memory serves me correctly, the Bolsheviks had actually asked the Allies for trained officers to lead their armies in the war against Germany, and failing to get any assistance from the Allies, they gave up out of sheer inability to go on. Am I correct? Yes—Editor.

2. The reason that the Soviet Government is training an army of 400,000 is to educate them. (When asked by a man in the audience whether the Soviet Government couldn't find some better way of educating her men Mr. Hibben merely said "Yes.")

3. The reason the Soviet Government put Socialists in jail is that the Socialists co-operated with the white armies when the latter invaded Russia. (Is my memory serving me correctly when I seem to remember that during the invasion of the white armies under Czarist generals the Socialists, as well as other elements in Russia, united with the Bolsheviks in driving out the invaders? Yes, the Socialists fought in the Soviet armies—Editor.

(What is the real reason, as stated by the Communists themselves, for the imprisonment of the Socialists in Russia?) Their desire to rule all sections of the working class—Editor.

4. The Communists of Russia do not and never did believe in or advocate revolution by violence. (According to Mr. Paxton Hibben these Communists are the most peaceful and peaceable people on earth, believing only in peaceable methods for accomplishing their ends, unless driven by their opponents to violence. But if my memory is correct again, in New York City, just before they split away from the Socialists, they issued a left wing manifesto in which they openly and definitely advocated insurrection and civil war. Am I correct as to this?) You are right—Editor.

5. The Communist rule in Russia is not an autocracy at all. The rulers of Russia are elected, and although there is only one party, namely the Communist Party, in Russia, yet others, not Communists, may be elected. However, the non-Communists who are elected to office invariably become Communists, because they find they can work better that way. Mr. Hibben went to some lengths to explain that the method of elections in Russia is quite democratic and representative of the will of the workers.

6. The Russians had never advocated a world revolution. They had merely hoped for one, but they have now abandoned that hope. (It seems to me that one of the reasons for the split in the Socialist Party is because the Socialists insisted that the attempt at a world revolution which the Communists were aiming for at that time was most absurd and impossible, for which the Socialists were termed "yellow," "reformists" and "counter-revolutionists." Am I correct? You are—Editor.

7. Lenin, according to Hibben, had always pointed out that revolutions must come out of the conditions indigenous to the country involved, and thus it was absurd for the Communists to have advocated world revolution. (Thus said Paxton, but if this is so, will you then tell me, dear Editor, what was the row about between the Socialists and their former comrades, the present Communists? Ask the Lefts, they know—Editor.

8. The Cheka served as an agency only for ferreting out the grafters (Mr. Hibben said not a word about the thousands of others who were spied upon and shot through efforts of the Cheka merely because of dissenting political views and utterances.) Lastly, I would like to ask for my own enlightenment and information:

If the Communists have now begun to see the light, that is, if, according to Paxton Hibben, the Communists do not advocate a world revolution by violence, insurrection, civil war, coups d'etat, etc., etc., if they believe that the world revolution will come about through different methods and at different times in the various countries according to the conditions peculiar to those countries; if Socialists in Russia were killed, jailed and exiled for no other reason than co-operation with the Czarists and white army (which is certainly not true of the Socialists of the rest of the world), then why did the split take place in the International Socialists movement and why is that split still maintained to the present moment? In other words, if the Communists have changed their former tactics, if they now realize their mistakes, the very mistakes which the Socialists pointed out to them in the first place, and are now making "strategic retreats," why don't they confess like intelligent, decent, human beings that they were wrong, that the Socialists were right, and come back into the Socialist Party? What is the row about now? Why do they still maintain their hostile attitude toward the Socialists who pointed out to them their follies in the first place, which follies they themselves are now admitting by a change in their own tactics?

## New Fashions in Trusts

(Continued from page 4)

chance throws styles in their direction? On the whole the performance of Ford seems to me to be the most impressive exhibit in the direction of perpetuating private capitalism. A series of vertical trusts, utilizing the last word in the technical arts, producing a sound product, decentralizing, releasing purchasing power by paying high wages, installing safety and health machinery and welfare work generally, and operating on a 40-hour week or less, presents a sort of tidy, standardized, functional Utopia that might keep the spirit of revolt and unrest quiet for decades. But of Ford's total payroll 5 percent are craftsmen-planners, designers, blue print men, inspectors, while the 95 percent are doing repetitive tasks which can be "taught in a day." It is an open question how long human biology can adapt itself to such a regime. And Ford has only the haziest ideas as to the working of his system beyond the confines of his own back yard; he has never pushed it to a clean-cut national industrial synthesis.

In these premises it is hardly the function of those who do see the industrial system in its larger and more human aspects to despair. Those of us who work for a system based on use rather than profit must be ready to shift our technique as industry shifts below us—dogma must have no place in our thinking—but the doors are flung wide to those who have the courage, persistence and intelligence to substitute industrial planning for the present blind and purposeless anarchy.

(An address delivered before the League for Industrial Democracy.)

## ROCHESTER DEMANDS SACCO-VANZETTI RETRIAL

ROCHESTER.—At a meeting held under the direction of Local 202 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Sacco-Vanzetti Conference Committee a resolution was passed demanding the Governor of Massachusetts grant a new trial to the framed labor leaders.

Aldo Cursi, general organizer of the A. C. W., presided.

That which passes for thrift at present is often nothing different from soul-destroying parsimony. — Keir Hardie.

Strange it is that men should admit the validity of the arguments for free discussion, but object to their being "pushed to an extreme;" not seeing that, unless the reasons are good for an extreme case, they are not good for any case.—J. S. Mill.

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# Amusements



## DRAMA

### Plays of Satire and Protest

By Henry Noel Brailsford

NOTHING that Ernst Toller writes can fail to interest Socialist readers. But in "Brokenbow" (a translation of "Hinkemann," by Vera Mendel. Nonesuch Press, London). One feels that his horror at the cruelty of war and the brutality of our social system have preyed upon his mind, until his protest inflicts an intolerable wound.

A vigorous young soldier has been unsexed by a chance bullet in the war. He comes home to his wife, and his misery and degradation are on the verge of driving her mad. She pities him, fears him, shrinks from him, still loves him—and yields to another man. He, unable to find honest work, is induced by a showman to exhibit himself as a strong man who sucks the blood of living rats and mice—though we had met him in the first act in an agony of anger over the sufferings of a blinded goldfish. There are scenes in which Brokenbow, now more than half mad, is made to tell the callousness of his worker-comrades, and life in a series of blinding hints and revelations stabs him with its cruelty. The tortured man sees in Priapus the only god of civilized mankind. His wife tries in vain to heal him with her affection; she kills herself in despair, and the play ends in hopeless horror.

Is it worthy of a great artist, as Toller is, to seek out illustrations of the cruelty of war and capitalist society so extreme that they seem to be rather glimpses of an insane nightmare than pictures of life? Granted that war maims men, granted that poverty drives men to degrading employments—in order to realize this, must we be forced to dwell on a case so disgusting in its physical horror that one cannot visualize it without nausea? The play violates psychological probability in an unparagoned arbitrary way. Nothing will ever convince me that the humane and sensitive creature whom we meet in the first act, and again in the latter part of the play, ever could have sunk, even if he were out of work, to a bestial degradation of the man who sucked the throats of living rats. This is violent, contorted art, the wilful search after ugliness of a poet who is allowing his rage against war to darken and distort his mind. There are things in the Elizabethan playwrights as cruel as this; there is the poignant poem of Catullus on the same theme; but they, at least, gave us beauty in the music of their language. In Toller's prose there is no such relief. The illustrations by Georg Grosz are, like the play itself, powerful and unbearably ugly. The translation deserves high praise.

After these plays of protest and satire, it is a relief to turn to "The Song of Drums" (Benn, London). Dukes has written a model of what a romantic comedy should be. He has taken the legendary figure of Tyl Ulenspiegel as his hero and transferred him to the period of the Dutch struggle against Spanish tyranny. Tyl becomes an incarnation of the national spirit, elusive, unconquerable, a pioneer in rousing and leading the resistance of the people. There are thrilling adventures and a graceful love story, with the sharp biting acid of tragedy in the prologue. The play is in prose, but it opens with some most rhetorical verses. It is skillful, happy work from first to last, as well as intelligent as it is well written, and it should be even more moving on the stage than it is pleasant to read.

There is a medley of one-act plays of very various quality in Susan Glaspeil's collection "Trifles" and other Plays. Some of the work of this new American playwright is merely clever, with a sort of immature, undergraduate, highbrow smartness. Two are really successful and hilarious comedies, which should be even funnier on the stage than they are in print—"Woman's Honor" and "Suppressed Desires"—the latter an irresistible but by no means extravagant skit upon psycho-analysis. One of the two serious pieces ("The Outside") is for me wholly unintelligible in its symbolism. But the other, "Trifles," is one of the most tense and skillful tragic sketches ever written in this short compass, subtle and unusual in its psychology and deft in its use of slight hints to produce a great emotional effect.

It is harder to make up one's mind about the poignant and introspective tragedy of the Dutch dramatist Herjermans, which Christopher St. John has translated, "The Elsing Sun" (Lambour Publishing Co., London).

A small old-fashioned shop is being ruined by the competition of a great store. Matthew, the shopkeeper, and Sonia, his daughter, meet their troubles with reckless idealism and stubborn probity. It is a depressing theme rendered interesting only by the skill with which the characters in this humble interior are drawn. Sonia, it seems by accident, upsets a lamp and causes the death of a half-witted child. But was it accident? She accuses herself in the end of deliberate crime, and one is not quite sure what the author really means. Has she a morbid conscience which blames her without reason, or did she really yield to a criminal impulse? Somehow, one does not care as much as one ought to do. The play is the work of a powerful but gloomy talent.

### Opera Stars in Talking Films

ONE of the most recent of the scientific developments which will revolutionize the exhibition of motion pictures in small theatres in little towns has just been announced as having been perfected. The developments are the result of research in the Bell Telephone Laboratories, the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and the Western Electric Company, who have been working upon this system for the Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc. By this system it is possible to synchronize the motion pictures with the reproduced sound, and have that sound perfectly natural.

Artists of the Metropolitan Opera Company will be utilized in the synchronization, according to a contract signed last week with the Metropolitan for the privilege of engaging singers to take part in the Vitaphone experiments.

In some quarters it is thought the new vitaphone device will completely revolutionize presentations and musical accompaniment for films. By the device the movies are made so-called "talking movies," giving the small-town theatre owners and any other not using orchestras and stage attractions something to go with their films. Voices of the Metropolitan will be available to the smallest of film theatres booking the pictures made following the synchronization process following the contract to obtain them for engagements.

The Vitaphone Company has the Manhattan Opera House under lease for one year to prepare films with the synchronization device, photographing sound upon the film, making it possible for even the smallest theatre to have a 60-piece orchestra, provided the experiment is practical and well done.

The first synchronized film to be done by the Vitaphone people is expected to be "Don Juan," the John Barrymore picture, produced by Warner Brothers, and which will open July 22 at the Warner Theatre for a special run.

Richard Herndon has a new number for J. P. McEvoy's hodge-podge of satire comedy, "Americana," which will open with a special midnight performance at the Belmont Theatre, July 19. The new number is entitled "A Chat With You," with words by Theodore Goodwin and music by Arthur Schwartz.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### MONDAY

"MY MAGNOLIA," an all-colored musical comedy, will open Monday night at the Mansfield Theatre. The book is by Alex. C. Rogers and Eddie Hunter, music by C. Luckey Roberts and lyrics by Mr. Rogers. Walter Campbell is the producer. The cast is headed by Mr. Hunter, and includes Hilda Rogers, Nina Hunter, Paul Bass and Estelle Floyd.

#### THURSDAY

"HONEST LIARS," a farce by Robert Weenssen and Sherrill Webb, with additional scenes and dialogue by Frank Smithson, opens at the Sam H. Harris Theatre Thursday evening. Robert Woolsey is the featured member of the cast. Others are Kathleen Lowry, Alfred Kappeler, Jay Wilson, Adelaide Rondelle, Neil Pratt, Almsworth Arnold, Margaret Walker, Francis Murphy, Harriet Harbaugh and Vincent Strain. George MacFarlane is the producer.

ROBERT LORAINE



Has taken up the role of Mr. Dermott in Munro's charming comedy, "At Mrs. Beams," playing at the Guild Theatre.

### International Union of Authors Meet in Paris

FOLLOWING the congress of playwrights in Paris last month, it has been arranged to create an international federation embracing the various authors' societies of the world.

Over twenty authors and composers' unions will be grouped under the confederation thus formed, the headquarters being fixed in Paris, with French official language for correspondence.

Robert de Flers has been appointed first president, with Senator Morello (Italian), Eduardo Marquina (Spanish), and Dr. Fuida (German), as vice-presidents; Edmond Guiraud (French) secretary, Spyro Melas, A. Mook and Lanoir, assistant international secretaries.

It was decided to hold the next convention of dramatic authors and composers at Rome next May, before the decennial meeting for the revision of the Berne convention concerning copyright.

The British delegates in Paris were Arthur Pinero, M. Somerset Maugham, W. B. Maxwell, G. Herbert Thring, with the American delegates John Emerson and Cosmo Hamilton.

### Newport Drama Festival Opens Next Tuesday

THE Casino Theatre in Newport, R. I., will reopen next Tuesday under the direction of Francis Carpenter, actor, with what is termed by Shesgreen and Vroom, New York representatives, as "The Initial Season of the Newport Dramatic Festival." The theatre, built by the late Stanford White in an exclusive part of Newport, has been closed for twenty years.

Mr. Carpenter plans a season of eight or nine weeks, with a change of bill every week. The company includes Basil Sydney, Mary Ellis, Robert Warwick, Katherine Alexander, Blanche Yurka, J. M. Kerrigan and Robert Loraine.

The productions will be in the following order: "Hamlet" in modern dress, "The Devil's Disciple," "Enter Madame," "Arms and the Man," "The Romantic Young Lady," a new play, to be announced; "The Man with a Load of Mischief," and a new play from the French. William A. Brady, Jr., will stage the productions, and Livingston Platt will be technical director.

Mr. Carpenter made his stage debut in "He Who Gets Slapped." Among other plays in which he has been seen is "Hamlet" in modern dress.

### Washington Sq. College Players To Present Shaw and Barrie

TWENTY of the permanent members of the Washington Square College Players of New York University will open their fifth summer season at the New York University Playhouse, 100 Washington Square, in a Shaw and Barrie repertory, under the direction of Randolph Somerville, "Getting Married," "Candida" and "You Never Can Tell" have been chosen to represent Saint Bernard, and "Dear Brutus" and "Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" for Sir James. Several plays by A. A. Milne, including "Mr. Pim Passes By," "Belinda" and "The Dover Road," are also in the company's repertory.

Miriam Steep, who has been identified with the company for the last seven years, will return for the title roles in "Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" and "Candida." Edwinna Colville, who has played with the company since its formation, will appear in all of the productions. Richard Cough will appear as Morell, Crampton and the Bishop of Chelsea in the Shavian plays, and as Dearth and Colonel Grey in the Barrie productions.

"One Man's Woman" last night celebrated its fiftieth performance at the 48th Street Theatre.

### English Miners Go In For Native Drama

LOWER GORNAL, a little unobtrusive village in South Staffordshire, has for centuries been one of the "butt" villages of the country, like Gotham and Chowbent. Tradition says that it was at Gornal that the inhabitants placed a pig upon the wall to see the band go by. But Gornal today stands vindicated. It has asserted itself in a manner that has caused its name to ring throughout the Black Country.

Over seventy years ago there lived in West Bromwich a Methodist minister named the Rev. Richard Jukes. He was known by some people as "the poet of the millions," and he wrote a Biblical drama entitled "Joseph and His Brethren." Very little was heard of the play, but the Rev. R. Jukes was revered by the folk of Lower Gornal, and a copy of the drama was the prized possession of an old Methodist. Nevertheless, "Joseph and His Brethren" which is written in rhyming verse, gained some national notoriety, for the late Sir Herbert Tree saw its merit and produced it at His Majesty's Theatre.

But that is neither here nor there. "Joseph and His Brethren" would now appear to be the especial property of Lower Gornal. At any rate, it has cast a halo upon the village which has completely eclipsed the fame of the pig on the wall. And it happened in this way. The miners of Lower Gornal are for the most part Primitive Methodists. Quite a number of them are Sunday school teachers, and when the idea was conceived to purchase a harmonium, to lead the singing, an entertainment was suggested to raise the money. Then was the much-cherished copy of "Joseph and His Brethren" produced, and the suggestion made that the play should be performed by the young men of the church. The idea found favor, and after much labor each member of the cast had his lines rewritten from the original.

The play was a success. The harmonium was bought, and the players were so satisfied with their histrionic capabilities that they aspired to greater things. Originally there was a varied cast. Jacob was a miner, Judah and Reuben were iron workers, and Joseph was a pattern maker. The village grocer also took part. But today the cast consists entirely of miners, who, leaving the pits coal-begrimed in the early evening, disport upon the stage at night in the flowing robes of Biblical tradition. Large audiences have been attracted, and success follows every performance.

LOUISE CLOSSER HALE



Gives an interesting portrayal of the maiden aunt in "One of the Family," Webb's comedy at the Eltinge Theatre.

### Eugene O'Neill and Mrs. Fiske Receive Honorary Degrees

Eugene O'Neill, author of "The Emperor Jones," "Desire Under the Elms," and "The Great God Brown," received the degree of Doctor of Literature at the 25th annual commencement at Yale University two weeks ago. His claim to distinction is thus defined: "As a creative contributor of new and moving forms to one of the oldest of arts, as the first American playwright to receive both wide and serious recognition upon the stage of Europe," Charles Martin Tarnov Loeffler, distinguished musician and composer, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Music.

Mrs. Minnie Mattern Fiske was awarded one of three honorary degrees at the 48th annual commencement of Smith College, receiving the degree of Master of Arts.

### "Bare Facts" Opens Next Tuesday at Triangle Theatre

"Nineteen Twenty-Six Bare Facts," a revue, will open with a midnight show next Tuesday night at the Triangle Theatre in Greenwich Village. The sketches are by Stewart Hamill and the musical arrangements by Walter Krebs. In the cast are Frances Blair, Margaret Knapp Waller, Frank Marshall, Frank McDonald, Frances Kelly and Mara and Mel Tyler.

The new year at the Theatre Guild School of Acting began Tuesday, July 6. Over 100 students are entered for the preliminary month.

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Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

### Broadway Briefs

"Pyramids," by Samuel Ruskin Golding, which was seen at Werba's Brooklyn Theatre last week, will open in Manhattan in August. Its producers, Wallace & Martins, are also announced to present a comedy, "Why Work?", in the fall.

The Neighborhood Drama Guild will present three one-act plays Sunday afternoon at the Community House, 20th and Croyse Avenues, Brooklyn.

Jed Harris' production of "Broadway," by Phillip Dunning and George Abbott, opened Monday night in Atlantic City.

Princess Wenonah, a full-blooded Mohawk Indian, born at the foot of the Adirondacks, the grandchild of Chief Eagle Feather, and great, great grandchild of Chief Thunder Cloud, famous in the Indian and Revolutionary Wars, is appearing in Modern Miracles at Luna Park. Her husband, Chief White Cloud, also a Mohawk Indian, who was born in Saratoga Springs in 1879, is appearing with the Princess.

The cast of "Coal Oil Jennie," the comedy by Frank Craven which A. L. Erlanger will produce at Werba's Brooklyn Theatre Monday evening, July 19, includes Leo Donnelly, Adora Andrews, Ernest Glendinning, Blyth Daly, Maude Granger, Fred Graham and John Rovold. After the week in Brooklyn, the play will be presented in Stamford and New London for half a week each.

Helen Mayon last night replaced Margaret Landis in the role of Irene Adams in "One of the Family," at the Eltinge Theatre.

Daniel Kussell will present a prize-fight comedy, entitled "The Push Over," with G. Pat Collins in the principal role. The piece, which was written by Jack Conway and Kussell, will open in Long Branch about July 12.

H. B. WARNER



Is featured in "Silence," a melodramatic film to be shown at Mass Broadway, beginning Monday.

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### IOLANTHE

"I have yet to see an opera cast so perfectly—don't miss 'Iolanthe'."—Samuel Chotzinoff in "N.Y. World."

## MUSIC

### Russian Program and Three Novelties at the Stadium

THREE novelties will be played by the Philharmonic Orchestra, Willem van Hoogstraten conducting, at the Stadium concerts next week: "Andante," by Roy Harris; First Symphony in D, Gustav Mahler; and "Mountain Vistas," Op. 56, by Allen Lincoln Langley. Another feature will be the all-Russian program on Monday and the Wagner-Brahms program on Thursday. The complete program follows:

Sunday: Wagner's "Flying Dutchman" overture, Strauss' "Death and Transfiguration," the "Unfinished Symphony" of Schubert, and Beethoven's "Leonore" overture No. 3. Monday: All-Russian program, Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Russian Easter," Moussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain," Stravinsky's "Petrouchka," and the "Pathetic" Symphony of Tchaikovsky. Tuesday: Overture to the "Bartered Bride," Smetana's "Isle of Death," Rachmaninoff's "Flight of the Bumble Bee," Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Fireworks," Stravinsky's Symphony No. 7, Beethoven.

Wednesday: Sibelius' "Finlandia"; "Andante" from a symphony by Roy Harris, a young composer from Oklahoma; Borodin's "Prince Igor" and the Cesar Franck symphony.

Thursday: Wagner's "Lohengrin" prelude, the "Entrance of the Gods into Valhalla," the "Waldweben" and the prelude and "Love-Death" from "Tristan" and Brahms' Third Symphony.

Friday: Mahler's First Symphony in D, Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite and Liszt's "Les Preludes." Saturday: Allen Lincoln Langley's "Mountain Vistas." Mr. Langley is a member of the viola section of the Philharmonic and a composer of several elaborate waltzes which have been played during previous summers: Overture, Nocturne and Scherzo from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream"; Tchaikovsky's "Francesca di Rimini" and Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Scheherazade."

"Aida" is announced for next Saturday night, and "Traviata" for Sunday night at Starlight Park in the Bronx.

### Ancient Hymns of the Assyrians Found in Ur

TEXTS that were sung to music are among the discoveries recently made in the ruins of Ur, where the palaces and temples of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians stood, the London "Times" reports. The joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania recently reported these among some valuable results of their winter's work, concluded in March.

Tombs under the ruins of dwelling houses were discovered. Dating from the period of the Larsa kings, about 2,000 B. C., large, solidly constructed in burnt brick. There was found against the wall of a room a collection of nearly sixty clay tablets which had obviously been stored in a jar, whose fragments lay with them. They were fairly large and unusually well preserved and bore religious texts and hymns in honor of the Moon God written out in the time of Rim-Sin, King of Larsa, twenty-one centuries before Christ. These are the most important tablets which excavations have yet brought to light and their discovery was a fitting finale to a successful season.

Music Notes  
Grace Kerne will be soloist at the Concertau Lake, Pa., Music Festival, the week beginning July 17, singing the soprano solo parts in the Creation, the Messiah, and two operatic concertos.

The English Singers of London will appear in America next season for twenty-two weeks and have been booked for seventy-five concerts during that period.

Albertina Rasch, who will make a short tour at the head of her American Ballet beginning next January, will have a company of thirty dancers.

### Music and Concerts

#### STADIUM CONCERTS

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WILLEM VAN HOOOSTRATEN, Conductor  
LEWISohn STADIUM, 46th Ave. & 138th St.

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Schubert "Unfinished" Symphony  
Wagner "Tristan" — Beethoven  
ARTIST JUDSON Music — Sidney Fane  
Prices 25c, 50c, \$1.00



## PANKEN HEADS SOCIALIST TICKET

**Mrs. Blatch Will Make  
Race for Senate in  
New York**

(Continued from page 1)  
Front, in which certain tendencies in the Revolutionary Movement were taken up in a serious way.

The convention got seriously to business Sunday morning with a report by Julius Gerber of the Constitutional Committee, calling for amendments to the party's constitution, abolishing the state committee and placing all its powers in the hands of the state executive committee to be elected by the convention. The amendments were adopted, and the first S. E. C. elected by the convention was then chosen, consisting of Julius Gerber, Herman Kobbe, Samuel Orr, Theresa B. Wiley, William M. Feigenbaum, Ray Newkirk, William Hilsdorf, Jr., Fred Sander and Fred L. Ariand. A committee of nine alternates was likewise chosen.

The platform, as amended by the committee, was presented by Chairman Feigenbaum, and after considerable debate, was adopted. The preamble is considerably shorter than the draft that has already appeared in the party press, but in essence it is identical. It calls for the union of the workers in the Socialist party. It flays the two old parties as being completely bankrupt, and it presents demands embodying the Socialist proposals on housing, water power, labor legislation, military training and civil liberties.

The committee brought in a plank declaring that drunkenness is an evil and that Socialists in all countries had always striven for temperance, that only a sober working class can emancipate itself, but that prohibition has been a failure, that prohibition is part of a movement with sinister implications, and that the two old parties are to be condemned for making a major issue of what should be only a minor matter; the resolution likewise declared in favor of the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer under government control.

Comrades Samuel H. Friedman, Fred Sander, Weber of Rochester, Morris Berman, A. I. Shipiloff and others spoke vehemently against the plank, declaring in some cases in favor of prohibition, and in others against the party taking any stand in a matter that has out across party lines. Patrick J. Murphy, Leonard C. Kaye,



Judge Jacob Panken

James Oneal, Joseph D. Cannon, Julius Gerber, William M. Feigenbaum and William Karlin took the opposite position, Comrade Oneal making an eloquent and brilliant plea against legislation of any kind that emanates from the small town Babbitt and Rotarian. He declared that prohibition is of the same nature as legislation against tobacco, against playing cards, against the stage and literature and the movies and that its logical conclusion would be anti-evolution legislation and laws prescribing the kind of books one might read and the kind of thoughts one might think.

Feigenbaum declared that prohibition had corrupted a whole nation

For Governor

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

### National

J. T. Walton Newbold, of England, informs the National Office that he will be in the United States during the fall months. He has made arrangements to be in the State of Illinois in October, November and December, visiting a relative. He will be open for engagements from January 1 to March 31. The National Office had written this comrade some time ago asking him to fill some engagements in this country.

We expect a report from every State Secretary weekly, giving Party news. Such reports should be at National Headquarters not later than each Monday.

### Tennessee

J. G. Braun, 2264 York avenue, Memphis, would like the readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader to get in touch with him in order to get a State ticket for the fall election. Readers take notice.

### Maryland

The Socialists of Maryland are preparing to place a State ticket in the field. Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader will please get in touch with the State Secretary, Dr. S. M. Neistadt, 1607 E. Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md.

### Ohio

John G. Willert, State Secretary, orders all our readers to get in touch with him and push the petitions for getting on the State ballot in the November election. He also urges all Socialists to become members of the Party and organize locals wherever possible. The Socialists of Ohio should write John G. Willert, Room 218 Superior Building, 314 East Superior street, Cleveland, Ohio.

### Indiana

Indiana Socialists are working hard to get their petitions filled up so that their ticket may be safe for the ballot in the fall election. They are planning a State-wide campaign for the Party.

### Oregon

J. J. Duhamel, of Medford, informs us that he is doing his bit toward organization and boosting the American Appeal in that State. He is anxious to see a State ticket placed in the field. American Appeal readers of that district will please get in touch with the District Secretary, Emil Herman, 4420 Evanston Avenue, Seattle, Wash., and give their support.

### Montana

Doris Morris has started her organizing work in Montana, beginning in Flathead county, with headquarters at Whitefish. She is not only going to do organizing and lecture work, but is assisting State Secretary Graham in his battle to get a State ticket on the ballot, besides county tickets wherever such is possible. After working Montana she will go into Idaho and then Utah.

### Washington

The Socialists of Seattle, under the leadership of H. O. Fuhrberg, are doing excellent work for the Party. Not only are they strengthening their locals, but are getting a large number of subscriptions to the American Appeal. Readers in other parts of Washington should take notice and do likewise.

### Kentucky

John L. Wrather, the hustling Socialist of western Kentucky, informs us that he expects to organize a Socialist local in Paducah. If it is possible to form an organization, Wrather will do it.

Louisville Socialists expect to have a county ticket in Jefferson county this fall. Readers of the American Appeal should get in touch with the local organization and assist in this work. Write J. L. Stark, 330 Sutcliffe avenue, Louisville.

### New England

Norman Thomas' meetings in Maynard and Worcester were highly successful. Thomas pointed out how far the America of today, as a result of capitalist domination, had gone from the ideals of liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The audience received him well.

In Lynn, at an indoor meeting, there was a small but enthusiastic audience. In Boston, however, we were unable to secure the use of the bandstand on the Boston common, owing to the fact that it was being used for broadcasting by the city government. Alfred Baker Lewis attended the convention of the American Federation of Textile Operatives in Lawrence and secured their endorsement of the Unemployment Insurance bill. Lewis

reported that he had a very interested and receptive audience.

Socialists are again reminded that the meeting of the State Convention will take place July 18 at our hall in Boston, 21 Essex Street. If your branch has not yet elected delegates, be sure to see that someone is chosen at once.

### Connecticut

#### State

The State Executive Committee met at "Machinists' Hall, New Haven, Sunday, July 4. This meeting was postponed from the week before because of the illness of the State Secretary. The meeting was called together by Secretary Plunkett at 2 p. m. Committee members were present from Hartford, Meriden, Wallingford and Hamden. Edward P. Clark, of Hartford, presented a draft of a proposed State platform. It was voted to present the platform, with a few minor changes, to the State Convention, July 25, for approval.

The committee voted to use a bond, something similar to the "Debs Bond," which is being used in New York State, for the purpose of raising money for the sustaining fund of "The Commonwealth," a monthly paper.

Louis O. Krahl, committeeman from Meriden, reported that Local Meriden had elected four delegates to represent their local at the State Convention.

Local Hamden elected five delegates to attend the convention.

Socialists of Hartford will meet at 322 Wethersfield Avenue, Sunday, July 11. Delegates will be elected to the State Convention. Arrangements will be made for an open-air meeting on Saturday, July 24, with Alfred Baker Lewis as the main speaker. Local Hartford has donated \$20 toward the Hartford Labor Temple fund.

Local New Haven met Wednesday, July 7, and elected seven delegates to attend the convention.

William S. Hoffman, of Bridgeport, reports that Local Bridgeport has changed its meeting place and will meet in the Workmen's Circle Hall.

Edward P. Clark, of Hartford, made a very interesting report of his recent trip into the eastern part of the State, where he secured a number of new members for the party and a number of subscriptions for Socialist papers.

Socialists and sympathizers throughout the State are invited to attend the State Convention. For further particulars concerning the convention, write M. F. Plunkett, Wallace Block, Wallingford, Conn.

### New York City

#### STREET MEETINGS

##### Manhattan

Monday, July 12, 159th Street and Broadway. Speaker: Ethelred Brown. Tuesday, July 13, Seventh Street and Avenue B. Speaker: Ethelred Brown. Wednesday, July 14, 133rd Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

##### Bronx

Friday, July 16, 138th Street and Brook Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley and Mathilda Tillman.

##### Brooklyn

Wednesday, July 14, Monroe Street and Broadway. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Samuel H. Friedman. Thursday, July 15, Tompkins Avenue and Hart Street. Speakers: Hyman Nemser and Ethelred Brown. Friday, July 16, Pitkin Avenue and Bristol Street. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

### Bronx

Bronx members are especially requested to attend the meetings held by their respective branches. Meetings held during the hot weather are often poorly attended. The filing of petitions, with the names of our enrolled voters, must be tackled at once, so that all our candidates may be assured of their place on the official ballot.

Branches are urged to elect a sufficient number of comrades to circulate petitions. Members who wish to volunteer for this work are requested to call or send their names to the local office, 1167 Boston road.

Much success has attended the effort to get members in arrears to pay their dues and return to activity in the party ranks, but the surface has not been touched. Branches must use every effort to push this work. We must winnow the wheat from the chaff. The

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party must know definitely on whom it can rely. If the party is to progress, intensive efforts must be made to increase the power and circulation of our party press, both local and national. Every gathering of the party should have bundles of our papers for sale and distribution.

#### Branch 7

Branch 7 will meet Tuesday, July 13, at 8:30 p. m., at its club rooms, 4215 Third Avenue. All members are notified that several matters of vital importance, both political and otherwise, will require immediate action. Therefore, every member is earnestly requested to be present.

#### Italian Branch

The Italian Comrades of the 8th A. D. will start open-air meetings Saturday evening, July 10. Meetings will continue until November. This section will be thoroughly canvassed from now on, as a few of Mussolini's Black Shirts have attempted to establish a Fascist unit in the vicinity. The Socialist Party, Bronx County, will give all possible support to help exterminate this Fascist snake.

Delegates to the recent New York State Convention are advised to be present at their respective branch meetings and report on the work of the State Convention.

### Queens

#### Oneal Running for Congress

At a general meeting of the Socialist Party members in Queensboro James Oneal of Richmond Hill, editor of The New Leader, was picked as candidate for Congress in the Second District, which embraces the main part of the borough. William Herman of Jamaica will run for the same office in the First District, which takes in Nassau and Suffolk counties and a portion of Queens.

Other Queensboro candidates for the fall elections will be Israel Goldin of Woodhaven, for Sheriff; Elsie H. Ehret of Ridgewood, for Register; Ernest Megerlin of Jamaica, for State Senator in the Second District; Charles Ress of Ridgewood, for State Senator in the Third District; Ignatz Schrey of Maspeth, for the Assembly in the First District; Harry E. Anderson of Ridgewood, in the Second A. D.; Matthias Palm, of Jackson Heights, in the Third A. D.; Sadie C. Smith of Hollis, in the Fourth A. D.; Ernest Welch of Richmond Hill, in the Fifth A. D., and William Burke, Jr., of Glendale, in the Sixth A. D.

Enrolled Socialists are urged to see that the primary petitions they are being asked to sign carry the names of no candidates except those listed above, as they are the ones selected by the party membership.

### Yipseldom

There is now on sale at the City Office new literature written for the Y. P. S. L. On each piece of literature is your circle address. Special cards have also been printed for open air meetings. Circles should record open air meetings with the City Office.

so as to facilitate the distribution of speakers. If you need speakers apply at the City Office. Speakers should send their names to the office so that we will know who is available for such work.

Circle 8, Manhattan, met Tuesday evening. It proved one of the best held in a long time. Over sixty names of young people were obtained. Twenty-five copies of The New Leader were sold.

The New Leader has helped the Y. P. S. L. in its work since the paper was started. Yipseldom should show our appreciation by boosting the paper. And this is how we can do it: AT EVERY OPEN AIR MEETING THAT YOU HOLD MAKE SURE YOU HAVE A SUPPLY OF NEW LEADERS. A certain margin has been allotted by the paper to the circles. Whenever possible apply to The New Leader office as a volunteer for work that you can do. Every time we boost the Leader we boost the Yipsels.

Financial secretaries are urged to purchase dues stamps. We are not up to the quota. Also please send in your monthly reports.

#### Circle 2

Meetings of Circle No. 2, Brooklyn, have been changed from Sunday to Friday for the summer. At the first meeting it was decided that \$10 be donated to the 23d A. D. Socialist Party campaign fund. The sum of \$5 was apportioned to the Y. P. S. L. Central Committee in order to help that committee carry on its valuable work.

Two applicants were accepted by the circle. Lester Shulman resigned from the Educational Directorship and his position as Chairman of the Agitation Committee. Comrades La-belson and Erkus were elected to fill the vacancies.

#### Circle 2, Juniors

Circle 2 Juniors have changed their date of meeting to Wednesday evening at 7:30 o'clock. At the last meeting the circle began to study Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto" under the guidance of their director, S. Benjamin Doublin.

On July 14, when the next meeting will be held, the educational director, Harry Lopatin, will in conjunction with two other comrades present a play entitled "The Big Butter and Egg Fakers." This play shows how some of our great food companies rob and fool the public.

### Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)

evolution, we discover evidences "wise that indicate his superiority. Such reasoning is frustrate and hopeless. This book marks a trend in the psychology of the new society. It undermines the psychological and biological defense of the contemporary bourgeoisie. It announces the decay of the scientific concepts of the reigning class. It promises, however, implicitly, the rise of a new science, a new psychology and a new biology, that will derive their ultimate substance, their ultimate advance, from the economics of a new social order.

## THE GREENWICH VILLAGE QUILL

Is the Only Magazine Devoted to Greenwich Village

Among the Contributors to the July Issue Are:

Floyd Dell	Henry Harrison
Clement Wood	Helene Searcy
Joseph T. Shipley	Peter Pater
Maxwell Bodenheim	J. Corson Miller
Gordon Lawrence	Robert Edwards
David P. Berenberg	George Bogner
A. B. Shiffrin	Miguel Quesada
Robin Christopher	Ruth Sinclair George
Frank Del Witt	Margaret Lee Keyting
Emanuel Eisenberg	Sara Owen
Sidney Wallach	Sonia C. Harrison
Gremin Zorn	Robert Clairmont
A. M. Sullivan	E. Ralph Cheyney
Lucia Trent	L. W. Darrah

Among the Features in the July Issue Are:

What I Think of Greenwich Village	
Map and Guide to Greenwich Village	
Village News	Caricatures of Thought
Local Color	Chatter for Lowbrows
Sulli-Vanities	The Romantic Husband
Jest a Moment	The Book Department
Entrances and Exits	The Poetry Parade
Advance Bulletin for Village Sports	
Our Very Delicate Relationship	
Our Age	

## THE GREENWICH VILLAGE QUILL

Edited by HENRY HARRISON

Associate Editor	Art Editor	Jail Editor
E. RALPH CHEYNEY	ROBERT EDWARDS	JOHN DECKER
Publication Office	Business and Editorial Offices	
144 Macdougall St.	78 Elton St.	
Greenwich Village, N. Y.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	

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# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City  
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1926

## THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

THE Socialist Party convention has met, adopted a platform and some important resolutions, and nominated candidates whose service to the movement warrants an effective and intelligent campaign. It remains for the local organizations in the State to cooperate in plans for a vigorous canvass to insure a creditable Socialist vote in November.

One advantage we have in this campaign was not present in recent years. The quarrels that issued out of the war had not entirely abated. They persisted longer than any other quarrels that have appeared in the Socialist movement. They have now receded so far into the background that they no longer have any influence. Aside from some sniping from the side lines the Socialist Party is free to give its entire attention to educational and organization work.

An important aspect of the situation in New York State is the influence of Gov. Smith on large masses of voters. He has the aid of some powerful newspapers which have been opposed to Tammany. A legend is being built up around the man which is based upon the assumption that in some way Smith represents and can deliver some vague sort of fundamental democracy. Smith is a flag under which a swarm of brokers go into office and serve powerful interests just as faithfully as the Republican section of capitalism.

Moreover, Smith is adroit enough to present a program which has the outward appearance of an approach to the Socialist view. This is especially true of housing and superpower, but a careful analysis of his proposals show that they always leave capitalism as securely entrenched as it is now. Because of the transparent character of Smith's program when subjected to careful analysis, Smith is vulnerable. He may believe in himself and his program, but the latter cannot survive intelligent Socialist criticism. There is work to do. Let us do it and do it effectively.

## THE TRANSIT STRIKE

WHATEVER may be the status of the Interborough strike when this appears, we cannot do otherwise than rejoice over this revolt against the company. For years the latter has maintained that fraud known as the "company union." President Hedley of the Interborough has from time to time gone through the motion of negotiations with this "union" when every intelligent man and woman has known that he was dealing with his own creature. His pretense of not dealing with the revolting men on the ground that he must "stand by" this "union" simply means that he feels it necessary to support his fraud.

Edward P. Lavin, head of the Consolidated Railroad Workers and leader of the strike, puts Hedley in the pillory when he says that the workers for all the years that they have refrained from striking and endured intolerable conditions they have been "gilded by a reptile company union. . . which was used to intimidate them for ten years." This is the truth. The "union" was created and maintained by the company. It has been an instrument to smother the initiative and self-reliance of the workers on the lines and tended to produce a relation of serfdom between the workers and the company.

To preserve this fraud the Interborough recruits shady characters to replace the men on strike. Hedley visits the Police Department and shortly after nearly 7,000 police are summoned for strike duty. The first day of the strike trains to Brooklyn were suspended and the rest of the service was seriously crippled, and yet there were no incidents warranting this show of police power.

It is an old story in "free America." If the strikers succeed in smashing Hedley's fraud they will render a service to the organized workers and give many others in the service the courage to organize a genuine union to serve them.

## THE ILLINOIS PRIMARY

THE humiliating results that may be reaped by the organized workers confining their political activities to a choice between two candidates of the capitalist parties is strikingly illustrated in the Illinois primary. The railroad organizations wished to defeat Senator McKinley for renomination. McKinley is a bloated millionaire and utility magnate and has served his class well. He has a party of his class which he has also served well.

The railroad unions, to repeat, wanted to accomplish his defeat. They appeared to be

more interested in hitting an enemy than to help themselves, for they supported Frank L. Smith for the nomination. Now Smith is no more representative of the claims of workers than McKinley is. In fact, Smith is also a wealthy man and a utility magnate. There is no reason whatever for believing that Smith would act otherwise than McKinley has as a Senator.

Now that they have defeated McKinley for the nomination the railroad unions must support Smith for election if they are consistent. If Smith is successful in the election it is certain that the unions will have to oppose his renomination seven years hence. This comes of voting against something rather than for something. Moreover, the negative attitude in political action can never accomplish any good results for the reason that it keeps its partisans active in merely striking down one enemy and raising up another.

What is still more humiliating for these workers is the knowledge that Smith distributed as much boodle as McKinley did. The workers were simply drawn into a fight waged between two big utility corporations for a vote in the United States Senate. Whether Smith or McKinley sits in the Senate is of no more consequence to the railroad workers than is a choice between the attorney for the Standard Oil Company and the attorney for the Royal Dutch Shell.

The answer of many who object to organization of a party of the workers is, "We want to get somewhere now." The Illinois railroad workers have got somewhere now, but we doubt whether they are inclined to boast of it.

## A STATUE TO MURPHY

GLORY BE! Tammany is going to erect a statue of the late Charles F. Murphy in Union Square in order that future generations may not forget this profound thinker, statesman, humanitarian and philosopher. It is appropriate that the announcement should be made on the Fourth of July. There is to be a brass panel bearing the text of the Declaration of Independence. Brass is the appropriate metal. There will be figures representing the forces of oppression and others representing the blessings of freedom, the coats of arms of the thirteen original states and forty-eight stars for each State.

Really, this is delicious. What other nation on this earth would be capable of staging anything like this? The only thing lacking is a suggestion that Tweed and Croker be included at least in the background to record the idea of continuity. Tweed with a jimmy and Croker with a dark lantern would round out the idea if each were placed on a huge bag of boodle.

In 1905 there appeared a book by William L. Riordan entitled "Plunkitt of Tammany Hall." From his rostrum, a bootblack stand in the County Court House, Plunkitt dispensed the philosophy of Tammany Hall. Murphy wrote an introduction praising Plunkitt and his views. As Plunkitt expressed Murphy, why not record some of his pearls on Murphy's statue? Here are a few suggestions culled from that volume: "There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works." "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em." On levying blackmail on disorderly houses and gamblers: "Why should Tammany leaders go into such dirty business, when there is so much honest graft lying around when they are in power? Did you ever consider that?"

We hope that the committee in charge of the proposal will select one of these pearls that so appealed to Murphy and carve them on his statue.

## ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

IN SHEER intellectual ability and conscientious devotion to his profession Abraham Lefkowitz ranks high as a teacher. He was in line for promotion to First Assistant in the High School of Commerce, but the Board of Superintendents of the Board of Education has refused him this promotion. His ability was not questioned. His political, social and economic views were subjected to an inquisition and because they were not satisfactory to the obscurantists on the board Lefkowitz was denied the promotion he is entitled to.

Abraham Lefkowitz has been one of the most valuable members of the Teachers' Union and has been untiring in the work of trying to obtain some measure of democracy in our educational system. He has also offended the political gangsters on this score for they realize that a democratic system of administration has no place for them. Democratic education cannot be reconciled with Tammany, capitalism and clerical politics, so Lefkowitz must be denied what is his due.

Here it is necessary to emphasize a fact that is quietly discussed in every newspaper office. Those who were chiefly responsible for barring Lefkowitz represent that covert clerical-capitalist alliance that has its clammy hands on the public schools. It is an arrogant clique that hates democracy in education while giving lip service to democracy. Its attitude is that the public schools belong to the Republican and Democratic parties with the big favors going to the clerical-Tammany gang.

This is what Lefkowitz faced when he was denied promotion. It is just this sort of thing that has promoted the rise of the Koo Koo in this country. We have fought the latter and must fight the former. Those who denied Lefkowitz his well-earned promotion are inverted Koo Koo. The trade unions' of the city owe a duty to Abraham Lefkowitz for his devoted service to them not to let this issue pass without a challenge.

American marble and granite dealers object on "patriotic grounds" to the use of any but American stone to mark the graves of American soldiers in Europe. We move that they supply the stone and as they are only interested in patriotism that they be paid by a vote of thanks extended by Congress. Is there a second to the motion?

# The News of the Week

## British 8-Hour Bill Is Halted

The bill in the British Parliament to increase the hours of the miners from seven to eight has been halted. Viscount Cecil announced in the House of Lords that the bill would not be pressed for the present because of the terms posted by coal owners in one district. In Yorkshire it appears that mine owners have posted a notice that after three months of the current wage and addition of one hour each day they will enforce another reduction. They propose to return to the rate of 1921, which provided for a division of proceeds at the ratio of 85 to wages and 15 to profits instead of the ratio of 87 to 13, which was established in 1924. This proposal goes beyond what other mine owners have agreed to and what is incorporated in the Government bill. It must not be forgotten that the miners are opposed to the Government proposal, as it means one hour each day of unpaid labor. As a result of this unforeseen maneuver of the Yorkshire mine owners it is rumored that the eight-hour bill may be withdrawn. It is probable that a delegation of the British miners will be sent to the United States to put their case and obtain funds for the strikers. Meantime delegates to the National Union of Railwaymen conference heard criticism of the policy of J. H. Thomas in relation to the calling off of the general strike. Thomas answered in a speech of two hours and produced documents to show that the chief leaders in this criticism followed Communist instructions. When the matter came to a vote Thomas was given a vote of confidence by an overwhelming majority.

## Mexico Again Under Fire

With the issuing by the Mexican Government of the regulations of the application of the laws enforcing the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 regarding the separation of Church and State, President Calles and his advisers are again being made the targets of the mud batteries manned by dissatisfied foreign and native capitalists and champions of the right of the Roman Catholic Church to defy the laws of Mexico in the name of freedom of worship. Alfred J. Talley, Chairman of the Committee on Catholic Interests of the Catholic Club of New York, an ex-judge who quit the bench explaining that he could not "live" and edu-

cate his family on \$17,500 a year, is out with a blast against the Mexican Government in which he practically accuses President Coolidge of complicity in what the former judge calls acts against religion worse than anything done by the Soviet Government of Russia. He asserts that one genuine note of vigorous protest from the U. S. Government would have halted Mexico's hand and preserved the Church's privileges. But Judge Talley apparently forgets that Mexico is beginning to pay up the back interest due on her obligations held by American investors and bankers and that Henry L. Doherty, fairly well known in the domain of oil, recently paid a visit to Mexico City and seemed to find things in pretty good shape for his companies. While it is true that the regulations aimed at wiping out the Church's political power in Mexico seem very drastic to Americans, it must be remembered that the labor and agrarian leaders backing President Calles know the history of their country's struggle to free itself from ecclesiastical domination and that they consider the situation such as to warrant these measures. Pope Pius has asked all Catholics in the world to fire a volley of prayers at the Mexican authorities on August 1, but it is hardly expected that Calles will let that shake his determination.

## Coolidge Calls Us to Worship

The address of President Coolidge at Philadelphia is another contribution to the decadent philosophy of the capitalist class. As science destroys old superstitions the ruling class fears for its own myths and offers a state faith for the gullible. Calling the pious to worship, Coolidge speaks of Philadelphia as a "holy shrine" and the Liberty Bell as a "sacred relic." We are called upon to regard both as others regard "the Holy Land." At one point he wandered into reality by saying that the causes that led to the American Revolution "were largely economic," but he gets back to piety again. Our revolution wasn't one of those unpleasant affairs where people get their clothes dirty and do not observe the rules of polite society, but was "maintained on a plane which rises above the ordinary conception of rebellion." We must forget the detention camps of Tories, the occasional hangings, the test oaths, physical assaults, imprisonment of Loyalists and confiscation of property. Our sacred affair was maintained on a "higher plane." The Declaration "was the re-

sult of the religious teachings of the preceding period," a declaration "not of material but of spiritual conceptions" that belong "to the unseen world." Indulge in no impious criticism as "there is far more danger of harm than there is hope of good in any radical changes." We must "cultivate the reverence" which the Fathers "had for the things that are holy." Considering all this need it be surprising that "About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful?" Those who cannot see in all this the cult of ancestor worship and the State as a tribal God are hopeless.

## No Peace in Fascist Italy

Despite occasional high-sounding pronouncements by Mussolini to the effect that he and his black shirts have Italy under complete control and are wiping out graft and corruption in high places, together with liberty, reports continue to get by the censorship indicating that all is not well on the Peninsula. Shortly after the arrest of a number of Fascist leaders in Parma on charges of corruption in connection with the failure of the bank for which Roberto Farinacci was working (which brought the former "savage" Fascist general secretary into conflict with the "moderate" Minister of the Interior Federzoni, who was tied up with a rival banking group) came a story of a personal row between Farinacci and Mussolini in which hot words were exchanged and there was a near-prize fight. Then a Rome dispatch told of the arrest of thirty-six Communists accused of plotting, with two Communist Deputies, to win the army for a revolution against the government. Stories from Southern Tirol described renewed arbitrariness by the Fascist authorities in their efforts to denationalize the German inhabitants of this bit of "Italia Irredenta," the black shirts even going so far as to forbid the use of the old colors of the Tirol—red and white—on wreaths decorating the coffin of Dr. Julius Penzthamer, a former mayor of Bosen. This is a piece with the conduct of the Fascist Prefect of Milan who broke up the funeral ceremonies being held for Menotti Serrati, the veteran Socialist and Communist leader, some weeks before. But "Big Ben" has been cheered up by a visit from Charles E. Hughes, our ex-Secretary of State, who is reported to have declared that the "profound esteem" in which he held the "Savior of Italy" had been enhanced by the personal meeting.

# THE CHATTER BOX

THOMAS SELTZER has just published a book of poems by David George Plotkin, entitled "Ghetto Gutters," which is to us the first genuine fruit of the Jewish Quarter. Whoever the lad is, whatever his parentage may claim or disclaim for him (and he spends quite a few futile pages dogging future brickbats from past masters at critical confetti) matters little. The poems are the thing. They have all the acrid smell of stale leaven being burned at the gutter's edge before Passover; the queer music of hodge-podged sight and sound on a summer's night on Delancey Street; the unutterable curses, the unuttered dreams that visage the sad, pale forms thronging East Side days and nights. The poet runs true to his subject. He is rough, soft, ragged, bitter, tired and dull in appropriate sequence. His utterances have all the hurly-burly nastiness of an East Side shipping clerk smashing his way into a crowded subway car. He has rhyme and rhythm at his command with alarming facility. He has a splendid hammering diction. But he has no lyric touch. Perhaps he never will have the psalm strumming magic of the first David. It is a long hike from Isaiah to King David. But then we suppose it takes an elastic imagination to sing melodious quatrains over a dump-heap. The East Side is no flowery grove in Attica. This Plotkin lad is its singer—and a true one. We will treasure "Ghetto Gutters" as a find. All lovers of poetry and the Ghetto will not go amiss to read it.

And while we are book-reviewing, may we make mention of a real treat we have been giving ourselves in the form of Dr. Will Durant's "Story of Philosophy," published by Simon and Schuster. Few of us have ever stopped to realize how intense the romance of the philosophers really has been. We have always associated philosophy with the dry and heavy subjects that all college curricula demand before the diploma is handed over on graduation day. We have even been silly enough in youth to tote around the bulging and imposing tomes of a Francis Bacon or a Herbert Spencer—secure that the bulkiness of our burden would impress our lady-loves how unapproachably smart we were. Then, as we entered work and adulthood, philosophy waned into a misty otherness and uselessness: except perhaps a casual mention of a name or a platitude during summer vacations at camp, or boarding houses among the rare intelligentsia.

Now, we lie back on our couch and pore over some five hundred or so pages of adventure and romance as alluring and enchanting as the fairy tales of boyhood. Under the wand of Dr. Durant's peculiar talent—philosophy becomes real, and necessary to us. We say necessary because we realize right now how shallow and half-baked we have been all these years in our higher learning; having left the masters alone with a handshake at the age of sixteen, and played wise man through our maturing years, just because we snickered with Shaw, and rib-ticked with Mencken.

Thanks, Dr. Durant, for teaching us so pleasantly at thirty-five what we ought to have plodded through during our undergraduate sessions.

And we even find time to read "The Quill," significant only to us since Mr. Henry Harrison has stepped out of the "Chatterbox" and the Grub Street Club into an editorship of an honest to wickedness magazine. Its roster of editors contains E. Ralph Cheyney, Bud Shipley, and Clement Wood, all who have risen to eminence in spite of appearing in this column from time to time. The color of the magazine cover will change from month to month. This July issue is blue. Its art is somewhat above the standard set by the New Masses in clarity for the old masses, and its literary value quite on a par with Bobby Edwards' judgment in turning its practical fortunes over to Henry. Its purpose is as high as anything can be high in the place it propagates for—the Village—Greenwich Village. Of course, when we say anything we ask to except rent for one room, two room, and three room affairs—and the price of its most awful hootch.

However, we ask you to buy it at any stand, read it and disagree with our prejudiced log-rolling.—Henry has asked us to write the leading editorial for next month's issue on the subject, "Is Free Love More Prevalent in the Village Than Elsewhere,—and if So, Why Not . . . ." Unaccustomed as we are to public speaking and profound as we are in our ignorance on this subject, we are sure our article should scintillate among the remarks that others will make on the same subject. If we say much more, you might believe everything we have said here, and you might even refuse to buy a sample copy. So that's that.

A reply to one who saw in the "dome head" and "prophet's eye" of Eugene V. Debs' photograph the asceticism and the piety of a churchman—"a man of God."

Verily a man of God,  
Yes, verily, but—  
Stay.  
Too broad, he, for the pattern you would lay;  
Too wise to pray the prayers he'd have to pray;  
Too just to take the churchman's way.  
Too honest, he, for the words you'd have him say;  
Too loving to pay the price he'd have to pay  
To be "a man of God" today.

—Blanche Watson.

Blanche submits the above poem as her own birthday greeting. Let's hope for one as good each happy and succeeding year.

## Three Poems

### MARTYRS

Some die upon the gallows tree  
Because their souls are great.  
Men do not love the risen soul  
Until it is too late.

### INLAND

The sea sings and its deep song reaches me  
Over the leagues between,  
My blood sings to the beating of the sea  
So clear and keen.

Gone are the dusty plains, the hills are down  
And salt is in the air,  
I see the tall masts of the harbor town—  
The sea is there.

### PAN

Pan sat in silence and the brook was still.  
Pan pondered deeply, but the whip-poor-will  
Sang in the hollow.  
"Be it so," sang Pan.

"Why should I break my heart and spend my breath  
Upon a tribe of singers bent on death?"

Sing and I follow,  
Whip-poor-will," sang Pan.  
"Your song is more to me than any man."

—David P. Berenberg.

Now that the Union of the I. R. T. has declared a strike on the subways, we trust that the workers of New York will simply refuse to ride in the old cattle cars any more, and use taxicabs and their own private limousines. Why in a country where there is an automobile for every family, according to the latest Government statistics, the breadwinners of these families persist in jamming themselves into unspeakable express trains is more than our poor mind can encompass. We just wonder what these families do with the autos that government figures allot to them. Maybe they haven't all been delivered yet. Apparently our own city workers are being neglected in the distribution. By all means, send in your complaint to President Coolidge as follows: "Dear Cal—My Rolls Royce has not arrived yet. If you are out of Rolls, send me a Packard. We are in urgent need of some saving to the subway strike. Don't forget." Here's hoping, oh proletarian, you get yours in time.

S. A. de Witt.

# Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

## New Faiths for Old

SOCIETY is a web of economic influences that stretch out in countless directions. It is the economic substratum that determines the kind of thought that we have, the kind of science we create, the kind of art we produce. Scientific concepts of social character reflect the nature of the class-struggle, embody the "attitude and psychology of the respective class or classes, as well as do the changing forms, and shifting substances of literature and philosophy."

In the sciences of biology and psychology the influence of the class-struggle has always been, immediately and emphatically apparent. Before the time of John Locke the psychological doctrine of innate ideas, that at birth the mind is born with certain ideas, had been used to defend social systems and their differentiations of caste, John Locke, in defense of the utilitarian psychology of the seventeenth century bourgeoisie, was the first to declare, in his book on The Human Understanding (1690), that the mind was born without ideas, that all minds were an equal "blank at first." It was the environment which gave the mind its ideas. In the nineteenth century Darwin's doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" was distorted and used as a justificatory class-sociology. Then the concept of heredity was employed in the same fashion. And it is still employed in that fashion today.

All of our present conceptions are proof that we are living in an Old Age of Faith. Langdon-Davies has shown that we also are living in a New Age of Faith. (The Viking Press, \$2.50). The faith which we have put in instead of science is less deleterious, however, than the faith we put in pseudo-science. Mr. Langdon-Davies has shown how grossly and egregiously false are the prevailing ideas of a score of writers who masquerade themselves as scientists, and the nonsensical notions that they promulgate as scientific knowledge.

The intelligence-testers of the Terman type, who believe that the I. Q. (intelligence quotient) is an index to native talent, a barometer of inherited human capacity, are an example of the psychologists today who—by their science to defend the present system of economic inequality. However, unconsciously, they extol existing conditions, justify the exploiting dominance of the bourgeoisie. McDougall who, in his "Is America Safe for Democracy?" decries the immigrant and laments the rise and organization of the proletariat, upholds same attitude. The Wiggams and the Stoddards are members of the same group.

It is this point which Mr. Langdon-Davies implies rather than declares, this point which his analysis proves if it does specifically state. That is why his book is significant. It is an attack upon the sociology of a decadent class, the sociology of the bourgeoisie—a sociology that is invalid and injurious. While Mr. Langdon-Davies can scarcely be called a revolutionary, his conclusions are fundamentally radical.

Mr. Davies points out in rich and convincing detail the error of the "heredity-fund," the absurdity of the belief that one's mental progress is determined by one's ancestors. His satiric explosion of Mr. Wiggam's pet affection for the chromosomes is a delightful and illuminating flash of intelligence. He shows that our knowledge of the biological process of inheritance is very limited, and that control of it, the aim of the eugenicists, is amusingly ridiculous. No matter what man inherits, it is environment that determines his expression and achievement. If the working man often does not achieve in intellectual things the wisdom of the pundit, it is not because he is inherently inferior, but simply because his environment has furnished him neither with the desire for such knowledge nor the opportunity of acquiring it.

Langdon-Davies exposes this attitude in bold and candid analysis. "Though the small differences between men and man may be due to heredity, the great differences, the important differences are due to what the social milieu does with the little differences. . . ."

"It is not heredity which turns the individual potentiality in the direction of being a good bishop, rather than a good actor or a good burglar. We must, therefore, be careful about supplying laws or facts about biological heredity to psychological phenomena."

"Granted I get my brain from my parents, I do not get from them innumerable stimuli which are to shape its product."

Also in reference to the fatuous contentions of the Nordics, those who, like Madison Grant and Stoddard, believe in the innate superiority of races, he delivers an annihilating blow. Declaring that "science cannot permit argument from differences in mental characteristics," he approaches the so-called biological problem of the Negro, namely that the Negro is by the very nature of his body and brain mentally inferior to the white man, and reveals its tragic absurdity.

"We find people (white) talking about the thick lip of the Negro as 'primitive' and 'animal.' Science, however, cannot admit the justice of such a judgment for among the characteristics which delimit man from the apes physically an important one is the acquisition of an external lip; in the feature, therefore, the Negro is even more reformed from the ape than the white races."

In other words, if we try to draw biological analogies, as proof of the inferiority of the Negro in the scale of (Continued on page 9)



**STRIKE  
EXTRA**

# THE NEW LEADER

**STRIKE  
EXTRA**

VOL. III. No. 26

TUESDAY, JULY 13, 1926

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Two Cents

## SUBWAY STRIKERS STAND FIRM; HEDLEY ULTIMATUM REJECTED

### 15,000 PICKET GARMENT SHOPS

#### Sigman Replies to Merchant Ladies' Garment Association Defense of Position

Fifteen thousand cloakmakers, members of the great army of 40,000 men who are battling to end intolerable evils in the women's clothing industry, inaugurated the second week of the general strike with an impressive demonstration of solidarity by picketing the entire clothing district of New York.

Beginning their march at 39th street and Seventh avenue, near the Garment Center Capitol, the workers marshaled their forces to parade every block of the garment district ending about 10 in the morning in front of the general offices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at 3 West 16th street. The thousands of workers in this great picketing demonstration showed by their fine spirit, their joyousness and their good nature, their optimism and their invincible determination to win their fight.

The second full week of the strike began without a sign of weakening on the part of the workers. The Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, organization of jobbers whose refusal to deal with the union and install livable conditions, after several weeks of silence, at last was goaded into making a public statement of its position.

President Morris Sigman of the I.L.G.W.U., who showed how the greed of the jobbers had made it impossible for the workers to establish really human conditions in a great one hundred million dollar industry.

The workers, who are fighting for a guaranteed 35-week year and a 40-hour week, together with an increase of their basic wage, report not a single defection from their ranks but rather an increasing solidarity on the part of the workers that spells success.

That the employers are unable to learn anything from the past history of their struggles with the cloakmakers is indicated by the fact that again, after the failure of violence in strikes has been demonstrated again and again, gangsters are appearing upon the scene. The first serious outbreak of violence so far occurred when "Little Augie," a notorious gangster whose real name is Jacob Organ, was arrested on suspicion of having had something to do with the shooting of Samuel Landman while on picket duty. "Little Augie" was released on \$2,500 bail to appear Saturday in the Jefferson Market court, but he showed his contempt for the law by not appearing.

President Morris Sigman replied to the statement of the jobbers by summarizing the entire situation that led up to the strike.

Meetings will be held at a dozen halls during the coming week. President Sigman will speak this afternoon at Hennington Hall, and other speakers will address the strikers at other halls.

### BROOKLYN COURT ENJOINS STRIKING LAUNDRY UNION

The Erasmus Wet Wash Laundry, 900 Franklin avenue, Brooklyn, has secured a temporary injunction against the Laundry Drivers' Union, Local 810, which restrains the union from carrying its strike activities against this firm.

The owners of this laundry locked out their drivers some ten weeks ago, whereupon the union declared a strike. The picketing of the workers brought a sympathetic response from the consumers with the result that the company made every effort to prosecute the drivers and the union. Many of the union pickets were beaten up and a good many arrested on trumped up charges. A week ago the firm applied for an injunction and secured a temporary restraining order. The union appealed to the public to bear in mind that the Erasmus Wet Wash Laundry does not employ union workers.

### Sigman Tells Jobbers Responsibility Is Theirs

Morris Sigman, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a reply to the statement of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association saying its members were jobbers and had nothing to do with production, asserted that the jobbers were the true employers, and that it was to the jobbers that the garment strikers must look for guarantees of thirty-six instead of twenty-six weeks' employment in the year.

Sigman asserted that there is no question that the jobbers can supply their shops with thirty-six weeks of employment.

"After refusing for weeks to respond to the invitation of the union to confer with it for the renewal of a collective agreement, thus making the present general strike in the cloak industry inevitable, the cloak jobbers' association finally has made public a statement," said Sigman.

"This statement it attempts to justify its position in rejecting the program of reforms offered by the workers' organization for the elimination of the outstanding evils created in the industry by the prevailing jobber-sub-manufacturer system of production."

**Facts Are Blighted**

"The jobbers' statement is saturated with disregard of palpable facts and intentional twisting of the union's demands. It sets out to create the impression that they, the jobbers, are not employers of labor. We believe that this is too late an hour to foist such a camouflage upon the public. The mass of indisputable facts revealed by the investigation conducted by the Governor's commission has confirmed what for years has been known to the workers and to every other responsible factor in the cloak and suit trade, that the jobbers are the true employers, the capitalists, the controllers of raw material, trimmings, production prices down to the loft rentals and the payrolls of their sub-manufacturers. The jobbers cannot hope to parade in the mantle of 'wholesalers' without being convicted of downright cant and hypocrisy."

"It is not true, furthermore, as the jobbers assert, that the union's demand that they be seasonably limited to the number of steady sub-manufacturers will infringe upon their freedom of manufacture and sale of garments. The fact of the matter is, as everybody in the industry knows, the jobbers today are making up 70 per cent. of their garments in the shops of steady sub-manufacturers. But it is the remainder of 30 per cent. of their output that they are constantly peddling around among hundreds of petty shops, using them as a whip over the regular sub-manufacturers, which has resulted in smashing up labor standards, wage scales and hours of work throughout the industry. The union's demand for limitation would eliminate this cut-throat peddling which creates myriads of one-season contractors' shops, a chaos in working conditions, and the atmosphere of permanent insecurity and of inability to earn a living among thousands upon thousands of workers."

**Work Guarantee Asked**

"The union calls for a guarantee of thirty-six weeks of labor throughout the year in the shops of the sub-manufacturers controlled by the jobbers as a measure of industrial justice to the men and women who depend upon the cloak trade as their sole source of livelihood. The report of the Governor's investigators has brought out the fact that in the sub-manufacturer shops the workers average only twenty-six weeks a year. It is quite obvious that the cloakmakers cannot live twelve months on the average of six months' work. With the establishment of limitation of sub-manufacturers and the return of greater stability and orderliness in the trade, the ability of the jobbers to supply their shops with at least thirty-six weeks of work can hardly be questioned and will impose no difficulty upon the employers."

"The cloakmakers have suffered for years in the hope that their employers will in the end realize that the disgraceful conditions existing in the manufacture of cloaks in its biggest market cannot be tolerated any longer. They have now been compelled to go out on strike to abolish these evils, and no amount of camouflage or sophistry can conceal the true issues and demands for which the workers are fighting and which we are confident they will win."

### BRITISH STRIKE GROWS INTENSE

#### Baldwin and Miners Enter Third Month of Titanic Contest

LONDON, July 13.—The miners' lockout is in its critical third month, which may see either a break-up of the miners' federation or an attempt to resume the general strike.

The British government is going the limit in an effort to defeat the miners. A law abrogating the seven-hour day for five years, and ordering the reopening of the mines has been jammed through Parliament. The debate was stormy, and at times violence was narrowly averted.

**Count on Hunger**

But Baldwin had the votes, almost a two to one majority in fact, and he defeated the enraged Laborites on every division.

The hope of the government is that the half-starved miners will desert the union, and that this will mark the beginning of a disintegration of one of the most powerful labor organizations in Britain.

If the miners stick under the appalling conditions they are facing, it will be an amazing demonstration of the courage and intelligence of the rank and file.

In the circumstances, the need of financial assistance is of the utmost importance. The announcement that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor would issue an appeal for money for the miners had a splendid effect on this side.

**American Dollars Needed**

The continental unions are doing well when one considers the miserable wages their members receive, but their

(Continued on page 2)

### FIRST VICTORIES SCORED BY CAPMAKERS

#### Largest Jobber Pleading for Settlement With Striking Workers

The bootlegging jobber in the cap-making branch of the needle trades is being lassoed and brought under civilized union conditions. The cap-making jobbers have never had any agreement with the union. They have roamed wild and loose, tearing up the fences of union strongholds and feeding the sweatshops with their non-union conditions. These jobbers have played the so-called manufacturing shops one against the other until they hold the whip hand. Now, the union is determined to bring the wild horses under control with proper union harness. And it is showing that it can do the job.

Already the largest jobber in New York is negotiating, and the 2,500 capmakers are confident that the remaining jobbers and wholesalers will see the light soon and settle. The biggest independent shops to the number of 13—an unlucky number to the bosses—have already settled. But not until the jobbers and the association "come across" will the union cry halt.

The men and women are holding a mass meeting today at noon, to be followed by a chairman's meeting which will reform picket lines, organize captains and privates more effectively for a fight to a successful finish.

**The Union's Demands**

The demands of the union are very clear:

1. The jobbers who have never had any agreement with the union must begin doing business with the only recognized spokesmen of the workers, to enable the industry to carry on and provide for decent conditions for the toilers. These jobbers must in turn do business only with union shops.

If the union can enforce this demand, as it is confident that it can, it will have once for all wiped out what it regards as the greatest menace to existing and better standards for the workers in the industry.

2. Wages must be raised all along the line in union shops; the minimum scales must be raised at least 10 per cent. with a five dollar raise for all workers.
3. The forty-hour week must find a place in the capmaking industry.
4. The unemployment fund must be maintained. All measures to enforce a union shop must be taken.

With the independent shop which have been doing business with the union, the capmakers had relatively little trouble. Some 13 of the largest of these settled soon after the strike began on July 1, conceding a \$3-4 increase in wages, and calling for the forty-hour week on July 1, 1927. However, the Wholesale Hat and Cap Manufacturers' Association has not settled and has made counter demands which the union indignantly refuses to accept. They demand the abolition of the unemployment fund, no paid legal holidays, the right to discharge 20 per cent of the workers each year; the right to employ independent of the union office, and a system of apprentices. In other words, in the union's opinion, the employers in the association are bargaining to undermine conditions instead of considering their improvement. The employers probably know they will have to concede much, and their counter-demands are not taken seriously by union officials.

**Leaders on Picket Line**

J. M. Budish, secretary, and J. Roberts, chairman of the General Strike Committee were on the picket line early Monday morning, and helped to cheer and organize the several hundred on the job. Today, there will be a mass meeting at which Louis Hyman of the Cloakmakers, Nathan Spector of the Millinery branch, M. Zuckerman, secretary of the Capmakers' International, A. Mendelowitz, and J. Roberts and Budish will speak.

Formal demands, as a basis for a new collective working agreement, have been submitted to the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

These demands are:

1. All work cut, made and carted to be handled by union labor only.
2. Immediate institution of minimum wage scale.
3. Elimination of superfluous contractors.
4. Complete registration of contractors and manufacturers for whom they work.
5. To clearly define grades of quality in garments, a demarcation line of 25 per cent. difference in price between grades shall be set.
6. Manufacturers who send work to non-union or non-registered shops shall be fined.

To these demands the manufacturers' spokesmen gave a vague reply, speaking in generalities about "competition with the non-union markets," complaining that business had been bad. One of the employers' representatives, however, conceded that the union demands were largely just, but said that this was not a proper time for the employers to grant such demands.

Sydney Hillman, president of the union, contended that there was no ground for complaint about production in New York; that these costs are not higher, and in many instances considerably lower than in other markets.

(Continued on page 2)

### TO THE SUBWAY STRIKERS: An Appeal

YOU are now full fledged trade unionists. Your union is the Consolidated Railroad Workers of Greater New York.

You realize more than you have ever done before that Hedley's union was no union at all. He invented it in order to "kid" you into believing that you had a say in the management. His real purpose was to prevent you from thinking about genuine WORKERS' unions. He made each of you swear that you would never join a real union. That is how he kept you asleep. But now you are awake. Your eyes are open. You are groping about.

For ten years you were not even permitted to think of trade unionism. Hardly a man of you who has ever been in a union or through a strike. All that you have had to win this battle has been your true-blue sincerity, your magnificent courage, and your hard-headed common sense. You have been fortunate, also, in having among your leaders in whom all these virtues have been concentrated. What you have lacked, however, has been experience. Hedley's company union robbed you of this precious gift. That was his aim and in that he has succeeded.

You pride yourselves upon your skill, you motormen, switchmen, towermen, and the rest of you. Even your most bitter enemies will praise you for that. You yourselves count upon it to win you this struggle, for skill only comes after years of experience.

Well, it is the same way with winning strikes. Every fight makes you a better fighter. Next time you strike, if you have to, you will be able to do much better. Don't Hedley and Quackenbush say they can break this strike because they have done so before? They think they have experience and that you lack it.

But this skill in managing strikes is at your disposal for the asking. There are experts who are willing to jump in and work with your leaders, as soon as the word is given them. They want nothing for themselves. They only want to be assured that they are welcome.

Who are these experts?

They are the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the unions that belong to this great body of organized laboring men and women in this country. It is they who are anxious to advise you, to give of their skill unselfishly. Only your union must first become a part of this American Federation of Labor.

How can this be done? The A. F. of L. consists of one hundred and seven national unions. Each one of them takes charge of a particular trade or craft in the country. The union which has jurisdiction over your business is the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. It has one hundred and one thousand (101,000) members today.

There is only one way for your union to join the American Federation of Labor and no other way. You must first become members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

They are waiting for you.

They are anxious to help you. Your union will remain as it stands. You will join as one body. Your leaders will be kept at the helm. But you will have the advice and support of one hundred and one thousand (101,000) other workers and their leaders.

You have no time to lose. Every moment counts. If you join the A. F. of L. now, it will give encouragement to other workers to join your strike. Ask your leaders to apply for a charter to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Railway Employees.

Do it Now! Be part of the organized labor movement of America!

### SHOE WORKERS TO HOLD SPECIAL MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK

By order of the Joint Council all locals of the American Shoe Workers Protective Union will hold special meetings this week as follows:

Local No. 1 (Cutters): Monday evening.

Local No. 2 (Goodyear Operators): Tuesday evening.

Local No. 3 (Heel and Edgemakers): Thursday evening.

Local No. 4 (Finishers and Packers): Thursday evening.

Local No. 5 (Fitters): Local: Tuesday evening.

Local No. 6 (Lasters): Local: Wednesday evening.

The Executive Board of Local No. 7 (Children's Shoe Workers' Local) will meet on Tuesday evening to set the date for the general local meeting.

The plans for re-organization of the Union as adopted by the Joint Council at its last meetings will be submitted to the members at the above mentioned special meetings. Nominations for new business agents will also take place at the same meetings. All members are requested to attend their respective local meetings.

### SUPREME COURT DELAYS INJUNCTION AGAINST STRIKING GROCERY CLERKS

At a hearing in the Supreme Court on the request made by the Holland Dairy Company of Broadway for an injunction against their striking grocery clerks, the judge refused to do so until another hearing would be held on July 27th.

The union's case was presented by Morris Hillquit. The union is conducting a strike against the three stores that are operated by this company. The union will continue its picketing and all other strike activities.

**COLORADO COLLEGE TO  
USE UNION PRINTING ONLY**

Colorado Springs, July 13.—Only union shops will get printing orders from Colorado College, located at Colorado Springs, under an agreement reached between the College management and the Allied Printing Trades Council.

### NONE RETURN TO THE OLD SLAVERY

#### Interborough Still Crippled—People Fear to Ride on "Scab"-Operated Trains

THE Interborough subway strikers have called Hedley's bluff and thrown his "ultimatum" into the waste basket.

The Interborough's "zero hour" has come and gone and it is still out in the cold. The men have stood solid. None have returned to their old jobs, reports of the Interborough's paid news poisoners notwithstanding.

The Interborough's claim of 90 per cent. normal service is a fraud. Even if they were operating 90 per cent. of the normal number of trains, the fact that they are running them on half speed cuts this figure in half. But they are not running anywhere near 90 per cent. of normal.

The Interborough knows it is on the losing end.

The "safest railroad in the world" has become the unsafest and people shun it like a plague.

The great transit system has crumbled because the men who operate it are on strike.

The strikers need only stand fast, tie up with organized labor and victory will be theirs.

Their fighting spirit was shown yesterday in the Manhattan Casino, where the strikers were gathered. Just as the noonday whistles blew and the hands of the clock on the wall pointed to the hour of 12, one of the strikers jumped to a chair and, interrupting a speaker who was addressing about 500 men present, shouted: "Well, boys, it's 12 o'clock. We're all fired!"

A great shout arose. Many leaped to chairs and threw their hats high. Others gathered together and began to sing:

"Hail, hail, the gang's all here!" And above the shouting could be heard the voice of Harry Rath, one of the strike leaders:

"Now the strike has just begun!"

But this was as nothing in comparison to the wild scene which followed announcement of the company's extension of the ultimatum's time.

The strikers screamed and shouted, knowing the postponement to be an admission of weakness on the part of subway officials.

The New York City subway strike enters its second week with these new developments:

1. The extension of time-limit to noon, Tuesday, July 13, 1926, at which strikers must return to work or lose their jobs. Tuesday finds the men still solid.

2. The emphasis upon the Consolidated Railway Workers' Union of Greater New York as an independent organization in contrast to Hedley's Brotherhood.

3. Very rapidly experience is driving trade unionism into the blood and marrow of the subway strikers. They started out with Hedley's company union doping their brains. The Interborough cured them by its insincerity and trickery in the early negotiations over arbitration. Today the Brotherhood is dead with the strikers. They cheer and applaud the Consolidated Railway Workers' Union of Greater New York.

4. Sympathetic walk-out of towermen.
5. The sympathetic walk-out and affiliation of about one hundred and fifty motive power employees, chiefly from the sub-stations, under the leadership of James F. Walsh.

The twenty-four sub-stations transform the electricity generated in the two main power houses to a voltage

(Continued on page 2)



## COMPANY UNION HEADS SLAVES TO I. R. T.

The New York Times and the Truth About the "Brotherhood's" Contribution

Robert W. Dunn

Many of the company union delegates are "in line" for promotion if they serve Mr. Hedley's interests well in their various "locals" or on the General Committee of the "Interborough Brotherhood." A large number of those who have been elected by fellow workers to "represent" them on company union committees have found favor with the company by catering to management's interests. Their reward has been given them in the shape of higher positions. Some of them, for example, even while still acting as company union delegates are being trained to take positions in the cashiers office of the company. This bait has been effective in keeping most of these delegates thoroughly "loyal" to management.

It is also to be noted that some of the weak "brothers" who have been elected to the "Brotherhood," as the striking motormen call it, have at first made large promises as to what they would obtain for their constituents if elected as local or General Committee officials. However, once in office and up against the stone wall of management association the promises are usually forgotten and the excuse given to complaining rank and file, "What can we do? Connolly is boss. He runs the works."

### Connolly the Faithful

Mr. Patrick J. Connolly, as the world has learned in the past few days, happens to be the grand exalted President of the General Committee of the company union. His duties and functions are specifically stated in Article 3, section 1, of the "Brotherhood Constitution." After reading these carefully we can find no clause empowering Mr. Connolly to call in members of the New York police force to break up a meeting of a company union local. This was Mr. Connolly's way of meeting the spreading revolt among the motormen on the L lines and illustrates significantly the breadth of freedom enjoyed by workers under a company-controlled brotherhood.

Another perfect example of "liberty and responsibility" as advanced by advocates of company unionism, notably the New York Times, may be found in the letter mailed by one Keenan, the President of Local 3, comprising the Stationmen on the Subway Division. It seems that some of the stationmen desired to call a meeting to decide whether they should strike in support of the motormen and switchmen as well as for their own demands (stationmen work 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Yes, they have their own grievances!). The meeting was called for July 5th at Manhattan Casino. Leaflets were distributed by certain interested stationmen. As soon as one reached the hands of the President of this company union local he immediately blabbed to the company. He was instructed and empowered by them to send a message at once to all members in his local informing them curtly that should any man attend this meeting he would be promptly fired from his job.

Here we have the company union notion of freedom in a nut shell. Workers on their own time, and after working hours, desire to attend a meeting. The company, through its company union tool, serves them immediately with the notice that to attend this meeting means loss of their jobs.

### The "Times" Reasoning

We mentioned above the New York Times, which has attacked the workers who have dared to revolt against the unpeppery slavery of the company union. The Times tells us this "labor union" yes, really, the Times calls it just that—"has functioned satisfactorily for several years." This is the truth if one adds the phrase "for Mr. Hedley and the I. R. T. management." The Times omits this phrase. It also speaks of this bastard "brotherhood" as "self-government" and "a system of common effort for the correction of abuses and for the sharing of profits" and "the best means of keeping the peace within the industry." These are very pretty words, full of hypocrisy and hokum. We have heard them before from open shoppers and "engineering corporations" employing industrial spies to smash labor unions. Nowadays the enemies of labor invariably resort to these hollow words about "industrial government." Let us see what this government means to the workers.

First, as we pointed out before, it means virtual slavery for the workers. Slavery through a yellow dog contract, the yellowest ever contracted by an American workman. Whether he likes it or not, the I. R. T. employee is herded into the company union. Should he desire to affiliate with a real labor union he immediately loses his job.

Of course, the company union has a constitution, very sacred in the eyes of Mr. Hedley and worshipped by Pat Connolly; a very present defense in time of trouble with awakening and revolting members. But let us see if this constitution is observed by the very company patriots who proclaim its sanctity. Special meetings of the brotherhood locals may be called by petitions signed by 50 members. When workers have attempted to call meetings in this way within recent days they have been blocked at every turn. Meetings are held when, and only when, Mr. Connolly and the company desire them. The constitution is adjourned temporarily for their benefit.

## STRIKERS!

Attend Your Strike Meetings Every Day  
It Is Important That You Keep In Touch With Developments

## A. C. W. Presents Demands to Bosses

(Continued from page 1)

He exploded the myth about the "success of non-union firms" citing the bankruptcy of the Daniel Boone Woolen Mills and other firms that have gone under or are close to failure. The discussion between the representatives of the employers and the Union lasted several hours. It was finally decided to continue the negotiations between sub-committees to be appointed by the Union and the employers. Any understanding reached by these smaller committees is to be accepted as the understanding of the entire conference.

Immediately following the adjournment of the conference a meeting of the entire Union delegation took place at the General Office. At this meeting, presided over by General President Hillman, the Union's sub-committee which was to continue the negotiations with the employers was named. At the same time it was made clear that in no case shall the Union allow the negotiations to be protracted beyond a reasonable period.

The Union's representatives on the conference committee included General Officers Sidney Hillman and Joseph Schlossberg and the following representatives of the New York Joint Board: Manager A. Beckerman, Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Miller, Trade Managers L. Hollander, J. Catalinotti, P. Monat, and M. Blumenreich; and Brothers Arnove, Itzkowitz, Coratola, Achiron, Clinto, Reich, Siegel, Rubin, and Herman. Several members of the Conference Committee were absent, probably having been unable to reach the conference as a result of the subway strike, which went into effect that morning.

The conference was scheduled to be held on Thursday, July 1, but was postponed owing to the absence from the city of a number of members of the employers' conference committee who had left for vacations in connection with the Fourth of July weekend.

## British Strike Grows Intense

(Continued from page 1)

contributions are a mere drop in the bucket. To win this fight, millions of American dollars must come across the Atlantic.

American workers should remember they have a direct stake in the struggle. The effort to lengthen the working day of the British miners is part of a general assault on the wages and working conditions of European labor.

From Italy comes word that Mussolini has wiped out the eight-hour day for Italian workers, and that the Fascist company unions are to be conducted hereafter as revenue producing agencies for the dictator and his lieutenants.

The eight-hour day is being sacrificed in Germany, and there are indications that similar action will be taken in France, on the plea that the workers must bear the greater part of the burden of restoring the country's finances. Undoubtedly American financiers and capitalists of industry are encouraging the governments of Europe in their war on labor. If they can enslave the workers on this side of the Atlantic, they can use them to force down the wages of American workers.

The leaders of the British Trade Union Congress appreciate the gravity of the situation. They have postponed the meeting called to listen to explanations of why the general strike was called off, and are doing what they can to help the miners.

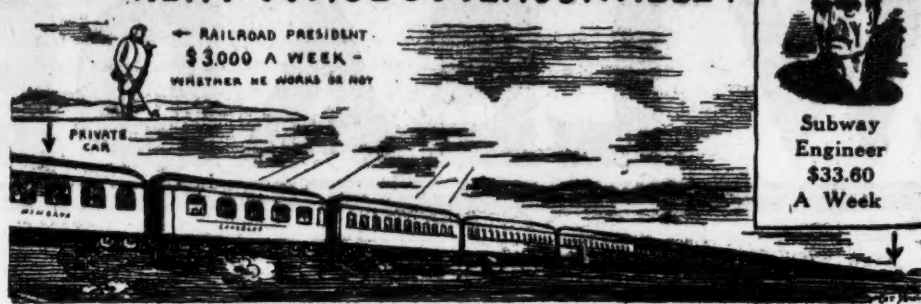
The government's attitude has revived talk of a resumption of the general strike. Impetus has been given this movement by now planning to pass laws to hamper all trade union activities.

One provision would authorize the government to take the place of the trade union in receiving and counting strike ballots.

For it is dangerous to have meetings just now, they contend. The workers in other sections might decide to break from the Brotherhood, strike, and join the Consolidated. To hell with the constitution when the company's little limited monarchy is faced with such a dangerous rebellion!

It is also to be observed that the constitution says nothing about workers' immunities of any sort. For the worker has no civil rights. He may be spied on by company stool pigeons both at work and in his "local" meeting and discriminated against for even discussing trade unionism. Some company unions in American industry give the worker at least a formal promise that he will not be discriminated against for belonging to any order, lodge, race, creed, church or union. This promise may be, and often is, broken. But the Interborough "system of industrial government," as we have noted, doesn't even give a formal promise. In fact, it declares quite clearly just the opposite, namely, that it does and will discriminate against any worker who dares to breathe the free air of trade unionism and a labor movement independent of employers' control.

## AREN'T WAGES REASONABLE?



## Sammy Green Got the Gate, But Took Hedley's Goat Along

This is the historic case of Sammy Green, delegate from a guard's local, and one of the straightest men ever elected to represent the I. R. T. workers in the Brotherhood. He was a great speaker and he did all he could for the workers in spite of the checks and limitations of the constitution. And he paid the penalty.

According to a close friend of Sammy's, the valiant fighter's last tilt with Hedley was somewhat as follows: Green went to Hedley to complain about the large number of men who had been thrown on the unemployed market by some new efficiency device of the I. R. T. He told Hedley he ought to do something for this human waste.

Hedley told him, "Keep your mouth shut and lay low." Sammy replied, "What do you think I'm a delegate for?" Hedley's reply was, "Get the hell out of this office. I'm going to fire you."

He Spilt in Hedley's Eye  
At this point Sammy is reported to have spat in Hedley's eye in the good old Russian fashion.

"And I'm going to have you arrested, too," Hedley continued.

But Sammy stood his ground and replied, "I'm not running."

This may be pure motormen's folklore, but at any rate Sammy received one of those terse little notifications, saying, "We do not require your services any longer."

One worker from the stationmen's local tells how the company union General Committee, headed by Connolly, keeps all the locals well in hand and permits no move inimical to the company to be put over. Even though the worker members of a local may be 100 per cent in favor of reducing the hours from 12 to 8, and although all the local's delegates may go to the General Committee and voted for this change, no action can be taken, no negotiations can be carried on with the company except through the General Committee on which the company easily manages to maintain a majority vote of its dupes. The same worker tells how a few months ago his local brought in a demand for a full hour for the lunch period instead of the present half-hour period. The local was unanimously for it. But the General Committee killed the move when it had listened to Mr. Hedley's lawyers' stacks of statistics on the bankruptcy of this parasite company which still pays 5 per cent interest to the holders of sixty million dollars' worth of watered stock.

Where the Gains Come From  
The same worker admits that during the first two years of the company union plan certain minor benefits did seem to come from it. In reality these slight improvements could have been given by the company without the fantastic company union arrangement. But at the same time the purpose of keeping out the real A. F. of L. union would not have been served so adequately. These minor adjustments "sold" the company union to the workers during the first few months. But when the company ran out of introductory "selling features" favors the interest in the company union, except at election times when the soft delegates' jobs were to be fought for, waned considerably. In recent years the oppression has been gaining. Any member who dares to rise on the floor of a local meeting and voice a real protest

will hear shouts from the officialdom on the platform, "What's that guy's name? Take his number. What's he trying to get away with here?" And of course the spy will be at the meeting to report back to the company who this trouble-maker was, with suggestions on how to handle the "disturber." These spies have done much to deepen the job-fear in the hearts of the I. R. T. workers. They have not dared to speak the truth to any person inquiring concerning their conditions.

One worker put it this way: "If any stranger comes along and asks you, 'How's conditions?' you've got to answer: 'Fine. Greatest place in the world to work.' And if you don't answer that way, who knows, you may be talking to a company spy and when you get to your terminal that night the boss may stop you off and say, 'What are you doing, Harry? Ain't you satisfied? Guess you better look around for another opening if you don't like it here.'"

Hedley Demands "Loyalty"

Since 1916, Hedley and his associates have been demanding this kind of "loyalty." They have been making the men sign on the dotted line to be "good," faithful to the financial manipulators at the head of the I. R. T., and to stay away from real labor organizations. To-day comes the first blind revolt by previously cowed and intimidated men against this conception of "loyalty." As Macey, one of the big Irish strikers, shouted one night at a meeting, "We're like a bunch of rats coming up out of the old sewer. We're like rats because they've treated us like rats. Now we're going to be men."

But anyone who tries to be a man is handled like Lavin was handled by George Keegan, assistant to Hedley. Once when Lavin had fought Keegan and caught him in a dirty trick, Keegan came back: "You're a socialist, Lavin. And you're going to lose your job." I doubt if Lavin had ever heard the word Socialist before.

Phelan, the secretary of the new Consolidated union, told the boys at a strike meeting one night, "They've ground us down physically, boys, but far worse, they've tied us in a cage—mentally."

And they've done this chiefly through handing out cigars and preferments to company union delegates of the weaker sort, a full day's pay, for example, on local meeting days with only two hours attending a meeting in the morning and two hours in the evening. "Pretty soft," they say, and few men can stand up against these indirect bribes distributed in the form of jobs—with proper "elections" of course—through the company union machinery.

And on top of all this the Interborough Bulletin full of family gossip, company booster editorials, pictures of happy brides and grooms, and the rest of the sound "psychological stuff" to wear "identity of interest" tracks through the tired worker's mind.

"My God, how often the company has tried to get a picture of me, my wife and 13 children," says Harry Post, one of the motormen who has refused to fall for the company's welfare game.

R. W. D.

## CUTTERS! ATTENTION!

Members of the Amalgamated Ladies Garment Cutters' Union, Local 10, I. L. G. W. U.

## SPECIAL STRIKE MEETING

TOMORROW, WEDNESDAY, 1 P. M.

(July 14th)

At ARLINGTON HALL

19 St. Mark's Place

Every Cutter Must Come Without Fail!

## INDUSTRIALISTS MUZZLE TRUTH

Wisconsin Professor Declares Newspapers Color News of Labor Movement

Commenting upon the coloring of industrial news, Willard G. Bleyer, director of journalism at Wisconsin University, says in a recently published article:

"When towns are practically owned and controlled by coal mining companies or copper mining interests, or by manufacturing concerns, local correspondents of newspapers and press associations are afraid to send out the facts regarding events and conditions for fear of incurring the ill-will of those in control of their communities."

"A few years ago in the strike of bituminous coal miners in West Virginia, the reports sent out by the local representatives of the press associations were such that the New York World took a vigorous stand against the miners and in favor of the operators. Then the editors grew suspicious of some of the news reports and sent to the seat of trouble a special correspondent to investigate. After looking into conditions carefully, he returned to New York and wrote a series of articles giving the facts as he had found them. On the strength of this more complete and accurate news the New York World reversed its editorial policy."

"Today, withholding the miners and denouncing the tactics of the operators. Similar conditions prevailed in the coal strike in Colorado, in the steel strike in Pennsylvania, and in the copper strike in the upper peninsula of Michigan."

"If we cannot secure complete and accurate news concerning industrial disturbances under such conditions in our own country because of a virtual censorship by private interests, is it pricing that we cannot get the truth and the whole truth from other countries because of similar restrictions?"

## UNITY HOUSE SEASON NOW IN FULL SWING

The Unity House at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, one of the most beautiful summer resorts for workers, owned by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, has announced a new rate for members of other trade unions, making it more conducive for them to come out.

The season was started with the special rate of \$25 a week for members of other unions. But in considering the fact that many workers of other trades who, because of the fact that they may have been unemployed, or on strike for some time, would find that rate prohibitive, and since the resort is not run for profit, but rather as a means of offering workers an opportunity to enjoy their vacations at a nominal cost, the rate has been reduced to \$21 a week. All those who have already paid the higher rate will be refunded the difference by applying to the New York office at 3 West 16th street.

It is believed that this reduction will help in bringing out greater numbers of workers to Unity House, where they will appreciate the fine things that can be accomplished by workers' co-operation in this field.

## HEADGEAR WORKERS' LYCEUM BUZZING

Clockmakers and capmakers are fraternizing in the headquarters of the latter, Headgear Workers' Lyceum. They are fraternizing in the great throngs buzzing in and out of this magnificent building. At the same time, their demands are essentially the same—civilizing the jobber, putting a union harness on the wild colt of the needle trades. Many of those on strike are young, breezy and seem quite capable of bringing the jobbers into the union ranch. If you have any doubts, ask some of the pickets.

## Capmakers Win Abolition Of Sweatshops by Strike

Chicago, July 12.—A two-day strike by Local 3, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, resulted in abolition of sweatshop conditions and irresponsible subcontracting in the Chicago industry.

After the 400 strikers had won this principal demand, they agreed to arbitration of the two remaining points, a 35 weekly wage boost and the 40-hour 5-day week, and went back to work. The strike had closed 47 shops, comprising over 35 percent of the production in the city.

THE NEXT STRIKE EXTRA Of the New Leader Will Be Out THURSDAY Watch for It! News of All the Strikes

## MASS. TEXTILE STRIKE GOES ON

Efforts of Union Adjust Grievances Fail—2,000 Workers Affected

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., July 12.—Abraham Binns, first vice-president of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, has returned to New Bedford from Adams, where with James Tansey, of Fall River, president of the A. F. of T. O., he had spent three days in an endeavor to bring about some agreement between the operatives of the Berkshire Cotton Manufacturing Co. and the management.

Despite a long conference held by the Union officials with a committee representing the operatives, Binns said that no agreement had been reached.

The strike has been in progress three weeks and will continue, Mr. Binns said as he saw no immediate prospect of a change in the attitude of the workers. The strike started when the management called on the girls in the speeder room to operate three speeders instead of two that are usually allowed. The girls were an organized group, but they gained the support of the weavers who came out in sympathy with them with the result that the entire mill, employing 2,000 workers, was soon shut down.

Mr. Binns said that the mill was anxious to demonstrate over a period of two or three months the feasibility of a girl running three speeders, using three or four girls for the experiment. The operatives objected with the resultant strike.

### Rail Mediation Board Is Organized

Washington, July 12.—Samuel Winslow of Massachusetts, former chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, has been chosen chairman of the Railroad Mediation Board. At the suggestion of the Senate, the board is to take up first the Western Maryland strike.

I do as the capitalists do: pinch what I can lay me 'ands on.—"The Man," in "Major Barbara," by Bernard Shaw.

## BROPHY URGES U. S. OWN MINES

Penn. Union Leader Tells Labor Chautauqua Nationalization Is Needed

DAGUS MINES, Pa., July 12.—Nationalization is the hope of the coal miners and their families, John Brophy, president, District No. 2, United Mine Workers, told the Labor Chautauqua at Dagus Mines, Elk County. Without public ownership and workers' share in management, there is no future for them, he said.

Brophy was speaking to a union hall packed with men, women and children who have been bitterly suffering from the evils of private ownership and mismanagement of this basic industry. Their employer, the North-western Mining and Exchange Company, a subsidiary of the Erie Railroad shut down the mines three and a half months ago.

International conventions of the miners' union have gone on record for the principle of nationalization, said the speaker. But he warned the workers that the new system will not come down like manna from the skies. Much hard, earnest work is necessary.

Nationalization must be made a political issue, he said. If the two old parties fail to support the program, then the miners must get together with the rest of the workers and the public and take steps to reorganize the industry. Brophy urged that study classes be formed in Dagus Mines to acquaint the workers with the larger program. Such classes will shortly be started there. It was announced at the close of the meeting by Paul W. Fuller, educational director for the union.

With the vision of the larger program before the workers the central Pennsylvania district head believes they will be able to fight their union battles more effectively and wrest larger concessions from the operators. Dealing with the wage fight now in progress, Brophy said that every attempt of operators to modify or evade the contracts they have signed will be resisted. Many strikes are now on in District No. 2.

Nationalization was the keynote of other Chautauqua addresses. Vice-president James Mark urged the miners to press forward for the full product of their toil, a condition that could be realized when industry was nationalized. Fuller likewise gave a spirited nationalization talk.

### Egan Returns From Mine Survey

Washington, July 12.—James Egan, editor of the A. F. of L. News Letter, has returned from a month's survey of conditions in the British mine strike districts.

## FOLLOW THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Every Friday in

## THE NEW LEADER

"America's Foremost Labor Paper"

The Regular Editions of The New Leader, Out Every Friday, Contain 10 Pages of Authoritative and Vigorous News and Articles About Labor's Struggles.

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## THE NEW LEADER

7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.



## FRAME-UP PLOT AN OLD GAME OF BOSSES

**Attempt to Put Up "Deserted Woman" Case on Weisbord Tried Before**

The attempt of the mill bosses of Passaic to get rid of Albert Weisbord through a "jilted woman" frame-up charge, engineered by the clumsy "international spy," Jacob Nosovitsky, assisted by the Eagle Detective Agency, professional strike breakers of New York city, brings to mind other stories of its kind in the history of American labor.

It is a rare union organizer who has not had this type of frame-up leveled against him by the employers. There are plenty of "industrial associates" and "engineering bureaus" who make a specialty of this kind of thing. Sometimes they are shaking down big cash from wealthy Puritans who are framed up in some bedroom farce. But, on the call of the open shop labor hater, such as the Botany Mills at Passaic, these agencies will use their female operatives in an effort to "get" the labor press or radical organizer.

The stories which follow are typical of hundreds that might be told by those connected with the labor movement. It is interesting to note that the S. S. White Dental Co. is one of the loud exponents of the company union plan of reconciling capital and labor.

**Woman Sent to Slander Strike Leader**  
Tactics of a somewhat dramatic character were employed by the Sherman agency in a strike of the S. S. White Dental workers on Staten Island a few years ago. They tried out the broken-hearted woman gag in an effort to show the workers what blackguards their strike leaders were.

Early in the strike a young woman, shabbily dressed, painted brightly and with reddish hair, appeared at the factory. She mixed with the girls and told them a pathetic tale about being under a doctor's care and about her health and her search for the pure sea air. She did not expect to work in the S. S. White Co. She didn't know about the factory, let alone the strike. All that she asked was a nice rooming place wherein to recover her health. The girl strikers believed her.

One of them took her to her mother's home and she roomed there during her stay at Princess Bay, Staten Island. It was there that she was visited by an unknown man several times. Later it was discovered (and admitted by this man) that he worked for the Sherman Service (now known as the Sherman Corporation), Engineers—America's richest labor spy agency.

### Joins the Picketers

The convalescent young lady spent most of the first few days with the strikers on the picket line. The second day she was there she asked one of the girls, the name of the strike leader. The girl told her that Fred Biedenka was in charge. The young lady immediately feigned considerable agitation and surprise. Then she told the girl her story. She said she knew this man well, that she had worked with him once as an organizer and lived with him during a strike at Woodhaven, in May, 1916. Biedenka had been untrue to her, he was a very terrible man, she had a grudge against him, and now was the time to get even with him. This and other circumstances damaging to the character of the organizer, she related to the strikers. She told about the evil organization Biedenka represented and advised the strikers not to listen to him and his preachments, but to go back to work.

The strikers, most of them gullible country girls, seemed horrified at this story and gave it complete credence. Biedenka was next day confronted with the tale. He appreciated the seriousness of the situation and asked to see the girl. She was pointed out to him. He immediately called a meeting of the strikers in an open lot and told the workers to call her to attend. She came. Biedenka cross-examined her before the crowd showing her that she knew nothing about the Woodhaven strike and did not even know the location of Woodhaven. She answered brazenly, but was unable to meet the third degree. Biedenka accused her of being a paid agent of the company, and promised the strikers he would publicly produce some workers from Woodhaven for purposes of identification. This test was set for the occasion of the strikers' benefit bazaar.

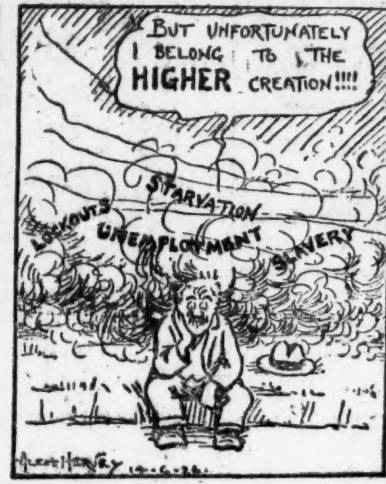
### A Gangster Escort

On the day of the bazaar Biedenka arrived with thirty of the workers who had been most active in the Woodhaven strike. The girl came, this time accompanied by an escort of armed gangsters. All the Woodhaven people declared they had never seen her, and she was thus completely discredited before the strikers.

Even after that she stayed in the vicinity of the factory for several weeks, accompanied by guards. She also continued to come to the meetings and stood in the front row making faces at the speakers. But her career as a rest-cure patient and a sympathetic friend of the strikers had ended. She became known among the girls as "the monkey."

Some men have been touched by the grace of truth, and henceforth they are devoting their strength, their ability and their lives to reveal to other men that the misfortune suffered by the world in 1914-18 was not as much the tragical result of the war as of the whole organization of society.—Anatole France.

## Striker Jack Thinks It Over



## PASSAIC BOSSES IN NEW MOVE

**Textile Barons Strive to Defeat Strike by Fake 'Citizens' Committee**

PASSAIC, July 13.—Legal terrorism having failed to break the spirit of the 16,000 heroic striking textile workers of Passaic and vicinity, and the cruel starvation offensive against the strikers and their babies having come to naught because of the staunch support and generous aid of organized labor, the textile bosses have launched a new offensive.

This time the bosses and the boss-owned police and judges are staying in the background. They know the strikers have their number! They have organized a new force for their dirty work. The black vigilantes of greed! They have stamped the bankers and merchants of the strike zone with the scare-bogey of a dull fall and winter if the strike is not settled immediately, and on the bosses' terms.

These potential lynchers have responded nobly to the appeal to protect their pocketbooks. They met the other night in a court house and announced their intention of driving the strike leaders out of town and breaking the strike for the bosses. Then they issued a page statement in the local newspapers addressed to "our fellow citizens, the textile workers in the Passaic industrial district," advising the striking textile workers that here at last were their true and loving friends, and urging upon them the necessity of getting rid of their leaders and going back to work—on the bosses' terms.

## SHEET METAL WORKERS CONSIDER PEACE PACT

Washington, July 13.—Representatives of all the 150 locals of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association have been invited to meet with the general executive board in special session at headquarters in Washington, to consider the peace pact with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, signed by President Hines and ratified some weeks ago by the Carpenters' executive board.

Members of the executive board of the Sheet Metal Workers decided that before ratifying the terms on which their 20-year dispute with the Carpenters as to jurisdiction should be settled, they needed a full expression of sentiment from the locals.

### Strikers' Children



Here is a Group of Children of West Virginia Mine Strikers Evicted From Company Owned Homes. They Make Their Home, Winter as Well as Summer, in Tents Such as the One in the Background Here.

## W. H. JOHNSTON RETIRES; WHARTON IS INSTALLED AS MACHINISTS' HEAD

Washington, July 13.—William H. Johnston formally retired from the presidency of the International Association of Machinists when Arthur O. Wharton, chosen by the executive council as his successor, took charge. Bidding farewell to the membership after 14½ years as president, Johnston emphasized the moral values in the trade union movement. In the official Journal he says: "In my early boyhood I became impressed with the seriousness of life, and in my studies of economic and industrial problems it dawned upon me that our present social and industrial systems, where the few have too much and the many have too little, were unsound and unholy."

"If we are wise we will be less visionary and more practical by concentrating our efforts in the direction of securing immediate and material benefits; posterity will automatically benefit from any improved environment enjoyed by the present adult generation, because these immediate and material benefits pave the way for our children to enjoy better and greater opportunities of self improvement, education and understanding."

Throw yourself on the altar of some great cause! Enthusiasm is the life of the soul!—Wendell Phillips.

## POISONING THE DAYS NEWS By McAlister Coleman

To the serious student of the American scene, if indeed one can keep his sanity while gazing upon contemporary capitalism at work, there is nothing more amazing than a glimpse into the offices of a modern press agent, or as he would prefer to be called, 'Counselor on Public Relations.'

Amidst luxurious surroundings that even the largest newspapers would not dare to rival, recent college graduates under the tutelage of one or two newspaper veterans are rushing about in a state of pop-eyed excitement, telephoning, grinding out copy on electrically-driven typewriters, calling for messenger-boys, generally behaving as though a breathless public were hanging upon their every action. A city room just before press time is a place of comparative calm alongside a modern propaganda mill stripped for action.

The bewildered visitor who asks what all this feverish bustle is about is informed that a client of the agency is about to deliver a speech on 'America's Red Menace and How to Stamp It Out' before the American Association of Patriotic Brokers. Clerks and that every word of this immortal effort must be in the hands of the newspaper men by the time the client reaches his feet and commences with the joke about the two Irishmen. Year by year these mills increase both in personnel and output. A generation ago the press agent, employed almost exclusively by theatre folk, was generally regarded by the newspapers as a slinking pariah to be scorned and shunned by all God-fearing reporters. Today despite the fact that he is at the same old game of getting something for nothing he is accepted everywhere and looked upon as a professional man. Press agents such as the notorious Ivy Lee (formerly known as Poison Ivy Lee) are respected and feared by working newspaper men. Canned interviews, canned reports of the doings of the Super-Babbits, canned statements of their views on every conceivable topic from immortality to immorality are not only accepted but dished out to readers as legitimate news. A few weeks ago a press agent advertised his services in the columns of the New York Times, something that would have been absolutely impossible a few years back. It is estimated that there are over one thousand working press agents who spend all their time on the job in this country today and there are many thousands more who take on press-agenting as a side line. Wealthy seekers for fame and the ear of the public, whether they go in for bath tub parties or national politics, find a press agent as necessary as a bank account.

More and more reporters are finding it easier to call up the press agent and take his mimeographed version of a news event than to cover the story in person. With the advent of the press agent began the decline of newspaper reporting to the low level it has sunk to today.

Now, whereas before the war the

## STRIKEBREAKERS MISTREATED

**Bosses Forget Them When There Are No Strikers to Shoot, Is Complaint**

CHICAGO, July 13.—The Illinois national guard which became conspicuous in the 1922 railroad shop strike and other labor disputes is not getting proper co-operation from the manufacturers whose anti-labor policies it helps to further. That is the substance of a circular by John M. Glenn, secretary of the open-shop Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

"State officers of the Illinois guard are complaining," Glenn tells the employers, "that the service is handicapped to a great extent because some employers seem to be unwilling to allow their men to absent themselves from their duties when occasion necessitates calling out the guard. The same spirit of opposition has been manifested when the soldiers are called into camp."

"It should be remembered that the Illinois national guard is maintained for the protection of the lives and properties of all citizens and fairness

## BERT JEWEL ELECTED CHIEF OF RAIL UNIONS DEPARTMENT OF A. F. L.

Chicago, July 13.—B. M. Jewell of the boilermakers has been re-elected president of the Railway Employees Department, American Federation of Labor, for a two-year term by the 7th convention. J. M. Burns of the sheet-metal workers was elected secretary, defeating John Scott, the incumbent.

There were few controversial issues before the department. A proposal by the machinists to change the voting power so that each craft would vote according to its strength in the department was defeated. It failed to obtain the support of the railway carmen, the largest body in the department, because it was so worded that the carmen would have no more votes than the machinists.

The Watson-Parker railroad law and the R. & O. union-management cooperative plan were explained at length by Donald Richberg, counsel, and O. S. Beyer, consulting engineer, for the department.

should protect the men against the loss of their wages when on duty."

For that reason Glenn wants the employers to pay the difference between their factory wage and the soldier wage when any of their own workers are called out to protect other people's property.

## Subway Strikers Stay Firm

(Continued from page 1)  
usable in the third rail. They do not affect the main source of supply.

6. The creation of a Committee of Six, consisting of the "three musketeers," Edward P. Lavin, Harry Bark, and Joseph G. Phelan of the motormen and switchmen, and the newcomers, James F. Walsh, John Smith and Harry Rath of the power men, with the announcement that the Committee would be increased by representatives of other departments, if conditions warranted it.

This supplies a permanent form of organization.

7. The extension of the use of propaganda leaflets, particularly one (a) giving a wage scale demanded for towermen, conductors, guards, station agents and platform men, besides motormen and switchmen, and (b) asking for an eight hour day and time and a half for overtime.

8. The acquisition of two dozen men from the 180th street yards.

9. The increasing dissatisfaction among workers on other transit lines, especially the B. M. T.

10. The maintenance of practically the status quo in the I. R. T. service.

11. The publication by Medley of a statement concerning finances in which he tries to prove that the I. R. T. will be able to give a 5 per cent. increase in wages only after July 1, 1927.

It is shown that a balance of \$1,485,166.75 will be available a year from now to give a 5 per cent. raise. No connection is pointed out between this item and one of \$5,525,310.82 for rent of subway and "L" lines, which goes into the pockets of the same persons who own the I. R. T. and which is chiefly responsible for the supposedly poor financial status of the company.

12. The bringing before the Transit Commission by the strike leaders of charges against the I. R. T., proving inadequacy of safety provisions.

The commendable little can be expected from this move, since legal action is snail-like.

## Fascist Labor Spokesmen Under League Boycott

Geneva, July 13.—Three representatives of the Fascist Trade Union Federation of Italy appeared at the International Labor Conference, under orders from their party, but were denied membership on any of the commissions that do the work of the conferences. Jouhaux of France, Merens of Belgium and other trade unionists denounced suppression of the real labor unions in Italy by the Fascist dictatorship.

ing but an attempt to discredit public ownership the world over.—(An address before the League for Industrial Democracy.)

Drawn by Alex Hervey

## RUNAWAY SHOP PAYS MORE FINES

**Company That Ran Away From Union Runs Afoul of the Law in Illinois**

WAUKEGAN, Ill., July 13.—For the second time in five months William Granert and Edwin Rothschild, heads of the runaway Granert and Rothschild firm manufacturing men's clothing in Waukegan, were arrested on complaints regarding conditions in their plant, pleaded guilty and paid fines.

The second arrest of the firm was on State's Attorney Smith's initiative, who sent Maud McCreery of the Federated Press, who is in Waukegan investigating industrial conditions, and Ida Himelreich, official of the Waukegan Humane Society, into the plant. They reported that the women's washrooms apparently had not been swept and scrubbed for days and that only four towels, one a roller towel, and all soiled, were provided for 75 women. They also reported failure of the firm to comply with the State law requiring posting in plain sight a list of their employees under the age of 16 when two girls under this age were working in the shop.

The previous arrest came in February when the firm paid fines totaling \$118 because of sharp practice in short-changing its employees on wages. "Industries like this are a disgrace to Waukegan," Smith declared. "They are welcomed into town by the chamber of commerce because they add to our industrial activity, and then they pay such miserable wages that the workers have no money at the end of the week to spend. Instead of helping Waukegan such industries give us a black eye."

It is reported that the Granert-Rothschild firm came to Waukegan to escape union conditions in Chicago, where the men's clothing industry is operated under an agreement between employers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The Waukegan clothing workers are unorganized.

exclusively for the purpose of supplying food, clothing and the necessities of life to the miners' families who are suffering because of the long-continued strike.

"We appeal to you to respond quickly and generously to this call for help. Let us help our fellow-workers who are resisting a substantial reduction in their living standards. The cry of the women and children must appeal to our generous sentiments. They need help and need it now."

The council asks that all contributions be sent to Frank Morrison, secretary, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington.

## AN EARNEST APPEAL TO ALL STRIKERS!

Now that you are on the picket lines battling for conditions that will enable you to enjoy decent wages and living conditions—

Now that you appreciate what it is for workers to sacrifice and face the fierce opposition of all the forces lined up by the bosses—

Now that you are striking for your interests as workers, DON'T SCAB ON OTHER WORKERS BY BUYING SCAB GOODS WHEN YOU CAN BUY UNION MADE GOODS!

UNION MADE GOODS OR SERVICE NEVER COSTS MORE THAN THE SCAB MADE BRAND. UNION MADE GOODS ARE ALWAYS SUPERIOR BECAUSE UNION WORKERS ARE BETTER SKILLED, RECEIVE A LIVING WAGE, AND WORK UNDER CLEAN AND SANITARY CONDITIONS. ALWAYS INSIST ON THESE UNION LABELS:

<p><b>Union Bread</b></p> <p>INTERNATIONAL BREAD (REGISTERED)</p>	<p><b>Union Hats</b></p> <p>REGISTERED</p>
<p><b>Union Cloth Hats, Caps and Millinery</b></p> <p>1834269</p>	<p><b>Union Cigars</b></p>
<p><b>Union Barber Shops</b></p>	<p><b>Union Restaurants</b></p>
<p><b>Union Milk Drivers</b></p>	<p><b>Union Printers</b></p>
<p><b>and Laundry Drivers</b></p>	



# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City  
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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	United States	To Foreign Countries
One Year	\$2.00	\$2.00
Six Months	1.25	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

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

TUESDAY, JULY 13, 1926

## Why the Garment Strike?

WHY are thousands of workers in the women's garment industry on strike? Is it because they like to leave the shops and stop their incomes? Are they following members of the upper classes to Bar Harbor and Newport to enjoy the sea breeze of these resorts? Is it pure cussedness or a desire for pleasure?

The answer is No to all these questions. The women's garment industry is a sick industry. It issued out of the measureless degradation and suffering of the old sweatshop. For decades human beings toiled long hours for starvation wages and under inhuman conditions in this industry. The employing class did nothing to wipe out this hideous pest.

Out of sheer desperation came a revolt of the workers, followed by other revolts, in protest against the slavery of the sweatshop. Some strikes failed, a few succeeded. Year after year this happened until the sentiment of union and solidarity gave birth to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Other trials, other strikes, followed. Some were victories, some were defeats, but slowly the workers in the industry obtained a voice in the industry.

Then began the task of bringing order out of the most chaotic industry in the United States. In time the sweatshop went the way of the pillory, the debtors' prison and the torture chamber. Workers began to work in healthful surroundings. Disease kennels were cleaned up. Light was installed. Ventilation was provided. Comfort, health and conservation of human vitality, once of no consideration, became the first consideration in the shops.

The gradual reduction of hours and increase of wages is an old story. They brought some leisure into the lives of the workers and provided some opportunities for more decent living standards. Some measure of control over seasonal work was obtained. The workers were protected against discrimination and the petty tyranny of bosses. Evasion of union standards was watched and offenders were called to account. From a dependent class without an effective voice in the industry the workers asserted the principle that human welfare should be the first consideration in the production of wealth. Where this consideration is absent an industry does not deserve to live.

But in recent years menacing economic changes in the industry have threatened to tear down the structure which the sacrifices and struggles of the workers have built. Prompted by material gains, investors in the industry have tried to eat into that structure a little here and a little there. Even the Governor's Advisory Commission in its recent report admits that the "building up of cohesive forces and institutions was most sorely needed and in a real measure it has been achieved."

These "cohesive forces," however, are the result of the initiative of the organized workers. The manufacturers, jobbers, submanufacturers and contractors have had to be dragged by the hair into agreement with every proposal for stabilizing the industry and making life bearable for the workers. Not a single measure or institution has been introduced into the industry to make it more "cohesive" that did not first meet with the obstinate opposition of those who obtain profits from the industry.

And now the jobber appears as a menace to the structure built by the workers. He is an indirect manufacturer. He wants large mass production, quick work, and easy profits. He passes orders on to submanufacturers. A big factor in the industry, he refuses to accept responsibility in maintaining "cohesive forces" in it.

The Governor's Advisory Commission states that he is a capitalist with responsibility, but he denies it. Says the commission: "The jobbers are the real capitalists in this large branch of the manufacturing process; they do not directly employ labor, and consider themselves free from responsibility for labor standards."

This contention cannot be admitted, for to concede it would be to invite the ruin of all that the workers have achieved since the beginning of this century. The contention of the jobbers is a challenge and a menace. There is no other way of meeting this challenge except by a strike. That strike is on. It will stay on until it is won, until union standards are safe, until the anarch jobbers are compelled to assume a responsibility which is theirs.

There is no wavering in the ranks. This strike must be won. This strike WILL be won. Every worker to his post, every striker must do his or her duty, victory alone must be the fruit of this struggle.

## Don't Fall Into This Trap



# Garment Strike's Significance

By Max D. Danish

THE stage in the women's cloak industry in its principal manufacturing center—New York City—presents a stormy scene. Slowly, for two years, both sides, the workers and the employers, gathered material and moral equipment for the conflict, and defined the issues in controversy. The labor world—and the general public—do not, as a rule, receive the news of a strike in the garment industry with breath-arresting surprise. For a generation, it has watched one spectacular struggle after another in the women's and men's garment trades burst forth with fierce, genuine pathos. These strikes have won for the garment workers their big organizations and have served as a melting pot into which has been poured as heterogeneous a mass of human material as ever has gone into the making of a fighting labor group. And the general strike in the garment industry appears at least to the outside public, like a fixed feature in these trades, interwoven with the industry's own growth and progress.

Seventeen years ago, in the winter of 1909, the first big strike occurred in this industry—in the waist-making branch of it, at that time a flourishing, and large trade with no less than 15,000 workers employed in its shops. 1910 followed, with a huge walkout in the cloak and suit section of the industry, involving over 50,000 workers, a strike that resembled more a rebellion than an organized drive for industrial concessions. These two strikes made the union a permanent factor in the industry. In New York City, and a few years later in every women's garment center, the union, as a direct outcome of this crusade, had come to stay.

In the decade that followed, the garment workers' organization was tossed on the crest of industrial upheavals more than once. The tides and recessions of a highly seasonal industry that is so pathetically the plaything of capricious Dame Fashion, on the one hand and of unbridled competition enlivened by catch-as-catch-can merchandising methods, on the other hand, have frequently toyed brutally with the livelihood of the workers. The ladies' garment workers' union, nevertheless, emerged from these storms intact—despite the half dozen general strikes which rocked it by the bottom from 1910 to 1921. And by the time the world war had come to its close, the union as an organizational unit—like the industry itself—had climbed to its highest apex of growth and influence.

Among its outstanding achievements during that period may be put down the firm establishment of week work in the cloak trade, a feat that for a generation seemed almost unachievable; a system of wage scales unique in all the garment trades, and above all, the right of the workers to the job in the factory, qualified only by discharge for cause, an accomplishment rarely matched in any organized trade in America.

**Change in Productive Methods**  
For two generations the world at large has heard of the struggle of the workers in the women's apparel industry to banish the "sweat" shop from their midst. This type of shop has in the past been so closely associated with the notion of a "kitchen" or "bed-room" shop that it has become practically a synonym for it. The "sweat" shop, the unclean and filthy pest-hole where garments would be manufactured by "social" groups and family units, had been largely swept out of existence since 1910. This was due largely to the health and sanitation crusade steadfastly carried on in the New York market by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which owes its

## Responsibility in Industry Is Aim of Garment Union

existence directly to the first "protocol" agreement designed and made operative in the cloak trade after the strike of 1910.

As a health-menacing factor the old-time contractor shop has all but disappeared from the cloak and dress industry. But it continued to exist in the garment-making world as a "corporation" shop (a misnomer for "co-operation" shop) and later as a "sub-manufacturer" shop. The big shop in the trade—and it must be kept in mind that a shop employing 100 persons is regarded in the women's wear trade as a "big" shop—has begun to retreat from the face of the industry. This started as far back as 1911. As a matter of fact, the young cloakmakers' organization, still radiant with the flush of its first victory of 1910, already undertook to drive out this "sub-manufacturer" by force as far back as 1913. But the effort ended in failure and had apparently little effect on his subsequent development in the industry.

The war years caused a tremendous expansion of the garment industry. Along with this went a number of profound industrial changes, which later had a marked effect upon this industry and all but revolutionized its character. To begin with, the war and the post-war era have developed among the American garment consumers a taste for simpler and less elaborate clothes, though not necessarily less expensively made. The suit, the chief mainstay for years in the cloak trade, all but vanished from the market and its place was taken by the straight line, little ornamented, coat. Later a variety of dress models came in, thus shifting a large portion of the work formerly made by cloakmakers to the dress trade. The immediate result of this shift, however, was the casting out of employment of thousands of cloak makers during the years 1920-1925 and the shrinkage of the total number of men and women employed in the New York cloak market alone from the estimated 55,000 to 44,000.

These former cloakmakers have since, to a large degree become absorbed by the dress industry, which in the last few years has shown a phenomenal development. A considerable number of them, however, remained outside. And a number of those left out, have found a place in the industry as submanufacturers or contractors.

**The Advent of the Jobber System**  
The jobber system today in the major branches of women's wear manufacturing is a business method quite apart from the general meaning of this term in any other industry or mercantile field. A hardware or furniture jobber, for instance, is a dealer who purchases outright at terms promising substantial profits the products or part of the product and who in turn sells it to the retailer or even to the smaller wholesalers. He is not a manufacturer, but distinctly a wholesaler. Not so in the garment lines. In this industry a jobber is a producer, who buys his woolsens or silks from the mills, then cuts it, or sends it to be cut and made up in the factory of a subsidiary manufacturer, usually styled "sub-manufacturer." This latter man is entirely dependent on the jobber for pay roll, credit for trimmings, and not infrequently for rent. To all intents and purposes, this sub-manufacturer, though outwardly a free agent and a "pro-

## Jobber Plays "Sub" Against "Sub"

ducer," is, nevertheless, nothing short of a foreman for the jobber. Save that he is encumbered with responsibilities and obligations with which the ordinary factory foreman is unfamiliar. That most of these contractors are playing the game of "boss" against brutal odds is evidenced by the fact that nearly a third are annually compelled to go out of business and drift back to the machine to rejoin a host of similar failures. Incidentally, they again join the union from which they had temporarily strayed away.

## Union's Program of Industrial Reforms

It is to check this growing anarchy in the production of women's garments, that the ladies' garment workers put forward their present program of demands. These they have been pushing in the industry for the past two and half years. This industrial program, originally framed by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. in the fall of 1923, was first presented to the three employers' associations in the New York market in the spring of 1924. Since then, it has been the subject matter of mediation for a special commission appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in June, 1924. This commission's object was to recommend a basis of understanding between the manufacturers and the workers, and specifically to avert a strike which at that time appeared imminent as a result of the employers' unwillingness to accede to the union's demands.

Briefly the chief demands of the workers, as modified by the developments of the last two years, are as follows:

1. The limitation of the number of submanufacturers to be engaged by jobbers each season to meet their actual trade requirements. This would put a stop to the fostering of cut-throat competition between the small shop "owners" which demoralizes trade and work conditions.
2. A substantial raise in the minimum wage scales that would take into account the needs of each craft.
3. All workers employed in the

industry shall be guaranteed thirty-six weeks' employment during the year or the payment of their established wages for such a period.

4. To further shorten seasons of unemployment, and for other good reasons, the union demands a reduction of the hours of labor from 44 per week to 40 per week.

5. The right of examination of employers' books and records, to detect violations and to provide suitable penalties for such violations.

6. The establishment of an employment office under union control from which all placement and replacement of workers is to be made for the entire market.

7. No arbitrary discharge of workers under any circumstances.

This program has been the subject of discussion and investigation before the Governor's Commission for nearly two years. This commission has since granted two other demands of the workers, namely the establishment of unemployment insurance fund and the introduction of a sanitary union label, the "Prosanis" label. Both these reforms have now been in operation and with considerable success, for over a year. The Commission has also carried through a thoroughgoing investigation of the cloak and suit trade in the New York market. Several illuminating reports on employment periods and workers' earnings have been made public bringing out the appalling information that in the last two or three years the average period of work of the New York cloakmakers fell below thirty hours per week and that their average annual wage amounted to a fraction above thirty dollars per week.

## Great Strike Called

Nothing short of the strike will settle the major differences between the workers' organization in the big cloak and suit industry and their organized employers. Eleven-hour efforts made by the Union to settle the controversy in conferences with the manufacturers' groups failed.

This strike is not a struggle merely for a readjustment of wage schedules and work-hours, though these matters play an important part in the life of the cloak makers. It is the fundamental rearrangement of production methods in this industry. It is essentially a fight for the bringing back of the larger shop and for the fastening of a greater degree of responsibility on the jobbers for work conditions in the shops which they practically own and control—the sub-manufacturers' shops. It is a struggle to check the artificial fostering of an ever-growing army of irresponsible contractors, among whom the law of the jungle—cut-throat tactics and the devil take the hindmost—is the prevailing code. It is a fight to remedy the deplorable conditions of the tens of thousands of cloak workers, the uncertainty of their work, the long periods of their general unemployment, their low earnings, and the imminent danger of a return of the disgraceful sweating system of old.

A revolution is more than a mere change of the prevailing political system. It implies the awakening of human intelligence, the increasing of the inventive spirit tenfold, a hundredfold; it is the dawn of a new science—the science of men like Laplace, Lamarck, Lavoisier. It is a revolution in the minds of men, as deep as, and deeper still than, in their institutions.—Kropotkin.

## A Dash of Cold Water

LAST week a speaker appeared at a meeting of the striking Interboro workers to give them advice. These men who have broken with a company union and organized one for themselves need encouragement. Instead, a dash of cold water was thrown in their faces. Not intentionally. The speaker believed that he was doing the strikers a very great service by saying what he did.

The interesting thing about that speech was that the speaker told the men the truth, but he drew false conclusions. Here was the dash of cold water. He told these men who are without experience and who have ventured on their first strike that they are handicapped. What was needed was a hundred percent organization on all the subways, the elevated and the surface lines. All transit workers in one transportation industry.

He went on to say that this great union must even expand further. It must take in all taxi drivers and workers in other means of transportation so that the transport life of Greater New York could be tied up in behalf of demands made by all workers in the industry. Then there would be no doubt about the Interboro strike. For a handful of men to go out—well, he was skeptical.

Fine! Who would not rejoice to see this great union in the transportation service? Who would not like to see it in all the industries of the United States?

Unfortunately, these strikers are not facing future possibilities, but a present reality. Because that ideal union does not exist must the workers in the meantime stay at their jobs and wait for its coming before they strike? If they waited for its coming they probably would never strike, for the complete ideal of unionism has not been reached in any industry in this or any other country.

But it is not true that even this small group of strikers have no chance to win. They may lose, it is true, but more stronger unions have lost strikes and some as weak as the Consolidated Railroad Workers have won. If a small group of unskilled workers digging a ditch were to strike they would certainly lose. It is easy to replace them. But it is different with a group like the Interboro strikers, who are trained men. It takes time to train any men to take their places.

In other words, there are two factors that work in favor of these strikers, time and skill. These two factors make up considerably for their small number. The Interboro must operate. It is not like a ditch or a big factory which can suspend operations without seriously affecting other industries. Transportation holds a key position in the whole industrial life of Greater New York. It is an essential social service and we may add social service as a third factor that works in favor of the Interboro strikers.

Moreover, no great and powerful union has ever been built without small groups of workers striking again and again. The speaker who addressed the Interboro men was not aware of the fact that the greater union he favored would not be possible without this revolt from the company union. Each strike is a contribution to a greater union. Each victory lays a foundation for it.

It is possible for the Consolidated Railroad Workers to win, but suppose that they do not win this time. May they not by their present struggle inspire many others in the service to join the next revolt and thus pave the way to a victory? Certainly. For this reason we often say that "a strike is never lost." And this is true.

The theorist who dashes cold water in the faces of strikers is a pest. If he cannot encourage the workers he should stay away. Away with the pessimist, the professional theorist, the superficial dogmatist. A strike is no place for him!

Taking the many strikes now on in New York City we have a real struggle to make industry safe for democracy and that is the beginning of making the world safe for it.

A reader of the "World" really thinks that the workers in the transportation service have no grievance in the matter of wages because there are many other workers who get no more than they do. This really means that workers who get this low wage should be satisfied and those who get more should be brought down to the same level. On the other hand we hold to the view that those on a lower level should be brought up to the higher one. These two views constitute the difference between slavery and freedom.

The jobber has become a big factor in the garment industry and material passes through his hands to the workers who are employed in the industry. But he says that he is not an employer and does not owe any responsibility for labor standards in the industry. He certainly is not a wage worker. If he isn't an employer, what is he? A ghost, a freak of the imagination, or a curio exhibited in a circus?

The organized working class; may it ever be right—and it is when it fights those who stand for wrongs.

It is when masses of workers are on strike that they come to realize the fact that they need a press of their own. Eventually The New Leader must become a daily to fight day by day for the interests of the men and women whose labor feeds the world, clothes the world, houses the world, and that makes civilization possible.



## PANKEN HEADS SOCIALIST TICKET

**Mrs. Blatch Will Make  
Race for Senate in  
New York**

(Continued from page 1)  
Front. In which certain tendencies  
in the Revolutionary Movement were  
taken up in a serious way.

The convention got seriously to business Sunday morning with a report by Julius Gerber of the Constitutional Committee, calling for amendments to the party's constitution, abolishing the state committee and placing all its powers in the hands of the state executive committee to be elected by the convention. The amendments were adopted, and the first S. E. C. elected by the convention was then chosen, consisting of Julius Gerber, Herman Kobbe, Samuel Orr, Thomas R. Wiley, William M. Feigenbaum, Ray Newark, William Hilsdorf, Jr., Fred Sander and Fred L. Arland. A committee of nine alternates was likewise chosen.

The platform, as amended by the committee, was presented by Chairman Feigenbaum, and after considerable debate, was adopted. The preamble is considerably shorter than the draft that has already appeared in the party press, but in essence it is identical. It calls for the union of the workers in the Socialist party. It says the two old parties as being completely bankrupt, and it presents demands embodying the Socialist program on housing, water power, labor legislation, military training and civil liberties.

The committee brought in a plank declaring that drunkenness is an evil and that Socialists in all countries had always striven for temperance, that only a sober working class can emancipate itself, but that prohibition has been a failure, that prohibition is part of a movement with sinister implications, and that the two old parties are to be condemned for making a major issue of what should be only a minor matter; the resolution likewise declared in favor of the manufacture and sale of light wine; and under government control.

Comrades Samuel H. Friedman, Fred Sander, Weber of Rochester, Morris Berman, A. I. Shipplough and others spoke vehemently against the plank, declaring in some cases in favor of prohibition, and in others against the party taking any stand in a matter that has cut across party lines. Patrick J. Murphy, Leonard C. Kaye,



Judge Jacob Panken

James O'Neal, Joseph D. Cannon, Julius Gerber, William M. Feigenbaum and William Karlin took the opposite position. Comrade O'Neal making an eloquent and brilliant plea against legislation of any kind that emanates from the small town Rabbitt and Rotarian. He declared that prohibition is of the same nature as legislation against tobacco, against playing cards, against the stage and literature and the movies and that its logical conclusion would be anti-evolution legislation and laws prescribing the kind of books one might read and the kind of thoughts one might think.

Feigenbaum declared that prohibition had corrupted a whole nation

and had made America a nation of lawbreakers. He said that go long as the prohibition question is before the people it will be impossible to get serious attention for any social or political question. George H. Goebel of New Jersey was given the floor, and he said that prohibition is a question that has been deliberately interjected into politics to divide the workers on non-essential matters.

After two hours of debate a substitute by Shipplough was adopted instructing the incoming State Executive Committee to draw up a resolution defining the party's stand as condemning the Volstead act as contrary to democracy, denouncing the two old parties for their making of the drink question the paramount issue before the people while ignoring all other questions of every kind, and demanding a nationwide referendum of the people to get their real wishes in the matter.

The Communist interpellation was in the form of the usual letter from that organization informing the Socialist party that Capitalism is an evil thing, that under capitalism the workers are exploited, that the capitalists stand together, that only when the workers are united can there be any progress, and various other things that the Communists seemed to think hadn't occurred to the Socialists until they told them about it. They thereupon suggested a "united front" in the shape of a joint labor ticket to fight for such revolutionary ideals as municipal ownership, development of water power, restraint of the injunction evil and such like.

The committee to which the letter had been referred reported through Comrade Shipplough, Comrade Claessens urged that the letter be filed in the most convenient waste basket, while Comrade Samuel H. Friedman asked if there were any way of getting a real united front. Comrade Shipplough reported that he understood that saner counsels in the Communist ranks were striving for expression, and that in the event the campaign of lying and slander were ever ended it might be well to hold the door open for some sort of reconciliation. The letter that was adopted, drafted by Shipplough, therefore, recited the fact that the Communists had shown an utter lack of responsibility, and that until they could give assurances that they would cease their treachery no more communications from them were wanted.

Resolutions, reported by Comrade J. A. Well for the resolutions committee, sent cordial greetings and offers of complete co-operation to the I. R. T. strikers and the striking cloakmakers. A resolution likewise denounced the proposal to erect a monument to the notorious Charles F. Murphy in Union Square.

Nominations were made at 2 p. m. on Sunday. Comrade Waldman named Comrade Panken for Governor, Comrade Feigenbaum placed August Claessens in nomination and Comrade J. H. Diskant of the Bronx nominated Comrade Norman Thomas. Comrade Merrill read a letter from Comrade Thomas declining to run this year, and Comrade Claessens declined. The nomination of Panken was then made with enthusiasm, the delegates cheering their standard bearer for several minutes.

Comrade Gerber named Claessens for Lieutenant Governor, and the comrades showed their love and admiration for the little giant of the soap box by their affectionate reception they gave him when he rose to accept. James O'Neal was named for United States Senator, but he declined, and Comrade Blatch's nomination was made unanimously and with cheering. The convention closed with short addresses by Comrades Claessens, Cassidy and several others, and with the singing of the International. The delegates, however, were loath to leave the hall, and for several hours knots of comrades were gathered in the cafeteria downstairs, discussing the party's prospects and the work to be done to make their great dreams a reality.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

J. T. Walton Newbold, of England, informs the National Office that he will be in the United States during the fall months. He has made arrangements to be in the State of Illinois in October, November and December, visiting a relative. He will be open for engagements from January 1 to March 31. The National Office had written this comrade some time ago asking him to fill some engagements in this country.

We expect a report from every State Secretary weekly, giving Party news. Such reports should be at National Headquarters not later than each Monday.

## Tennessee

J. G. Braun, 2364 York avenue, Memphis, would like the readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader to get in touch with him in order to get a State ticket for the fall election. Readers take notice.

## Maryland

The Socialists of Maryland are preparing to place a State ticket in the field. Readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader will please get in touch with the State Secretary, Dr. S. M. Neistadt, 1607 E. Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md.

## Ohio

John G. Willert, State Secretary, orders all our readers to get in touch with him and push the petitions for getting on the State ballot in the November election. He also urges all Socialists to become members of the Party and organize locals wherever possible. The Socialists of Ohio should write John G. Willert, Room 218 Superior Building, 314 East Superior street, Cleveland, Ohio.

## Indiana

Indiana Socialists are working hard to get their petitions filled up so that their ticket may be safe for the ballot in the fall election. They are planning a State-wide campaign for the Party.

## Oregon

J. J. Duhamel, of Medford, informs us that he is doing his bit toward organization and boosting the American Appeal in that State. He is anxious to see a State ticket placed in the field. American Appeal readers of that district will please get in touch with the District Secretary, Emil Herman, 4420 Evanston Avenue, Seattle, Wash., and give their support.

## Montana

Doris Morris has started her organizing work in Montana, beginning in Flathead county, with headquarters at Whitefish. She is not only going to do organizing and lecture work, but is assisting State Secretary Graham in his battle to get a State ticket on the ballot, besides county tickets wherever such is possible. After working Montana she will go into Idaho and then Utah.

## Washington

The Socialists of Seattle, under the leadership of H. O. Fuhrberg, are doing excellent work for the Party. Not only are they strengthening their locals, but are getting a large number of subscriptions to the American Appeal. Readers in other parts of Washington should take notice and do likewise.

## Kentucky

John L. Wrather, the hustling Socialist of western Kentucky, informs us that he expects to organize a Socialist local in Paducah. If it is possible to form an organization, Wrather will do it.

Louisville Socialists expect to have a county ticket in Jefferson county this fall. Readers of the American Appeal should get in touch with the local organization and assist in this work. Write J. L. Stark, 330 Sutcliffe avenue, Louisville.

## New England

Norman Thomas' meetings in Maynard and Worcester were highly successful. Thomas pointed out how far the America of today, as a result of capitalist domination, had gone from the ideals of liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The audience received him well.

In Lynn, at an indoor meeting, there was a small but enthusiastic audience. In Boston, however, we were unable to secure the use of the bandstand on the Boston common, owing to the fact that it was being used for broadcasting by the city government. Alfred Baker Lewis attended the convention of the American Federation of Textile Operatives in Lawrence and secured their endorsement of the Unemployment Insurance bill. Lewis

reported that he had a very interested and receptive audience. Socialists are again reminded that the meeting of the State Convention will take place July 15 at our hall in Boston, 21 Essex Street. If your branch has not yet elected delegates, be sure to see that someone is chosen at once.

## Connecticut

The State Executive Committee met at Machinists' Hall, New Haven, Sunday, July 4. This meeting was postponed from the week before because of the illness of the State Secretary. The meeting was called together by Secretary Plunkett at 2 p. m. Committeemen were present from Hartford, Meriden, Wallingford and Hamden.

Edward P. Clark, of Hartford, presented a draft of a proposed State platform. It was voted to present the platform, with a few minor changes, to the State Convention, July 25, for approval.

The committee voted to use a bond, something similar to the "Debs Bond," which is being used in New York State, for the purpose of raising money for the sustaining fund of "The Commonwealth," a monthly paper.

Louis O. Kralik, committeeman from Meriden, reported that Local Meriden had elected four delegates to represent their local at the State Convention.

Local Hamden elected five delegates to attend the convention. Socialists of Hartford will meet at 322 Wethersfield Avenue, Sunday, July 11. Delegates will be elected to the State Convention. Arrangements will be made for an open-air meeting on Saturday, July 24, with Alfred Baker Lewis as the main speaker. Local Hartford has donated \$20 toward the Hartford Labor Temple fund.

Local New Haven met Wednesday, July 7, and elected seven delegates to attend the convention.

William S. Hoffman, of Bridgeport, reports that Local Bridgeport has changed its meeting place and will meet in the Workmen's Circle Hall.

Edward P. Clark, of Hartford, made a very interesting report of his recent trip into the eastern part of the State, where he secured a number of new members for the party and a number of subscriptions for Socialist papers.

Socialists and sympathizers throughout the State are invited to attend the State Convention. For further particulars concerning the convention, write M. F. Plunkett, Wallace Block, Wallingford, Conn.

## New York City

### STREET MEETINGS

**Manhattan**  
Monday, July 12, 15th Street and Broadway. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.  
Tuesday, July 13, Seventh Street and Avenue B. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.  
Wednesday, July 14, 133rd Street and Lenox Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

**Brooklyn**  
Friday, July 16, 138th Street and Brook Avenue. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley and Mathilda Tillman.

**Brooklyn**  
Wednesday, July 14, Monroe Street and Broadway. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Samuel H. Friedman.  
Thursday, July 15, Tompkins Avenue and Hart Street. Speakers: Hyman Nemser and Ethelred Brown.  
Friday, July 16, Pitkin Avenue and Bristol Street. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

## Bronx

Bronx members are especially requested to attend the meetings held by their respective branches. Meetings held during the hot weather are often poorly attended. The filing of petitions, with the names of our enrolled voters, must be tackled at once, so that all our candidates may be assured of their place on the official ballot.

Branches are urged to elect a sufficient number of comrades to circulate petitions. Members who wish to volunteer for this work are requested to call or send their names to the local office, 1167 Boston road.

Much success has attended the effort to get members in arrears to pay their dues and return to activity in the party ranks, but the surface has not been touched. Branches must use every effort to push this work. We must winnow the wheat from the chaff. The

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**MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS**  
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For Men and Women, Thursday Evenings.  
By Dr. Cecile L. Greil  
at the  
**"CULTURE CLUB"**  
235 Lafayette St., nr. Astor Pl., N. Y.

party must know definitely on whom it can rely. If the party is to progress, intensive efforts must be made to increase the power and circulation of our party press, both local and national. Every gathering of the party should have bundles of our papers for sale and distribution.

### Branch 7

Branch 7 will meet Tuesday, July 12, at 8:30 p. m., at its club rooms, 4215 Third Avenue. All members are notified that several matters of vital importance, both political and otherwise, will require immediate action. Therefore, every member is earnestly requested to be present.

### Italian Branch

The Italian Comrades of the 8th A. D. will start open-air meetings Saturday evening, July 10. Meetings will continue until November. This section will be thoroughly canvassed from now on, as a few of Mussolini's Black Shirts have attempted to establish a Fascist unit in the vicinity. The Socialist Party, Bronx County, will give all possible support to help exterminate this Fascist snake.

Delegates to the recent New York State Convention are advised to be present at their respective branch meetings and report on the work of the State Convention.

## Queens

### Oneal Running for Congress

At a general meeting of the Socialist Party members in Queensboro James Oneal of Richmond Hill, editor of The New Leader, was picked as candidate for Congress in the Second District, which embraces the main part of the borough. William Herman of Jamaica will run for the same office in the First District, which takes in Nassau and Suffolk counties and a portion of Queens.

Other Queensboro candidates for the fall elections will be Israel Goldin of Woodhaven, for Sheriff; Elsie H. Ehret of Ridgewood, for Register; Ernest Megerlin of Jamaica, for State Senator in the Second District; Charles Ress of Ridgewood, for State Senator in the Third District; Ignatz Schrey of Maspeth, for the Assembly in the First District; Harry E. Anderson of Ridgewood, in the Second A. D.; Matthias Palm, of Jackson Heights, in the Third A. D.; Sadie C. Smith of Hollis, in the Fourth A. D.; Ernest Velach of Richmond Hill, in the Fifth A. D.; and William Burkle, Jr., of Glendale, in the Sixth A. D.

Enrolled Socialists are urged to see that the primary petitions they are being asked to sign carry the names of no candidates except those listed above, as they are the ones selected by the party membership.

## Yipseldom

There is now on sale at the City Office new literature written for the Y. P. S. L. On each piece of literature is your circle address. Special cards have also been printed for open air meetings. Circles should record open air meetings with the City Office.

so as to facilitate the distribution of speakers. If you need speakers apply at the City Office. Speakers should send their names to the office so that we will know who is available for such work.

Circle 8, Manhattan, met Tuesday evening. It proved one of the best held in a long time. Over sixty names of young people were obtained. Twenty-five copies of The New Leader were sold.

The New Leader has helped the Y. P. S. L. in its work since the paper was started. Yipsels should show our appreciation by boosting the paper. And this is how we can do it: AT EVERY OPEN AIR MEETING THAT YOU HOLD MAKE SURE YOU HAVE A SUPPLY OF NEW LEADERS. A certain margin has been allotted by the paper to the circles. Whenever possible apply to The New Leader office as a volunteer for work that you can do. Every time we boost the Leader we boost the Yipsels.

Financial secretaries are urged to purchase dues stamps. We are not up to the quota. Also please send in your monthly reports.

### Circle 2

Meetings of Circle No. 2, Brooklyn, have been changed from Sunday to Friday for the summer. At the first meeting it was decided that \$10 be donated to the 23d A. D. Socialist Party campaign fund. The sum of \$5 was apportioned to the Y. P. S. L. Central Committee in order to help that committee carry on its valuable work.

Two applicants were accepted by the circle. Lester Shulman resigned from the Educational Directorship and his position as Chairman of the Agitation Committee. Comrades Labelson and Erkus were elected to fill the vacancies.

### Circle 2, Juniors

Circle 2 Juniors have changed their date of meeting to Wednesday evening at 7:30 o'clock. At the last meeting the circle began to study Karl Marx's "Communist Manifesto" under the guidance of their director, S. Benjamin Doublin.

On July 14, when the next meeting will be held, the educational director, Harry Lopatin, will in conjunction with two other comrades present a play entitled "The Big Butter and Egg Faker." This play shows how some of our great food companies rob and fool the public.

## Critical Cruisings

(Continued from page 10)  
evolution, we discover evidences of a wise that indicate his superiority. Such reasoning is frustrate and hopeless. This book marks a trend in the psychology of the new society. It undermines the psychological and biological defense of the contemporary bourgeoisie. It announces the decay of the scientific concepts of the reigning class. It promises, however, implicitly, the rise of a new science, a new psychology and a new biology, that will derive their ultimate sustenance, their ultimate advance, from the economics of a new social order.

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Among the Contributors to the July Issue Are:

Floyd Dell	Henry Harrison
Clement Wood	Helene Searcy
Joseph T. Shipley	Peter Pater
Maxwell Bodenheimer	J. Corson Miller
Gordon Lawrence	Robert Edwards
David P. Berenberg	George Bogner
A. B. Shiffrin	Miguel Quesada
Robin Christopher	Ruth Sinclair George
Frank Del Witt	Margaret Lee Keyting
Emanuel Eisenberg	Sara Owen
Sidney Wallach	Sonia C. Harrison
Gremin Zorn	Robert Clairmont
A. M. Sullivan	E. Ralph Cheyney
Lucia Trent	L. W. Darrah

Among the Features in the July Issue Are:

What I Think of Greenwich Village	Caricatures of Thought
Map and Guide to Greenwich Village	Chatter for Lowbrows
Village News	The Romantic Husband
Local Color	The Book Department
Sulli-Vanities	The Poetry Parade
Jest a Moment	
Entrances and Exits	
Advance Bulletin for Village Sports	
Our Very Delicate Relationship	
Our Age	

## THE GREENWICH VILLAGE QUILL

Edited by HENRY HARRISON

Associate Editor: E. RALPH CHEYNEY Art Editor: ROBERT EDWARDS Jail Editor: JOHN DECKER

Publication Office: 144 Macdougal St. Greenwich Village, N. Y. Business and Editorial Office: 78 Elton St. Brooklyn, N. Y.

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PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET  
New York City  
Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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Three Months	.75	.75

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

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1926

## THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

THE Socialist Party convention has met, adopted a platform and some important resolutions, and nominated candidates whose service to the movement warrants an effective and intelligent campaign. It remains for the local organizations in the State to cooperate in plans for a vigorous canvass to insure a creditable Socialist vote in November.

One advantage we have in this campaign was not present in recent years. The quarrels that issued out of the war had not entirely abated. They persisted longer than any other quarrels that have appeared in the Socialist movement. They have now receded so far into the background that they no longer have any influence. Aside from some sniping from the side lines the Socialist Party is free to give its entire attention to educational and organization work.

An important aspect of the situation in New York State is the influence of Gov. Smith on large masses of voters. He has the aid of some powerful newspapers which have been opposed to Tammany. A legend is being built up around the man which is based upon the assumption that in some way Smith represents and can deliver some vague sort of fundamental democracy. Smith is a flag under which a swarm of brokers go into office and serve powerful interests just as faithfully as the Republican section of capitalism.

Moreover, Smith is adroit enough to present a program which has the outward appearance of an approach to the Socialist view. This is especially true of housing and superpower, but a careful analysis of his proposals show that they always leave capitalism as securely entrenched as it is now. Because of the transparent character of Smith's program when subjected to careful analysis, Smith is vulnerable. He may believe in himself and his program, but the latter cannot survive intelligent Socialist criticism. There is work to do. Let us do it and do it effectively.

## THE TRANSIT STRIKE

WHATEVER may be the status of the Interborough strike when this appears, we cannot do otherwise than rejoice over this revolt against the company. For years the latter has maintained that fraud known as the "company union." President Hedley of the Interborough has from time to time gone through the motion of negotiations with this "union" when every intelligent man and woman has known that he was dealing with his own creature. His pretense of not dealing with the revolting men on the ground that he must "stand by" this "union" simply means that he feels it necessary to support his fraud.

Edward P. Lavin, head of the Consolidated Railroad Workers and leader of the strike, puts Hedley in the pillory when he says that the workers for all the years that they have refrained from striking and endured intolerable conditions they have been "girdled by a reptile company union. . . which was used to intimidate them for ten years." This is the truth. The "union" was created and maintained by the company. It has been an instrument to smother the initiative and self-reliance of the workers on the lines and tended to produce a relation of serfdom between the workers and the company.

To preserve this fraud the Interborough recruits shady characters to replace the men on strike. Hedley visits the Police Department and shortly after nearly 7,000 police are summoned for strike duty. The first day of the strike trains to Brooklyn were suspended and the rest of the service was seriously crippled, and yet there were no incidents warranting this show of police power.

It is an old story in "free America." If the strikers succeed in smashing Hedley's fraud they will render a service to the organized workers and give many others in the service the courage to organize a genuine union to serve them.

## THE ILLINOIS PRIMARY

THE humiliating results that may be reaped by the organized workers confining their political activities to a choice between two candidates of the capitalist parties is strikingly illustrated in the Illinois primary. The railroad organizations wished to defeat Senator McKinley for renomination. McKinley is a bloated millionaire and utility magnate and has served his class well. He has a party of his class which he has also served well.

The railroad unions, to repeat, wanted to accomplish his defeat. They appeared to be

more interested in hitting an enemy than to help themselves, for they supported Frank L. Smith for the nomination. Now Smith is no more representative of the claims of workers than McKinley is. In fact, Smith is also a wealthy man and a utility magnate. There is no reason whatever for believing that Smith would act otherwise than McKinley has as a Senator.

Now that they have defeated McKinley for the nomination the railroad unions must support Smith for election if they are consistent. If Smith is successful in the election it is certain that the unions will have to oppose his renomination seven years hence. This comes of voting against something rather than for something. Moreover, the negative attitude in political action can never accomplish any good results for the reason that it keeps its partisans active in merely striking down one enemy and raising up another.

What is still more humiliating for these workers is the knowledge that Smith distributed as much boodle as McKinley did. The workers were simply drawn into a fight waged between two big utility corporations for a vote in the United States Senate. Whether Smith or McKinley sits in the Senate is of no more consequence to the railroad workers than is a choice between the attorney for the Standard Oil Company and the attorney for the Royal Dutch Shell.

The answer of many who object to organization of a party of the workers is, "We want to get somewhere now." The Illinois railroad workers have got somewhere now, but we doubt whether they are inclined to boast of it.

## A STATUE TO MURPHY

GLORY BE! Tammany is going to erect a statue of the late Charles F. Murphy in Union Square in order that future generations may not forget this profound thinker, statesman, humanitarian and philosopher. It is appropriate that the announcement should be made on the Fourth of July. There is to be a brass panel bearing the text of the Declaration of Independence. Brass is the appropriate metal. There will be figures representing the forces of oppression and others representing the blessings of freedom, the coats of arms of the thirteen original states and forty-eight stars for each State.

Really, this is delicious. What other nation on this earth would be capable of staging anything like this? The only thing lacking is a suggestion that Tweed and Croker be included at least in the background to record the idea of continuity. Tweed with a jimmy and Croker with a dark lantern would round out the idea if each were placed on a huge bag of boodle.

In 1905 there appeared a book by William L. Riordan entitled "Plunkitt of Tammany Hall." From his rostrum, a bootblack stand in the County Court House, Plunkitt dispensed the philosophy of Tammany Hall. Murphy wrote an introduction praising Plunkitt and his views. As Plunkitt expressed Murphy, why not record some of his pearls on Murphy's statue? Here are a few suggestions culled from that volume: "There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works." "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em." On levelling blackmail on disorderly houses and gamblers: "Why should Tammany leaders go into such dirty business, when there is so much honest graft lying around when they are in power? Did you ever consider that?"

We hope that the committee in charge of the proposal will select one of these pearls that so appealed to Murphy and carve them on his statue.

## ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

IN SHEER intellectual ability and conscientious devotion to his profession Abraham Lefkowitz ranks high as a teacher. He was in line for promotion to First Assistant in the High School of Commerce, but the Board of Superintendents of the Board of Education has refused him this promotion. His ability was not questioned. His political, social and economic views were subjected to an inquisition and because they were not satisfactory to the obscurantists on the board Lefkowitz was denied the promotion he is entitled to.

Abraham Lefkowitz has been one of the most valuable members of the Teachers' Union and has been untiring in the work of trying to obtain some measure of democracy in our educational system. He has also offended the political gangsters on this score for they realize that a democratic system of administration has no place for them. Democratic education cannot be reconciled with Tammany, capitalism and clerical politics, so Lefkowitz must be denied what he is due.

Here it is necessary to emphasize a fact that is quietly discussed in every newspaper office. Those who were chiefly responsible for barring Lefkowitz represent that covert clerical-capitalist alliance that has its clammy hands on the public schools. It is an arrogant clique that hates democracy in education while giving lip service to democracy. Its attitude is that the public schools belong to the Republican and Democratic parties with the big favors going to the clerical-Tammany gang.

This is what Lefkowitz faced when he was denied promotion. It is just this sort of thing that has promoted the rise of the Koo Koo in this country. We have fought the latter and must fight the former. Those who denied Lefkowitz his well-earned promotion are inverted Koo Koo. The trade unions of the city owe a duty to Abraham Lefkowitz for his devoted service to them not to let this issue pass without a challenge.

American marble and granite dealers object on "patriotic grounds" to the use of any but American stone to mark the graves of American soldiers in Europe. We move that they supply the stone and as they are only interested in patriotism that they be paid by a vote of thanks extended by Congress. Is there a second to the motion?

## The News of the Week

### British 8-Hour Bill Is Halted

The bill in the British Parliament to increase the hours of the miners from seven to eight has been halted.

Viscount Cecil announced in the House of Lords that the bill would not be pressed for the present because of the terms posted by coal owners in one district. In Yorkshire it appears that mine owners have posted a notice that after three months of the current wage and addition of one hour each day they will enforce another reduction. They propose to return to the rate of 1921, which provided for a division of proceeds at the ratio of 85 to wages and 15 to profits instead of the ratio of 87 to 13, which was established in 1924. This proposal goes beyond what other mine owners have agreed to and what is incorporated in the Government bill. It must not be forgotten that the miners are opposed to the Government proposal, as it means one hour each day of unpaid labor. As a result of this unforeseen manoeuvre of the Yorkshire mine owners it is rumored that the eight-hour bill may be withdrawn. It is probable that a delegation of the British miners will be sent to the United States to put their case and obtain funds for the strikers. Meantime delegates to the National Union of Railwaymen conference heard criticism of the policy of J. H. Thomas in relation to the calling off of the general strike. Thomas answered in a speech of two hours and produced documents to show that the chief leaders in this criticism followed Communist instructions. When the matter came to a vote Thomas was given a vote of confidence by an overwhelming majority.

With the issuing by the Mexican Government of the regulations for the application of the laws enforcing the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 regarding the separation of Church and State, President Calles and his advisers are again being made the targets of the mud batteries manned by dissatisfied foreign and native capitalists and champions of the right of the Roman Catholic Church to defy the laws of Mexico in the name of freedom of worship. Alfred J. Talley, Chairman of the Committee on Catholic Interests of the Catholic Club of New York, an ex-judge who quit the bench explaining that he could not "live" and edu-

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The address of President Coolidge at Philadelphia is another contribution to the decadent philosophy of the capitalist class. As science destroys old superstitions the ruling class fears for its own myths and offers a state faith for the gullible. Calling the pious to worship, Coolidge speaks of Philadelphia as "a holy shrine" and the Liberty Bell as a "sacred relic." We are called upon to regard both as others regard "the Holy Land." At one point he wandered into reality by saying that the causes that led to the American Revolution "were largely economic," but he gets back to piety again. Our revolution wasn't one of those unpleasant affairs where people get their clothes dirty and do not observe the rules of polite society, but was "maintained on a plane which rises above the ordinary conception of rebellion." We must forget the detention camps of Tories, the occasional by a visit from Charles E. Hughes, hangings, the test oaths, physical assaults, imprisonment of Loyalties and confiscation of property. Our sacred affair was maintained on a "higher plane." The Declaration "was the re-

sult of the religious teachings of the preceding period," a declaration "not of material but of spiritual conception" that belong "to the unseen world." Indulge in no impious criticism as "there is far more danger of harm than there is hope of good in any radical changes." We must "cultivate the reverence" which the Fathers "had for the things that are holy." Considering all this need it be surprising that "About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful?" Those who cannot see in all this the cult of ancestor worship and the State as a tribal God are hopeless.

Despite occasional high-sounding pronouncements by Mussolini to the effect that he and his black shirts have Italy under complete control and are wiping out graft and corruption in high places, together with the censorship indicating that all is not well on the Peninsula. Shortly after the arrest of a number of Fascist leaders in Parma on charges of corruption in connection with the failure of the bank for which Roberto Farinacci was working (which brought the former "savage" Fascist general secretary into conflict with the "moderate" Minister of the Interior Federzoni, who was tied up with a rival banking group) came a story of a personal row between Farinacci and Mussolini in which hot words were exchanged and there was a near-prize fight. Then a Rome dispatch told of the arrest of thirty-six Communists accused of plotting, with two Communist Deputies, to win the army for a revolution against the government. Stories from Southern Tirol described renewed arbitrariness by the Fascist authorities in their efforts to denationalize the German inhabitants of this bit of "Italia Irredenta," the black shirts even going so far as to forbid the use of the old colors of the Tirol—red and white—on wreaths decorating the coffin of Dr. Julius Perathoner, a former mayor of Bozen. This is of a piece with the conduct of the Fascist Prefect of Milan who broke up the funeral ceremonies being held for Menotti Serrati, the veteran Socialist and Communist leader, some weeks before. But "Big Ben" has been cheered up on the occasion by a visit from Charles E. Hughes, our ex-Secretary of State, who is reported to have declared that the "profound esteem" in which he held the "Savior of Italy" had been enhanced by the personal meeting.

No Peace in Fascist Italy

Coolidge Calls Us to Worship

Mexico Again Under Fire

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