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## BRANTING FINDS SACCO, VANZETTI INNOCENT

Justice Would Stir  
Rest, Jurist Warns  
American Business

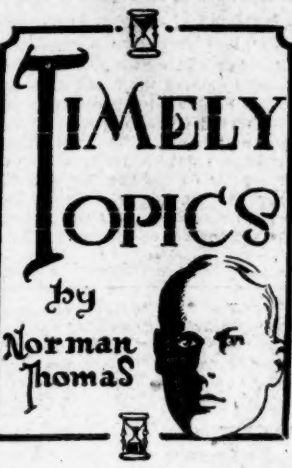
By a New Leader Correspondent  
OSTON. — The Sacco-Vanzetti case has thrust itself into the social life of Boston and class lines are clearly drawn, though with some notable exceptions. The organized workers, almost without exception and the more liberal elements in the political and intellectual life of the city, believe that the two Italians are the victims of prejudice and a miscarriage of justice.

In the upper layer of bankers, capitalists and conservative classes in general, including the lawyers who serve this upper group, opinion is ranged against Sacco and Vanzetti. If this class has its way there will be no mercy for the condemned men. This class either does not understand or else it ignores the fact that the case has long ago passed the stage where the guilt or innocence of the accused men is involved. It is Massachusetts "justice" that is on trial.

Thus the cleavage on this famous case assumes the character of a fierce class war. It has entered the exclusive clubs, the bar, journalism, the schools and the Harvard Law School. In some clubs the order has been issued prohibiting discussion of the famous case because it has caused personal animosities. The conservative sections of the ruling class contend that since the jury rendered its verdict nothing more should be said by citizens and the law should take its course.

Branting's Impressions  
Meantime George Branting, the Swedish lawyer, has spent four weeks investigating the case. Branting has issued a statement regarding his impressions. In part, Branting declares: "Gradually the conviction has developed within me that Sacco and Vanzetti are absolutely innocent. There is no halfway opinion to be accepted. And I must say further, that few can be quite sure of escaping the electric chair if defendants can be declared guilty on such flimsy evidence and after such a trial. That they have not had a fair trial seems to be clear enough. What the world now demands is not proof of the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, but proof of their guilt. This has never been furnished by the prosecution. I can better understand now than before how the jury could be misled to that decision which I consider a terrible mistake, for it would be a great misfortune to permit the state to execute two wholly innocent men. The Dreyfus affair, which only involved the fate of an insignificant Jewish captain, created a real crisis in the history of France. The practical American business men, who now certainly have other interests than the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti, realize that human conscience sometimes can develop into an important factor, and they will understand that national remorse could be degrees create a general feeling of unrest."

Saw Both Prisoners  
"How can I make the positive assumption that Sacco and Vanzetti are not guilty? First, because of my weighing of the facts according to all records of the case. But further too, because of my personal observation of the defendants themselves, of letters I have received from them and because of my visit to Sacco's family. "During my professional activity, I have seen criminals every week for many years, and have been forced to distrust men who, during decades have vowed their innocence. I know that there are many born actors and many strong wills in the prisons; there are even people who have succeeded in persuading themselves of their own innocence, when they were, in fact, participants in the crime. Of what do such people talk? They talk zealously of their innocence, they talk



by Norman Thomas

EVEN the heavens thundered mightily at the L. I. D. conference. It isn't my job to describe that conference; at any rate, not in this column. I do want to emphasize the conclusion of Abraham Epstein's speech because I think he stated clearly and logically what many of us have been groping after. Why, we have been asking ourselves, has it been so hard to organize the workers? Periods of prosperity have usually been considered good times for union organization. Making all allowances for company unionism and the propaganda behind it, for factionalism in the trade unions and lack of drive in their leadership, the situation has remained baffling.

Often we have been told, quite truly, that it is impossible to organize craft unions in modern industry. How, for instance, are Henry Ford's employees, who just at present are lucky to get a two or three-day week, going to be divided up among the multifarious craft unions? Where does the guy who tightens up nut No. 999 all day long come in? Is he a blacksmith, machinist or carpenter?

But a mere shift from craft to industrial organization in big factory industries will not of itself save us, as the history of such a strong industrial union as the United Mine Workers proves. Epstein's great contribution has been to show on the basis of close statistical examination that the failure of our unions to protect the workers against the insecurities of old age, sickness and unemployment has given the bosses their chance. They have taken it with welfare work, especially group insurance. In 1925 one company alone, employing about 15,000 workers, gave out in sick and medical benefits almost as much as all the A. F. of L. unions together in similar benefits.

The union movement is in no position to compete effectively with employers in this matter. I hope that the new A. F. of L. insurance company will fare better than those Brotherhood banks which a little while ago were so extravagantly praised as the hope of labor. Nevertheless, at best this new insurance company by itself will no more put the employers' insurance schemes out of business than Warren Stone's banks and investment companies could drive the house of Morgan into bankruptcy.

## REICH SOCIALISTS LOOK TO POWER IN NEXT POLL

Party Congress at Kiel Predicts Final Showdown in Coming Election

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BERLIN.—The Congress of the German Socialist Party met from May 23 to 27 in the trade union headquarters in Kiel, under the chairmanship of Otto Wels and Eggerstedt, the president of the Kiel party organization. There were present as delegates 415 representatives, including 53 women.

After an opening speech by Hermann Muller, Otto Wels reported on behalf of the party executive, dealing especially with the party's action in the question of the German royal house, the position in Saxony, and with a group of problems of organization. The discussion centered particularly round the question of the royal princes, round a motion by the Hamburg organization for the foundation of a special Berlin party newspaper, and, lastly, round the membership by comrades of the party of the German Beamtenbund (Civil Servants' Union). Thereafter Ludwig gave the financial report, Schulz that on educational work and Marie Juhacs on the women's movement.

Reichstag Group Reports  
A motion to call together a Prussian party congress before the next elections of the Prussian Diet was accepted, while a second in favor of instituting a special Berlin party paper was withdrawn, another motion being accepted to the effect that the executive should endeavor to develop the "Vorwarts" into a real central newspaper.

The reports on the land program were given by Dr. Baade and by Kruger, the latter dealing specially with questions of soil and colonization. It was decided to refer back the draft land program once again to the Land Commission, now to include Comrade Kretzen (Leipzig), and to have a fresh report submitted to the congress.

Robert Schmidt delivered the report of the Reichstag group. Following an exhaustive debate a series of decisions were reached—resolutions on the school question and on the encouragement of dwelling house construction, a motion against any deterioration of the franchise, and a resolution, introduced by Kurt Rosenfeld (Berlin) for reform of the penal law.

Next, Hilferding gave a comprehensive report on the "Tasks of Socialism Under the Republic." In the debate, which was extremely thorough, the following, among others, spoke: Tony

## Vandervelde Pleads For Bulgarian Politicals

An earnest plea for amnesty for the some 2,000 political prisoners suffering under a brutal regime in the jails of Bulgaria was made by Emile Vandervelde, Socialist Foreign Minister of Belgium, when the question of the international loan to enable Bulgaria to take care of the thousands of political refugees from Russia and Macedonia who have lived in the little kingdom for several years came up at the March meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva. Vandervelde pointed out that in view of all that the people of Bulgaria had endured since the World War such an amnesty decree would be especially appropos.

In thanking Vandervelde for the warm interest he had always displayed in the work of caring for the refugees, M. Sarafov, the Bulgarian delegate, had absolutely nothing to say about amnesty.

But Austin Chamberlain, the hard-boiled Foreign Minister of the British Tory Government, jumped up and, according to the Geneva correspondent of the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, had the nerve to declare that the League of Nations was not empowered to "interfere with the domestic affairs of its members."

# "Prosperity" Gives Labor Only a Bare Existence, Survey of Wages Reveals

## N. Y. CAPMAKERS VOTE STRIKE

Workers Decide to Raise War Chest of \$75,000 by Assessment

A T A huge mass meeting of the workers employed in the cap industry in New York City last Tuesday evening the officers of the union were unanimously authorized to call a strike against all the employers who abrogate the agreement with the union by not enforcing the forty-hour week, which is to go into effect on July 1.

The meeting, which jammed the Headgear Workers' Lyceum to capacity, was addressed by Max Zaritsky, president, and Jacob Roberts, secretary of the International Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, as well as by Sam Herszkowitz, secretary of the Cap Makers' Joint Council of New York.

The present difficulty arises as a result of last year's general strike in the industry, when the workers struck for a forty-hour week. The strike was settled by the workers gaining a reduction of two hours a week, bringing the hours down from 44 to 42 for the first year of the agreement. Beginning with July 1, 1927, the forty-hour week was to go into effect.

During last year the cap manufacturers' associations throughout the cap markets of the country formed a national body. This organization undertook to resist the introduction of the forty-hour week in the industry in New York and in other markets where the union has gained this reduction in hours.

President Zaritsky has in the last few months held a number of conferences with this national body. As a result of the strong stand he has taken on this issue the union succeeded in establishing the forty-hour week in various markets. In New York the major portion of the employers have weakened already and are yielding to the union. The only group of employers who are stubbornly resisting are the New York Contractors' Association, comprising some 95 manufacturers, and who employ about a thousand workers. It is expected that these employers will declare a lock-out in the next few days.

## BROOKLYN PAINTERS CONTINUE STRIKE

The strike of the Painters' Union in Brooklyn, which was launched some months ago when the employers refused to grant the workers an increase in wages, is now being conducted with the greatest vigor, as the union is determined to gain its demands from the small number of employers banded in an association. The strike, when originally called some months ago, received a temporary setback when a court ruled that the union could not strike, as an agreement with the employers was not to expire until June 19.

## Embarrassing "Oil" Pages Blotted Out by Figleaf

"A FIGLEAF edition of 'Oil' is now selling in the streets of Boston, and citizens of that city now know what the Police Department will permit them to read." Upton Sinclair told a representative of The New Leader. Sinclair is the author of the novel, banned by the police administration of Boston.

Sinclair returned to New York early this week after having personally introduced and sold the figleaf edition in the streets. A number of agents for the book are following up the campaign started by Sinclair to the consternation of the medieval censors who represent an alliance of clerics in the city once famous as the home of Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson and other pioneers of intellectual freedom.

## PROTEST FIRING OF PORTERS

Undermyer and Others Demand Pullman Company Explain Acts

IN behalf of Pullman porters discharged because of union activity, Samuel Undermyer and other distinguished lawyers have made representation to the Pullman Company. Frank P. Walsh, Amos Pinchot, Henry T. Hunt and Arthur Garfield Hays joined with him in a letter to President E. F. Carry of the Pullman Company.

The letter follows: "The undersigned are a special committee chosen by the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred organized to give support and counsel to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. We have been advised by the officers of the brotherhood that the management of the Pullman Company appears to have adopted a policy of discharging a number of its most efficient porters affiliated with the brotherhood in order to prevent the porters from establishing a union controlled by them and not by the company.

"If such a policy has been adopted, we wish to protest against it. In our opinion, it will injure the quality of the service your company renders to the traveling public. The avenue to high morale and better service is co-operation with legitimate desires such as the formation of a union of their own and not frustrated by fear. Furthermore, the Pullman Company cannot afford to establish the fact that it is willing to deal collectively with its white employees and unwilling to deal with another group equally qualified for organization which happens to be of the Negro race. Such a position is in conflict with the law of the land as well as contrary to enlightened public opinion.

"The Watson-Parker bill, which created the United States Mediation Board before which the dispute between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is now pending, gives the right of self-organization to your employees. Your company was, we understand, a party to the making of that law. The policy we protest is bad faith on your part in view of your participation in the formation of this law.

"We have the names and records of the men who have been discharged and will submit this material to you if you tell us you will investigate what may be unauthorized actions by your subordinates.

## "COMFORT" WAGE A RARITY

Exceedingly Small Group of Workers Are Being Well Paid

By Louis Stanley

DESPITE our much-vaunted prosperity wages still do no more than keep body and soul together. Such is the conclusion one must inevitably reach from a study of the statistics of workers' earnings, cost of living and family budgets. We may show, as we did in the previous article, that money wages have increased faster than the cost of living, resulting in an actual increase in real wages or the purchasing power of the wage-earner's income, but the fact remains that our industrial system through good times and bad times has not yet provided a decent living for those who toil.

We have at our disposal various studies of family budgets, that is, the amount of money needed by a family to get along. But "getting along" varies according to the standard of living we use as a criterion. Thus, wages may be classified under four headings according to the family budget employed:

1. Poverty wage, enough to keep a man out of the hands of charity.
2. Subsistence wage, enough to give him a little leeway.
3. Subsistence plus health and decency, enough to give him some of the better things of life.
4. Comfort wage, enough to make him rather comfortable.

Using the classification made by Prof. Paul H. Douglas in his book on "Wages and the Family," we present in Table I, variously calculated family budgets. In all cases the figures represent the annual cost of maintaining a family of mother, father and three children. We have added the recent estimates of the National Industrial Conference Board for industrial workers in New York City for 1926.

## A Quantity Cost Budget

The budget which is generally most referred to is that made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as of August, 1919, for Washington, D. C. It is a "quantity cost budget" and is supposed to represent "a standard of health and decency" of a government employee at the United States capital. The bureau states specifically that this budget is not an ideal one, that it does not include many comforts which should be included in a proper "American standard of living." It makes no provision for savings other than insurance, nor for vacations, nor for books and other educational expenses. It simply aims to provide:

1. Sufficiency of nourishing food for maintenance of health, particularly of children;
2. Housing in low rent neighborhoods and with as small as possible a number of rooms consistent with decency but with sufficient light, heat and toilet facilities for maintenance of health and decency;
3. Upkeep of household equipment, such as kitchen utensils, bedding and linen, necessary for health, but with no provision for purchase of additional furniture;
4. Clothing sufficient for warmth, of a sufficiently good quality to be economical but with no further regard for appearance and style than is necessary to permit the family members to appear in public and within their rather narrow social circle without slovenliness or loss of self-respect; and,
5. A surplus over the above expenditures which would permit of only a minimum outlay for such necessary demands as—  
(a) Street car fares to and from work and necessary rides to stores and markets;  
(b) Keeping up a modest amount of insurance;  
(c) Medical and dental care;  
(d) Contributions to churches and labor or benevolent organizations;  
(e) Simple amusements, such as moving pictures once in a while, occasional street car rides for pleasure, some Christmas gifts for the children, etc.; and  
(f) Daily newspaper.

On the basis of these needs it is found that a man and wife and three children (boy of 2, girl of 3 and boy of 11) need \$2,263.47 per year. If allowances are made for exceptional thriftiness the amount is \$2,915.54. A single man living away from home would by the same standards be en-



titled to \$941.41 and a woman, \$1,017.50. If it be granted that ten per cent of expenses should be set aside as savings, the sums become \$1,057.55 and \$1,110.55, respectively.

#### Kinds of Wages

If we examine the other family budgets in Table I we notice that the subsistence wage ranges from \$1.170 to \$1.630 and, while to be strict, we are not justified in averaging the amounts presented under this or the other heading, we shall do so, keeping in mind the limitations imposed by a small number of cases over a long period of time. The average is \$1.370. The average of the subsistence plus health and decency wages is \$1.694, and the average of the comfort wages is \$2.304. Of course each of the budgets, as estimated by the various authorities, should be extended to cover each of the years between 1919 and 1926 to give us a basis of comparison with the actual wages we shall discuss later. We are, therefore, presenting in Table II the cost-of-living index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for the country as a whole as well as for Washington, D. C., and New York City. Thus, it will be seen that the comfort wage of August, 1919, for Washington, D. C., is reduced by December, 1926, because of a decline in the cost of living in that city. August must be considered to have a value about midway between those of June, 1919, and December, 1919. The same thing holds good for the country as a whole as well as for New York City. These considerations must be kept in mind when comparing budgets with actual earnings.

#### The Definition of Wages

If now we turn our attention to the wages received by workers we find that they are almost in all cases below the estimated budgets. In Table III is supplied the average wages earned by workers in manufacturing industries as a whole and for three selected groups, and in Table IV the average annual wages per worker are calculated for 1925. These amounts are found by dividing the total wages by the average numbers of workers as given in the Biennial Census of Manufactures. We learn that in spite of increases from 1919 to 1925, that is, through prosperity as well as through the depression of 1921, that:

(1) In no case is a comfort wage reached;

(2) That the subsistence plus health and decency standard is approached but in no case: transportation equipment (\$1.624);

(3) That the bare subsistence wage—and we shall set it liberally at \$1.000—is reached in only eleven groups of industries and actually not passed in five.

In Table V are given statistics bearing on the earnings of railway employees. The figures for 1921 are estimated by doubling the compensation for the last half of that year, which are the only comparable figures available. Classification is made as between those working on a daily basis and those on an hourly. It will be noticed that there is a small group in each classification which receives considerably more than the others. The same thing is true for comparison among the groups as well as among the individual car within each group. Thus, the transportation workers engaged in actual operation of trains (the conductors, firemen and engineers) received an average wage of \$2,384 in 1926 but they only constituted 18.5 per cent of the whole number employed. Thus, also \$13,389 track and roadway section hands out of 418,161 in the maintenance of way groups received an average annual wage of only \$584. And so the story continues.

#### Why Workers Do Live On

The question immediately arises as to how the workers manage to survive if they do not receive enough to live on. It reminds us of the Greek philosopher who proved conclusively that man cannot walk. A skeptic friend of his could not find any flaw in the logic, but he refuted the philosopher's argument by getting up and walking away. Similarly with budgets and wages. After all, workers do not starve to death and there is a feeling of prosperity. Three explanations suggest themselves. The first is that a subsistence wage, enough for existence, is obtained in a large measure. The second is that the working class family supplements the father's earnings with those of wife and children, as well as miscellaneous income from lodgers, garden, poultry, gifts, rent, interest, etc. The larger the income required by a family the greater the assistance from other members of the family. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a study in 1918-19 of 32,096 working class families in 92 cities and 42 States. Table VI presents some of the results. It bears out our first inference.

The third point is that workers are not so well off as average figures tend to show. There is a comparatively small group of well-paid and a large mass, generally unskilled and semi-skilled, who receive considerably less. The aristocracy of labor sacrifices the less fortunate ones for its own advancement. We expect to show in our next installment to what extent this is true.

#### To Protect Compressed Air Workers

Following the death recently of three compressed-air workers who were stricken with the dreaded occupational disease, "the bends," while working on the construction of tunnels for the Milwaukee sewage disposal system, a bill was introduced in the Wisconsin legislature for the protection of cisson workers. The American Association for Labor Legislation pointed out, in a statement published in Wisconsin newspapers, that three States—New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—already have enacted legislation based on the association's standard bill, to control the disease, and that the industrial hazard of "the bends" is present wherever in the construction of tunnels, bridges and skyscrapers, the workers have to labor in compressed air.

## Tables That Reveal at a Glance Labor's Scant Share in Prosperity

TABLE I—BUDGETS

Time	Locality	Author	Subsistence wage	Subsistence plus health and decency wage	Comfort wage
Aug., 1919	Washington, D. C.	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics	.....	\$2.262	.....
Oct., 1919	Fall River, Mass.	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	\$1.268	\$1.574	.....
Nov., 1919	Lawrence, Mass.	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	1.396	1.658	.....
Jan., 1920	Bitum, Minn. towns	Prof. Ogburn	.....	2.244	.....
Jan., 1920	West Hoboken, etc.	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	1.610	.....	.....
Feb., 1920	Three Carolina cotton towns	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	1.410	.....	.....
May, 1920	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	.....	1.692	.....
May, 1920	Worcester, Mass.	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	.....	1.733	.....
Oct., 1920	Chicago	Council of Social Agencies	.....	1.668	2.322
Nov., 1920	New York City	Labor Bureau, Inc.	.....	2.638	.....
1920	Meriden, Conn.	Associated Charities	1.430	.....	.....
1920	Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento	Blum and Pelkott	.....	2.292	.....
1921	Same	Same	.....	2.050	.....
March, 1921	New York (Harlem)	Labor Bureau, Inc.	.....	2.335	.....
Sept., 1921	Philadelphia	Beyer	.....	1.847	.....
Nov., 1921	Detroit	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	.....	1.699	.....
Nov., 1921	Chicago	Labor Bureau, Inc.	.....	2.446	.....
March, 1921	Philadelphia	Labor Bureau, Inc.	.....	2.385	.....
June, 1921	Schenectady, N. Y.	Labor Bureau, Inc.	.....	2.087	.....
Feb., 1922	Anthracite regions of Pennsylvania	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	.....	1.322	.....
March, 1922	Chicago	Council of Social Agencies	.....	1.170	.....
1926	New York City	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd.	.....	1.880	.....
Averages			\$1.370	\$1.694	\$2.304

TABLE II—COST OF LIVING

Time	Country	Washington, D. C.	New York City
1913	.....	100.0	100.0
June, 1919	.....	177.3	171.2
Dec., 1919	.....	199.3	187.6
June, 1920	.....	216.5	201.3
Dec., 1920	.....	206.4	187.8
June, 1921	.....	180.4	167.1
Dec., 1921	.....	174.3	169.9
June, 1922	.....	166.8	157.6
Dec., 1922	.....	169.5	155.5
June, 1923	.....	169.7	160.9
Dec., 1923	.....	173.2	168.2
June, 1924	.....	169.1	159.3
Dec., 1924	.....	172.5	163.1
June, 1925	.....	173.5	164.0
Dec., 1925	.....	177.9	167.3
June, 1926	.....	174.8	165.8
Dec., 1926	.....	175.6	166.0

TABLE III

Time	Country	Washington, D. C.	New York City
1913	.....	100.0	100.0
June, 1919	.....	177.3	171.2
Dec., 1919	.....	199.3	187.6
June, 1920	.....	216.5	201.3
Dec., 1920	.....	206.4	187.8
June, 1921	.....	180.4	167.1
Dec., 1921	.....	174.3	169.9
June, 1922	.....	166.8	157.6
Dec., 1922	.....	169.5	155.5
June, 1923	.....	169.7	160.9
Dec., 1923	.....	173.2	168.2
June, 1924	.....	169.1	159.3
Dec., 1924	.....	172.5	163.1
June, 1925	.....	173.5	164.0
Dec., 1925	.....	177.9	167.3
June, 1926	.....	174.8	165.8
Dec., 1926	.....	175.6	166.0

TABLE IV—ANNUAL COMPENSATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN THOUSANDS

Group and basis of pay	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	Number
Executive officials	\$5,033	\$5,029	\$5,120	\$5,227	\$5,296	\$5,314	17,000
Professional, clerical and general	2,129	2,115	2,147	2,188	2,203	2,227	63,000
Daily	1,474	1,474	1,463	1,487	1,497	1,513	232,000
Maintenance of way and structures	3,840	3,885	3,893	3,882	3,917	3,913	5,000
Hourly	1,038	1,038	1,055	1,068	1,082	1,092	413,000
Maintenance of equipment and stores	3,876	3,928	3,922	3,943	3,966	3,964	17,000
Hourly	1,678	1,604	1,513	1,470	1,487	1,517	505,000
Transportation (other than train, engine and yard)	1,174	1,153	1,157	1,175	1,186	1,195	26,000
Daily	1,456	1,446	1,451	1,479	1,493	1,505	193,000
Transportation (yardmasters, switchtenders and hostlers)	3,054	3,046	3,060	3,069	3,111	3,110	7,000
Hourly	1,717	1,743	1,764	1,805	1,810	1,810	17,000
Transportation (train and engine service)	2,128	2,224	2,283	2,294	2,287	2,284	322,000
Totals	\$2,470	\$2,474	\$2,518	\$2,551	\$2,579	\$2,607	125,000
Hourly	1,522	1,558	1,556	1,544	1,569	1,585	1,681,000
Daily	1,607	1,624	1,610	1,615	1,639	.....	1,806,000
Grand totals	\$1,607	\$1,624	\$1,610	\$1,615	\$1,639	.....	1,806,000

TABLE VI—SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF FAMILY INCOME, 1918-1919

Income group	Percentage of total families	Total income per family	Percentage of total income	Percentage of total income from sources other than wages
Under \$900	2.7	\$813	94.2	2.0
\$900 to \$1,200	20.0	1,075	94.3	3.2
\$1,200 to \$1,500	32.7	1,344	93.2	3.1
\$1,500 to \$1,800	22.6	1,623	91.3	4.8
\$1,800 to \$2,100	13.2	1,928	87.9	8.4
\$2,100 to \$2,500	5.3	2,272	78.6	16.5
\$2,500 and up	2.5	2,790	64.4	31.8
All incomes	100.0	\$1,513	89.3	6.9

## Printing Trades Plan New Dress for Union Label

THE union printer's label is going to get a new dress. For many years the printing trades have been aware that the union label which distinguishes many books, pamphlets, and other printed material as being made in accordance with fair work standards is not satisfactory either in design or usefulness. The label showing where the article was printed quickly becomes unrecognizable.

The label committee of "Big 6" and the Allied Printing Trades Council have launched a movement for a label that will be a work of art, fit for the best printing.

"The label in its present shape is a relic of antiquity," says the committee in its report. "After being in use for a short time it is hardly readable. As members of the art preservative of all arts, we should at least have a respectable trade-mark instead of one that we are continually apologizing for."

"As a means of identifying this state of affairs orders have been given to encourage the use of new labels in the future. As to the design, after placing our complaint before the officers of the Allied Trades Council, we were informed that complaints have been coming in from all the printing trades unions and that the International Printing Trades Council was going to seriously consider the question at its next convention in June."

In prosperous Buffalo so extensive is unemployment, especially among women workers, that the W. Y. C. A. has canceled its plan to establish a group of students in industry in Buffalo next summer lest the students take jobs which others might desperately need. Well, why worry? Didn't the steel trust stockholders finally ratify the cutting of the melon by which their nominal holdings are increased forty per cent? Instead of crying for unemployment or old age insurance let the workers invest in steel stock and live on their dividends.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

Dr. Spillman, one of the experts of the Agricultural Department, that if we are to pay a tariff or bounty on staple crops it must be on a limited amount. But what a tragedy it is that in a hungry world we should have to discuss the limitation of food supply!

Samuel Untermyer has brought out the interesting fact that the city of New York has paid something more than \$300,000 for the I. R. T.'s propaganda in behalf of increased subway fares. This money, spent under the direction of that \$12,500-a-year publicity expert, Ivy Lee—some disrespectful folks have given him the first name of Poison—was charged to operating expenses along with a lot of other items that have kept the city from getting returns on its investment.

Subway workers as well as subway users have reason to bless Mr. Lee. It appears that he helped write the extraordinary constitution of the Brotherhood of Interborough Employees, under which they are forbidden to join any union.

Now, the moral of all this is not personal wrath against Mr. Lee or anybody else. What has happened and is happening to the city of New York under its amazing partnership with the subway companies will continue to happen to American cities and states as long as we have the peculiar notion that we must turn over public enterprises to private profit makers because the public cannot or will not attend to its own business.

Two things are necessary to change the situation: (1) That we break the hypnotic spell which the private profit makers have over us, and (2) that we work out effective machinery of public ownership.

This is a problem of nationwide importance. New York City probably suffers less in its relations with its subway partners than many other cities. Public regulation has not completely broken down. In New York State ten-cent fares have been granted on the street cars of Albany and other up-State cities on the outrageous theory that companies are entitled to a certain per cent of profit not on their original investment, but on the cost of reproduction—a cost which the cities have helped to create by granting franchises and otherwise.

The experts of the Brookings Economics Institute have demonstrated that there is no solution for chaotic overproduction and continual labor strike in the bituminous coal fields except under some plan of national ownership. The particular plans which may be proposed for running street car lines, subways or coal mines will need careful thought and close examination. Any half-way intelligent people ought to realize, however, that it is high time that we put our minds down to particular plans instead of leaving matters to profiteers.

The British Tory Government has finally passed its dangerous labor bill. According to dispatches amendments have somewhat improved the bill, which still remains, however, almost an invitation to revolutionary action.

This British Government at home and abroad is a positive menace to the peace and well-being of the world. It took the lead in trying to turn the last meeting of the Council of the League of Nations into one gigantic intrigue against Russia. In this it was temporarily thwarted by the German Government, which may, however, be only holding out for a higher price.

I am no blind partisan of Soviet Russia. Conditions there as reported by the best observers are baffling. Whatever the reasons for the sudden revival of the terror in Russia, unquestionably it has reawakened sorrow and suspicion in the hearts of those who wish the great Russian experiment well. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that indirectly at least the British offensive against Russia has been responsible for reviving terrorism and checking the gradual growth of better relations in Europe. The British Conservative Government concerned for its position in Asia has behind a pious front been quite unscrupulous in fighting its momentous duel with Russia.

California and her Governor are to be congratulated on paroling Anita Whitney. Do they remember that six or seven men lacking Miss Whitney's reputation and prestige are still in jail for precisely the same sort of offense for which she was convicted? Meanwhile a world watches to see what another American state, washed by the Atlantic and not the Pacific, will do in the case of those two victims of judicial prejudice, Sacco and Vanzetti.

Here in New York we have got to the place where a magistrate can send a man to jail for two days for not lifting his hat when a band blares out the "Star-Spangled Banner." A little thing, you say? Yes, but an important straw to show the way the winds of State tyranny are blowing.

There is also the case of David Gordon, an eighteen-year-old boy, sent to the reformatory for a sentence which may run three long years. To write and print the filthy poem which brought trouble to Gordon and the editors of the Daily Worker does not fall within my conception of civil liberty. But the severe sentence upon Gordon was outrageously vindictive and cannot be defended by any sound conception of humanity or justice. Not only freedom, but plain, good sense has a hard struggle in America.

## Rabbis Startle Central Union

The placid meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council recently broke into a murmur of excitement when three men came forward as Vice President John Mulholland called for new delegates to step to the front to be obligated.

They were long flowing beards and they were undecided as to whether they should keep their hats on or off. It was to them a moment of great solemnity for the three new delegates were rabbis. Not, it is true, ministers in the sense of being in charge of large synagogues, but rabbis in a vocational sense. They were the delegates of Butchers' Union 635. Theirs is the responsibility to slaughter chickens in the approved Hebrew fashion in keeping with the strict dietary laws handed down from the time of Moses and observed by generation after generation, in whatever land the Jews find themselves.

Rabbis Seidman, Abramson and

## Flowing Beards Mark Three Representatives of Hebrew Workers Obligated by New York Labor

Waters were pledged to maintain the honor and dignity of labor, to observe all the rules of union conduct and were seated as delegates in the body of the hall. If all of labor observed the rules as the Jews observed their rules of kosher diet much more might be accomplished for the organized workers. It was observed.

One of the strongest factors for the five-day week in New York is due to the insistence of religious Jews. The Sunday is observed as a matter of Gentile law and custom. The orthodox Jews observe the Sabbath, which is Saturday. Liberal Jews combine the two holidays, with the result that in a few years it is estimated more than 500,000 Jewish workers will be permanently on the five-day week, to observe it religiously if they wish or for improvement of mind and body in some intellectual or recreational pursuit.

## Reich Socialists Expect To Win in the Next Poll

(Continued from page 1)

Sender, Scheidemann, Loh, Aufhäuser, Breitscheid, Hermann Müller and Severing. A resolution moved by Aufhäuser and Sender was defeated by 255 votes to 88.

The following resolution by the Party Executive, moved by Hilferding, was adopted with slight opposition, many Berlin delegates abstaining:

### The Tasks of Socialism Under the Republic

"Since the efforts to set aside the democratic Republic have broken against the growing resistance of the masses of the workers, political and social reaction, led by the German National Party, is striving to restore the old dominance of large landed property and big capital by applying to this purpose the power of the government. The German National Party is concealing for the time being its monarchist, anti-republican and anti-democratic activities, in order to secure the aid of other capitalist parties for the execution of the material and socially reactionary aims of the great landed owners."

"Simultaneously with the proceeding concentration of capital, the organization of the economic order under the direction and for the benefit of the capitalist class is moving onward. Accordingly, it has become the immediate task of the labor movement to carry on the struggle for the abolition of the privilege of ownership, for an increasing share by workers and employees in the management and employment of production, and for an increasing transformation of the capitalist oligarchy into the Socialist-democratic economic order."

"The fight for the maintenance of the republic and the extension of democracy, the defense against social reaction and the conquest of economic democracy requires the union of all workers under one political party, namely, under Socialism."

The political and social aims of the labor movement are wholly independent of the religious convictions and views of the world held by its individual elements. Accordingly, the Congress protests against the initiation of a so-called cultural conflict. Therein it sees only the attempt of socially reactionary classes to maintain and widen the division between the workers in order the more easily to exert over the divided political and social domination; i. e., to defeat the labor movement from its true objects. The struggle for the schools belongs for Socialism to the working class' campaign of liberation. Its aims are the removal of privilege; in education, the provision for all capable of using it, without distinction of possessing status; of the opportunity to rise, and the elevation of the level of education and culture among the masses. This task of overcoming the privilege of education is, however, one common to all strata of the workers. It is not religious division, but a common struggle for a share in all the attainments of culture that constitutes the true cultural conflict."

"The fight for the conquest of political power implies the acquisition and maintenance of the largest possible number of positions of power in municipality, state and country. Only through active participation in administration will it be possible to realize the necessary process of making the public services more republican and more democratic."

"This consideration alone helps us to measure the high significance of the participation by Socialists in the administration of cities and provinces. Participation by Socialists in the central government must depend wholly on an examination of the question whether the strength of Socialism among the people and in the Reichstag affords a guarantee of being able, by participation in the government in a given situation, to arrive at definite objectives concordant with the workers' interests, or to ward off reactionary perils. The decision as to participation in government is a tactical question, the answer to which cannot be supplied once and for all by set formulas."

"The forthcoming elections to the Reichstag will bring a decision as to liberation from the tutelage of the capitalist parties of those working class elements that still cleave to them, as to the break-up of the reactionary following of the capitalist parties and of the reactionary coalition, and finally as to the overthrow of the Government of the Right. The decline of the Communist Party and the exposure of itself by capitalist reaction make victory a possibility."

## NEW COMMITTEEMEN FOR LIBERTIES UNION

Eight new members have been selected to the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. They are as follows: Professor Alexander Meiklejohn, chairman of the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin; Albert M. Todd, Kalamazoo, Mich., noted chemist and political economist; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio, American Jewish leader; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City, lawyer and criminologist; Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Cambridge, Mass., physician; Professor Clarence R. Skinner, of Tufts College, Mass., clergyman and educator; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Ill., nationally prominent social worker.

## PAPER BOX MAKERS MEETING IS CALLED

The Paper Box Makers' Union of New York will hold a mass meeting at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street, on June 30. This is the second meeting called by the organization in its effort to unionize the trade. Production in the trade is increasing but the working conditions are terrible. Unsanitary conditions, miserably low wages and the speed-up system prevail.

The workers are beginning to talk union again. The mass meeting, called for June 30, 1927, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street, will be the signal to the workers to mobilize their forces for the fall drive to unionize the trade. Prominent speakers of the labor movement will address the meeting.

### Polish Socialists

In Local Victory Socialist parties in one large Polish city scored a substantial victory in the election last week. Lublin is a large textile center and the Socialists won a majority of the representatives in the city council.

The Socialist movement in Poland is represented by three sections, the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund, and the Polesi Zionist Socialists. The Bund is the strongest party and it won more seats than the other parties. With a clear majority in the council for the first time the workers of the city will be able to work out a program of reforms.

### Pioneer Youth Opens

#### Pennsylvania Camp

A step forward in the long crusade for labor education of the youth will be marked by the opening on June 26, of Pennsylvania's Pioneer Youth Camp. This will be the first year on the new camp site. The camp, owned by Pioneer Youth, is situated on 103 acres of rolling hills and rich meadow with two streams and bathing facilities, in beautiful Bucks County, at Lahaska. It is only thirty-two miles from Philadelphia, and can easily be reached by train.

This is a camp of creative activity, where the children do only what interests them, and are not forced to conform to any routine pattern. The children are governed by themselves, and are responsible (with direction, of course) for everything in camp, under the supervision of a very capable staff of educational directors and counselors. The price per week is \$10 for children of trade unionists and \$17.50 for all others. The difference in price is met by arrangements with the unions. The children may stay from one week to ten, beginning June 26.

The Philadelphia representative is Mrs. Aida J. Creech, 929 Chestnut street.

### Business Men in China

#### Attempting to Silence Voice of American Editor

THE American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, whose members seek to obtain armed intervention in China, have been charged in an unexpected quarter. J. P. Powell, editor of the China Weekly Review, has taken a position against the reactionary policy of the Chamber, and the latter has adopted a resolution requesting the Weekly Review to resign its membership in



## TORIES FOUGHT CO-OPS' AID TO LABOR

Conservatives and Liberals Tried to Prevent Support of Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LONDON.—Back of the recent affiliation of the Co-operative Congress with the Labor Party is an interesting story of how the Tory Party employed all its resources to prevent affiliation. The Liberals also used their influence to prevent this powerful acquisition by the Labor Party but on a smaller scale, as the Liberal Party is too weak to be effective.

For months before the Co-operative Congress met at Cheltenham the Tories spent large sums in a well organized and widespread campaign, not only through the press but by distributing millions of pamphlets and leaflets. Opposition to affiliation was also organized within many local co-operative societies.

When delegates to the Cheltenham Congress arrived they also found large supplies of literature in hotels and boarding houses. This literature was cleverly written and showed an intimate knowledge of the co-operative movement. Moreover, there has been some co-operation between local societies and the Labor Party in local elections and this increasing political activity of the societies convinced the Tories that all their forces should be thrown into the Congress.

The Tory Party had already warned all its agents throughout the country in a secret publication marked "private and confidential." This circular declared: "The first great essential that all Conservative and Unionist organizations should realize is that the Co-operative Movement has definitely entered the political arena and requires to be dealt with just as thoroughly as any orthodox organization of our opponents."

In spite of all the pressure that Tory influence could bring upon the delegates the resolution to affiliate with the Labor Party was carried by a vote of 1,960,000 in favor to 1,843,000 against, a majority of 117,000.

With this close and fraternal co-operation between the two movements there is little doubt that more of the local co-operative societies will be won over and the majority will be increased at the next Congress. R. C. Morrison, M. P., expresses the general view of Laborites in the following statement regarding the decision of the Cheltenham Congress:

"The agreement will now come before the Labor Party Conference in October for final ratification, but there is no reason why local Labor Parties and Co-op. bodies should not begin friendly negotiations at once. There is no time to lose—as I said at the Sunday evening demonstration in Cheltenham, whether the present government will be the last Tory government depends largely upon the extent to which Co-operators organize their voting power as they have organized their spending power. With the carrying of this agreement, the political force of the wage earner falls into line with the political force of the wage spender. The producers and consumers are welding their political interests together, and the words of Walt Whitman become truer every day. 'It's systems wrestling now, not parties.'"

## Federal Radio Commission To Grant Debs Fund Broadcasting Permit

Members of the Federal Radio Commission have assured trustees of the \$250,000 Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, that the Fund will be granted a license to broadcast the moment it purchases a broadcasting station, the trustees announce.

With this assurance, Norman Thomas, chairman of the Fund, declared that the Debs Fund will resume its negotiations for the purchase of a high-powered station in the New York area. It expects to announce the purchase of a station very shortly.

The declaration of the commission was hailed yesterday by trustees of the Fund, which seeks to operate a station from which all shades of labor and liberal opinion will be broadcast, as a living memorial to the late Eugene V. Debs, the noted labor leader. A representative group of prominent laborites and progressives on the Board of Trustees insures impartial dissemination of all viewpoints of interest to labor.

## LAUNDRY BOSSES DENIED WRIT

Mandelbaum, Counsel  
for Communists, Tried  
to Win Injunctions

The laundry drivers on strike against the North American Laundry of the Bronx won an important victory when the Appellate Division, First Department, affirmed the orders of Supreme Court Justice Mulligan denying the applications in two cases of the employers for temporary injunctive relief against the Union and the individual strikers respectively.

The workers were represented on the appeal by the firm of Goldberg & Solomon and the laundry bosses by Jacob Mandelbaum, who, at the same time, represents the left wing furriers and the organized laundry bosses who are committed to the policy of the non-union shop and bitterly opposed to all organization attempts in the industry.

The strikers, twenty-one in number, have been on strike for about eleven weeks. The struggle arose out of the failure and refusal of the employers to abide by their contract with the Laundry Drivers' Union.

The police of the Bronx are investigating a raid made on the union headquarters by a group of men who, the Union officials insist, represented the employers. The headquarters, located at 1167 Boston Road, were invaded by gangsters who destroyed the phone connection, smashed up furniture and forced union members to jump one story through the windows of the offices.

Two of the strikers, Rubenstein and Barrish, were seriously cut up by a gangster and then placed under arrest charged with felonious assault, the demands of the men to arrest the gangster being ignored.

## Argentine Socialists Recall Delegate to Pan-American Meet

Party Feels Slighted—  
Resents Use of Amb-  
assador as Intermedi-  
ary

WHEN the Fifth Congress of the Pan American Federation of Labor opens in Washington on July 18, the Socialist Party of Argentina will not be represented. And it looks as though the Argentina Federation of Labor also will be conspicuous by its absence.

As the Argentina political and economic labor organizations are the strongest of all Ibero American countries, except Mexico, special efforts had been made during the last couple of years by Santiago Iglesias, Spanish language Secretary of the Pan American Federation of Labor, to line Argentina labor up with that of the other nations affiliated with the Federation.

As the result of letters exchanged between Iglesias and Juan B. Justo, the Socialist Senator, who is regarded abroad as the most prominent leader of the Argentinean proletariat, everything seemed to have been settled and the Argentinean Socialist Party had already picked Emilio Lopez de Tucuman as its delegate to the Washington Congress.

Socialists' Ire Aroused

Then, as told in the Buenos Aires Vanguardia of May 22, came a letter to the General Secretary of the Socialist Party from Iglesias thanking the Executive Committee of the party for its decision to be represented at the Fifth Congress, but laying stress upon the necessity of the Argentina Federation of Labor sending a delegate to the Congress to the whole matter. Of course, the Argentina Socialists were anxious to have the Argentina Federation of Labor also represented and had urged Secretary Iglesias to invite that organization. But they did not like the way in which they apparently were being side-tracked.

To increase the Socialists' distrust of the Pan American Federation of Labor came the revelation of the fact that Secretary Iglesias had made use of the Argentina Ambassador in Washington as an intermediary between the Pan American Federation of Labor and the

Argentina Federation of Labor in forwarding a duplicate invitation and credential blanks.

Delegates Recalled

So the Executive Committee met and decided to rescind its decision to send a delegate to the Washington Congress and to send instead a letter, which, after rectifying the differences of outlook on the labor movement existing between the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist labor organizations of the world, including the Argentinean and American Socialist parties, ends as follows:

"We are approaching the trade union movement of the United States in the hope of drawing it nearer to the labor movement of the world."

"We are very sorry to lose this chance to undertake such a great crusade in all America. We shall not send a delegate to the Congress that you are arranging. There has been a misunderstanding on your part because you have not attached enough weight to our words."

"And at the last minute we see that it also was a mistake on our part to accept your invitation, because we are not accustomed to participating in labor conventions organized with the help of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors."

"We have seen the note sent by the Pan American Federation of Labor to Senator Pueyrredon, the representative of the Argentina landed oligarchy before the Government in Washington. We have seen the blank credentials which arrived here to be filled out by the officers of the Government, credentials identical with those that we received and are returning blank."

"These acts, which we were ignorant of until a few days ago and which we could not even have suspected, cause us to see that the labor movement called Pan American is one of the agencies through which the Secretary of State of the United States would like to extend his influence, something which we do not have to help realize."

"With respectful greetings,"

"ADOLFO DICKMANN,"

"Secretary General of the Socialist Party."

The Socialist Party of Argentina is affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International and the Argentina Federation of Labor is part of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

## Aged Dependents Desire Home Care

In a recent bulletin of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, under the heading "After Three Score Years and Ten," appear a number of little stories from real life revealing poignantly the desire—and the heroic efforts—of aged dependents to get along somehow in their own rooms or homes, however bare, rather than to be put away in a poorhouse or other institution. So strong is this feeling that the board of managers of the A. I. C. P. has formally adopted the principle of caring for aged people in their own homes. When all the states have adopted old age pension legislation, worthy old folks who have outlived their usefulness to industry will no longer be forced to suffer the neglect and humiliation of poorhouses, but will be cared for in their own homes, as dependent children are now cared for under mothers' pension laws.

## Figleaf Covers Pages of "Oil"

(Continued from page 1)  
most and possibly all of the edition will be sold in Boston.  
The street advertising of the police censorship will continue during Sinclair's absence from the city. Four or five agents are located in busy streets with "sandwich" signs similar to the one used by Sinclair and the figleaf edition continues to sell. This unique edition has also attracted the attention of book collectors, and fifty copies, the author announces, have been ordered by New York buyers.

"The march back to medieval obscurantism is not confined to Boston," declared Mr. Sinclair, in commenting on a ruling of the New York Postmaster barring an issue of the Publishers' Weekly from the mails. The Publishers' Weekly serves book publishers by supplying a certain quantity to each house on its list with the publisher's imprint. The publisher then mails his edition out to his customers.

It is reported that a New York firm was notified that its edition of the Publishers' Weekly could not be sent through the mails because the edition carries an announcement of an unimpeachable book. It is said that upon inquiring of the Postmaster as to what book was objectionable the Postmaster refused to mention the book! However, the firm was notified that the copies of the weekly already in the mails would be delivered if no more were mailed.

Like Old Russia  
Commenting on this amazing phase of censorship, Mr. Sinclair said: "This ruling is a deadly parallel with the custom often followed by the governing bureaucracy in Czarist Russia. Publishers of books and periodicals often received notice that a book or periodical could not be mailed, but no specifications were given. The victims were left to guess what was in the minds of the censors. Publishers always lived in apprehension of a ukase that would strike down a work."

"In Boston it is the Police Department and the clericals. In New York it is an official of the Postoffice. In the Russia of the Romanoffs it was the clericals, the police and postal officials who also co-operated in imposing censorship of books and periodicals. If the present trend in censorship continues we will consecrate methods that belong to old Russian medievalism."

## BRANTING FINDS SACCO, VANZETTI INNOCENT

(Continued from page 1)

of the lack of evidence, of the intrigues and the false witnesses, of the reward or the honor the lawyer shall gain if he will free them.

"Of what did Sacco and Vanzetti talk during my long visits with them? They asked me about the labor movement of Sweden, about news from Italy; Sacco, who loves life with childish gladness, talked of his little daughter, and the record proves his ardent love for his family; Vanzetti, who is more resigned and seems to be more ready to die, talked of the great class war, as he sees it, and his deep eyes tried to see into the dim future of the working class. Only in passing have they talked of their case and their fate."

"Well, men with superficial police souls may shrug their shoulders. I am persuaded that the great mass of people, at heart good and honest, will understand that such signs of character are not without significance. That is, too, the opinion of modern criminal schools. I think that most people must understand that two men whose regular, hard-working everyday life is described in the court record and whose greatest interest in life was evidently the labor movement could not, in a single day, be transformed into a pair of highly skilled professional murderers, and the next day return to their ordinary open life. Is it reasonable that Vanzetti, who not only spoke at public meetings, but through his street peddling, was a well known figure in his town, should take part in a holdup a short distance from his home, without any disguise on the open street in clear daylight?"

Time Proves Innocence

"But it is not necessary to accept this opinion on the question of guilt. A mistake is possible. Why should it be so painful to accept the idea that a jury once in a complicated case has made a mistake and that none of the jurors would disregard the eloquent appeal of the judge to their loyalty? It was scarcely twelve individuals who decided this case, but one homogeneous body bound together by a certain kind of patriotic solidarity. That this happened during wartime is easy to understand. The jury system, under normal circumstances working well, failed during a time of excitement. The circumstances admit a correction and the governor is to be congratulated that he has the opportunity to render to his country a great service."

"There are people who think it is right to support the assertion that the public shall never interfere with the procedure of the courts. That is true as an everyday rule. However, it still remains the public's important role to be the controlling factor in the establishment of justice. Otherwise why public procedure? Will anyone really create a chasm between the court and the people themselves? It may be remembered, too, that the jury system itself, descendant from ancient times, when the community itself administered justice, is a standing acknowledgment of the principle that the administration of justice constitutes an important part of self government."

"Time brings new information in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, all pointing in the same direction, to the innocence of the defendants. It seems that a clearer historical truth begins to be visible."

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## Cloak Union to Vote on "P. R."

(Continued from page 1)

or four of the largest local unions within the International in Greater New York, while those favoring modified representation belong to smaller unions in New York as well as in other markets in the United States and Canada.

Explaining the two points of view, Mr. Sigman said:—

"The decision of the General Executive Board is in strict conformity with the decision of the Philadelphia convention. Though the convention itself went on record favoring the modified, gradual method of representation, it was decided at that time to place before the entire membership any and all proposals dealing with the question."

"Those within our union favoring the modified amendment to the constitution are those who declare to seek to safeguard the interests of members outside New York, as well as those belonging to the smaller New York locals, under a system of full proportional representation, having different problems from the other locals, would dominate the entire International Union, though perhaps 45 percent of the union strength is lodged outside these three or four locals. Further, the various crafts, such as white goods workers, embroiderers, etc., would have questions of general policy decided for them by locals, predominantly cloak and dress locals."

"On the other hand, those favoring full representation declare that democracy dictates a strict proportional voting power regardless of whether the trade problems of different crafts within our International are not the same, and regardless of whether the interests of other markets are different from those of New York."

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## Communist Attempt To Capture Insurance Society Sweeps Them Out

The attempt of Communists to capture the Workers' Furniture Fire Insurance Society proved a dismal failure. A last-minute "united front" between the Ludwig Lore and the Workers' Party Communists did not help them.

They had hoped to pack the recent annual meeting of the society and fill all the offices with none but their own adherents. Every available follower of theirs was on hand, but so were hundreds of others who came determined to rid the society of Communist domination. Even before the election took place the trend of the meeting showed unmistakable signs of a substantial anti-Communist majority. The Communists tried their usual methods of delay, with the hope of dragging the election until late in the evening, when members residing in the outlying districts would have left the hall. The scheme fell through.

The election then proceeded in an orderly manner. The Communists receiving representation on all the election boards. When the result of the balloting was announced it exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the anti-Communist groups. Not a single Communist was elected to office, and the ensuing board of directors, instead of having a Communist majority, as was the case in the past year, will stand 11 to 1, the lone Communist being a holdover from last year, whose term of office will expire in 1928.

About 500 members were present, the largest attendance in the history of the society. Not all the business was disposed of at this meeting, and it was decided to hold an adjourned meeting four weeks hence.

## Prosperity Reaches the Communists

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Since the origin of the Communist movement in this country in 1919 nothing so humorous has come from this source. The complete card, which

appears on this page, sets forth the claim that the Communist daily "represents the greatest concentrated wealth of Greater New York."

A member of one of the needle trades unions, asked his opinion of the card, wanted to know whether the Left Wing, discouraged by its failure to establish a "united front" with labor organizations, did not desire to establish such an alliance with the Morgan banking interests or the Standard Oil Company. A member of the Socialist Party suggested that the Communists had probably been successful with some of their "theses" in Wall Street and expected financial help from some trust magnates.

In general the card is regarded as an example of the bizarre psychology of a movement that has pursued a tortuous course of contradictions since its origin in the United States. The appeal to the hated "bourgeoisie" in an effort to save the sinking ship is about the funniest incident in the career of the movement. Speculation is rife as to how this "betrayal of the

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# The Richest Nation

## How Much of "Our Wealth" Is Shoddy?

By Stuart Chase

Author of "The Tragedy of Waste"

ACCORDING to the best available estimates, the total wealth of the United States is now in the vicinity of 400 billion dollars. Accompanying this unthinkable total are avowed means to prosperity—the size of the income tax returns, the 300 millionaires living on Park avenue, the 20 million motor cars, 15 million telephones and the 5 million radio sets. We are enjoying, it appears, a new Utopia under the reign of Cal the Magnificent.

In dollars, the statement is true enough, but real wealth, alas, is not always measurable in dollars—not as Ruskin and some others have defined it. Wealth, the students have said, is anything that is well for mankind and in contradistinction to illth, which are things ill for mankind.

Suppose we take this definition as a standard and apply it to these staggering columns of billions.

### Land and Natural Resources

In terms of money, never greater. In terms of wealth as above defined, never poorer. Consider the exhaustion of soils due to failure of American farming methods to fertilize adequately; the erosion and flood losses and effect on arable land. Five-sixths of our forests are gone and the remainder is going four times as fast as it is growing. More than half our natural gas is gone; three-fifths of the oil has gone, while the present spurt of over-production is evaporating the uncolored surplus at a terrific rate. High grade coals have gone fast. American animal life, as Veblen has pointed out, is a closed chapter. Many of our most valuable fisheries have been exhausted while river and harbor pollution is seriously damaging those that remain.

In brief, as the dollar values climb, the tangible physical wealth decreases. On the other side of the balance sheet, we have to note some land reclamation work and a certain amount of hydroelectric development as a definite increase in true wealth.

City congestion has over-used land and hence less wealthy. Subways cost a mint of money but what human values are being conserved as one is pumped back and forth from apartment to office? It is doubtful if intelligent city planning would have, tolerated subways at all.

### Housing

Recently I spent a day riding across Georgia and South Carolina in a train. I passed an endless string of rural shacks, all down as worth money on the assessor's books, but hardly a fit place to keep a pig in. If you object to the South from a car window, try the East Side from the Chinatown bus. The dollar value of our slums and our rural shacks vary considerably, but the life value is way below zero.

In the middle and upper classes there is considerable improvement in housing, to be noted, particularly so far as bath tubs, sleeping porches and Grand Rapids furniture are concerned. How long houses built by the subdivision boys are going to stand up is another question. I saw a lot of them going native in Florida.

The sense of architecture is explicit in real wealth, furthermore, and architecturally, most of the homes of the well-to-do are a total loss. We will have to have extensive public burnings in Suburbia before we get a landscape that is at once comfortable and beautiful.

In public buildings there is probably a real gain. Witness the Lincoln Memorial, the Nebraska State Capitol, the City of Springfield Civic Center and some of the new skyscrapers.

### Stocks of Goods

Plentiful and growing more so. An enormous pile in warehouses, on shelves, counters, freight cars, in houses, on people's backs. Heaped up together it would pretty nearly fill the Grand Canyon.

How much of it is wealth as de-

fined? A great deal of it to be sure, but by no means all of it. There is, according to the Bureau of Standards, 58 percent of the furniture made in America of a non-durable quality. Here are stocks that split, shirts that fade, frocks that go out of style in 30 days; building material that warps and cracks, umbrellas that don't umbrell, listerine that would make Lister turn in his grave. Two cents worth of mud in a \$5 jar of beauty clay. The offerings of the fancy package boys. Fountain pens that don't confine their floods in the spring months. Phoney radio sets. Low test gasoline. The bulk of the fur industry. The paints that crack and peel, the screw drivers that do the shimmy. The garden seeds that love the earth so well they never come out of it. The aggregate bottles of patent medicine. The gross yardage of gum, tabloids, Hollywood films, confession magazines, billboards, pot stands, anti-revolution text books, correspondence school effusions.

But what is the use? Enough, that a large fraction of current supply, while down for billions on the books of account, is not wealth, but illth, sometimes lethal, often vicious, more often utterly useless, and all too frequently an insult to the intelligence of the free people.

### Industrial Plant

Here we have to note a real increase in wealth due to the growth in the technical arts and the increasing power and ingenuity of machinery and mass production. On the other side of the ledger, however, is that section of the industrial plant which functions at a speed or in an atmosphere which is biologically intolerable to the workers therein, and we have to note the bad location of a large fraction of our manufacturing enterprise in respect to both raw materials and markets.

When we get under the dollar signs it would appear that the richest nation on earth, while enormously wealthy, has a long way to go before it can convert its values in dollars into values which give life to its people.

## LABOR'S OPPOSITION MAY KEEP KING GEORGE FROM VISITING GLASGOW

In Glasgow, the second largest city of Great Britain, notorious for its conditions of poverty and overcrowding, the Labor members form nearly half the corporation, and it is known that they had already intimated their opposition, mainly on the ground of the unnecessary expense involved, to the proposed visit of the King to the city on July 12. Attempts have since been made by the Provost of Glasgow to get the Labor members to reconsider their decision. Thus on the 22d of March, after the attitude of the Labor Group had been communicated to the King's advisers, a special meeting was called by the Provost at which he addressed the Labor members and tried to persuade them to fall into line with the remainder of the corporation. However, by a majority of 25 votes to 11 the Group reaffirmed their previous decision.

1. That no member of the Labor Group would act on the Corporation Arrangements Committee. 2. That all questions of spending money in connection with the event would be opposed in Committee as they arose. 3. That no member of the Group would take part in any of the functions or ceremonies associated with the visit.

# England Weighs Us

## American Industrialism Rejected

By Mary A. Hamilton

(British industry continues stagnant, with hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed, most of them receiving unemployed assistance from governing bodies. A number of surveys have been made of the economic situation and its problems, and from representatives of the upper classes have come suggestions of following the example of the American employing classes in their plant and labor policies. These include the more intense exploitation of American workers for a little higher wage than British workers receive, standardized routine like that which prevails in the Ford plants and "company unionism," which is a distinct American product. Miss Hamilton's article is a keen analysis of the American industrial creed, with its smothering of ideals and slavery to the remorseless mechanism of capitalism.)

LONDON.

THE report of the Mackenzie Committee of Inquiry, coming on the top of other reports, has led to something like a clamor from certain sections to the effect that all we need to do in this country is to adopt the American model. Two main points are made in the Mackenzie report: First, the development of combinations applying mass production to a huge home market has cheapened production; second, labor, unhampered by any other consideration than that of higher wages, has succeeded in getting high wages.

It is on the second point—freedom from trade union restriction—that the mind of employers here is fixed. Both need to be held in mind, if we are to learn what we can from America, without falling into the pit the United States is at the same time digging for itself. And in considering either we need to keep in mind those immaterial values to whose realization on the widest scale any economic system is no more than the instrument. They provide the motive and the motor of

Socialism and the test of any other system. The United States is moving towards a mechanical collectivism which leaves these values out; towards that standardized community that used to be the bogey of anti-Socialist speakers.

### THE GOD OF PRODUCTION

Production is the god of America. It has been achieved by the application in a continent of great and, so far, easily worked and accessible natural resources of large-scale organization, both in making and selling. The making side rests on a bold and adventurous use of every new scientific development and the ruthless scrapping of everything old; the selling, which today is even more important, on the belief that a high standard of individual consumption is the basis of general wealth. The two interact: it is believed that the workers' pay envelope is the real source of effective purchasing power, and that high wages are the key to big business. National pride centers in the "American standard of life." The standard includes a motor car, cinemas, silk stockings, and so on; it does not, for any class, include much real freedom of thought or action. The complications introduced by the Negro problem held to account for the fact that there is an active race consciousness and very little class consciousness. Not a sense of solidarity, but a keen desire to protect their own wage rates, etc., is the fulcrum of the American trade union movement and the source of its weakness. There is a great deal of talk about service, but it does not mean what it does here.

### Regulation

Uniformities regulate American life from end to end. Standardization is deeply rooted. A measure of State interference has been accepted which, on the mechanical side, carries a long way towards the sort of Collectivism for which the Webbs used to stand, but do so no longer. Thus the Federal Reserve banking system puts in the hands of the State a control that could be operated over the entire organism of trade and finance and does, so many hold, make violent crises improbable. The basis of the revenue of the great cities is a land tax of a very drastic character. A very high degree of standardized public health control is exercised, as anyone can see who inspects the milk service.

On the other hand, little or nothing has been done to secure the economic protection of the worker. The "hire and fire" system is paramount. For unemployment there is no official provision, nor, in the absence of official statistics, any definite knowledge of its extent. The Mackenzie Report takes a million and a half unemployed at any time as more or less normal; trade union evidence suggests a far higher figure. There is no security of employment—the rate of labor turnover is as high as 300 per cent per annum. There is no sort of provision for pensions, invalidity or old age. Factory legislation exists, but in many States there is no attempt to enforce it. Great sections of industry are untouched by trade unionism, even in the North; in the South it is hardly effective at all. The "company union" is gaining at its expense.

(Continued on page 6)

# ::: The Critics of the Socialist Party :::

By James Oneal

THE recent discussion of party problems in The New Leader has been informative and so far ground that has been covered need not be covered again. A number of contributors, especially Norman Thomas, have answered the advice of W. J. Ghent, who urged what is practically a narrow nationalist attitude in our program and organization. It is a sufficient answer to say that Ghent and his associates during the war formulated such a program, had free access to the press which was denied to us, and yet of all the failures the Social Democratic League was the most disastrous. The league does not exist today.

But what is striking about the contributions of Ghent is his habit of ignoring the most glaring facts. In the prewar period few men were more careful and accurate than Ghent in their writings, yet the post-war Ghent could write that the Socialist Party in its attitude toward the war attempted to thwart the "will of a nation of 110,000,000 souls." This ignores the fifty odd votes cast in Congress against the declaration of war and the election of 1916 on the issue that "he kept us out of war."

### SOCIALISM AND RUSSIA

On the matter of our alleged support of Bolshevism, Ghent is in agreement with Russell, Ingemann, Meyers and Shipman. The assumption of all these contributors is that the party accepted the Bolshevist regime in Russia as its own view of a Socialist society. The record does not support this view. What the party did was to oppose invasion of and war on Russia by the imperialist powers. Even the Socialists of Russia who disagreed with the Russian Communists suspended their criticism and entered the Soviet armies to repel the invaders. When these invasions came to an end the Russian Socialists resumed their criticism of the Bolsheviks, and so did we. It is true that we tried to affiliate with the Third International, but as soon as the insolent terms of the Bolsheviks were known we insisted on reservations and then drifted entirely away from the Communist International.

Some of our critics took a position that practically did not differentiate them from the czarist interventionists and their imperialist allies. Ghent devoted columns to our alleged fostering of foreign nationalities in our agitation and political campaigns. This alleged attitude he assumed to be revolting to Americans, and further assumed that it contributed to the decline of the Socialist movement. These are astonishing assumptions. It is a notorious fact that even before the Civil War the leading parties and their leaders gave much of their time to "rounding up" the for-

## A Reply to the Advice of Russell, Meyers, La Monte and Others

eign vote. The Irish and the Germans were the first to be influential in American politics, and many other nationalities became an asset in capitalist politics in the past twenty-five years.

### THE IMMIGRANT PROBLEM

There is not a large city in this country where the two bourgeois parties do not have their Irish, German, Polish, Italian and Jewish squads of voters, led by leaders of their respective nationalities, influenced to support one party or the other by literature and speeches in their own language, and every squad tied to the party leaders of the machine. What Ghent declares to be revolting to Americans is really commonplace and hoary with age. Our professional "patriots" of capitalism did not become shocked at this practice until Wilson noticed that "hyphenated Americans" were reacting to events in their homelands during the war. It then became the fashion to talk of "foreign influences" in politics and the talk finally emerged as the white hood and bed sheet of the Ku Klux Klan.

It is true that the large number of workers in the United States of immigrant origin provides a problem not only for the Socialist Party but also for the trade unions, but the way to solve that problem is not to crawl into a chauvinist shell and cry "America for Americans." These immigrants are workers. They have made their home here and they should be encouraged to join the unions and the Socialist Party. It may be admitted that the Socialist Party did not solve the problem of the relation of these immigrants to the party. The capitalist parties long ago solved the problem so far as they are concerned. They have done what Ghent charged we Socialists did, appeal to their racial and national psychology. We never did. We always tried to emphasize the common interests workingmen have as workers, not as Irishmen, Germans, Jews and Italians. We have learned something by our failure to solve the problem and we shall try again, but not by taking the professional patriotic attitude towards alien workers.

Meyers proved to be a weak echo of Ghent on this issue but he also added the charge that the Socialist Party had enforced a "European discipline" over its members which contributed to the Socialist decline. No evidence was presented to support this view. There is plenty of evidence to show that the reverse is true. We were too lenient in tolerating all sorts of views, views which in some instances would have subjected those who held them to expulsion if they were members of any European Socialist Party.

Meyers himself may be taken as an example. He was conspicuous at the national convention of the party in 1912, not as a delegate but as a visitor. For some years he had been one of the faction that believed that sabotage was the road to victory. He was one of the type known as the "professional proletarian," that is, a proletarian by profession but not by occupation. To this group the Socialist Party was not "revolutionary." It was said to be cursed with a "reformist" spirit. At the 1912 convention Meyers left in a rage, declaring that the party was hopeless after the decisive vote against sabotage. If the party had maintained a "European discipline" it would not have permitted any of its members for years to waste its time and divert its energy over a barren discussion of sabotage, a tactic which had its origin among French anarchists who controlled some French trade unions. The writer will have something more to say about discipline in the next article. One of our faults was that we did not maintain an orderly discipline, which an organization should.

Charles Edward Russell was a good propagandist but we were never certain what he would say or write. Moreover, what he said and what he wrote was always offered with an air of finality that did not leave any room for dissent. This characteristic was evident in his article in The New Leader. Having offered a number of suggestions he concluded with the following: "Now, will you adopt these

suggestions, or any of them? You will not. As if I were a disembodied spirit and could hear everything, I know exactly what comments will be made when you read this. You prefer to run around in circles."

Well, it may be imprudent for one to consider the record of Russell, but I am not so sure that he has said the final word. He came into the Socialist Party as one who had done excellent work in the magazines in exposing economic exploitation and the servility of capitalist parties to the exploiters. After joining us he spent years in showing the futility of trying to remedy abuses by supporting "good men" in politics. He declared that he and other radicals had tried it and that it was a delusion. In The New Leader article Russell advises that we return to the old policy which he had abandoned. He urges that we "organize a strong, compact block of radicals throughout the country that would swing their votes to one or the other of the great existing parties as occasion may arise." In view of his advice it is in order to ask, who is running "around in circles?"

This attitude of finality and inconsistency runs through all Russell's work. In the International Socialist Review for September, 1911, Russell offered another final view of political action. I quote: "A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that, it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse. . . . When we come to reason of it calmly, what can be gained by electing any human being to any office beneath the skies?"

This was written while he was a member of the Socialist Party. The Review had already become an organ of the Syndicalist faction and saw in sabotage a method of working class deliverance. Russell's article strengthened that faction. He does not have to be a "disembodied spirit" to anticipate our action regarding his advice. If we tried to follow him we could not. His advice changes too often to permit us to adapt ourselves to it.

The same thing is true of his attitude regarding modern wars. Russell left us because he favored the war and we did not. Our attitude he declared to be "pro-German." He challenged our sincerity when we declared that it was a war fought for markets and territory. About the same time that he wrote the Review article Russell wrote a long editorial for the Coming Nation entitled "Interests Working for War." This is reprinted in a little volume entitled "The Passing Show of Capitalism." Russell had no illusions regarding war then. He considers the Morgan, Rothschild and Deutscher Bank interests, each controlling the foreign policy of their national governments. He lashes the professional peace societies because their refusal to see the capitalist interests behind war. He becomes sarcastic because in "defending this war (British against the Boers) they were firm against all other wars. Only this war was an exception. This was a just and reasonable war." (How like the World War!)

What of the capitalist press? The people "had become stuffed full of lies by a controlled press . . . believed the dreadful Boers had wantonly attacked the sacred throne and the holy empire was in danger. They believed all that rubbish then. They would believe it now." Yet in Harper's for March, 1918, Russell forgot all that he had written, especially about the press, and presents a version of the World War which this controlled press hawked in all the Allied nations. Of course, the press of the Central Empires played the same game for their side. All of which indicates that somebody has been running "around in circles" but it is not the Socialist Party.

### ANSWERING LA MONTE

It is important to recall these contrasts, as they enable us to properly estimate the judgment of our late friend Russell. For the rest, he advises that if we continue as an independent party we should change our name and get new leaders. The So-

cialist Party, he declares, has a bad name because it did not follow Russell's course. As a matter of fact, every intelligent man and woman who has followed the discussion of the origin of the world war and who has any knowledge of the secret treaties know that the Socialist Party was right. As for taking on new leaders—well, we hope that those that may appear in the future will not run "around in circles."

We may next turn to the letter of Robert Rives La Monte, who also left the party to support the war. He is proud of joining the Home Guard to preserve democracy, and declares that it was not the fault of the Socialist Party that he "was not called out to quell uprisings of the enemies of free and democratic institutions." A rather interesting view when contrasted with La Monte's activities and views before the war. He also belonged to the sabotage wing of the party, glorified the Syndicalist idea of the "militant minority," and wrote with enthusiasm of "insatiable Syndicalism." His contributions merely made for confusion. Confused himself, his confusion led him to a course where, in order to preserve democracy, he was associated with policies and men that destroyed democracy itself. Even a conservative like Charles Evans Hughes, contemplating the wreck of democracy during the war period, declared that the Constitution could not survive another world war.

### PREPARING FOR A WRECK

It is a striking fact that not a phase of anti-democracy charged to the German ruling classes was omitted in the Wilson regime of the war years. Had the German armies invaded the United States, as La Monte feared, they would not have had to change anything of government policy in state or nation to maintain an oligarchy. They could have taken over the whole cargo of state and federal legislation without a single amendment as it affected the press, public meetings, free speech, censorship, espionage and terror, and had an admirable machine for their purposes. When La Monte joined the Home Guard he did not guard the home front against autocracy. The imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs, which resulted in his death, would not have been possible if La Monte had really guarded the home front.

Of all these late Socialist friends Ghent is one of the few who was not a party to excursions into bizarre pre-war left-wingism. La Monte, Russell and others, knowing the terror the Socialist Party had to contend with, observing that the party is weak, declare that we should inquire why this happened rather than criticize them. It does not occur to them that what has happened to us is in part a heritage from them and that they cannot avoid their responsibility.

The La Monte pre-war left-wingers did two things. For years they attacked the party and by their glorification of sabotage and the militant minority they nourished ultra-revolutionary groups within the party. Much that they wrote undermined belief in the efficacy of political action. Having sown the party with bizarre ideas and left wing groups, they prepared it for the internal wrecking following the armistice. But having prepared these more or less Syndicalist and Anarchist factions within the party, they withdrew from the party when the United States entered the war and then joined with our worst enemies in trying to destroy the Socialist Party. These two items stand out clearly in the record and cannot be denied. It is essential to understand them if we are to build more soundly.

With a few exceptions, those who played this part in the movement and out of it were men who did not come direct from the working class. They did not have the intellectual discipline that comes of training and experience in working class struggles. With them Socialism was a fad rather than a conviction. The Socialist Party was regarded as a piano upon which they could play any tune they desired. The Socialist movement was a pleasant adventure rather than an earnest move-

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Mr. Untermeyer Withers an Ivy

AT ONE time or another we have had occasion in these columns to refer to the activities of one Ivy Lee, Super Publicity Man, who likes to speak of himself as Counselor on Public Relations. We have said that he is known to the newspaper profession as "Poison Ivy," that he runs a huge propaganda mill the gist of which is to bamboozle the public into thinking that the great corporations of today are not a bit like their forebears, but, on the contrary, are animated with an undying love for all humanity and its conscientious service. We have been in receipt of letters protesting that after all it is a good thing for corporations to have some one represent them in their public relations, that we need more corporation publicity, not less, and that men like Lee and his fellow bunk shooters the country over are really performing useful services.

There is a whole school of economists who have the naive belief that all that is needed to break the power of special privilege is full and frank publicity about the goings-on of corporations. These Santa Claus followers somehow kid themselves into thinking that the outpourings of corporation press agents constitute genuine "educational" material and are a great advance over the old-time secrecy that surrounded the doings of the Big Bow Wows.

In a harrowing hour the other day, Ivy Lee found himself on the witness stand at hearings on the New York subway situation, confronting the implacable Samuel Untermeyer, who is notoriously stubborn about getting at the bottom of things. Perspiring Mr. Lee finally admitted that in the past seven years his services to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company have set the city of New York back to the tune of \$212,954.19. In plain English, this means that the nickels of the workers of New York (four million, two hundred and fifty-nine thousand and eighty-three nickels, if our mathematics is correct) have gone to Mr. Lee for the purpose of kidding said workers into paying an even higher fare for the esteemed privilege of riding on the subways run by Mr. Lee's client. As an example of sheer brass this achievement should go thundering down in history. It is had enough to figure that no inconsiderable part of your telephone bill is paid to the boys who write the nicely illustrated advertisements telling you month by month that the Bell system has been anointed of the Lord for the express purpose of monopolizing all telephonic communication in this land of the free. But the 'phone company's hallelujahs over the advantages of private monopoly are not generally accompanied by pleas for higher rates as was the case with the "Subway Sun" and "The Elevated Express," those snappy sheets prepared in Mr. Lee's office by some of his bright young college men.

Even in his hour of agony Mr. Lee still stuck to his "service" motif. He gravely informed Mr. Untermeyer that it would do the workers and the city lots of good to pay a higher fare than five cents, because through the increased revenues the company would be able to build more subways (and, incidentally, make more profits and more work for the press gang).

One of the discouraging things about the activities of Lee and his outfit is that the newspapers lie down and swallow his stuff without a murmur. Every working newspaperman knows that Lee is not only press-agent for the subways, but also that he heaves the hookum for the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, Armour & Co., the Standard Oil and does personal publicity for John D. Junior's paternalistic schemes for beguiling the workers into company unions. Ivy admitted on the stand that the bright idea of getting the subway workers into a company union sprang from his fertile brain.

"I have been consulted very often in regard to various policies in the Interborough," he told Mr. Untermeyer. "I have assisted them in the development of their labor policy, in the development of their plan of employee representation." "You mean in setting up the company union?" snapped Untermeyer. "I will have to disagree with you on the phrase company union," said the witness blandly. "I assisted Mr. Quackenbush (lawyer for the Interborough) in drawing up the tentative constitution which was presented to the men for their consideration."

So here is a man who sits in on plans for befuddling his client's employees, who draws down an obese fee for delivering to the newspapers material that belongs in the advertising columns and yet is printed as straight news, who works with furious energy against every measure that would assure to the people of this country some degree of self government and yet is received and glad-handed in nearly every newspaper office in this country. Every time a newspaper prints a piece of propaganda issued from Mr. Lee's office in the guise of real news it should be liable to prosecution on the ground of accepting money from its readers under false pretenses. With such muddlers of founts of truth about as Lee and the lesser Lees from coast to coast what a swell chance you and I have to get the facts!

This is not to say that propaganda or propaganda-making of themselves are necessarily vicious. We have just finished "Thomas Paine," by Mary Agnes Best, published by Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, a book that tells a thrilling story of the crowded life of that "Prophet and Martyr of Democracy." Paine was our first publicity man sent from England to the colonies by the far-sighted Franklin to make propaganda for the revolutionary cause. How well he did it with his "Common Sense," the most famous of all American pamphlets, his series called "The Crisis" and his eloquent "Rights of Man," is set forth in splendid fashion by the author. But Paine made no bones about the fact that he was head over heels in love with revolution and in hate for all tyrannies. He didn't try to sneak his stuff over as "non-partisan." The whole history of America is summed up in the progression from Thomas Paine to Ivy Lee.

A doorman at an exclusive Fifth Avenue apartment got himself and his friends lickered up the other day and entered the most "high-hat" of all the apartments and went blind drunk. With five chairs and ale bottles, chandeliers and Louis XIV. chairs, the over-night revelers proceeded to bust hell out of everything in the place, including some precious paintings. This is of course deplorable. Vandalism of this sort is no joking matter, but just the same we shall have to revise our estimate of the nature of doormen on Fifth Avenue. Hitherto they had always seemed to us a particularly offensive breed of tame jackrabbits, oily, suave and cringing. Now it seems that beneath the brass buttons and slick uniforms beat hearts capable of whole-sale if rather stupid revolt. Worm-like, even a doorman will turn, and still there are those who tell us that workers with a real grievance are so dead that they cannot even be organized into unions. As a matter of fact, this talk about "unorganizable workers" is an alibi for down-right laziness rather than a statement of fact. And the sooner it is dropped the better for the labor movement.

McAlister Coleman

## Scanning the New Books

### A Congo Tale Dressed Up

By Bert MacDonald

EVER since some of the more articulate citizens of this wicked city discovered that jazz was pretty good stuff, it has been the custom of those in the van to seek out little gems in dark places. Thus we have revivals of Ambrose Bierce, colonial furniture, Stephen Crane and old bottles. The Literary Guild also has gone a-slumming and has returned from the quarters of Simon and Schuster with a book called "Trader Horn," a tale of clean fun on the Congo.

Only for the reassuring word of John Galsworthy, it would seem rather balmy, but Mr. Galsworthy vouches for it, and who are we to say no to such as he, who has written so often and at such length.

In his introduction, Mr. Galsworthy thinks the book is rather "snarky." Carl Van Doren, a guiding genius of the Guild, calls it unconscious art but art after all. And William McFee, just a child of the sea who reviews it elsewhere, believes "a more fortunate concatenation of literary events never came to pass in this world." That makes it night time in Italy and Wednesday over here.

Not in de head, Mawriss, says Tovarish Gross, and not in de head it is. From some sub-abdominal region, which only those devilish Freudians can chart, these three gentlemen have dredged up a crush on this book. Or was it in their haste to catch something new that they ran out into the unfenced wilderness of the jacket blurb, leaving their tastes behind them? Certainly, there is no call for these loud hosannas. The book not only is not art, judged even by the standards of a Mother Goose reviewer, but it is painfully conscious. And that happy meeting Mr. McFee indicates, has all the earmarks of a tragedy.

#### A Double Standard

The double moral standard is promptly cried down by the forward-looking, but they make all manner of allowances for what passes as literature. Had it been a recognized author who wrote "Trader Horn," the volume would have been proclaimed as the first step in the downfall of an idol, but it was written by a neophyte; therefore, the stodgey prose is condoned, and gorgeous material is permitted to be buried and butchered without a

peep. It is so much like a proud parent saying of his offspring: "Now, ain't he cute?"

The astounding novelty to be found in this volume is that the author, called Alfred Aloysius Horn, because that is not his name, writes one-half a chapter, and the editor, Ethelreda Lewis, sets down his conversations in the other half. Over this rock-strewn road they struggle through mad adventures in Africa—and this is the device hailed as something new. For those who like their literature and their liquor straight, however, it is highly annoying.

Consider, for instance, "Huckleberry Finn." There is a book by all means. Samuel Clemens framed that chunk of America for keeps because he brought to it the material, the consciousness and the ability to create a style to fit the material. If he had yielded to an intriguing Mrs. Lewis, his book would have been just another one of those things for the State Historian of Arkansas.

#### A Book Marred

The tough part of all this is that Horn had even more material to work with than Clemens. His conversations with Mrs. Lewis show he attacked his subject consciously and conscientiously. But, Lord, he could not put it down with any force. Thus, when some great scene marches by, when Africa cries out for attention, we read that all this "beggars description."

To be constructive, if writings such as these ever can be, "Huckleberry Finn" is the pattern for "Trader Horn." The old man's talks with the lady prove that he is more than ordinarily intelligent and articulate. His talks have real flavor to them. They drip the essence of the Congo, but on paper he is sterile. Mrs. Lewis' discrimination in choosing these conversations show she possesses rare ability, but she fails to see that the volume as a whole is a mess. Instead of trying for something new, apparently only for the sake of novelty, she should have said: "Drat the innovations! Here is something fine and it wants to be done this way." As she gives the tale to the world, it is a dull report with many sprightly footnotes falling from the old man's tongue. It would have been a masterpiece if she had simply set down "Trader Horn" as it came from the lips of the old visitor.



RALPH WALDO EMERSON  
From a woodcut by James Britton for the jacket of Van Wyck Brooks' Emerson and Others, just issued by Dutton & Co.

### More Puzzles

IN training the minds of children we adapt our methods to the mental life of the child as it unfolds.

Games and puzzles tend to train the minds of children in discipline and concentration upon a particular problem. While the child is getting this training it is also being amused. Playing a simple game or solving a puzzle awakens the critical faculties which are to serve the adult in meeting the more complex problems of life. When the child reaches this age of maturity the simple game or puzzle is no longer an aid to intellectual development. The mature adult, if he continues to develop, learns something of elementary logic and reads books and periodicals that round out his culture. This does not mean that the amusement which the child obtains from its games is no longer for the adult. On the contrary, amusement is just as necessary to the adult as to the child but for the mature adult entertainment must be of a higher order. The simple game must give way to chess. Hide-and-seek is replaced by tennis and athletics in general. The child's puzzle is succeeded by the drama and the more important novels. History must replace the fairy tales of childhood. Nursery rhymes are succeeded by the poetry of Whitman, Sandburg and Masselief. The lullaby of our childhood becomes grand opera in adult life.

All this may appear hackneyed to intelligent men and women but any survey of American life must take it

into account. If there are any large survivals of the psychic phases of childhood in American life they are evidence of arrested intellectual development. If these survivals are confined to a small percentage of the population they need give us little concern, but if they are widespread it is another matter. The nursery mind is incapable of solving any important problems. However, such minds are plastic in the hands of designing individuals and groups who use them for their own purposes.

How does American life measure up to the requirement of a modicum of adult culture? Consider the movies. If there is one feature that is almost universally popular it is the "slapstick" reel with its monotonous repetition of the same incidents. A pie is thrown at one person and smears the face of another. A "comedian" fleeing from a squad of policemen knocks down a pedestrian carrying a huge load of parcels. A yokel accidentally squirts the contents of a bottle into the face of another. This "humor," adapted to children of the age of ten, would not be tolerated were it not that so many adults have not yet escaped from the nursery.

Some years ago there was an upsurge of adult childhood when the crossword puzzle came into vogue. This is simply a variation of the puzzle blocks with which we played before going to school. Millions purchased their morning paper, turned to the back page, and prepared for the work of the day by solving a crossword puzzle. Millions of books have been published which supply this mental ration for those who feel the need of it.

Another variation of this childhood pap is the "Ask-me-another" craze, which is an extension into adult life of the numerous "question" games of children. This "game" is stultifying in that it is fostered by some on the assumption that by fixing in the memory some particular date or incident it promotes the acquirement of knowledge. But knowledge does not consist in memorizing isolated facts. We may know that the first slaves were sold in Virginia in 1619 and that slavery was abolished in the Civil War without knowing anything about slavery and its influence upon American life and history. Knowledge is something more than this. When we know the how and why of changing life and institutions we have knowledge. Exercises in memory teach nothing of this how and why.

The latest intellectual toy of grown-up children is "Guggenheim," just published by Simon & Schuster in New York. It is a first cousin to the crossword puzzle. Its "cultural" value may be surmised by the following announcement of the publisher: "Guggenheimize your next party and find out what your guests don't know about actresses, artists, automobiles, cigarettes, divorces, emotions, golf, humorists, jewels, lovers, movies, and 241 other categories." The caption to the announcement itself is suggestive of schoolboys just released from school and rushing to the baseball diamond: "Out today—hurray!"

With this evidence before us, who will deny that millions of adults in the United States have not passed the age of 14? The student of American life would be discouraged were it not for the fact that serious works are more and more being read in this country. We can only hope that the race will be won by those who have come of age.

J. O.

### 'WORLD UNITY INSTITUTE' FOUNDED AT GREEN ACRE; LECTURERS ANNOUNCED

An "Institute of World Unity," with a lecture program and discussion groups directed by nationally known university and college professors, has been established in the summer community of Green Acre, Elliot, Me., a statement sent out from the office of the secretary, 48 West 10th street, New York City, says. The purpose of the institute is to "make available to the general public, through the medium of a summer school those findings of modern science and philosophy which tend to supply a new basis for faith in the possibility of human brotherhood and world co-operation."

The program for the first season follows: August 1 to 6, daily lectures by Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton University on Nationalism and Internationalism. August 8 to 13, lectures by Prof. John Herman Randall, Jr., of Columbia University on "The Making of the Modern Mind." August 15 to 20, Prof. S. L. Joshi of Dartmouth College will lecture on "Comparative Religions." August 22 to 27, lectures on science and religion will be delivered by Dr. Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard University. August 29 to September 3, Prof. William R. Shepherd of Columbia University will give a course on "The Relations of East and West."

"Green Acre," the announcement continues, "is a center of applied idealism which grew up over thirty years ago as the fruit of New England Transcendentalism. The founder, Miss Sarah J. Farmer, a friend and student of Emerson, established Green Acre as a summer community for public conferences and study groups with subjects of spiritual character and free from prejudice of race, class or creed."

## Poor Fish Praises Hoover

RESULT of a straw vote conducted by the Publishers' Autocaster Service, supplying two thousand small town weeklies with canned news:

Coolidge .....	57,176
Lowden .....	50,066
Borah .....	14,525
Dawes .....	9,938
Hoover .....	8,445

Hoover's poor showing may be explained by his superior qualifications over the head of the ticket.

Not perturbed by having drawn the booby prize in the Republican lottery, nor by the heavy duties of his office, including the cruel task of representing the human sympathies of his boss toward the flood victims, Hoover has found time to write a very readable article in The Atlantic Monthly in praise of fish and fishing, from which I present the following extracts for the delectation of our fishermen friends:

"That comprehensive list of human rights, the Declaration of Independence, is firm that all men (including boys) are endowed with certain inalienable rights, including life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—which obviously includes the pursuit of fish."

"America is a well watered country and the inhabitants know all the fishing holes. America also produces millions of automobiles and some millions of fishermen have invented thousands of new lines of seductive order and devised many new and fearful incantations for the pursuit and capture of fish."

"I (Herbert Hoover) spent several days searching fishing holes at various points between Chesapeake Bay and the Pacific; I tried to find some spot where not more than six automobiles were already camping, or where the campers did not get up before daylight and thus get the two or three fish which were off guard at that time of day. The state of New Jersey secures an accounting from its licensees of the number of game fish caught. It averages about 4.5 fish per fisherman per annum. Fishermen are not liars, and therefore I conclude that even in that well-organized state it was heavy going."

Four and a half fish per fisherman per annum is not enough, says Mr. Hoover. (All fishermen agreeing say "Aye." The ayes have it.) And he submits that each fisherman ought to catch at least fifty fish during a season. (Loud and prolonged applause.) "I should," continued Herb, "like more than that myself (sympathetic 'Hear, Hear'), but that ought to be demanded as a minimum under the 'rights' as implied in the Declaration, provided it includes one big one for purposes of indelible memory, conversation and historic record."

(Ten million fishermen between Hell's Gate and Golden Gate unanimously nominate Herbert Hoover for president of the United States and emperor of its crown colonies.)

Coming down to heavy statistics, Herb finds that the mortality among government hatched baby fish is 99.77 per cent. He himself is inclined to put the percentage to 99.99 per cent. So do I and defy any doubting Thomas or a would-be Isaac Walton man to disprove our statistics. On the other hand, says Herb, 5 per cent. of the fries brought up to three inch fingerlings in our bureaucratically controlled fish nurseries reach the ripe age of catchability.

Mass production of fries have failed ingloriously. Brother Herb turned to the raising of fingerlings and last year 4,667,000 fries were raised up to battling age in these co-operative nurseries and delivered into the streams of glory-be.

Closing his article with a bit of philosophy that will appeal to every fisherman, Mr. Hoover says:

"We devote vast departments of government and great agencies of commerce and industry, science and invention, to decreasing the hours of work, but we devote comparatively little to improving the hours of recreation. We associate joy with leisure. We have great machinery to produce joy, some of it destructive, some of it synthetic, some of it mass-produced. We go to chain theatres and movies; we watch somebody else knock a ball over the fence or kick it over the goal bar. I do that and I believe in it."

I do, however, insist that no other organized joy has values comparable to the joys of the out-of-doors. We gain less from the other forms in moral stature, in renewed purpose in life, in kindness and in all the fishing beatitudes. We gain none of the constructive rejuvenating joy that comes from returning to the solemnity, the calm and inspiration, of primitive nature. The joyous rush of the brook, the contemplation of the eternal flow of the stream, the stretch of forest and mountain, all reduce our egotism, soothe our troubles, and shame our wickedness."

"I am for fish. Fishing is not so much getting fish as it is a state of mind and a lure of the human soul into refreshment. But it is too long between bites; we must have more fish in proportion to the water."

ATTABOY.

### Sequel

Report of Meeting by Special Correspondents of the Chicago Tribune, Wall Street Journal, New York Times and other Labor Papers:

The Honorable Adam Coalidigger, addressing monster mass meeting of two hundred thousand suspended soft coal miners and their families said, in part:

"Even as the ravens fed Elisha, so the bullheads, sunfish and carp are feeding the suspended miners. But, as Brother Hoover properly said, it is a long time between bites and the time is becoming longer. Some scientist claims there is too much water for the number of fish. Others maintain that there's not enough fish for the amount of water, while still others insist that the increasing scarcity of fish is due to the overactivity of miners."

"The remedies proposed are in accord with the diagnosis. Some propose the decrease of water (Federal flood control by means of less rainfall). Others clamor for the multiplication of fish and a third class is advocating the reduction of the number of miners by an artificially stimulated epidemic of cholera."

"The first and third remedies are unreasonable and unacceptable to our people. We refuse to join the dregs and we refuse to catch cholera. What we want to catch is fish. (Thunderous applause.)"

"I, therefore, make a motion that this assembly of free, independent and suspended coal miners unanimously concur in the fish multiplication proposal of our esteemed friend and fellow worker, Secretary Herbert Hoover, and that we pledge him the moral and financial support of our organization."

Voice from the rear wants motion amended to cut out word "financial" as being misleading and non-essential, besides creating false hopes in the breast of Brother Hoover."

Motion, as amended, adopted, and there being no further business to transact, or in prospect, the meeting adjourned to dig bait.

Adam Coalidigger

## Two Negro Meetings

### Company and Union Vie for Porters

By Frank R. Crosswaith

TWO mass meetings of Pullman porters were recently held in Negro Harlem. The contrast between them indicate two things; first, the growing power and bulldog-like grip the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has secured upon the Negro masses generally and Pullman porters in particular; and, second, the shattered faith of the porters in the so-called Representative Plan of the Pullman Company.

The first gathering was held under the auspices of the Pullman Company and was extensively advertised. Word was surreptitiously passed among the porters that the announcement of an impressive increase in wages would be made at the meeting. With this inducement, plus the usual methods employed to compel porters to attend company-called meetings, a large number of porters turned out. The local officials of the company were present and made rapid fire five-minute speeches; the "dead porter" furnishing the inspiration and the theme.

One by one these well-paid and well-fed officials, their voices choked with apparent grief and emotion, told of the cherished place "dead porters" occupy in the memory of the management. A porter sitting behind the writer, and an obviously intelligent individual repeatedly asked in muffled tones: "What about us live porters? What about us live porters?"

As the time wore on and the disgust of the audience became increasingly evident, a Negro quartet was commandeered. These dark hued song-birds rendered several numbers including one with the following line: "I want to get to heaven when I die."

#### Heaven Wanted Now

As the lulling cadence of the song departed, the jocular porter again remarked: "We want to get some-o heaven before we die." The Pullman Porters Benefit Association's band was next pressed into service to soothe the soured countenances and flustered feelings of the unmistakably dissatisfied audience. With martial tune and real pep these dusky musicians, true to the best musical traditions of the race, punctured the thick atmosphere of discontent with a delightfully executed medley of tunes.

"Carry Me Back to Old Virginia," "Way Down Upon the Suwannee River" and "Tonight You Belong to Me" came peeling forth in uninterrupted rhythm and caused the audience to regain its

collective composure, but only to be come riled again.

Mr. Sam Freeman, once the trusted leader of the porters when they attempted a previous occasion to organize a genuine union, but now a satisfied petty official of the company and a most despised man among the rank and file, was next introduced. It was rumored that he would deliver an attack on the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as well as make the expected announcement of the much advertised wage increase. But alas, he failed to do either.

His speech was as follows: "Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen! This is a great meeting. It is a wonderful meeting! It makes our superintendent, Mr. Rittenhouse, feel good to see such a meeting."

Having worked himself up to a point where he became vehemently sentimental, he shouted, "Our superintendent is the best superintendent in the country; and we have the best district. I tell you gentlemen, this is a great meeting, a wonderful meeting." He then subsided and his speech winged its way into the history of "busted bubbles." While he was addressing the audience, one could not escape the disturbing thought that fate had played a queer prank with this man by having him bear the cognomen of FREEMAN.

#### Carnations to Be Free

The chairman, an active porter, who evidently had been chosen for the position in order to have it appear that the porters controlled the meeting, then haltingly announced that "this was a get-together-meeting to prepare for the annual memorial services for all porters and maids who died during the preceding year." He did not know in what church the services would be held but, "all must be ready to attend in dark suits and white gloves, each man to wear a white carnation in his coat." Pausing to catch his breath—he is an old man—he screamed: "The Pullman Company will furnish the carnations free." Our friend the humorous brother suddenly exclaimed: "Oo! Oo! The company is giving away something!"

He had hardly finished the sentence when "a liberal collection" was called for by the chairman.

"Thought you said they was giving away something," murmured another brother sitting beside the joke-smith.

"Man, hush your mouth," he continued, "instead of giving away something they is giving away something from you."

Turning my head a little to one side, I looked through the corner of my eye

at these two humorous but logical brothers with an approving smile while the "liberal collection" was being taken up. A man called a professor of something, was then introduced to recite "his piece" which turned out to be a cheap, rough and poorly prepared attack on women. He was greeted by the audience with smothered hisses and cat-calls. The meeting then adjourned.

#### Another Meeting Held

Out of the Imperial Elk's Hall poured forth a group of infuriated porters. They were met on the outside by two officers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, W. H. Des Verney and E. E. Grain, who gave out literature and collected dues and assessments and who also enrolled new members, one of whom had not been in the service more than 24 hours. A steady stream of men then wended their way to the office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to pay dues and assessments and to get the latest news from the United States Mediation Board. These men were overwhelmingly of the opinion that "instead of the company calling a memorial meeting for 'dead porters' it should call such a meeting for its 'dead employee plan'."

The other meeting was held in St. Luke's Hall, West 130th Street, on the following evening (April 20th) under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The spacious auditorium was comfortably filled with cheering porters, their wives and friends; fully three times as many porters were present as attended the company-called meeting the day before. Addresses were made to them by W. H. Des Verney, Prof. Harry F. Ward, A. Philip Randolph and the writer. Speaker after speaker referred to the "dead" company union. Randolph, especially, elicited sustained applause when, in his inimitable style and voice he said: "The Employee Representation Plan is dead, it is no more than a memory and a hated memory at that; nothing that the company can do will bring back to life the plan which during its lifetime operated only to enslave the porters and maids and keep them from a living wage, decent hours and working conditions."

Professor Ward related some of his experiences in the ministry and of his early efforts to have the church accept a social creed which would recognize the need for supporting the struggles of workmen. He also touched upon the Chinese situation and pointed out the part being played by the Chinese trade union organization in China's struggle against white domination.



## Sees No Reason for Gloom

By Pierre De Nio

Now that the experts have passed their very profound opinion relative to the ills of the Socialist Party, it is quite within the bounds of good manners to look their findings over; it is just barely possible that they may be wrong, and I am convinced that they are to the extent that they have been narrow in their conclusions. As the ills of which they speak peculiar to the Socialist Party?

I think any honest person with even a superficial knowledge of social conditions in the world today will admit that there prevails a state of mental unrest that is peculiar to the present age. It has the same effect on one section of society as it does on another. There is perhaps no exact way of defining all these new opinions, but we know that all about us rages a terrible mental turmoil and dissatisfaction; people not only in America, but all over the world are breaking down the old traditions and barriers, and at present are blindly groping for a new status.

In considering especially the present plight of the Socialist Party there should also, I maintain, be taken into account an item of personality, and that these gentlemen cannot do, as it is precisely their own individual defects that have materially helped to accelerate the so-called decline and fall of the Socialist Party.

To illustrate my point, I think I may be pardoned a slight reminiscence, hoping to show how the influence of an outstanding personality may and does shape the attitude of individuals. In my first acquaintance with the Socialist Party and its program I of course just naturally looked upon the men who led such a movement as little less than divine. One of my first heroes was Charles E. Russell. On one occasion, during his campaign for Governor, I read a criticism of him, his ideas and program. I felt that such a thing was no less than sacrilege. I at once wrote the editor. I wrote that letter in my youthful inexperience in defense of a man whom I felt was great, who would fight for an ideal, and lo! I later had to confess my humiliation and poor judgment.

When the war came along, such men couldn't leave the Socialist Party fast enough. It wasn't a popular thing. The platform that the Socialist Party drafted at St. Louis, stating its position on the war, will be a living, pulsating program, recording the position of a handful of honest and courageous men and women, after these fly-by-nights have been pushing up the daisies for a good long time.

I well realize that it would be out of place to be so pointed in these remarks were it not for the fact that

these critics, who so lament the "demise" of the Socialist Party, have been a very potent factor in bringing about the very condition they seem to deplore.

But, after all, there is nothing wrong with the Socialist Party that is not wrong with every organization in the land. First is the churches. The thousands of empty churches all over the country are testimony to the indifference of the people to the oldest organization we know of. They have lost 40 per cent of their members in the last fifty years. The Democratic party is in a worse plight, and the apathy and neglect accorded the first duty of each citizen—that of voting—is a source of worry to our statesmen.

The Socialist Party is the political expression of a new order of society. Well, during the past several years we have been "prosperous." We have been so incessantly and voluminously deluged with prosperity that we have, as a society, come to believe it, and to believe that we were on the only road to maintain it. So with a vast majority of the people. Thinking only of their physical wants, they are quite satisfied, and, of course, are not interested in any changes; but I would like to inform our noble critics that everything that goes up must sooner or later come down. The higher it goes up the harder it will fall, and the signs are quite numerous now that the falling process has set in.

The Socialist Party has no real reason for sadness. As Sinclair wrote in his article, it is for us to go right on doing our best, and time will vindicate every decision of importance that the party has made. To experiment now with new forms of tactics and organization would be adding fuel to fire. The disorganizing forces that are now working in society will in due time run their course, and we cannot, neither should we try, to stop them. Neither can we expect, just because we are Socialists, to escape their forces.

PIERRE DE NIO.

## Defeat Accident Compensation Bill

A new workmen's compensation bill to extend and improve the existing act in New Hampshire was introduced in the legislature following a four days' conference between representatives of manufacturers and of organized labor. Acceptance of the bill as agreed upon by the joint committee was advised by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and Secretary John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation. Opposition came from lawyers and, yielding to this opposition, the legislature killed the bill.

## Machinists Ladies' Auxiliary, To Gather at Brookwood; Others Invited to Join

KATONAH, N. Y.—A summer institute for women is the latest feature of the summer school program of Brookwood Labor College. The Ladies' Auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists are asking other auxiliaries to co-operate with them in a week's institute July 24-30.

Home problems such as house-decorations will be discussed, as well as the status of women in industry and the effect of their presence upon men's wages and the total family income. The history of the auxiliary movement, methods of organizing auxiliaries, and the help that auxiliaries may give to their unions will also be discussed under competent leadership.

The machinists' auxiliary is paying the expenses of 20 of its members from various parts of the country, and inviting auxiliaries of the other unions, such as the typographical, boiler-makers and railroad organizations to join in the institute. Mrs. Grace B. Klueg, who is in charge of the educational department of the machinists' auxiliary, is arranging the institute. Mrs. May Peake, president of the auxiliary, expects to come from Denver for the week's meetings.

The United Textile Workers will hold their second annual institute July 17-23. Dates for the railroad and other institute have not yet been set.

## Government By Judges

(Continued from page 3)

studied it becomes convincingly evident that the liberties of the people do not rest in the hands of the judiciary, but in the basic provisions of a constitution and the law of the land. To enact a law which would make possible the application of judicial discretion in connection with trade union activities is to remove the trade unionist from his liberties as a man, and separate him from those guarantees of human liberty which are the inheritance of the workers in every English-speaking land.

It is gratifying to the leaders and the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor to witness the splendid resistance which the British Trade Union Movement is making to the establishment of any condition in the British Isles which would place in the hands of the judiciary the power to determine what could and could not be done in connection with an industrial dispute. Whenever the workers' liberties are placed in the hands of the judiciary for their personal determination instead of specific in the law of the land and the Constitution, then the wage-earner no longer enjoys the same privileges and opportunities as every other citizen. Because he is a trade unionist, interested in elevating the standard of living, he is deprived of the very guarantees which are given so freely to everyone else. If the individual employers and their district and national

## England Weighs Us

(Continued from page 4)

## The Achilles Heel

The picture of American trade, at the moment, presents an obverse of the British. Their success is in mass-production goods; their failure, in those where a high degree of individual skill and quality enters in. In certain types of fine finished goods we can, even at a higher price level, compete with them successfully; in all those goods, in a word, into whose production the human factor enters in. There we can more than hold our own.

The lesson of this is surely obvious. We need to hold on hard to and increase those elements in our productive organization that spring from the spirit and outlook of our people, while, so far as is possible, giving to them the greater scope that could be afforded by reorganizing our mechanical equipment and our productive apparatus on American lines. We need, in other words, to breathe a Socialist spirit into the Collectivist machine. Mechanical organization is not enough; it requires to be directed by conscious purpose.

In ordinary life one observes that persons who, with a sufficient degree of realism, know what they want, tend to get it. It is the same in communal life. Unless you know what you want you are the sport of circumstances and can take no advantage of their movement.

In the present crisis of British industry Socialists alone know what they want. The forces actually operative, both international and national, are moving obscurely toward a larger, more conscious direction of the productive forces. Is it to be motivated by the interest of a section to which a multitude of Robots are doomed to servitude? or aligned to serve a communal form of life in which the civilized and responsible individual is the moving force? Do we aim at a world of Things or one of Men?

To that question the Socialist answer is clear. We have got to control things so that they may serve men; to base our productive economy, organized with the fullest employment of everything that science and the new industrial technique can teach us on the conscious co-operation of individuals and groups.

The freedom which our workers have won for themselves through association and solidarity is an economic as well as a human asset; it points the way to a national organization based on industrial as well as on political democracy, which may be strong where the United States are strong, and strong also where they are weak.

associations were to have their liberty of action determined by the discretion of a judge, instead of the well-established law of the land, the answer to the problem would be speedily found. They would insist that no judge could be permitted to deprive them of their inherent rights as citizens.

No land can prosper, no individual can be safe in his liberties, if one group is to be the subject of judicial discretion, while another is to receive the full protection of the statutory, constitutionally enacted law.

## HOW TO BE FREE AND HAPPY

By

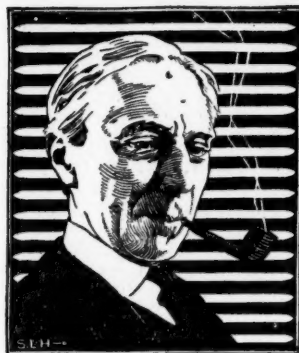
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Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.



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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville  
Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn

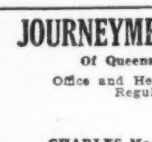
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M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapscott St., Brooklyn



## N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.  
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John Sullivan,  
Vice-President  
John S. O'Connell,  
Secretary-Treas.  
Theodore F. Douglas,  
Organizer



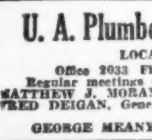
## JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6594.

Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City

Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.

MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.  
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.  
WILLIAM MEHTENS, Recording Secretary.  
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents



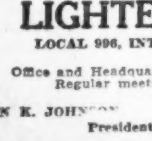
## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 423, of NEW YORK CITY

Office 3032 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4378.

Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 81st Street

MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. JOHN WALSH, Vice-President.  
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. THOMAS HOPKINS, Secretary.  
Business Agents: GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DEWE.



## LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

LOCAL 996, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 6433 Main.

Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.

JOHN E. JOHNSON, President. GUSTAV ANDERSON, Vice-President. GILBERT O. WRIGHT, Secretary-Treasurer.

EUGENE MURPHY, Recording Secretary OTTO WASSTOL, Business Agent  
B. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WISTER, Delegates.

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 39 EAST 84TH STREET LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4550

Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple

THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary THOMAS CAHILL, President EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 948 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stagg

Office open 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening

WILLIAM WENGERT, President CHARLES FLEAUM, Jr. Sec'y.  
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer  
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters &amp; Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 485

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th Street

OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674

THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. RAUBER, Bus. Agent  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1466, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4992

Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday

CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President  
MICHAEL ERIKSON, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y Ludwig Benson  
Christopher Galbraith, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Sr. Treasurer Ray Clark Business Agents

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163

Day room and office, 160 East 85th Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 8329

Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.

JOHN A. KAHNA, President. J. I. DALTON, Vice-President. W. J. CORDNER, Rec. Sec'y  
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent.

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION No. 805

Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 948 Willoughby Avenue

Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stagg 5414. Office hours every day

except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening

JOHN HALKETT, President. ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec'y. GEO. W. SMITH, Treasurer

FRANK BOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN TRAILER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.

Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday

Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## NATIONAL

**Walls and Bars**  
The last book written by Eugene V. Debs, "Walls and Bars," will soon be ready for delivery. The book records the experiences and impressions of Debs while in prison, his views of prison regime, the effect of this regime on the inmates, etc. The book is inspired with the burning indignation which has characterized all of Debs' literary efforts when dealing with social and political conditions. It is a close-up view of a phase of life that is a closed book to millions of people.

A special de luxe limited edition is available and many of Debs' most intimate friends are expected to subscribe for it. The de luxe edition is offered at \$10 per copy. The regular cloth edition may be obtained for \$1.50; twelve copies, \$14; one hundred copies, \$140. All orders should be sent to the National Office, Socialist Party, 253 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

**Organization Leaflet**  
A large four-page organization leaflet is now available for party locals and branches. The leaflet bears the title, "Party Builders and Thinkers. Who Finance Their Ideas—A Call to Action." The leaflet is a powerful plea for membership and blank spaces are left for the insertion of the name of the State or local headquarters which may be done with a rubber stamp. For distribution in unorganized localities the address of the National Office is given. Addresses of party publications are also given. The leaflet sells for 25 cents per hundred, \$2 per thousand and \$17.50 per thousand in lots of 5,000 or more direct from the National Office or send stamps for a sample.

**Special National Organizer**  
Julius Gerber of New York City has been chosen by a referendum of the National Executive Committee as Special National Organizer. At the meeting of the committee in Pittsburgh a few weeks ago it was decided to employ a Special National Organizer beginning in September who will be located in the National Office and assist unorganized states in the work of organization, making nominations and filing nominations in such states.

## IOWA

The Socialists of Iowa met recently in Des Moines and planned to rebuild the Socialist party and enter the campaign with a full state ticket in 1928. Ida Crouch Haaslett took part in the conference. I. S. McCallie, at one time active state secretary, will issue a call for a convention. The American Appeal and ticket will be considered. He predicted that with the widespread disaffection for the major parties in the present agricultural crisis, the farmers and workers will be anxious to consider the Socialist program. The National Organization will co-operate with the Iowa Socialists in the reorganization of the party.

## OHIO

**Cleveland**  
The Jewish Socialist Branch of Cleveland has opened a Socialist club-room at the corner of East 16th and Somerset avenue. They invite readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader to visit them evenings.

## NEW JERSEY

**Essex County**  
The Socialist party county ticket for the coming election has been filed at the County Clerk's office. Open-air meetings will be held on July 1 and continue through the summer.

**Street Meetings**  
The opening meeting will be held at Centre Market Plaza Friday evening, July 1, at 8 o'clock. After that date two meetings will be held in New York each week, one at the Plaza on Friday evenings, the place and date of the other to be announced later. Meetings will be under the direction of Organizer Newman. The American Appeal will be distributed free at each meeting and subscriptions sold.

The County Organization Committee meets each Tuesday evening at 8:15 at headquarters, 33 South Orange avenue.

The Women's Socialist Club is planning special activities for the summer to help build up the party; an appeal is being made to all Socialist women to co-operate in this work.

The Yipsels are planning a trip to Bear Mountain via the Hudson River Boat Line on Sunday, July 31. They hope to get a large crowd together, and a good time is promised.

The County Organizer is circulating the membership in the interest of The New Leader for building up the circulation of that paper. Every person should take advantage of the valuable premium offers in this drive for subs.

Party membership is steadily being built up and new activities are planned among which is a county picnic to be held in the near future.

## NEW ENGLAND

**Boston**  
The Boston Central Branch and Yipsel Circle will meet regularly for educational work every Tuesday and Thursday, July 7, nominations for City Council will be made in the Dorchester District.

Upton Sinclair made a flying trip back to Boston to sell the special Massachusetts flag leaf edition of "Oil," warranted 100 per cent pure. His

## BROOKLYN

**2nd A. D.**  
Branch meetings are held every Friday evening at 420 Hindsdale street, 4th-14th A. D.  
The branch will meet July 11 at the headquarters, 345 South Third street. The meeting of June 27 was fairly well attended and several Socialist enrolled voters were present upon invitation. Emil Bromberg and August Claessens addressed them. Final nominations were made for candidates for public office. Morris Wolfman was nominated for municipal court judge, Harry Schachner for State Senator, for assemblyman Morris Blumenreich and William Sobel, for alderman Samuel Schneider.

## CONNECTICUT

**State Committee**  
The State Committee met at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, New Haven, recently and State Secretary Plunkett reported the election of the following state officers: State Secretary, Martin F. Plunkett; Organizer, Karl C. Jursek; Literature Agent, William James Morgan; State Auditor, Gertrude Duce; Mary Rozsa, and Fred Swartzkopf. Members of the State Executive Committee, First District, Edward Brink, Hartford; Second District, William James Morgan; Third District, Louis O. Krali, Meriden; Fourth District, Jasper McLevy, Bridgeport. Communes at Large, Joseph Pede, New Haven; Sven Olsson and Walter E. Davis, Hamden.

**State Picnic**  
The committee decided to hold a state picnic at Arberher Maemehor Park on Sunday, August 21, for the benefit of The Commonwealth, the state party publication. Members of the Workmen's Circle will co-operate in the party in making the picnic a success.

## NEW YORK STATE

**Nomination Petitions**  
State Secretary Merrill, in a circular letter to locals issued on June 23, calls attention to the desirability of holding meetings and informal conventions at an early date for the insuring of candidates for public office. Designation petitions may be signed from July 5 to August 23, the latter date being the last on which petitions can be filed. The membership is reminded that if organized Socialists do not put candidates in the field for every office, somebody may write names in on the Socialist primary ballot. The necessity of party members at the primary has sometimes resulted in Republicans and Democrats being sneaked in on the Socialist ticket. Brief primary instructions have been sent to all upstate locals.

**Death of Mrs. Oliviere**  
Mrs. Lucia N. Oliviere, a member of Local 100, for many years and candidate for public office on many occasions, twice for State Senator, passed to the great majority on Saturday evening, June 25. She is survived by her widower, Frank J. Oliviere, one son and three daughters, one of whom, Mrs. Jeanne Robert Foster of New York City, is an author and poet of note and formerly literary editor of the Review of Reviews. Mrs. Oliviere was a frequent contributor to the Schenectady Citizen. At the time of her death she had nearly completed the novel scene of which was laid in the Civil War. She also had a volume of poetry ready for publication. Among her most admired poems are those dedicated to Steinmetz and Felipe Carillo. Mrs. Oliviere was a member of the Penwomen's League and a pioneer woman suffragist.

## NEW YORK CITY

**Central Committee**  
The City Central committee will meet Wednesday evening, July 6, at 8:30 p. m. in room 402, People's House, 82 East 15th street.

**Nominations**  
The nominations for candidates for municipal court justices, assemblymen and aldermen as well as several vacancies in other public offices, are about completed and will be submitted to the city executive committee for final decision. The work of collecting signatures for nominating petitions will begin the second week in July.

**New Leader Outing**  
The outing and picnic of the Socialists of Greater New York and vicinity, for the benefit of The New Leader, will be held Sunday, July 2. Details will be announced later.

## MANHATTAN

**Lower East Side**  
Four street meetings per week are being held in the territory of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th Assembly Districts. They are fairly well attended. The number of meetings will be increased as the preliminaries of the campaign in the 2nd Judicial District are begun.

## BROOKLYN

**Central Branch**  
The Central Branch will meet Tuesday evening, July 4, in headquarters, 1167 Boston road, Samuel A. De Witt will speak on "Current Events." The following street meetings have been arranged during July:

Friday evenings: July 8, Longwood and Prospect avenues; July 15, Intervale and Wilkins avenues; July 22, 14th street and Avenue B; July 29, Albus street and Southern boulevard.

Branch 7 will meet Tuesday evening July 5. Street meetings are being arranged in the territory of the 5th and 8th Assembly Districts every Thursday evening.

## BROOKLYN

**2nd A. D.**  
Branch meetings are held every Friday evening at 420 Hindsdale street, 4th-14th A. D.

The branch will meet July 11 at the headquarters, 345 South Third street. The meeting of June 27 was fairly well attended and several Socialist enrolled voters were present upon invitation. Emil Bromberg and August Claessens addressed them. Final nominations were made for candidates for public office. Morris Wolfman was nominated for municipal court judge, Harry Schachner for State Senator, for assemblyman Morris Blumenreich and William Sobel, for alderman Samuel Schneider.

## 5th-6th A. D.

Branch meetings are held regularly every Tuesday evening at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue.

**Boro Park Jewish Branch**  
This branch meets every 2nd and 4th Friday at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 43rd street. The English Speaking Boro Park Branch meets every Tuesday evening in the same building.

**23rd A. D.**  
Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sacrament street. At the meeting Monday, June 27, nominations were made for public office and plans for the campaign were discussed. Sadie Rivkin and E. P. Gold were nominated as candidates for assemblyman and alderman, respectively. Several plans were proposed for the future services of four or five comrades to be engaged for intensive canvassing among the citizens before registration week. The large Italian and Negro section of Brownsville will be given special attention this year by personal canvassing, instead of relying merely upon street and hall meetings. There may be no fusion ticket this year confronting the Socialist candidates in Brownsville and the chance of electing our candidates have improved considerably.

## QUEENS

**Candidates for Primaries**  
Attention of enrolled Socialist voters is directed to the fact that when collecting signatures for the September primary election next week they should only sign petitions bearing the names of the candidates recommended at the last general party meeting of the branches in Queens Borough. These candidates are:

For County Clerk, Elsie H. Ehret. First A. D., for Assemblyman, Louis D. Berger, for Alderman, Emerich Steinberger.

Second A. D., for Assemblyman, Charles Resz; for Alderman, Harry L. Anderson.

Third A. D., for Assemblyman, Matthias Palm; for Alderman, Robert Otto.

Fourth A. D., for Assemblyman, Sadie C. Smith; for Alderman, William L. Herman.

Fifth A. D., for Assemblyman, Ernest Weh; for Alderman, James Onel.

Sixth A. D., for Assemblyman, Ernest Mergelin; for Alderman, Israel Goldin.

## YIPSELDOM

**Athletic Meet**  
Because of the inclement weather Sunday morning, June 26, it was impractical to hold our annual athletic meet. However, tentative arrangements have been made for holding our meet on Sunday, July 17, at the same park. The postponement will not only permit more comrades to enter but will also give us a chance for additional advertising. Circle athletic directors are urged to solicit more entry blanks and also to collect outstanding fees.

**Valhalla Outing**  
The July Fourth weekend will be enjoyed by Bronx and Manhattan Yipsels in their usual way. Valhalla, which within the past two years has almost become Yipsel property because of constant use, will again house the Yipsels. Camping has brought with it much amusement and fun for Bronx and Manhattan members. It is urged that all sections of the city combine in the week-end trip. The start will be made from the Lexington avenue subway at 3:30 p. m. sharp.

**Circle 2**  
The meeting this Friday will be closed with an unusually fine educational program. Three very interesting talks will be made. Helen Glanz will speak on "Psychology." Louis Shomer on "Capitalism and Its Menace" and Pulge Press will conclude with a review of recent books. An invitation is extended all comrades to spend an enjoyable and profitable evening.

**Financial Reports**  
Financial secretaries please take note that your financial reports are due on July 2. Please make every effort to have them in the city office on time. The matter is very urgent.

**Circle 8**  
Circle Eight, Manhattan, will hold an open air meeting Tuesday, July 5, at 7th street and Avenue B. The speakers are: Ida Yavner, Sam Fructer, Irving Newman, Chairman, Harry Goldberg. The meeting is called as a Sacco and Vanzetti protest.

**Bronx Meeting**  
Bronx Borough Committee will hold another open air meeting on Tuesday, July 5, at Longwood and Prospect avenues. Good speakers will be on hand.

Notices as to open air meetings for The New Leader must be in the city office not later than Monday each week.

## STREET MEETINGS

**MANHATTAN**  
Friday, July 1, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh street and Avenue C. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Friday, July 1, 8:30 p. m.—Clinton and East Broadway. Speaker, August Claessens.  
Saturday, July 2, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and V. C. Gaspar.  
Tuesday, July 5, 8:30 p. m.—Pitt and Grand streets. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Tuesday, July 5, 8:30 p. m.—Seventy-ninth street and First avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.  
Wednesday, July 6, 8:30 p. m.—Ninth street and Broadway. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Pierre de Nio.  
Thursday, July 7, 8:30 p. m.—115th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Leonard C. Kaye, Isidore Phillips.  
Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Sheridan Square (Grove street and Washington Place). Speaker to be announced.  
Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Tenth street and Second avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswath.  
Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, I. Corn, M. Goldowsky and S. Heller.  
Saturday, July 9, 8:30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and V. C. Gaspar.

**BROOKLYN**  
Friday, July 1, 8:30 p. m.—Tiffany and 163d streets. Speakers, Fred Paulsch, Isidore Polstein, Murray Gross.  
Tuesday, July 5, 8:30 p. m.—180th street and Daly avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Longwood and Prospect avenues. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

**BROOKLYN**  
Friday, July 1, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol and Pitkin avenues. Speaker to be announced.  
Saturday, July 2, 8:30 p. m.—Have-meyer and South Third streets. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Saturday, July 2, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.  
Thursday, July 7, 8:30 p. m.—Tompkins avenue and Pulaski street. Speakers, August Claessens and Joseph Tuvim.  
Friday, July 8, 8:30 p. m.—Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speakers, Joseph Tuvim and Herman Nemeser.  
Saturday, July 9, 8:30 p. m.—Have-meyer and South Third streets. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Saturday, July 9, 8:30 p. m.—Pennsylvania avenues. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.

**IN THE**  
**Workmen's Circle**  
News of the Young Clubs

**Oneal to Lecture**  
Branch 639 is preparing for the lecture of James Oneal to be delivered Thursday night, July 7, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sacrament street, Brownsville. The lecture is announced for 8:30 p. m. Subject, "Early American Labor Philosophers." The speaker will exhibit some rare volumes of these pioneers in American labor history. Admission is free to all, including non-members.

The Workmen's Circle camp at Sylvan Lake near Pawling opens for the season during the week-end of July Fourth. The official opening will occur July Second, and it will be characterized by special features for members of the Young Circle Clubs. The camp is one of the most beautiful in the east, and with its 31 buildings it is magnificently equipped.

There will be excursions from time to time during the summer for the Young Circle Clubs and their friends, details of which will appear from time to time in these columns.

August Claessens, one of the most delightful lecturers in the entire Socialist and labor movement, spoke last Sunday night for the Young Circle Club that meets at 420 Hindsdale street, Brooklyn.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.  
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Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

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Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
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1 East 15th Street. Tel. STuyvesant 3077  
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Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street  
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Phone: ORchard 6639  
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Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 10th St.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Mondays at 8 P. M.  
BETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 10th Street  
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.  
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Telephone Chelsea 2148

MORRIS BLOMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone ASHLand 2609

**The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union**  
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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

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Office, 221 E. 14th Street. Union Local 45, I. L. G. W. U.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

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Bronx—E. 18th St. & 3rd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 5 P. M.  
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**EMBROIDERY WORKERS'**  
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 401 E. 161st St.  
Melrose 7690  
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M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

**Italian Dressmakers'**  
Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office 26 W. 23rd St. Phone: LACKawanna 4514.  
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**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION**  
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7 East 15th St. Phone STuyvesant 7089  
Local Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8 P. M. in the office.  
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## THE NEW LEADER

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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 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 2, 1927

### TRANSPORTATION JOYS

IN some of O. Henry's short stories the street faker is made a very lovable person. His shrewdness, love of adventure, knowledge of how gullible most of us are, his profound sense of humor and rollicking care-free life as he wheedled coin out of the pockets of his dupes, made this free lance a charming fellow.

Not so the officials of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. They get the goods, all right, but we do not get a kick out of the transaction. On the contrary, we feel as though we have been kicked. The impudence is too raw and the sanctimonious pretense that they live to "serve the public" rather gets on our nerves. We have a sincere affection for Jeff Peters but none whatever for Hedley and Ivy Lee.

Three weeks ago Samuel Untermyer disclosed the nice increase in salaries voted to Hedley and Quackenbush, the \$12,000 a year paid to Ivy Lee as "adviser in Public Relations," and the \$14,000 of income tax charged to the city. More details are now available regarding the arduous labors of Ivy Lee and they round out the epic story of how private capitalism in transportation promotes all the economic virtues.

Since 1919 Mr. Lee has cost the city \$212,954. His duties have included propaganda for an increased fare, supplying editorial matter for the I. R. T. placards in the subway and elevated, the Subway Sun and Elevated Express, and drafting the constitution for the company union known as the "Interborough Brotherhood." How much publicity he supplied to the newspapers to show how the workers on the line love the company union, Hedley and Quackenbush, the inquiry did not disclose. No doubt writing a few sentences for the Subway Sun and the Elevated Express was a severe drain on the vitality of the publicity expert.

Well, here it is. Public transportation for Hedley, Quackenbush, Lee, the stockholders and the company union. We sardines, who are packed into the cars get what is coming to us. So do the gentlemen mentioned above.

### "PROSPERITY"

OF the prepared addresses delivered at the L. I. D. conference last week it is not easy to select one for special mention but the illuminating analysis of the present plight of trade unionism and of "prosperity" presented by Abraham Epstein certainly ranks with the best. We shall present this address to our readers next week. Here we shall consider a few outstanding items in the address.

It is generally admitted that our "prosperity" is "spotted." That is, it prevails in certain industries while in others like agriculture, mining and textiles it is a mockery. But even in the so-called prosperous industries it is a shoddy thing and falls much below what a full life should be for the workers. Instead of living, the workers vegetate. The ballyhoosers of "prosperity" assume that if the workers receive incomes sufficient to vegetate everything is lovely. They do vegetate but they do not live.

The most conservative minimum family budget since 1920 is set at approximately \$30 a week, while the National Industrial Conference Board reports the average weekly wage in all industries this year at \$27.53. But even the \$30 budget is a vegetating, not a living, budget. Even \$40 a week is a narrow margin for workers in the large cities and this sum permits rental for a cheap tenement unfit for a decent and normal human life. There are many thousands of such "homes" in New York and other cities.

Yet it must be admitted that large sections of the working class have been hypnotized by the Coolidge organs on this matter of a decent human existence. It has taken the form of a persistent propaganda to reconcile the masses to a standard of living that is a disgrace to a civilization so productive of wealth as ours.

As for trade unionism, the development of corporation servitude through company unions and "welfare plans" proceeds apace. The attempt of the unions to compete with the industrial feudalists in this field by establishment of their own insurance is a pitiful performance and certainly a fruitless one. One might as well think of setting up a blacksmith shop to compete with the United States Steel Corporation. Benevolent feudalism is an increasing offshoot of the industrial order with its deadening of independence and ideals among the workers. The lockstep of a prison is becoming the "American plan" of our upper class masters.

If reducing human beings to robots and providing large numbers of them with fodder and a shack or tenement in which to vegetate is prosperity, we have plenty of it in the United States.

### CHICKENS COME HOME

HOW acute the division is in the Communist Party of Russia only its leaders can tell, but all accounts agree that Trotsky and Zinoviev are again on the carpet before the majority faction led by Stalin. The Central Control Committee of the party is incensed by the underground activities of the Trotsky-Zinoviev faction which is said to have gained considerable strength. Stalin and his colleagues are likely to feel their way cautiously and the penalty imposed on the offenders will be determined by how far the majority feels that it can go without causing too much internal dissension in the party. The Control Committee declares that the results of the investigation raises the question of expelling Trotsky and Zinoviev, but the committee does not recommend expulsion. By merely raising the question the majority is feeling its way, testing the general sentiment of the party.

Last year there was an upheaval against secret organization within the party, that is, planting "nuclei" for the purpose of "capturing" the party machinery. Those who indulged in this were warned that a repetition of the offense would warrant expulsion. The offense has been committed and it remains to be seen whether the threat of last year will be carried out.

This repeats the history of the movement in the United States. Moreover, it is inevitable that a movement which encourages secrecy, planting of "nuclei" in other organizations to obtain control, must inevitably come to face the same methods within its own ranks. This is what is happening in Russia with the result that the movement that justifies it in dealing with other organizations must rise in protest against it when it is practiced in its own ranks. Intrigue comes home to plague those who practice it as a profession.

This might easily lead to civil war within an organization. In fact, "civil war" is the phrase which the domestic type used in protest against its appearance in their own ranks. However, it is their affair and they are entitled to enjoy something which they have freely given to others. Chickens are coming home to roost.

### BRITISH CLASS STRUGGLES

AFTER many attempts the Baldwin Government has jammed through its Trade Union Act by a vote of 354 to 139, and the British workers have this reactionary measure as a powerful issue with which they can go before the voters in the next election. In the meantime the Tory majority may try a war with Russia, hoping that some flag waving and translating the interests of the ruling class into "patriotism" may save them from defeat by the Labor Party.

Another significant event in British political life was the abortive attempt to transform the House of Lords into a powerful body. With the rise of the capitalist and banking class in England the upper House, the bulwark of the old landed aristocracy, was shorn of power. The king and the House of Lords have been preserved more as antique decorations of the empire than anything else. The doddering old chaps of the old regime have recognized this since 1911 when the House of Commons reduced them to a decorative status.

It was proposed to enlarge the powers of the Lords as a powerful check on the House. The program to give the Lords this power, declares the New Statesman, would enable them to become "rulers of England, whose powers in the future could be modified only by steel or bullets." The struggle over this proposal proved an interesting phase of contemporary British history.

Having mounted to power on bags of cash and seeing that power menaced by a rising party of the workers, the capitalists of England turned to their old enemy, the aristocracy, for aid in perpetuating capitalism. No doubt the aristocracy will strike a bargain and the alliance between silk stockings and beef will raise the banner of interest, rent, and profit against the class whose labor provides all three.

### OUR AUTOMATIC SYSTEM

DR. BENJAMIN M. ANDERSON, economist of the Chase National Bank, recently disclosed the challenge which Capitalism makes to Socialism. This, he declared, centers about the problem of "guiding and controlling the industries of a country, putting the proper amounts of labor and capital in different industries, producing goods of the right kinds, in the right amounts, keeping the proper co-ordination between production and consumption—keeping industry a going concern." All this economic bliss is due to "automatic workings of the markets."

Dr. Anderson proceeded to specify, showing how all economic factors automatically adjust themselves to economic forces. "If there is scarcity of a given commodity, prices rise and labor and capital flow into the industry producing it; and if there is excess of a different commodity, prices fall and labor and capital flow into the industry producing it. The system does not require a central brain."

Fine. Consider one of our basic industries, coal. There is just enough capital and labor in the industry, just enough mines, just enough coal mined, no more and no less, so that the mining industry "automatically" works without any "central brain." Of course, many investigations have been made of the industry by government commissions and private organizations, each report denying every item in this "automatic" working. But no matter. An "economist" has spoken.

Turning the searchlight from one industry to the whole industrial system, we may contemplate its general "automatic" workings. The system has broken down every fifteen or twenty years since 1837 and had entered another period of breakdown when the World War enabled it to recover. The war set it to manufacturing instruments and materials of destruction which were then used to destroy villages, towns, farms and human life for four years. Its periodical industrial stagnations bring a large part of the system to a standstill. Human beings suffer acute want in the midst of the abundance they create.

This is not theory. It is history. One assertion we agree with. The system does not have a "central brain." Not even the "economist" is able to supply this deficiency.

## THE CHATTER BOX

### Musings on Two Men in Dedham Jail

You, in quiet courage,  
Have retained a freedom  
Wider than the space  
Where even planets fret  
Away their settled dooms.

You are the symbol  
Of our servitude.  
The bars that halt your flesh  
Are stripes that scar  
Their insolence and shame  
Upon our souls. . . .

Souls. . . Recurrent Christ,  
Forgive the sacrifice. . . .

Souls are instruments of sense  
Beyond the grunt of swine  
Who snout the filth of pens  
For sustenance. . . .

Only souls can see  
The vision founting from the eyes  
Of one who dies  
Quite firmly for a dream.

One Christ is worth  
A thousand-fold  
The craven multitude  
He bleeds himself  
To save.

And if you die,  
Oh, do not say you gave  
Your torchlike living  
For our sodden selves. . . .

But slowly let us learn  
How we  
Who stood complacently before  
Your piteous goal  
Had lost our liberty.

Pardon us a fugitive and glycerine tear as we heave to and belay on the Negro Spiritual bunkum of these sentimental years. Doctors, lawyers, charity trusts, Communists and nuisances of other stripe have harried our peace and trotted out our bearded Bock time and time in this space. But all the while our radio has wheezed, and wailed, and drooled through interminable hours of interminable spirituals. Through the misty casements of distance we peer from our living room into the studio of Station OOOZ and perceive four husky dusky lads crooning "I Got Wings, You Got Wings, All God's Chillun Got Wings" to a hesitant syncopated tune, part of it borrowed from Kold Nidre, the Hebrew chant of sorrow, and the rest just lifted bodily out of "Annie Laurie," leaving the ancient lady nothing more than her hoop skirts and her honor. On our desk lie books and reviews that just gurgled and gurgled with adulation over what civilization and music owes to the lowly Negro for his deathless contribution by the way of the Spiritual. Out in Zenith, Michigan, the Kiwanis cannot close its weekly meeting without a musical barbecue from some imported quartette without "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "All God's Chillun." The Glee Club of Harvard University has just gone in for that new found harmonizing with crusading fervor, and even we radicals are showing a queer sign of dotage on the fad. Call us all the polite damns you have a care to, but please listen: We are quite honestly convinced that this modern musical madness is as close to revealing the heart, soul and timber of our Negro brethren as Virginia Ham is to "Eli, Eli" . . . What surprises us most is that quite a number of the Negro literati have joined in helping to put the hoax across. A few of their poets have been honest and decent enough to keep away from the fraud, and to our mind are doing their race a distinct service by preserving an integrity in the matter.

The Negro as we know him doesn't know what all the shooting is about. His songs are our popular songs. Our jazz is his jazz. And the chances are that if we whites keep singing Negro Spirituals long enough we might get to learn and like them. But somehow we believe the colored lad is too genuine in his melodic sense to fall for the Spiritual, as she is sung by us white fakirs of song.

We have lived and travelled through Dixie, attended revival and Baptist meetings of Negroes, and worked with gangs of them through the far South. We have heard their religious songs, and their home-sprung tunes. We found the voodoo and the old jungle tom-tom more in harmony with their articulation than the easy, plaintive, manby-pamby, "come

to Sunday School and learn your Bible" stuff that is handed out to us by clever parodists of the North as solid Negro music. We have always been serenely suspicious of anything that took and sold too well among America's suckers. As soon as everybody got to publishing, reviewing and humming the Negro Spirituals, we sniffed on the weeping air and whiffed out a few unpleasant facts. Spirituals were being put across big. They were selling. Nothing else really counted. From Tin Pan Alley up to the Metropolitan Opera House our composers and transposers got busy, and the printing presses of music publishers went dizzy with business. The Negro, his soul, his great musical significance, etc., etc., became a topic for bookman and critic. And with the radio crashing through the seas of air in a tempest of maddening incantation, we all but exploded with grief and pity. Lowly as the Negro has been in the white man's esteem as a creative artist, we would think it mean indeed to fasten upon him the authorship of such frail and stupid songs as have gone forth through these days as belonging to him, his psychology and his environment. The effort of white philosophers to establish a child-like character for the Negro race in this country lines up quite evenly with the spirituals ascribed to them by white literateurs. A child of ten can easily compose a passable song of that stripe by just taking a line out of a biblical story, repeating it a few times and setting it to the tune of "Alexander's Rag Time Band." For instance—

David saw Goliath coming down the line,  
David saw Goliath coming down the line,  
Says David to Goliath, 'I see feeling mighty fine.'  
And Goliath saw David coming down the line.

This sort of stuff repeated with lines about the spear and the pebble and a few "oohs, oohs" and several "ah ahs" and you have an intense revealing of the Negro soul to a dumbly gaping white man's world.

When we perceive with what seriousness and efficiency the Negro Porters' Union is going about its job of organizing colored wage slaves into manhood, when we consider what rapid strides the genuine intellectual and scientific men and women of the brown race are making toward admirable estate, we just stop to consider how grossly unfair it is to them to measure their splendid achievements by the fraudulent contraption of the "Negro spiritual"; no more than the white man-infested Black Bottom reflects the civic world and the manifold march of the Negro toward his rightful place in a workaday world shoulder to shoulder with all men of all colors who work to make the world a little better for their being in it.

### A Vestal Sings a June Song

Do not touch my lips tonight;  
Flame will madden you.  
Nor place your hand on mine.  
The blood of olden chastity  
Is a fountain of fire.

Wait, beloved,  
I may burn myself back  
Into the cool softness  
Of settled ash  
You have always known.

Or else lead me to a brook  
Where I may lave  
The surging clamor of my senses  
Under a quiet babble.

Even as I plead  
My madness flickers out.  
See! Even the frightened stars  
Are soothed before  
The ashen peace upon my countenance.

Now you may touch me,  
Beloved. . . .

G. HILLSON.

Next door to us a union meeting is taking place. The session hardly seems one of men and women. Rather it sounds like the riotous clamor of an angry sea smashing its fury on obdurate rock. Occasionally a shriek screams over the bedlam. The chairman is asking for order. Silence a moment, and then again the sea of voices. "You're a dirty right—a job holder—you—Communist—thief—you reactionary—you boss licker," and so on, all in original Bronxese. Oh, labor, where is your reason going. Workers of the world, you fight, and lose all you have ever gained. What a motto.

S. A. de Witt.

## A Poet of the Age

THIS period is one which, however the future may discern its spirit in its verse, it is hard for us today to discover in many of our poets. The poetry of escape, of flight from the reality the true artist will face, is easy to find; is, indeed, hard to avoid. The sentimental lyrics that ask God for a handful of stars, that shed a melancholy tear over the sweet little shop-girl who seeks her moment's happiness by walking up Fifth Avenue, Easter Sunday, in what she fondly fancies is the season's best taste in (economical) finery: these, too, are everywhere at hand. And perhaps these properly echo the sentimentality that lurks beneath the coarse covering of this generation's cynical leer. But for the frank facing of life with eyes neither dimmed by sentimental tears nor dried by bitter cynicism, but hard and clear with the determination that marks the scientist of today; for this full vision of the middle through which we must work to fulfillment, there must be longer and less boisterous searching.

Our age is, in one sense, the fruit of the Victorian tree of life. From those branches we have fallen onto the soil of science: despite the frantic death-rattles of Tennessee legislatures and the monkey-shines of other dervishes who do not know how nearly dead they are, how sterile their ideas, religion is not the superstition of our time. What- ever we may expect from science, it has cleared away one smoke-screen of man's chief enemy, fear.

Yet more manifest than the benefits of science are its great gifts of evil. Comfort it has supplied, and extended; the proud supporters of our civilization truly claim that the humble clerk with his thousand conveniences is more comfortable than the ancient Emperor with his thousand slaves. But mechanisms have brutalized mankind; they have taken the spirituality of religion without offering any substitute better than the shifty pragmatism that preaches "Whatever works, is right"—which means, "Whatever you can get away with, is right." From this conception of human relationships the sensitive spirit must revolt; those who cannot glimpse any more spiritual goal along the paths of science itself turn—

though they know it is vainly—longingly, desperately, to the dying God.

This aspect of man's spiritual tabernacle in the storm of today is seared upon the consciousness of Eugene Jolas, and burns through his poetry. The sharp, jerky rhythms of his lines pulse with the agony of our civilization; his swift phrases, broken before the sentence is complete, stab the fevered moments of our indecisive coursing. From CINEMA:

1  
eyes blinded  
motors turning in tired brains  
mechanical wheels of my nerves  
refrain of irony  
cry silence

2  
chaos yawped  
mergentalers wand of steel  
we plunged into midnight of fear  
abrupt chronicles grew abstract  
a dawn leered

3  
scenarios feasted  
statue wheeling God along a river  
we bathed in the coolness of a thought  
all the forests played fugues of summer  
a locomotive hissed

35  
monotone of motors  
swish of waves nerves sleep  
o the night is long and longer  
all my companions slumber  
wishes are gulls dreaming  
we roam to utopia

"Cinema," the poem from which the volume of Eugene Jolas (Adelphi Co., \$1.50) takes its name, is the first of many that seize with a tense, a feverish hatred that is yet love, upon the many elements of our life, that recognize the fierce ugliness of it all, its confusion, its brutality, its seeming aimlessness—yet press it for beauty, for the burden of joy it must bear. Desperate cries to a power beyond our own—"O send me a radio of mercy," "O Dreamer of God, show us the Cinema of the Angels"—alternate with the despair in that direction: "I am tired of waiting for miracles," and with so fair a vision (in the polyphonic prose of Amy Lowell in America or Saint-Pol-Roux in France) as: "And suddenly there came, as each nave shook, the tall Seraphic Christ in garments white,

and strode into the street, aureoled by light—and such a tenderness was in his look that every burgher fell upon his knees and cried: 'Hosanna, He is come!' . . . and every noise was mute before His words that trickled from His gentle mouth like wine; He spoke of sin with substance like a drum, and spoke of war and laughter and old songs, of frontiers, hunger, broken bodies, wrongs—and every wheel acknowledged Him divine and every bit of steel bent at His will . . . and even the Bourgeois stood still. . . . these aspirations and despair toward the God of our fathers are tempered, in the fire of life today, to a quieter recognition of beauty in the midst of—not in frantic escape from—the sordid world around; beauty despite hunger and broken bodies and wrongs, beauty in hunger and wrong. The long poem, "Reporters," with its merciless exposition of civilization in the list of banalities, crimes, and obscenities, such as:

"click of metal  
a maniac kills detectives  
Maine elects a new governor  
an aviator crashes to death  
Hollywood scandals  
five are killed  
by zero weather in New Hampshire  
the highest building in the world is completed in Chicago  
Gary mills are shut down  
Gilda Gray dances  
to shimmy strains  
rev. Marks and sexton's wife are found shot in woods  
Fifty reporters gather  
a hurricane devastates the west  
Doug Fairbanks triumphs in Zorro  
"the stumps of our illusions tremble  
the north wind shrills in the deserted streets  
the last edition arrives still wet with ink  
the heart of the city beats softly towards dawn."

Here is not the "waste land" of Eliot, but a world vigorous though vulgar, beautiful though brutal; a world hard and cynical and despairing and done to death—crusted over the seed of a sensitive, an energetic, a young, a new, universe . . . one of whose prophets is the poet, Eugene Jolas.

Joseph T. Shipley.

## Government By Judges

By John P. Frey

Representative of the American Federation of Labor

IT IS natural that the American Trade Union Movement should be deeply interested in the legislative attempt now being made in Great Britain to limit the workers' freedom of economic action.

In the United States and Canada, and particularly in the United States, a contest exists between the forces of reaction and the liberal constructive thought which believes that every wage-earner is entitled to all of the privileges and opportunities which can be enjoyed by any other citizen.

Reactionary forces in America have endeavored to secure legislation or judicial decisions which would make labor a commodity or an article of commerce, governed by the same laws which regulate commodities and commerce, so that any trade union action during an industrial dispute which could be held to injure the employer financially would leave the workers liable to awards for damages in the courts.

As a result of this general policy, quite apart from government by law, there has developed during the last thirty-five years an extension of the powers of equity courts.

Employers opposed to the existence of trade unions, the great associations of employers whose desire is to weaken or destroy trade unionism, are aware of the difficulty they would encounter should they attempt to secure the conditions they desire through legislative methods. They prefer to make use of what may be termed judicial discretion, the opinion, or the conscience of a judge sitting in equity. As a result there has developed side by side so far as the industrial problem is concerned, government by law, duly enacted by the people's representatives, and government by judicial discretion.

The American Trade Union Movement has never experienced much difficulty under government by law. In fact, it has profited. But it has suffered most extraordinary injury through control by judicial discretion; the opinion or the judicial conscience of the judge sitting in equity passing upon the merits of an industrial dispute. This invasion of government by law, the undermining of government by the consent of the governed, reached the stage several years ago when it was quite properly termed "Government by Injunction," the law of the land functioning satisfactorily to all concerned until a serious industrial dispute arose, then the setting aside not only of the law but of constitutional guarantees of liberty by equity courts.

It is interesting to know that equity practice, or, as it is called in Great Britain, Chancery practice, was taken over at the time the United States Constitution was adopted under the rules, regulations, limitations, and safeguards which existed in Great Britain at that time, equity power being given to the United States Supreme Court. It was applied originally for but one purpose—protection of property or property rights from irreparable injury—when there was no adequate remedy at law. It was not until 1890 that clever attorneys employed by powerful industrial corporations conceived the idea that the equity power could be used to restrain workmen from doing collectively during an industrial dispute what they have every right to do as individuals. In that year an injunction was issued restraining members of a trade union from notifying others that they were on strike. In this way began a most extraordinary development of judicial authority, an authority not conveyed by the Constitution of the United States or those of the separate states, or established through legislative enactment. It has grown as a result of precedent, developing in substance as well as form. The equity courts within recent years have restrained trade unionists from going on strike, from remaining on strike, from paying strike benefits, until they reached the point two or three years ago in which Federal judges restrained officers of the United Mine Workers' Union of America, from making any attempt whatsoever to organize non-union miners.

If American trade unionists were to submit to the spirit and substance of the injunctions issued against them, there would soon be no trade union movement. If judicial discretion, the judge sitting on the bench influenced by his knowledge or lack of knowledge, or the equities involved, influenced unconsciously perhaps by his prejudices, restrains workers from quitting their employment collectively when for any reason the terms of employment become unsatisfactory, or from carrying on their campaigns to organize the unorganized, and these injunctions were obeyed, then there would be an end to trade unionism.

The American Trade Union Movement from the beginning has been convinced that human liberty is something inherent in a free land, that human liberty, the right of all men to equality of opportunity and of privilege, is something which cannot be set aside by a statute, and much less by judicial discretion; for human liberty, the equality of rights between all men, is nothing less than the foundations of government which make the free institutions among English-speaking peoples a possibility.

There can be no compromise between government by law based upon free institutions and government, or control, by judicial discretion, for if the history of the judiciary of every English-speaking country is carefully

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