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Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist  
Labor Movement

# THE NEW LEADER

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## 10,000 TRANSIT WORKERS PLAN TO STRIKE

### TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

**S**AMUEL INSULL, of Chicago, is one of the kings of the modern world. His dominion is over super power. It is a first and fundamental plank in any progressive program that super power must be publicly owned and controlled. Samuel Insull gave \$125,000 to the primary funds of Frank Smith, Illinois "progressive" Republican candidate for the Senatorial nomination. Mr. Smith also had the support of many Illinois labor leaders. This is the first set of facts. The second is that Mr. Insull gave \$1,500 to George Brennan, who will be Mr. Smith's Democratic opponent in the Senatorial election. (Mr. Brennan had no such fight on his hands for the nomination as did Mr. Smith.)

Under these circumstances, how much has Mr. Insull to fear from either of these old parties or their candidates? Has he not bought stock in both? And how progressive is Frank Smith, "friend" of the labor leaders, but vassal of the super power king? Any child can guess the answers. But the answer to our last question is harder. How long will labor leaders play this kind of politics?

This so-called Citizens Committee in Passaic on which are many of the city's leading Babbitts and boosters, lay and clerical, must be proud of its allies. Chief Zober went back to his old job of clubbing heads. This time it was the visiting furriers who were victims of his peculiar notion of law and order. The attempt to frame up Weisbord in a breach of promise case having failed the police now try to discredit him because they found a jack knife in the car he uses. But the Citizens Committee goes on issuing statements, paid for by the bosses, about how happy and healthy and well fed everybody is.

Fortunately for Passaic there are other groups of citizens, not long in America, with Slavic and Hungarian names, who have a better idea of what Americanism ought to mean. We wish them success in their campaign to recall the Mayor and the Director of Public Safety.

Mexico's well wishers in this country must regret the present acute religious controversy. Even if it is necessary it is unfortunate. On their face the government's recent decrees in certain respects—by no means all—deny what in America we regard as vital religious liberty and can only be justified by proof of serious abuses of that liberty by the church. Such proof may exist. But even in dealing with a corrupt or seditious church, the government should remember that it is dangerous to give it martyrs. Moreover, the absorption of Mexican energies in clerical controversies will divert attention from fundamental social reconstruction.

The government may reply that such social progress is made impossible by the church. It is that which must be proved. The church has against it a bad record of things done and left undone. Nor can one admire its present tactics. As we understand Catholic theology, the suspension of public masses and other services in the churches must, according to it, seriously imperil the salvation of immortal souls. The church is willing to take this terrible risk in its warfare with the government.

That is the kind of warfare for Americans to keep out of. We ought to seek the facts and are justified in expressing an opinion. No governmental action is called for.

It is to the everlasting credit of the French Socialists that they will make no compromise with Poincare. For Poincare, as we now know, was one of the men most responsible for the world war; he was even more responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr and his government initiated the reckless and dishonest policy of unbalanced budgets and wholesale inflation which led to the fiscal crisis out of which he is now asked to save his country. Better far a socialist government and a capital levy than the kind of salvation Poincare will seek to bring.

### Zinoviev, Arch 'Borer,' Barred by Communists For Indiscreet 'Boring'

**D**ISPATCHES from Moscow this week which announced the removal of Gregory Zinoviev from the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party created much interest as well as amusement in labor and Socialist circles. Zinoviev is also the head of the Third International, and it is generally believed that his removal will bring an issue into the Third International itself which will probably come up in the next congress of that body.

The amusing phase of the ousting of Zinoviev is that his opponents declared that he had secretly organized within the Communist Party to obtain control for his faction. Lashevich, a partisan of Zinoviev, has also been punished by being removed as a candidate for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, fired from his post of Assistant War Minister and is forbidden to engage in party activities for two years.

The resolution which ousted Zinoviev and Lashevich charges them with having used the machinery of the Communist International for their factional interests in the Russian party. Zinoviev and his faction had held secret meetings and his group constituted a "nucleus" or "cell" planted in the heart of the Communist Party. He had used a plan which the Communists in all countries have been using in the trade unions in the hope of getting control of them. The two ousted Communists are charged with using the machinery of the Communist International "by reproducing and transmitting not only in Moscow but in the provincial centers of Briansk, Saratoff, Vladivostok, Omsk, Gomel, Odessa, Piatt, Gorsk and elsewhere underground groups of the Political Bureau itself by sending agents to various party organizations with the view to the formation of fractional underground groups."

New York trade unionists are pointing out that this program is precisely what Zinoviev and his opponents have ordered the Communists to do in the trade unions of all countries. In New York city, especially in the

needle trades, the "formation of fractional underground groups" has been going on for a number of years. The resolution goes on to mention an "illegal fractional meeting in a wood near Moscow, which has been the topic of conversation in well-informed circles in Moscow for the past few weeks and even of comment in the Russian Emigre press in Berlin." The resolution also declares that this secret meeting of the Zinoviev "nucleus" was arranged by a certain Belenki, who had been expelled from the Communist Party as a member of the previous opposition group, but who was permitted to continue his work in the Communist International.

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### Nucleus-at-Large



GREGORY ZINOVIEV

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### CITY ENGINEERS 'Socialism Made a Man of Me,' Shaw Declares on His 70th Birthday

By Bernard Shaw  
(An Address Delivered on His 70th Birthday This Week at a Dinner Given Him by the British Labor Party)

**O**F late years the public have been trying to tackle me in every way they possibly can, and, failing to make anything of it, they have turned to treating me as a great man.

This is a dreadful fate to overtake anybody, and there has been a distinct attempt to do it again now. For that reason I absolutely declined to say anything about the celebration of my 70th birthday; but when my old friends of the Labor Party invited me here I knew I should be all right.

We have discovered the secret that there are no great men, and we have discovered the secret that there are no great nations or great states. We leave that kind of thing to the 19th century, where they properly belong.

I had hoped to address tonight a larger audience than this, but you may remember that this government when it started, started with its head turned by its success at the last general election, and, in the intoxication of that moment, you will remember it dealt its first master stroke, which was intended to demonstrate to the world how very superior it was in the handling of foreign policy to the then late foreign secretary, our friend, Ramsay MacDonald.

It commenced on the Egyptian nation by attempting to cut off its water supply by damming the Nile, but that did not come off, and now, when their heads have been turned rather violently in another direction by my friend, Miss Bondfield, they have got the curious idea to try to cut off the supply of ideas in this country by damming me.

Well, of course, that is very funny. It is all very well for us here, in our friendly and good humored way, to laugh, but our laughs will go little further than this room, and there will be

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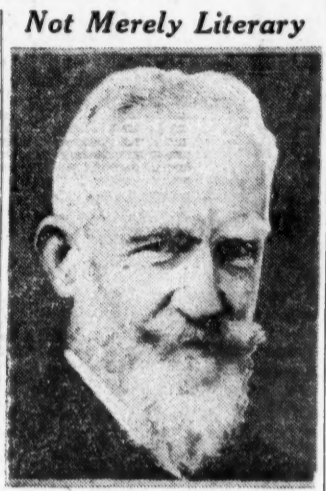
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G. BERNARD SHAW

some laughter which I personally shall not particularly enjoy.

For instance, at the other end of Europe our talented friend Trotsky will most definitely have the laugh on Mr. Winston Churchill. He will even have the laugh a little bit on us. I have tremendous admiration for Mr. Trotsky's talents, but his laughter is a little too sardonic.

Mussolini and Trotsky  
Then there is that remarkable statesman, Signor Mussolini. I do not know whether Signor Mussolini has ever laughed. He has never been represented to us as having ever laughed, but I cannot help thinking that when next our Liberal newspapers reproach him for his suppression of the freedom of speech perhaps he will smile. I think that laugh will be distinctly on his side and it will be a laugh against England, not merely against us in this room, but against the traditions of England.

I should dearly like to believe that this move of the government was (Continued on page 4)

### B. M. T. WORKERS CONFER WITH STRIKERS

Big Detail of Spies Keeps Workers Away from Pre-Strike Meeting

Plans were being pushed today for a walkout Saturday morning at 5 a. m. of all subway, elevated and surface car workers in Manhattan and Brooklyn employed by the Interborough and Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company.

The strike has been called by the Consolidated Railway Workers' Union of Greater New York, which for three weeks has been conducting an effective strike of motormen, switchmen and others employed by the Interboro Rapid Transit Company.

Officials of the Consolidated conferred with thirty-seven representatives of the workers on the I. R. T. and B-M. T. Company lines last night on details of the general strike.

These thirty-seven men represented the following groups:  
I. R. T. employes, 4,400.  
B. M. T. employes, 2,800.  
I. R. T. elevated employes, 250.  
23rd St. Trolley Line, 120 men.  
8th Ave. Trolley Line, 100 men.

They all pledged themselves to walk out Saturday at 5 a. m. Since the conference, leaders of more than 3,000 additional workers have pledged their men to join the strike. This brings the total above 10,000.

More than seventy detectives of the transit corporations were stationed outside headquarters of the union last night.

In anticipation of this spying, the I. R. T. strikers met their fellow-transit workers at other places than the meeting hall.

At well attended pre-strike meetings held in Manhattan Casino, arrangements were completed for one of the biggest transit strikes the city has seen.

### ANTI-FASCISTS BUILDING UNIONS SPLIT

Communists' Tactics Cause Rupture—New Group Will Be Organized

Communists tactics have split the Anti-Fascist Alliance. For about a year the Socialists and trade unionists have tolerated a campaign of Communist slander and this they have done for the sake of keeping intact the united front of all anti-Fascist groups.

But of late the conditions grew to unbearable proportion and Socialists were forced to sever their connections with the Communists of the Anti-Fascist Alliance.

The Socialists charge that in the anti-Fascist alliance the Communists have used their usual methods of capturing organizations, that is—crowd meetings with delegates of fictitious organizations and steamroll the proceedings, as they did at a recent meeting of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, when the combined delegation of the Socialists, the Italian Chamber of Labor, the various Italian trade unions and the Italian labor daily, Nuovo Mondo were out-numbered by the delegates of a variety of paper Communist organizations.

The Communists, the Socialists charge, while posing as advocates of the "United Anti-Fascist front," have attacked and maliciously slandered the most prominent Italian labor leaders for not accepting Communist dictation in their organization.

### BUILDING UNIONS REACH MILLION

Labor Bodies Take Steps to In trench Gains—Painters Vote on Huge Drive

By Philip Hockstein  
After the building boom, what?

This is the uppermost question in the minds of those who are progressive and forward-looking among the leadership of the building trades' unions and, already, although there is yet no slackening of building operations in eight, different plans for entrenching the unions in the recently won gains are taking shape.

Indicating that the powerful craft organizations in the building trades have availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the building boom to strengthen their power is the report of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, made public last week.

This report reveals that the international unions affiliated with the department have over a half million members, the largest number yet recorded. Even greater progress is reported by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which does not pay per capita tax to the Building Trades Department.

### MINERS FIGHT CAP AGREEMENT IS NEAR

Millionaire Big Holder of Coal Lands in Scott's Run

By Art Shields  
MORGANTOWN, W. VA.

**J**OHN D. ROCKEFELLER is one of the big absentee owners of the coal lands of Scott's Run, where 4,000 miners are striking. The Oil King's ownership—hidden till now—comes out in a tax reduction appeal.

The Palsley interests, who are the leading operating group in Scott's Run, were asking the Monongalia county equalization board to reduce the tax valuation on their local holdings from \$6,819,415 to \$1,809,186, or about five million dollars.

In arguing their case the Palsley people had to describe each piece of property. The biggest item was 10,489 1/2 acres of coal land leased from the Consolidation Coal Company and valued at \$3,038,910, or nearly half of the total.

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Well over one million trades unionists are now employed in building operations. It would appear from a compilation of the latest reports of the international unions. This represents a substantial increase over last year's figures and a gain of several hundred thousand over the prosperous war period, when there was a minimum of non-union labor tolerated. Of these more than a million workers, very few profess allegiance to organizations rivaling units of the American Federation of Labor. The United Building and Common Laborers' Union of New York, claiming 20,000 members is the largest independent building trades union now in operation.

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### Munificent Pensions For Civil Service Workers

WASHINGTON, July 21.—Members of unions affiliated with the joint conference committee on civil service retirement pensions have received from their chairman, R. H. Alcorn, a statement of the changes in the new law as compared with the old. Pension Commissioner Scott has issued similar information to the heads of all departments.

Laborers who formerly could not retire on pension until 70 years of age will now be pensioned at 65. Employees engaged in hazardous occupations, and those who have served 15 years in the tropics, will be pensioned at 62. Sea post clerks and village letter carriers will be eligible for pensions at 65.

How small will be the pensions for workers in the lower grades of salary by the official tabulation. Employees whose average annual pay for the final ten years of their service has been \$600 will get only \$200.64 annual pension, if they served only 15 years. If they stayed on the job for 30 years they will get \$399.96 a year. Those getting \$900 a year salary as their final ten-year average will get pensions of from \$300 to \$600, according to their years of service. Those drawing \$1,500 a year average for the final ten years will get from \$500.04 to \$399.96 annual pension.

### 'You Can't Believe What You Read in the Papers'

"Karl Marx made a man of me. . . I am inordinately proud of being a Socialist."—New York Times, July 27th, report of Bernard Shaw's birthday address—Page 2.  
"He is famous and rich, this ex-Socialist."—New York Times, July 27th, editorial about Bernard Shaw—Page 16.

# I. R. T.'s Desperate Move Belies Claim Strike Is Over

## MOVE TO TRICK MEN TO PARLEY FAILS

### Interborough Vice-President Waits Until 1 A. M. to See Union Leaders

In spite of the protestations of the Interborough that the strike is not worrying it at all, its actions entirely belie its words. The company gave still another exhibition of the desperate circumstances in which it finds itself on Monday night. It tried to trick the men back to work by one of those contemptible underhanded schemes that occur in every big labor struggle.

It was the night before the announcement of the big general transit strike. Hedley had received his final ultimatum from the strikers. They did not tell him what their next move would be. He had to act immediately or take the consequences. He hit upon a way out.

At eight o'clock the telephone rang. A personal message for Harry Bark, strike leader. Bark went to the phone. At the other end of the wire was "Patty" Connelly, the lackey of the Interborough who acts as president of the company's "sisterhood." Connelly invited Bark to come down to the I.R.T. headquarters at 155 Broadway to hold a conference with Keegan, I.R.T. vice-president, at 11:45 that evening. The strike leader was told that Keegan would be waiting for him all night. That was all.

Bark communicated with the General Strike Committee. The message looked too much like a fraud. Should he or anybody else go down to 155, the news would soon be spread that the strike leaders had surrendered or abandoned their followers. The proposition was put up to the strikers who were in session. Should the leaders be empowered to go down to the I.R.T. offices to take part in a conference at 11:45 that evening? The men howled the proposition down.

If Hedley was aiming to break the morale of the men, he had his answer. If Hedley was anxious to hear their inner sentiments, he had heard them.

But then, as the hour grew later second thought began to take precedence. What harm could come from a conference? Perhaps the offer of a conference was genuine. Perhaps the Interborough was ready to surrender.

A second vote was taken. This time the officers were authorized to attend the conference at 11:45.

In the meantime investigation had been made of the source of the telephone message. The I.R.T. offices declined any knowledge of such a conference. So that was the trick. Make the leaders of the strikers report at the Interborough offices and then claim they had come to beg for their jobs. The conference was all off.

But there the story does not end. After the meeting, the Interborough was again reached on the telephone by the newspapermen. At one o'clock in the morning Keegan was still at the I.R.T. offices losing sleep. His representative inquired whether the strikers were on their way down. Poor Keegan! He was living in false hopes. The men had seen through his duplicity.

Then came the version of the story from the Interborough. What a pack of lies! The strike leaders, the company said, had called up the I.R.T. and requested a conference. They had been told that they would have to come back as individuals not as a committee representing the strikers. Could anything be farther from the truth?

This transparent fraud did not fool the strikers. Once more did they realize that the company's word could not be relied upon unless a strong union forced the I.R.T. to live up to its promises. Once more was the truth brought home to them, that they could hope to get nothing from the Interborough except through their united power. The strikers left the hall more determined than ever to bring the company to terms.

Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.—J. S. Mill.

## A. F. of L.: Your Fellow Workers Call!



Will They Get Your Helping Hand?

## Pullman Co. Spreads False Stories of Split In Rank of New Union

Having failed to enlist a single white newspaper in the country on its side and after using in vain a few Negro weeklies in its fight to keep 12,000 Pullman porters and maids in a continued condition of starvation wages, inhumanly long hours, and the manhood-sapping custom of depending only upon tips, the Pullman Company, it seems, has adopted a new maneuver to achieve its end.

Word is being prodigiously circulated in the various "sign out" quarters to the effect that "Randolph's Sleeping Car Porters are wrangling and fighting among themselves," etc. All of which is not only untrue, but is also another evidence of the fact that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has jockeyed the Pullman Company into a position where the latter recognizes that its only chance of escape from the ever-tightening stranglehold of the Brotherhood upon the so-called Employee Representation Plan—company union—lies in spreading false rumors and suspicion, thereby causing dissension among the members of the Brotherhood.

The medium being used in this instance is the Enterprise, a small Negro newspaper published weekly in Chicago, the city in which the Pullman Company has its headquarters and from whence its workers are "paid off."

However, in this, as in all other attempts, the Pullman Company will fail; for the Brotherhood has long ago established the first requisite to complete victory, viz.: THE WILL TO WIN, which is already so deeply planted in the hearts of the porters that no amount of false rumors or lavishly spent money can now break

the determination of these men. Like the engineers, the firemen, the baggagemen, the Pullman conductors, and the other workers in the transportation system of the nation, the Pullman porters are determined to maintain a union of, for, and by themselves to aid them in their effort to get a living wage, reasonable hours, and decent working conditions, as well as to secure civilized treatment from their employers.

Within the last sixty days the Brotherhood has grown stronger by over 600 new members. The organization is more firmly entrenched and mightier today than at any time during its history. The spirit of the men is admirably high, and all are most devoutly and enthusiastically supporting their chosen leader. Friday night at St. Luke's Hall, 125 West 130th street, Randolph, together with Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Ph.D., will address what is expected to be the largest turnout of Pullman porters and maids ever seen in New York.

A. Philip Randolph, editor of the Messenger and general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, delivered an address over the radio station in St. Paul. His subject was "The Negro and Labor." Local labor leaders, together with prominent leaders of the Negro race, are elated over the speech. This is probably the first time in the history of the country that a Negro leader has broadcast an appeal in the interest of Negro workers.

Editor Randolph spoke on the same subject before the faculty and student body of the University of Minnesota. His address was well received and his hearers showed their keen interest in the subject by asking numerous questions at the close of the address. It is said that, in answering them Mr. Randolph proved himself to be one of the best-equipped and most-thoroughly informed Negroes in public life today.

## ARMY BECOMES TOLERANT FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS

NEW YORK, July 21.—It took less than five minutes for brother army officers to accept the excuses of Col. James T. Watson in the court-martial for his failure to salute Haiti's Negro president, Louis Borno, properly upon the latter's arrival in New York harbor. Borno came to pay his respects to the real rulers of his homeland—American bankers—and to call on President Coolidge, who lets the Marines take care of Haiti.

Christendom has other ends Than creating lust and greed And the ugly things they breed—Millionaires and dividends. —Daily Vidal.

## BUILDING UNIONS REACH 1,000,000

(Continued from page 1) fensive struggles, but what may even prove more beneficial—the absorption of nearly all the new workmen attracted to the building crafts by the union who have attained a satisfactory degree of craftsmanship.

Thus, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Bricklayers' International Union, two of the most conservative labor bodies, ordinarily opposed to large scale admission of new members and committed to rigid rules of admission paralleling the alien exclusion laws of the United States, record tremendous growth in memberships and great gain in the relative proportion of union to non-union men in the industry.

Perhaps the most elaborate plan for anticipating the problems that may arise after the building boom ends is that conceived by the District Council of the Brotherhood of Painters and proposed to the membership of its different locals, who are now indicating their attitude in a referendum vote which will be completed by next week.

The Brotherhood of Painters occupies a unique position in its relations to other crafts in the building trades, in that it is only partly a construction trade. During the present boom period, of course, a greater number of its membership is employed on construction work. The bulk of work, especially when there is no unusual quantity of building work, is to be found in the redecorating known to the trade as "alteration," and in the painting done by members of maintenance crews on office, bank, school, library and other public and semi-public buildings.

While even at present thousands of men are employed in these non-construction branches of the craft, their importance is expected to grow rapidly as the construction boom wanes. When there is no longer a housing shortage, landlords will be compelled to grant requests for redecorating, and this division of the trade is expected to enjoy an unusual boom as a result.

Significant in this connection also is the suggestion of the District Council that the "stoppage" plan, hitherto seldom invoked outside of the needle trades, be employed as the principal weapon in the proposed unionization drive.

The plan calls for a general stoppage for one day, either in the latter part of August or the early part of September. It is during this period that the industry is at the height of its busy season, since landlords of new and old houses are rushing to complete their apartments for October occupancy.

In the event the plan is approved the District Council is prepared to set up complete machinery for the registration of every union member employed in the craft on the day of the stoppage. Those who are found to be working on jobs of union contractors where only union men are employed will be permitted to return to their jobs the following day. Members found to be working either

## POLICE DISCUSS GASSING OF STRIKERS

### Chicago Convention Waxes Eloquent on Fighting of Labor With Bombs

CHICAGO.—All the latest chemical devices for dispersing strike meetings, making labor and other halls uninhabitable and putting police departments and state troopers at the service of the employers were enthusiastically demonstrated at the exhibitions of the 33d annual convention, International Association of Chiefs of Police, held in Chicago July 19 to 22. Naturally the tear gas in its many forms is used also against bandits, lynchers (sometimes) and the like, but each exhibitor specifically mentioned its anti-labor uses, either in his talk or in his literature.

Thus the Lake Erie Chemical Co. of Cleveland includes "industrial plants" as proper users. It urges its Dispersers-X irritating gas and smoke against "strike mobs containing women and children." It recommends its Blind-X-Riot gun as an "ideal weapon for defending industrial plants," etc. It offers its Exile-X chemical to make "sure that the same den will not be used for meeting or living quarters for a long time, probably one month."

This company uses an ex-army officer to train state constabularies and police forces in the use of the gases. The effect of the gases, it says, are to blind and cause to sneeze whomever it reaches, putting them in "such intense pain that they lose all interest in external affairs," but without permanent injury.

"Knock Out a Whole Family" The exhibitor of another gas concern, the Federal Laboratories, Inc., of Pittsburgh, mentioned with pride the use of tear bombs against the textile strikers of Passaic. He waxed eloquent. "Why, you can knock out a whole family, from father to baby, with one of our gas grenades," he said, "then walk in and grab the man and let the rest recover with leisure. They won't be permanently injured, but it hurts a lot while it lasts."

In proof, he let me sniff at a tear-gas cartridge. It had a severe burning smell like ammonia, intensely irritating to the nose and biting the upper lip like acid, but the quantity was so small that in a minute or two the effect had disappeared.

They come in every imaginable form and are comparatively cheap. When you see a cop handling a fountain pen shut your eyes quick. The Blind-X-Gas fountain pen is the same size, shape and weight and looks like an ordinary red-lacquered fountain pen. It is fitted with a clip for carrying in the vest pocket. The pen discharges by releasing a trigger with the thumb and instantly renders its victim helpless at a distance of 12 to 15 feet or less.

"The user," says the demonstrator, "can be handling this device and point it towards its victim without arousing suspicion that it is a weapon at all."

Can Be Thrown or Pumped The pen costs \$15 and extra shells \$1 each. Hand grenades cost \$5 apiece; Gas riot guns cost \$60, but extra charges for them only \$6.

Tear gas can be thrown, pumped, electrically discharged, released by a trigger or with a fuse. It is put up not only in fountain pens and grenades, but inside police billies, in contrivances looking like fire extinguishers, in receptacles that break automatically when a vault or room is broken into, in autos for carrying money, etc., where they sometimes look like hand horns that were recently a novelty, in brief cases, valises and many ingenious devices for banks, prisons, factories, etc.

The Lake Erie people very obligingly sell antidotes for their poisons in the shape of Anti-Blind-X ointment at \$2 a tube. The Federal people, however, refuse to cheapen the effectiveness of their output and claim that no antidote can be found for it. To use the ointment you simply squeeze out a little from the tube, thoroughly rub in to cover the entire eyeball and after a minute you can enter any tear gas without extreme pain or effect, the Lake Erieites guarantee.

Aside from the chemical exhibits, there was little of labor interest at the convention. Much time was devoted to traffic regulation, much to crime detection and much to having a general good time during the four days.

There can be no true prosperity until the worker on an ordinary commodity can buy what he makes.—Henry Ford.

for non-union contractors or with partly non-union crews will not be permitted to return until those conditions are corrected. Non-union workers will not be taken in singly, but in full crews, so that for every non-union worker taken in the union will also acquire control of a new job. New members will be given a year in which to pay the initiation fee on an installment plan, and will be confined to their present branch of the craft for that period. The District Council has been careful to point out in this connection that the plan will prevent the flooding of jobs with newcomers, every possible provision being made for the conquest of new work to an extent at least equaling the admission of new members.

## BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER IS FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL BANK



Benjamin Schlesinger

Benjamin Schlesinger, for many years president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, has recently been elected first vice president of the International Union Bank, and will henceforth devote his entire time developing its business, with the view of making it the leading labor bank in New York.

Comrade Schlesinger's experience in the labor movement and commercial world and his wide acquaintance in New York augurs well for the success of the work which he has undertaken.

His many years of training as president of the International and manager of The Forward here and for the last three years in Chicago, should prove of advantage to the institution with which he has now become actively associated. He brings with him the good wishes of thousands of his New York friends, who have missed his counsel owing to his Chicago activities, during the last three years, and who have been delighted to learn that he has consented to come to the International Union Bank, where he can render such valuable service.

## BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP WILL HOLD OUTING AT SUNSET PARK AUGUST 1

All comrades are cordially invited to join the members and friends of the Bronx Free Fellowship in an outing to Sunset Park (on the Hudson) next Sunday, Aug. 1. The group will meet at the 129th street pier (on the Hudson) at 9:15 a. m., and take the steamer Benjamin Odell to Sunset Park. Round-trip tickets at \$1 are on sale at the Fellowship, 1801 Boston road, and at Socialist Party headquarters, 1167 Boston road. In case of rain, tickets will be good for the following Sunday.

## Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, Aug. 1, we hike to Long Beach, where we camp among the sand dunes near Point Lookout. Bring your pup tents and bathing suits along. Meeting place (for those living in New York), Municipal building arch at entrance to Jamaica elevated trains; time, 3:00 p. m., Saturday afternoon. For those living in Brooklyn and Queens—Jamaica station, Long Island



## MORE FIRMS SIGN WITH GARMENT STRIKERS

### Tieup, Except for Settlements, Continue Complete, Sigman Declares

More independent manufacturers have capitulated to the terms of the striking cloakmakers and made peace with the Cloakmakers' Union, guaranteeing a forty-hour week, a minimum of thirty-six weeks work per year, a 10 per cent increase in wages and limitation of contractors. At the same time the 40,000 strikers gained support from an unusual source, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, representing the contractors, who joined forces with them against manufacturers and jobbers who refuse to maintain union standards.

At a meeting of a conference committee of contractors and strikers the contractors voluntarily submitted information to the unionists regarding the few shops still operating in the face of the strike. They are as determined as the workers to make the strike 100 per cent effective, realizing, they declare, that unless the workers are assured decent conditions in the industry they themselves cannot survive. Today the contractors are considered as so many foremen working for jobbers, who play them against each other in order to reduce wages and costs.

At the conference were H. Uvillier, general manager; Samuel O. Beskind, president, and Charles M. Susman, former president of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, and Louis Hyman, chairman of the General Strike Committee, and Morris Sigman, president of the I. L. G. W. U.

"The tie-up in the cloak industry," Sigman declares, "save for the firms that are settling with the union daily, continues as complete as before. Several large New York cloak houses tied up by this strike, we are informed, have made attempts to open shops in Connecticut, in some of the adjacent New Jersey towns and in Long Island. The vigilance of the organization committee of the strike has foiled these efforts, which have now been abandoned."

"This became clear when, at a meeting of the conference committees of the union and of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers' body, stock was taken of the present strike situation. The claim of some of the jobbers that a considerable amount of merchandise was being made up in Brooklyn was definitely refuted by the representatives of both the union and the sub-manufacturers, who are in position to know the real facts.

"The workers of the Weinstein Corporation, one of the biggest 'inside' shops in the New York market, which settled with the union yesterday, were the first to return to work, after they paraded the cloak district in buses with a band of music."

R. R. Long Beach train platform; time 4:00 p. m., Saturday afternoon. Fare, \$1. Walking time, about 3 hours. Leader, August Faude. Nature-loving proletarians who are not members are welcome at all times.

## Your Savings

Deposited on or before August 4 will draw interest from August 1

DEPOSITS on or before the THIRD business day of any month will draw interest from the FIRST of the same month, if the deposit is left to the end of the quarter.

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# 10,000 Passaic Workers Hold Strike's Greatest Rally

## LEADERS REPORT ON PEACE MOVES

### Gurley Flynn and Dunn Denounce Brutal Attack on Furriers

At a joint meeting of the Textile Workers' Union of Passaic in Belmont Hall, attended by 10,000 workers Tuesday night, the leaders of the Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic and the strike leaders reported on the developments in settlement negotiations, as well as on the progress of the efforts being made for affiliation with the A. F. of L.

It was one of the most important and enthusiastic meetings since the strike began 27 weeks ago.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Robert W. Dunn of the American Civil Liberties Union told of the brutal and terrorist attack made on the visiting fur workers' delegation of 350 workers on Sunday as they were boarding their buses to return to New York City (see clipping attached particularly Associated Societies statement on it).

"When these fur workers who had just won their strike for the 40-hour week, came to Passaic," said Flynn, "they were met by the textile workers with cheers and flowers. They were met by the mill owners with police clubs!"

In the police assault on the fur workers scores were beaten, several of them women and children, three of them from the New York Millinery Workers' Union. Also Francesco Coco, textile organizer, formerly associated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was unmercifully clubbed when he went up to policemen and protested against the beatings of the women. He was beaten himself in the police wagon and at the station house. He is now under the care of a physician.

"Now the police are saying that 'someone threw stones,'" said Flynn. "It's a lie. Not a pebble was thrown by anyone. The attack was wholly unprovoked." Members of the Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic who happened to be there at the time of the atrocities confirmed her statement (see clipping attached, particularly Associated Societies statement on it). One of them, a prominent lawyer in Passaic, told The New Leader reporter that "some of the police were so drunk they could scarcely walk" when they made the arrests.

One old man in the crowd was beaten by the police. When a woman came to his rescue and shouted at the Cossack: "Stop, for God's sake, stop!" she was taken into custody for "resisting an officer!"

"This assault on the fur worker visitors is the crowning outrage of a long series of such outbreaks," said Gurley Flynn. "It is already inciting a wave of resentment among the labor unions that will prove a boomerang against the mill owners."

Johnson a Liar

The Rev. C. L. Orbach, one of the leaders of the Associated Societies, in his speech to the 10,000 gave the lie direct to Col. Johnson, vice-president of the Botany Mill, who had issued a statement saying that the strike amounted to "a seditious conspiracy under federal statutes" and calling for an investigation of the strike leadership.

Rev. Orbach recalled how he and other ministers from Passaic had been to Washington some weeks ago to try to get a complete investigation of the strike as well as the profits of the mills, but that Col. Johnson's political puppets, Senator Edge and Edwards of New Jersey, had done everything possible to frustrate this investigation and had prevented it.

"It made it impossible for this investigation to be held. Now Johnson wants the 'Communist origin' of the strike investigated. This act proves him both a hypocrite and a liar," Rev. Orbach declared, and requested the spies in the audience to carry his opinion back to the mill men.

Other representatives of the church people of Passaic urged the strikers to hold their lines firm, back up their leadership and press on to victory. Then Israel Mufson, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks, who was born and reared in Passaic, told the 10,000 how they had brought great fame and honor to Passaic through their struggle against the Prussian mill bosses. He said the rank and file of labor everywhere would back the strikers as long as they held out for these sound economic demands.

## COOPERS FIRM IN 7-WEEK STRIKE IN MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee, July 26.—The seven-week strike of union coopers employed by the Stolper Cooperage Company remains in full force. The company demands a return to the sweatshop system of piecework days, while the men say that antiquated arrangement of the shop, absence of motor tool grinders, etc., prevent full normal production.

## MINERS FIGHT ROCKEFELLER

(Continued from page 1)

The following figures culled from Moody's manual, telling the potential production from each of its fields annually:

Fairmont field (northern W. Va.)	7,780,000
McDowell county (southern W. Va.)	1,250,000
Letcher county, Ky.	3,670,000
Johnson county, Ky.	650,000
Tazewell county, Va.	600,000
Alleghany county, Md.	650,000
Somerset county, Pa.	7,800,000

Its actual production in 1925 was 10,794,905 tons, slightly more than the year before. The Consolidation owns two railroads outright, besides steamships and a canal towage company. Its close Rockefeller affiliations with Davis Coal & Coke Co. add to the strength it can bring into a fight, and through banking connections it is still further fortified in the coal trade. The United Mine Workers has never succeeded in mobilizing a fight against the Consolidation and its tributaries on all fronts. In 1922 it came nearest, tying up the Somerset County, Pa., and the Fairmont, W. Va., fields entirely, and parts of others. That strike was settled in half way fashion. With a contract in the Fairmont field while the Somerset strike dragged on for nearly a year longer. But in 1925 the Consolidation repudiated its Fairmont contracts and went scab and a strike was called against its Fairmont mines that year. This year, July 5, a general district strike against all non-union operations in the Fairmont field was called. It was first effective in the Scott's Run field, where it now turns out that Consolidation is a royalty collector. Whether the Consolidation's own operations in the rest of the district will be effectively hit will be settled as the strike extends.

But Consolidation owners are not the only "outsiders" fighting the miners. The Paisley interests themselves have big Ohio and Pennsylvania operations in union territory—while they are contract-breaking and scabbing in Scott's Run. Paisley, with offices in the B. of R. T. Building in Cleveland, is president of the Valley Camp Coal Co., which has eight coal subsidiaries, as well as several lake steamship and docking companies. He has at least three Ohio mines, at Fairport, Stewartville and Lafferty and three Pennsylvania mines at Parnassus, Valley Camp and Van Voorhis, and a total of thirteen listed West Virginia mines, in the panhandle, Scott's Run and in the southern part of the state.

The Scott's Run strikers are fighting big foes and need big help from the rest of the working class.

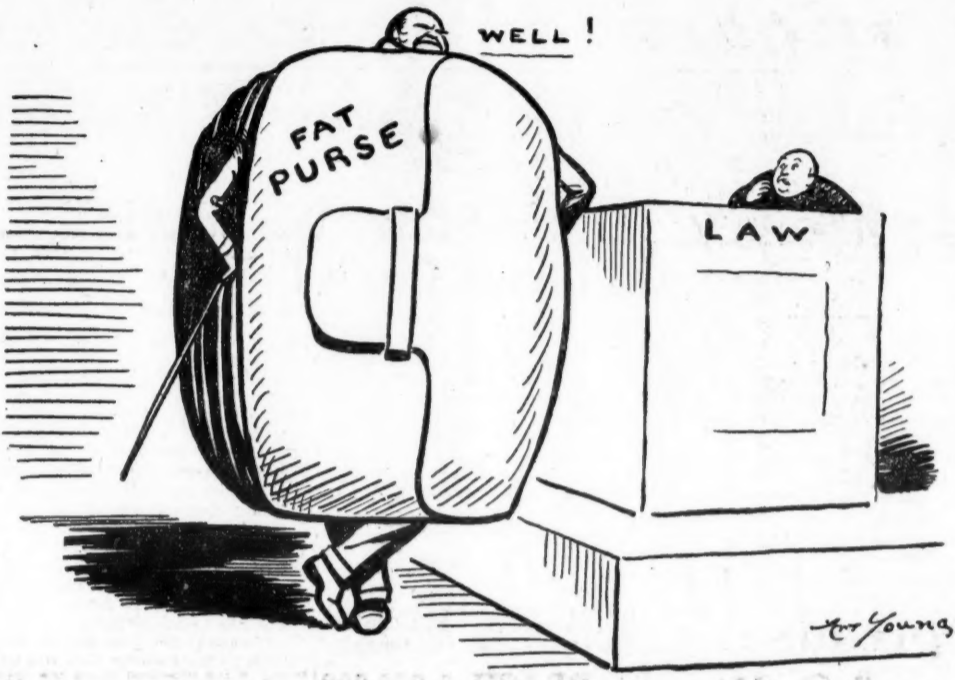
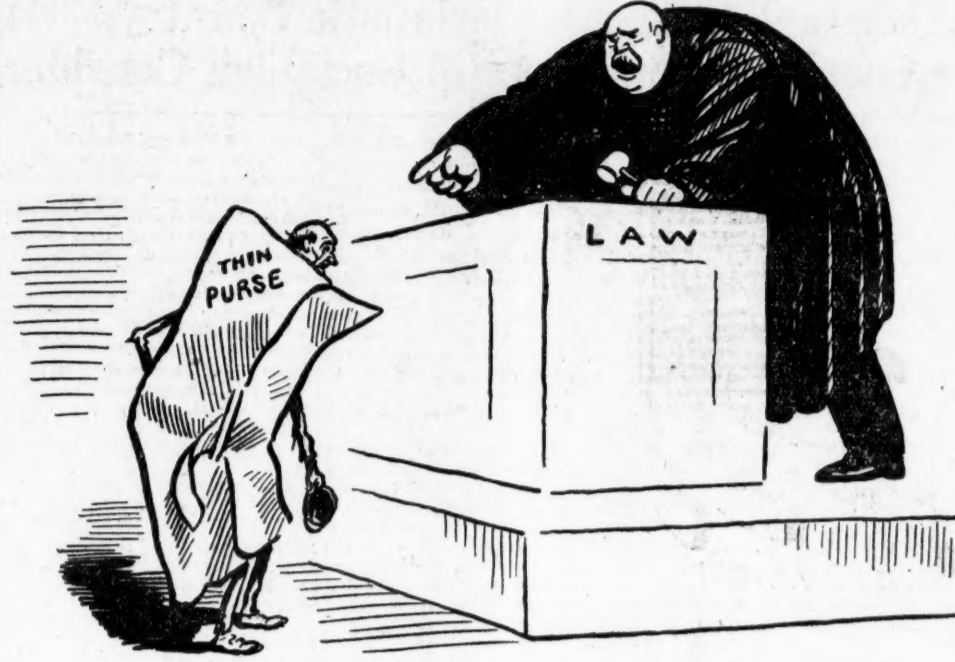
## ANTI-FASCISTS SPLIT

(Continued from page 1)

that they will no longer have any dealings with the Communists, but they have at the same time sent out a call to all non-Communist elements to form a real united front against Fascist penetration of Italian colonies in this country. A united front aiming to help the Italian people free themselves from Fascist tyranny.

That these elements will respond to the Socialists call is almost certain as they themselves have at one time or another shown their disgust for the Communist disruptive tactics. Still another indication of their willingness to adhere to the Socialist plan of action is to be found in the fact that they refused to attend the last meeting of the Anti-Fascist Alliance participated in by Communists, although in order to gain their friendship the Communists nominated them for the Executive Committee of the Alliance, even though they were not present at the meeting.

## The Purse Is the Man



## "WHY THEY CALL ME A BOLSHEVIK"

"I've Been in the Mills Since I Was a Bit of a Girl"—"I Never Gave the Boss a Kiss or a Bottle of Wine"—"That's Why They Call Me an Agitator"

By Frances Ribardo

**Passaic Girl Striker**

One of the striking textile workers from the United Piece Dye Workers at Lodi, N. J., addressed a mass meeting of Paterson dye workers on July 23rd. Her name is Frances Ribardo, a younger worker, 25 weeks on strike, and straight from the school of hard knocks and police terrorism. Her speech, a part of which is given below, was pronounced by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn "as the best speech to textile workers she had heard in her fifteen years' association with the labor movement."

I've been working in the mills at Lodi since I was a bit of a girl. I've been there 7 years now. Maybe I'll be there the rest of my life. That's why I want a union. My wages were \$0.18 an hour. We put up a kick and got \$0.20 an hour. My father worked in the United Piece Dye Works for 18 years. Yes, only 18 years. How much pay does he get now? Forty-nine cents an hour. No chance for education for me or my sisters on forty-nine cents an hour. No chance to go to schools like the bosses' children. That's why we had to go to work. For how much? Six to eight dollars a week we made. That's all. That's why we want a union.

Yes, we were afraid, us kids, when we first went to work in the dye house. Big rats and cockroaches running all around. I ain't afraid a' nothing now, but then, we kids used to run every time we seen a big rat—or a big cockroach. Then later we sorta got used to it.

We were all "markers" then,

putting the numbers on goods, and all the dirt and cockroaches used to come down on us as we pulled at the cloth. And we had to get out our 240 pieces or the boss would stand over us with whip and say, "What's matter. Get hell out of here if you can't do work." It was rush, rush, rush, all time, no matter how you felt, no matter how sick you were.

Bosses would be nice to you and not rush you so much if you brought 'em a bottle of wine now and then or give 'em a kiss. Some of us girls didn't do that. We got in bad with the bosses.

I've been all through the dye works, every department. In the dye house section worse than anywhere. Steam dropping from steam pipes above you. Not knowing when you're going to get scalded. Water and dyes on the floor. Breathing poison. Getting poison on your hands. Some of the dyers fall in tubs now and then and get boiled up. Can't see anything in front of you, or anywhere. That's the dye house.

Then when we strike, boss comes and talks to me: "Those leaders of yours are against religion. They're Socialists." I asks the boss: "When you hired us you didn't care what religion we are, you only wanted us to work, work, work. Now, why you get suddenly interested in our religion?"

So I told the boss: "I don't care who our leaders are. I'm glad they woke us up. We should have been wise to our conditions long ago. These leaders helped us get wise. That's more than you ever did. So lay off that religion stuff."

It keeps the boss from squeezing the life out of us, and then throwing us away.

No, I never gave the boss a kiss, or brought him a bottle of wine. That's why they call me a Bolshevick now, and an agitator. Because I tell truth about the bosses.

Frances Ribardo was talking to fellow workers in Paterson who are working under similar conditions only they have as yet not developed the manhood to organize and to strike. Frances said to the workers in the Paterson dye shops who are now working on Lodi goods:

You're scabbing on us, when you work those goods. No you're scabbing on yourselves.

Efforts are being made to line up the Paterson workers in the union so that the strike against the United Piece Dye Works can be made 100 percent effective.

The Lodi workers are among the best fighters in the Passaic district. The Italian and Negro workers predominate but the Mexican workers are also standing firm with their brothers on the picket line.

Oppressors of mankind, to you we owe the hateful streams from whence these miseries flow:

For you how many a mother weeps her son,  
Snatch'd from life's course ere half his race was run!

For you how many a widow drops a tear,  
In silent anguish, on her husband's bier!

—Shelley.

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## 'CONSERVATIVE' BRITISH LABOR MISSION BOOSTS OPEN SHOP, BIG BUSINESS

Washington, July 26.—Copies of the report made by the London Daily Mail's delegation of "conservative trade unionist" investigators, as to the reasons for high wages and a high living standard in the United States, have reached trade union officials in Washington. The report proves to be a boost for Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad, for the General Motors Corporation management, and various other open shop notables. It praises the results of piece work systems of payment, finds the company unions a happy family, and fairly glows at the recollection of hospitality shown by anti-union employers in this country to the mission.

When this delegation came to Washington last spring it called upon the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, which was in session at headquarters, and gave the council a formal dinner at the big Mayflower hotel.

Leaders of the mission, however, soon began to give press statements indicating their admiration for American concerns that have been bitter foes of American labor. Their initial declaration that they were not in sympathy with "bolshievisic" tendencies in the British movement began to have a new meaning as they moved from one center of company unionism to another.

Some suspicion attached to the Daily Mail's enterprise from the outset, because that paper was trying to arouse public sentiment in Britain against the miners' proposed strike. Acceptance of a trip to America, at a time when that fact would be used to weaken the solidarity of British labor in support of the miners, was pointed out as an act of bad faith on the part of the men who took the Daily Mail's money and joined in its anti-union report.

## TEXT BOOKS FOR TEXAS PURGED OF "EVOLUTION"

New York, July 26.—Chapters on evolution in standard biologies intended for Texas public schools have been cut out by Henry Holt & Co. and the Macmillan Co. on the order of the Texas State Textbook Commission. Wherever in the biologies the word evolution appeared, "development" has been substituted.

A chart depicting man as the fruit of an immense evolutionary tree has been eliminated, together with whole chapters describing the evolution of higher animals. Textbooks on physiology and hygiene have been similarly censored.

## LIBERAL DECLINE STUDIED BY BALDWIN

### Civil Liberties Head Gets Varied Opinions on Depression in Labor Movement

CHICAGO.

People all over the country are discussing the reason for the collapse of the liberal movements and the apparent depression in the American labor world, Roger Baldwin, director American Civil Liberties Union, reports. He has been looking into civil liberties situations on a trip of several months from New York to California and return.

"Many radicals tell me," says Baldwin, "that prosperity is to blame for the lack of interest in Social and Communist propaganda shown by the workers. Members of the I. W. W. attribute part of their plight to the bitter economic and judicial persecution during and since the war."

"Liberals are still blaming the war hysteria for the general spirit of either intolerance or indifference to their aspirations exhibited from coast to coast. Some moderates believe that the Russian revolution, with its example of violent change and its uncompromising preaching of the class war, is responsible for the split in the radical forces and the dread of things radical shown by many labor officials."

"The relative decline of the American Federation of Labor is stated by some observers to be due to its clinging to the craft principle of organization and to the domination of craft union chiefs in its councils. Machine production, with its emphasis on the semi-skilled instead of the skilled workers, has not yet displaced enough of the so-called labor aristocrats, these analysts say, to bring about mass unions, but the time is not far off. They call attention to the thousands of locomotive firemen thrown out of their cabs while engineers without a run are doing the firing as a symptom of the coming of mass solidarity when the various grades of workers will not be so widely separated in wage rates and conditions as now, but will all be in the same frying pan."

"The A. F. of L.'s present insistence on making up to the boss is, they say, the surest indication of its inner weakness and of the impending change to a mass basis."

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When your child is looking somewhat "out of sorts," look at his tongue. If his tongue is not in order, it is a sign that his stomach is not in order and needs a thorough cleansing at once.

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Lecture on "Fractionalism in the Labor Movement"

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# The Development of American Economic Imperialism

By Harry Elmer Barnes

IMPERIALISM may be an old episode in human history. In the form of political imperialism it goes back to the very earliest days of written history. Man became an imperialist as soon as he developed methods of transportation to cover a sufficiently large area to build up an empire. The Egyptians built up an empire as soon as they got something to build up. The Persians added to the earlier methods of transportation, increased the loads they were able to carry and built up the greatest empire in western Asian antiquity. This was followed by Roman imperialism. So the older type of political imperialism goes back as far as history.

Economic imperialism is something much more recent. It is only in modern times that we have accumulated enough capital and a high degree of economic penetration and control.

This brings us to the foundations of modern economic imperialism. This is to be found primarily in the industrial revolution which was built upon the coming of machine technology and the factory system. This produced a far greater demand for raw materials and also created a far greater volume of finished products. This produced then in turn the struggle for raw materials, minerals, textiles, oil and rubber and any number of things which are necessary in modern industry. And, on the other hand, it produced the struggle for markets, overseas markets. This was in part due to actual necessity and part due to the dogma that the overseas markets were better than the domestic markets.

**Capital Accumulates**

Then accompanying this development of industry there came the accumulation of capital, and this looked for investment overseas, not merely in the hands of our backward states, but also in the securing of raw materials and the selling of products and things of that type.

In order to secure these economic desires, various types of economic penetration and economic control have been developed, the most extreme form being colonies, which involved not merely economic penetration, but definite political government.

Then we have here an influence not entirely economic, but a good deal of political intervention. Economic pressure was exerted in different degrees at different times.

I think one of the most important things to be brought out in connection with the industrial and technological foundation of imperialism is the very significant relation of technology to imperialistic expansion. It is even more important in many ways than over-capitalism itself, because the actual nature and area of imperialism will be determined very largely on a technological basis of industry.

**Technology a Factor**

Fifty years ago the source of raw rubber in the world and the source of petroleum was of almost no significance. Now the struggle for raw rubber and for petroleum is the most important thing, probably, in the struggle for raw material. Perhaps fifty years from now in the development of technology some new materials will have taken the place of oil and rubber or superseded them in primary significance. Certain areas not looked on as important now will be struggled for then.

This is of special importance because the geological deposits and various other phases of the source of raw material were all determined long before the modern physical boundaries were laid out, and there is no reason why we shall not discover new sources of raw materials in areas already occupied by rather advanced countries.

And if this is the case, the struggle for these areas will present novel complications.

If we find in the future a certain kind of raw material which we must have in industry, and the source of the material is located in an area which has long been occupied by a strong country, this will bring a greater challenge of law and conflict than where we locate these areas in unoccupied areas. So that the whole future of the struggle for raw materials and investments is very much linked up with the progress of technology, which we cannot in any large degree foresee.

**What is Imperialism?**

The next point I want to deal with is—what is imperialism? Does it mean government as it once did in the old days, particularly in Oriental antiquity? Imperialism meant distinctly imperial control through political agents—actual empire. Does it mean such today? Not necessarily! Today imperialism has come to be a matter of economic penetration. Many say we should not define imperialism as such but keep it simply as a term which is descriptive of political control and complete political administration. On the other hand, if we do that, we shall leave out perhaps the most important thing in economic conflict, namely, economic penetration. Economic penetration, when followed by or accompanied by economic government introduces another element. Imperialism should be used as a term descriptive of economic penetration for raw materials, for markets and for financial investments.

Further, I think that it is necessary for us to get away from the old single

## “We Have Always Been an Imperialistic Country,” Says Barnes; The Corrective Influence of Socialism Considered

track dogmas about imperialism, away from the a priori assumption and make an actual study of facts and find out what modern imperialism is. We may find that many of our dogmas are thoroughly discredited. But what we need to do is to find the actual facts about modern imperialism.

**Diabolism and Imperialism**

We find progressive merchants come to certain areas; they are followed by appeals to various foreign offices and that is followed by military intervention and political administration. That is not necessarily the case. In many instances there is no political intervention whatever. In many cases the bankers do not want political intervention. So what we need to do is to make an actual study of imperialism. That doesn't mean we are coming out in the end by approving it. We may ultimately emerge from a very careful study of facts with a much greater condemnation of imperialism than Socialistic writers have offered. We may find that imperialistic process is mitigated by the facts. But we need the facts before we can control the situation. Further we must tend to relinquish the subject of diabolism in connection with imperialism. There

is no doubt we have certain definite economic needs that can only be met by securing the markets overseas and the security of raw materials from foreign areas. We have a certain amount of investment capital which will seek expansion out of our own state. Do we have to consider the economic realities? Many of these may be diabolical in their activity. I think what we need to do is to seize the emotional assumption of diabolism in connection with imperialism and find out what are the realities that bring it about, how these can be mitigated.

**The Conflict of Cultures**

Further, we are likely to be faced for a long time with this problem of the contact of lower and higher cultures, of the superior and inferior economist. And as long as the world is organized as it is at present we will continue to have this matter of economic penetration and in many cases the matter of political intervention and control.

So if we are going to mitigate the imperialistic situation it has to be approached indirectly by changing the nature of the economic social organization of human society.

As I pointed out previously, the term imperialism today means primarily economic penetration—those who struggle for raw materials, thousands who are looking for markets overseas, those who are looking for investment. Sometimes the government will aid them; sometimes it will not. We can't assume that economic intervention is always going to be followed by political intervention and control. It will only be followed when those in control of economic interests really believe that is going to redound to their benefit.

At the present time those interested in the economic control of Cuba would rather have our government keep out entirely in a political sense because of the jealousy of the Cubans on political intervention. A few years ago it was easy for our government to intervene, that is the men in control of industry and finance were highly flexible in their attitude toward political penetration. When it is going to benefit their cause, they are for it; when it is going to endanger their cause, they are against it, and we can't assume they are going to always demand it for they are sometimes against it.

### An Interlaced Struggle

In connection with this we have to relinquish the old notion that our men who are interested in commerce, and industry and finance, are able to get exactly what they want from the government immediately when they ask for it. There is no doubt they exert pressure on the government and have no conscience about going and asking the government to intervene to aid them when necessary. But the process is by no means as direct as we have ordinarily assumed. We have to look for many subtle and indirect methods of pressure on government, state and war departments to send marines.

Further, with the growing evolution of modern economic life, it has become impossible to separate imperialism into a struggle for raw materials, a struggle for markets and a struggle for areas of investment and finance overseas, because all of these things become intertwined. The bankers are interested in financing the struggle for raw materials and they are interested in the sale of commodities. So the whole thing has become so intertwined that it is a great economic complex and it is only for ped-

agogical purposes that we have divided the struggle into market and finance. In economic actuality they are all involved in one fundamental economic complex. We talk about transportation and banking in this country. We can't separate them, for they are all involved in the economic complex of capitalism.

### Socialism and Imperialism

As to the future of modern economic imperialism, we cannot foresee it with any definiteness or certainty. It is contingent upon the reorganization of economic society. But I do not believe there will be any great transformation in imperialism until economic society is reorganized. How long that will need for achievement is something only to prophesy about and not to describe.

As to what would be the future of imperialism under Socialism, that again we cannot be certain of. It would depend upon the control of society, the type of Socialism, the nature of industry and manufacturing under the new order, the way in which we raise capital, the way in which we spend it. So that the ordinary assump-

tion that immediately a Socialist government would control we should have a complete disappearance of imperialism seems to me fallacious. We should have a rather speedy mitigation of imperialism, but that we would have an elimination of it at once seems highly dubious. It would be a problem for Socialism to work out.

Now, finally, in conclusion of what I have to say in regard to the United States, its entry into imperialism, it followed the natural trend outside of this country, though somewhat delayed.

### American Imperialism

We have always been an imperialistic country from the standpoint of the development of our control over new areas and the subjugation of lower peoples. Our country has essentially a history of imperialism. In interpreting American history from the standpoint of development of the frontier, we brought the Indians under control and conquered this great continent. This process ended in 1819 at the very time we were going through the first important stages of industrial revolution in this country, the first important stage of development of excess capital. So we came to the time when we needed to expand over seas at the exact moment when we had money to do it and had in control a political party that was to a peculiar degree under the domination of finance.

We naturally turned first to Latin America, rhetorically for the purpose of advancing the cause of justice and practically very largely for the purpose of territorial expansion and ultimately with the growing economic development of financial investment and the securing of raw materials.

The intervention in Cuba was not then any cataclysmic matter. We had aided Cuba and thought about intervention for nearly a century before 1898. In 1898 things shaped up in such a way that we took a practical step. And from Cuba we passed on into other phases of investment and control of Latin America. And then we turned to the Pacific, to the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines and China. Then with the World War we developed our remarkable investment in Allied Bonds, which have made us a very important element in European finance. With the revelation of the important petroleum supplies in Persia we have entered there and there is apparently no limit to the nature, degree and extent of American investment abroad.

Essentially, the facts seem to be about the same in regard to American financial penetration everywhere, though it is noticeable that we vary our rhetoric in direct relation to international courtesy. We talk very openly and frankly about a great economic empire in the western world because we are faced with relative weak and inferior culture. On the other hand, we say very little about an economic empire in Europe because it would not be international courtesy to talk about annexing Europe in an economic sense. But we will tend to reduce Europe to a state of economic dependency. The financial penetration will go on in exactly the same fashion. (An address before the League for Industrial Democracy).

## Socialists and the League of Nations

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE last convention of the Socialist Party has decided to postpone defining our attitude toward the League of Nations until the matter has been further discussed in the party press and by the party members.

It seems very clear that the Socialist Party should not in any way favor the United States Government entering the League.

The fundamental fact about America and the League is that the American people have declared overwhelmingly against our joining the League. The so-called Progressives, particularly if the attitude of their representatives in Congress and the Senate is an accurate gauge, are almost unanimously opposed to our entering the League. While these Progressives are muddy and uncertain in their thinking from our point of view, it is only reasonable to suppose that we are likely to gain more adherents from their ranks than from the ranks of the die-hard reactionaries. Consequently, anything that would tend to set up a barrier between us and them should be avoided, if it is in any way consistent with our principles. These facts establish at the outset a strong presumption against our favoring the entry of the United States into the League of Nations.

But Socialists are not afraid of unpopularity. Our stand for peace and the international brotherhood of man even during the war proved that. So, if the League of Nations were clearly and unquestionably a good thing from the point of view of international brotherhood, we Socialists should favor it, even though it was unpopular. But, as a matter of fact, the value of the League as an instrument in removing the causes of war is nil.

The League, of course, is primarily political, whereas we Socialists have always maintained that the causes of war were chiefly economic. Still, if one nation sees people of its own nationality severely oppressed by another nation, the ill-will caused thereby is a fertile breeding ground for war. The League has a pious provision to the effect that national minorities should be given their rights. But this provision has remained a dead letter. The Austrian minority in Southern Tyrol has been flagrantly oppressed by the Mussolini gang, yet the League has done nothing about it. The Poles have been charged with oppressing the various non-Polish nationalities within their borders—Lithuanians, Galicians, Germans, etc.; yet the League has done nothing about it.

On the question of disarmament the League has accomplished exactly nothing. All it has done is to call a commission to consider calling a Disarmament Conference. Since the formation of the League, however, a conference on disarmament has been held, with which the League had nothing to do—the Washington Conference. That conference resulted in a series of treaties which ended the race for armaments so far as capital ships—dreadnaughts and super-dreadnaughts—were concerned. It is true that the limitation is not of much importance so long as the race for armaments continues on land, under the sea and in the air. But the definite treaties resulting from the Washington Conference have proved that the League is not necessary to disarmament, and is not even a help toward disarmament.

So far as secret diplomacy is concerned, the back stairs bargains, which resulted in the failure to admit Germany to the League of Nations Council, have proved conclusively that the League has done nothing to get rid of secret diplomacy.

The manufacture of munitions of war for private profit is an evil so obviously tending to produce war that no one can deny it. Even the League of Nations Covenant expressly admits that it is an evil. Yet the League of Nations has done nothing whatever to limit the manufacture of munitions of war for private profit.

One of the potent causes of the in-

## Entry of United States Would Aid Forces of Imperialism, Is View

international rivalry and ill-will that led to war is the struggle by industrially advanced nations to get control over backward lands and backward people to exploit as a field for profitable investment. When the loot of the last great war was divided among the victors it was provided that the victors got this loot not as colonies to be annexed outright, but as mandates, and the administration of the mandates was to be subject to the supervision of the League of Nations.

If the League had been an effective and vigorous instrument for peace, it might have enforced a policy of the open door in all mandated territory for investors of every nationality. Of course, the League did nothing of the kind. The valuable fertilizer deposits of the island of Nauru were cooly divided between Australia and New Zealand, which had received the mandate. German South West Africa has been treated as an annexed territory by the Union of South African Republics, which received the mandate. Kenya, formerly German East Africa, has been treated as an annexed territory by Great Britain. The oil of Mesopotamia and Mosul has been awarded exclusively to a company in which Great Britain has the controlling interest. When the Standard Oil Company sent geologists to prospect for oil in Palestine in 1913, Great Britain

to the League among the American people, and especially those nearest to us politically, still stands.

But it is said that our European comrades favor the League and want us to urge our government to come in. It is true that the European Socialists have urged that the League be made all-inclusive. That is because they have criticized the League on the ground that at present it is hardly more than a League of Victors, especially as regards the Council. But the entry of our government into the League will not make the League any less a League of Victors than it is at present. It is safe to say that in urging the entry of all governments into the League of Nations, our European comrades are far more interested in the admission of Germany and Russia to the League than they are in the entrance of the United States.

Furthermore the European Socialists ask not merely that the League be made all-inclusive, but also that it be made more democratic, so that it may become an instrument of progress and working-class emancipation instead of an instrument of reaction, which they admit it is in grave danger of becoming.

Now, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the entry of the United States into the League will strengthen the forces of reaction and imperialism in the League, and weaken correspondingly the forces making for progress and working-class emancipation. Our country is one of the most reactionary of them all in its foreign relations, with the exception of Italy under Mussolini. Even the British Tory government has recognized Russia, for example; while our government steadily refuses to do so. Scarcely any other government of the world, with the exception of Hungary or Italy under their dictatorships, would have refused to admit Karolyi as a dangerous radical, or would have barred out Sakatvala, the British Communist. The influence in the League of such a reactionary government as ours would, therefore, certainly be the reverse of good from the point of view of International Socialism.

It is all right for Danish or Swedish or Belgian Socialists to want their governments to be in the League. They control the foreign policy of their respective countries and can appoint Socialists as their delegates to the League. It is even all right for German, French or British Socialists to favor their respective governments being in the League, as they may reasonably hope to control or very greatly influence their respective governments in the not far distant future. But for the very reason that we want to see the influence of Socialism within the League increase, American Socialists should want to see the government stay out of the League, rather than get into it.

Our European comrades cannot have it both ways. They cannot both expect to have the United States government in the League, and at the same time hope to prevent the League from becoming more reactionary and imperialistic than it is at present.

To sum up: The steady opposition to the League by the vast bulk of the American people, especially of those nearest to us politically, establishes a presumption against the Socialist Party favoring the entrance of the United States into the League. To overcome that presumption the League has done nothing for the cause of international peace. It has failed to protect national minorities, failed to get rid of secret diplomacy, failed to do as much to limit armaments as was done without its aid, failed to make the slightest move to end the manufacture of munitions of war for private profit, and failed to limit the struggle for control over backward lands and peoples as investment preserves for the industrially advanced nations. Finally, the entry of the United States government into the League at the present time would make it more difficult than ever to fulfill the hope of our European comrades—that the League may yet be prevented from becoming an instrument of reaction and imperialism.

## “Socialism Made a Man of Me,” George Bernard Shaw Declares

(Continued from page 1)

levelled at me personally. I should like to think that I, Bernard Shaw, stood here, the one person who can testify to the British government, but it is impossible to believe that it is really the case.

“It is apparently left to an Irishman to open the eyes of the British Government. They said I would undertake not to speak on any controversial matter. What is the right of free speech? It is not the right of stating in public that there are mistakes on the Dover Road—it is the right of speaking controversially. It is the right of controversy. It is at the basis of all Parliamentary Government, and this Government does not even know that.”

This is a serious problem which has been opened up by this particular action, and I do not know what is going to be done. I hope that everybody here will do all they can to make the seriousness of the matter known and then see what public opinion, aided by another by-election, will do to bring them to their senses.

After reviewing the development of Radical, Liberal and Socialist thought during recent years, Shaw continued: Socialism, which is perfectly clear and unmistakable, says the thing you have got to do is to take care of your distribution. We have to begin with that private property, if it stands in the way of good distribution, has got to go.

**The Misuse of Property**

The man who holds private property must hold it on the public condition on which, for instance, I carry my walking stick. I am not allowed to do what I like with it. I must not knock you on the head with it.

When we come into power we have got to deliver the goods to the ordinary man and to remember he will never understand socialism any more than the present Government understands capitalism. We must bring about a state of things in which the ordinary man, not being a student of political economy or politics, will find work, and well-paid work.

**Urges Knowledge of Governing**

There must be that. If you break down on that for a single day you will have gone. What has happened in my lifetime has been something very remarkable. We were confronted with great empires. With long traditions, and it seemed... less that we could ever get rid of them. Three of the empires in the last few years have been swept away, absolutely like chaff before the wind.

That is a great lesson for us. It shows we must seriously get to work and get the technique of government. We must be ready when the time comes. There are many things to be done.

And we must honestly confess the

truth—that is, that this great industrial and financial machine on which the life of the country depends is like a motor car that is running away.

It is quite evident that our government does not know how to drive it. As a matter of fact there is no steering wheel in the car yet. There is this thing which is running away with us—international finance that is not controlled by anybody. We go on thinking that this car in which we are running away will get into a happy valley. And then we see the cliffs and say, “We shall be over those cliffs presently.”

**“Marx Changed the World”**

And then some one jumps up to steer the car. In this country Mr. Bottomley jumped up. For France M. Caillaux was going to do it. He lasted about a day. And who's going to do it for us? Is it Mr. Winston Churchill? Seeing the danger, we are the people who will really have to take the matter in hand. We will have to get control of the finance and income of the country and control its distribution, but we want, above everything, the solid technique of government, and we have to make our technique. This is what I want to tell you is the really big job before us.

Karl Marx changed the mind of the world. He found the world full of the optimism of Macaulay's History. This is apparently the latest work Minister Churchill has read. Whereas capitalism was proud and confident, splendidly progressive—as it still is in America, I am sorry to say—everybody was then ashamed of capitalism.

Mr. Keynes tells us that laissez faire, the great principle of capitalism, is dead, and he says it with intense contempt and moral loathing of capitalism, and says it is only to be tolerated because we are not ready for anything else. We will get ready for something better. That is really the thing we have got to do.

**Why He Is Proud**

Karl Marx made a man of me. Socialism made a man of me. Otherwise I should have been like so many of my literary colleagues who have just as much literary ability as I have. Socialism made a man of Mr. Wells, and he has done something. But look at the rest of the literary people, and you will understand why I am inordinately proud of being a Socialist.

I don't give that [here Shaw snapped his fingers] for my literary eminence.

You cannot read the works of Marx without thinking that he never spoke to a workman in his life. But at least he did his work. You say what happened in Russia when Lenin and Trotsky started under the impression that they could govern a great State in a certain manner. They found out their mistake very soon, and they did some-

thing that no government in this country would ever think of doing. They owned up to it, and told everybody the kind of mistake they had made, with the evident intention of saving their people.

I belong to the literary period. My bolt is shot. My time is past.

Here loud cries of “No no!” interrupted the speaker, but he continued unmoved:

**Praises Labor Party**

Oh, yes. I know all about that. I know all about my wonderful youth. I wish you could know what my arm feels like as I lift it up—like this. I have done a great deal of writing and talking. I have done a certain amount in the way of arranging ideas, and we are all doing more or less the same kind of work. And we have all found out quite definitely what we are driving at.”

Shaw then came out flatly in support of the Labor Party. He declared that when Ramsay MacDonald was at the head of the Labor Government the country really had a comparatively easy time and was not afraid of some horrible mistake being made abroad.

With the help of Zinovieff or Zinoviev's reputation, Baldwin and his friends got rid of MacDonald and took the floor themselves. They have been upon it ever since. We have not had an easy moment ever since. They have been going from one blunder to another, and God only knows what they will be doing tomorrow. The feeling that after war we had really come to peace at last has been exchanged for the feeling that the country is getting near to war at last.

“I Took the Right Road”

I hope that the next general election, in spite of the suppression of broadcasting, will have the effect of making me feel very much jollier than I have been in a political sense in the whole of my seventy years.

I am rather impatient that we should get into the harness again. Our business is to take care of the distribution of wealth in the world. I do not think there are two men—or, perhaps, one man—in our forty-seven millions who approves the existing distribution of wealth. I will go further and say you will not find a single person in the whole civilized world who agrees with the existing system, of the distribution of wealth. It has been reduced to a blank absurdity.

You can prove that by asking any intelligent middle-class man if he thinks it is right that he should be begging for a civil list pension while a baby in its cradle is being fought over in the law courts because it has got only £5,000,000 to be brought up on.

I know that when I was a young man and took to turning this led me into the Labor Party. I took the right turning in every sense.

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# Trustees to Discontinue Unemployment Insurance in N. Y. Dress Industry

## The Field of Labor

### A Casualty in Unemployment Insurance

So many high-sounding words have been consumed in praise of unemployment insurance fund schemes, that one regrets to report the first casualty among them. The Fund in the New York City dress industry has just come to an end by a vote of its board of trustees. The money that has accumulated is being returned to the workers and employers.

The Unemployment Insurance Fund of the Dress Industry of New York City was established in February, 1925. The workers were to contribute one per cent of their weekly wages, the employers, two per cent of their labor cost. The Fund really did not get started until April. From the beginning difficulties arose. What constituted labor cost? As a result of negotiations, a schedule of rates was established according to which certain percentages calculated from the selling prices of the dresses to the retailers. This necessitated, of course, delay in that bills could only be examined with convenience at rather long intervals. At the same time the payment of large sums at one time by the employer was felt to be a hardship.

Then, the "left-right" fight occurred last summer. That disorganized the industry. At the best only fifty per cent of the trade is unionized, making it difficult for the union to enforce such an arrangement as the Unemployment Insurance Fund. With the factional struggle at its greatest intensity no attention was paid to the Fund at all. Jobbers and workers both lapsed in their payments. Where they paid at all, carelessness in keeping records was common. On top of the already existing difficulties, the first quarter of this year saw a dispute with the contractors, who as the direct employers of the workers, were the ones who actually sent in to the Fund the one per cent deducted from wages. The contractors, naturally, ceased to function in this manner. Finally, it must be remembered, that the new "left" administration was adverse in principle to a fund to which the workers had to contribute anything at all. The union officials, therefore, even if they could, gave only half-hearted support to enforcing the agreement.

The real trouble in the natural course of events. The Board of Trustees voted to dissolve the Fund and return to the workers and jobbers what had been contributed to each as a group. It fell to James A. Corcoran, assistant to the chairman of the Fund, Arthur D. Wolf, to carry out the details. The employers will be refunded the contributions they made less the deduction of a pro-rata share of the total expenses incurred by the Fund. They will receive about one-half of their original payments. The employees, who register in a

specified manner, will receive a flat sum of eleven dollars each, and such additional amounts that may still be left over. A pro-rata basis was not attempted on account of the incompleteness of the available records and the necessity of waiting until all claims had been filed before beginning refunds. Eighteen thousand workers are involved. Registration began on July 19 and will continue until August 15, 1926. Payments will begin around August 1. After that the unemployment insurance fund in the Dress Industry will rapidly pass out of existence.—L. S.

### IS INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT A JOKE?

The farce which the employees of the country, assisted by the Federal Government, is ready to make of the whole problem of occupational hazards is exemplified in the National Industrial Prevention Conference recently held at Washington, D. C., at the instance of Secretary of Labor Davis. From the beginning it was evident that any hope for real control of industrial hazards and any consideration of occupational diseases could not be expected from this meeting. Of the two hundred delegates present only a dozen represented organized labor. The remainder spoke for the big business interests. As Secretary Davis expressed it, all that was necessary was an "educational program" to urge workers to be careful in order to avoid labor turnover and the necessity of paying compensation claims. The sole accomplishment of the conference were, therefore, resolutions thanking Davis for calling the conference and providing for a uniform method of gathering statistics in all the States. Miss Charlotte Todes, the delegate of the Workers' Health Bureau, representing a half million trade unionists, presented a resolution calling for effective action. Her proposals were buried in committee and were only read to the conference in the closing session under protest. The Workers' Health Bureau proposed (1) Federal regulation of industrial hazards, (2) the forty-hour week with less hours in extra hazardous industries, (3) a Federal uniform workmen's compensation law, assuring victims of industrial accident or disease the payment of full wages and adequate medical care, and (4) the appointment of a committee with equal representation for labor to draft necessary legislation. No wonder the Conference dared not discuss these measures. It was too much like placing the responsibility where it belonged—on the employers.

### THE POLITICIANS BOW TO ORGANIZED LABOR

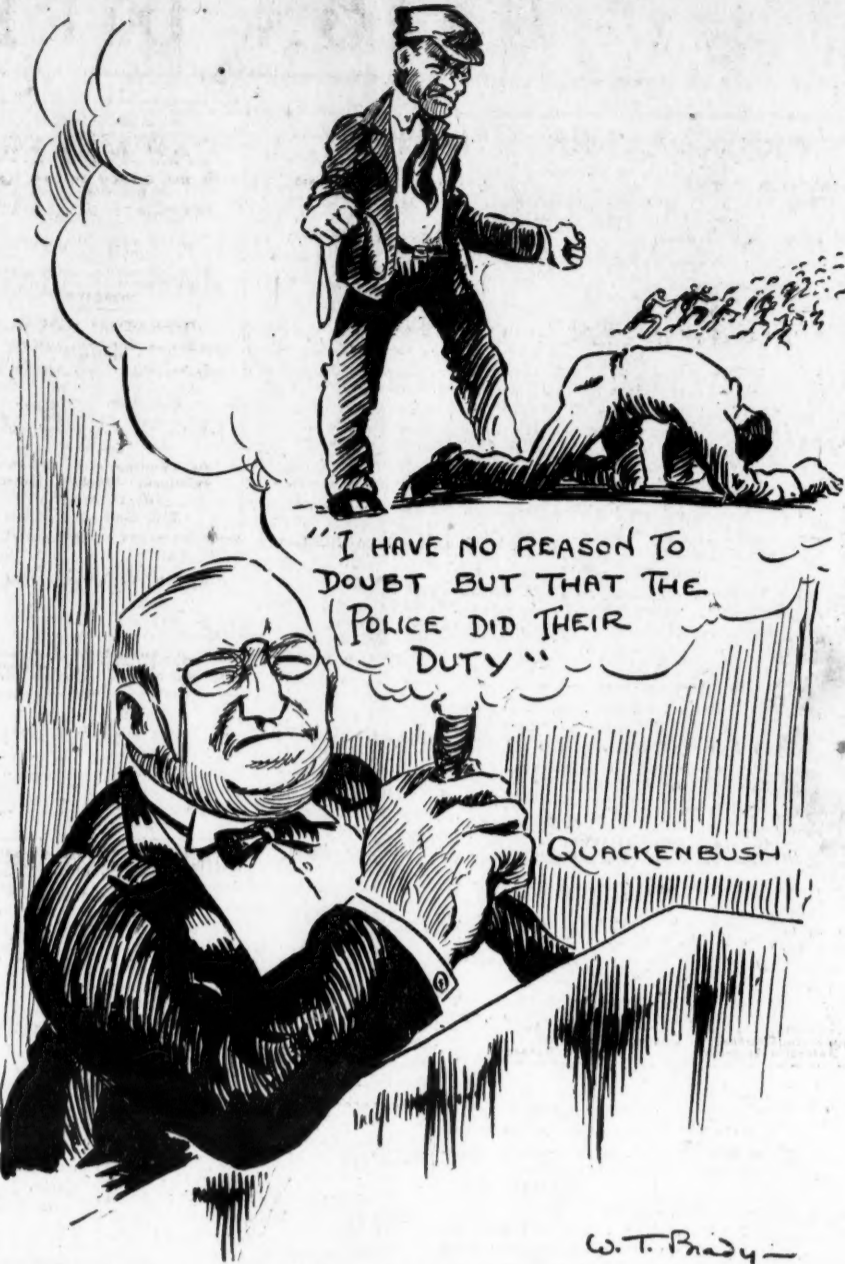
Immediate and effective action by organized labor has forced the city authorities of Schenectady, N. Y., to obey the State Labor Law limiting the hours of work on public works to eight per day. The Arthur A. Johnson Company had a contract on a sewer construction job in the main street of the city. Because this firm paid its common labor only sixty cents an hour, whereas the prevailing rate of wages was seventy-five, it was unable to secure enough help to complete its job on time. It, therefore, proposed to install two shifts at ten hours each. The city officials played into the hands of the company by passing a resolution declaring the existence of an "emergency." About the only justification for this was the inconvenience caused to the merchants doing business on the broken-up street. Rumors soon spread that the same favor would be granted to the McDonald Construction Co. which was to pave the street. The Schenectady Trades Assembly, the local labor body, protested to the city authorities and the State Labor Department. It was pointed out that the law definitely provides that an "emergency" can only be declared in case of "fire, flood or danger to life and property." It was also discovered that no statement of the existence of an emergency had been filed with the state authorities. The city authorities had to rescind their resolution. The organized labor movement of Schenectady had won a signal victory.—L. S.

Whatever freedom for ourselves we claim, We wish all others to enjoy the same. In simple womanhood's and manhood's name! Freedom within one law of sacred might; 'Trench not on any other's equal right." —James Thompson.

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### Duty to Whom?



Last Friday, in New York City, Police Department detectives brutally beat up striking transit workers. Quackenbush is counsel for the corporation.

# The Call of Sisterhood

## The Striking Miners' Wives Call for Aid

By Dr. Marion Phillips  
LONDON

THE lockout of the miners has now lasted two months. It has cast a search-light upon the poverty and splendor of the mining population and struck right into the hearts and minds of those outside the coal fields. The nation is faced now with a class struggle it cannot ignore. Every man and woman, every intelligent child, even must be with us or against us. "For the dear miners from my money box. . ." So runs many a child's message which comes to the women's committee at Tufton street. How stands the struggle now after two months? For the miners it stands where it was a solid defence against inefficient wastefulness, profiteering greed, lower wages and longer hours. For the coal owners, a madness seems to have entered in so that they will rather kill their industry, which the workers have built up for them on blood and sweat and intelligent toil, than accept a genuine reorganization which would restore industrial prosperity, but begin to wipe out their own domination. They are frankly out against the men to the very death; even though for the weakest of the colliery companies who have not wealthy by-products plants to balance poor mines it may mean heavy loss. As to the government, it has capitulated lock, stock and barrel to the coal owners. Its bills are frauds; they are weapons against the men which only united effort of the workers can keep from going off!

Meanwhile the tragedy of want in the coalfields draws on its heavy course. Even its ugly story is, however, made beautiful by the heroism of the men and women. Sheer tragedy lies behind the letters which come to the Women's Committee: stories of pregnant women facing with terror the birth of yet another child, whom they have neither clothes to cover nor strength to suckle; of mothers lying in childbirth without even a night-dress; of a fortnight old baby whose mother has died and who is totally unclad. There are more cheerful stories: there are the records of help given from our funds bringing cheer to the mothers—"Your parcel was a tonic to me when I got up." "My husband won't let anyone so much as look at the butter you sent for me, and he watches to see I don't share it with the children; and the dear woman who named the little girl baby after one of the officers of the committee as a mark of her gratitude.

But the gratitude should be on the other side. Amongst all these letters, never is there a suggestion of giving in, never a word of anything but goodwill to the miners' leaders. It is "Tell Cook we're with him." "We don't want the men to go back to longer hours." If Baldwin doubts us let him come and hear what we have to say. "If the men went back," says one woman, "to worse conditions, we would divorce them." That is a joke amid trouble. But the vast majority, though their hearts are torn with trouble they

### Extracts from Letters to Dr. Phillips

Durham County. "I am writing to ask if there has been any grants for children's boots and clothes. I am a miner's wife, and never received a penny only our weekly relief ticket for 32s. for our seven children and our two selves. My children are in a distressful condition for clothing and boots. My oldest boy has a terrible cold on him through his feet being wet, and the doctor passed him tuberculosis last year. Eight weeks is a long time for their boots and clothes to get properly on the bottom. Hoping and trusting to hear from you, as it worries me to see the distress of my children and no prospects of getting any more."

Dover. "I have had my home on the hire purchase system and have paid regular each week until the lock-out, and because I have not been able to send the amount each week through the strike they are about to take our home, and all we have to pay is £11 15s. If they take it it will mean that my wife and children will have to walk the streets, as we have nowhere to go, people being afraid to take you in when they know you have no money to pay rent with, and my youngest being only six months old. I thought perhaps you would let me know whether they can take it or not. "Can you send me a few shorting clothes for my baby boy? He is five weeks old and I cannot get

any clothes for him, as we are having no money coming in, only a relief ticket from the guardian, which we are very thankful for. I have five other children, the eldest is 12 years, so if you could send me a few things I should be very grateful. It hurts our feelings to see our children's shoes and clothes wearing out, and we cannot replace them. Shoes are a big item. If you and your committee could ease our minds by sending us a few things I should be very glad. My husband is a miner. He works at Newstead Colliery Notts, when he is at work and makes five days' money; that is only £2 5s., and we have rent to pay out of that and eight of us to feed and clothe out of the rest."

Mansfield. "I am expecting to be confined shortly and I have not got anything nor any money coming in from anywhere to get anything with. We only get a relief ticket (poor law) to keep us, and that is all in food. "Can you do anything for this sad case? This man's wife has just returned from Westholme Hospital with consumption. They have not one penny coming in. There are two children unable to work. They have scarcely anything to cover their bed, and the mother is lying in bed just like some one dead. It breaks my heart to see them. I wonder if you could get them a grant, as she is a miner's wife and a destitute case."

Relief. Sometimes milk from maternity centers is deducted too. Thus the authorities attempt to keep all miners' families down to the de level of destitution. The maximum relief, no matter how many children, is in some cases 16s. 6d., 20s., 25s. or 30s. And boys or men, unless fed in communal kitchens, go hungry. They pull in their belts, grit their teeth and stick it.

Could you do the same? And can you do more to help? If you can, send your contributions to Lady Stesser, 11 Tufton street, London, S. W. 1. The committee has raised nearly £90,000. It wants to double it, but it knows well the difficulties of the workers. It has drawn the money from those who have got it, and it wants to repeat the miracle this month again.

The struggle is upon us. We must bring it to a victorious close. We cannot refuse to meet with equal bravery the magnificent heroism of the miners and their womenfolk.

Better close up the path of temptation and crime Than deliver from dungeon or galley; Better put a strong fence 'round the top of the cliff Than an ambulance down in the valley. —Joseph Malines.

# Threat of Dictatorship Unites Portuguese Unions; Hardie Memorial Planned

## Labor Doings Abroad

That the threat of an anti-labor dictatorship in Portugal, made by General Gomes da Costa a short time before he was overthrown on July 9, had a beneficial effect upon the divided labor unions in that uneasy republic is the substance of a report on the situation there found in *Gewerkschafts-Zeitung*, the official organ of the German General Federation of Labor.

Following his seizure of power late in May, Da Costa issued a proclamation announcing his intention of abolishing the right of labor to combine and of dissolving the existing unions because they were "injurious to the country." Some labor leaders were arrested in Oporto and a law was in preparation doing away with the right to strike and uniting capital and labor in corporations on the model of the Fascist bodies in Italy.

In the face of this danger all the scattered labor organizations, numbering about 100,000 members, and including Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists, formed a united front and served notice that they would declare a general strike against any attempt to introduce Fascism into Portugal. The Socialist and Communist political organizations made common cause with the trade unionists.

This attitude of the unions is supposed to have had considerable influence upon the Portuguese politicians, who forced Da Costa out and announced that they were going to restore constitutional government.

Steps have been taken to found a Keir Hardie Institute in Glasgow as a permanent memorial to the great Labor leader. The sponsor of this undertaking is the Scottish Group of the Independent Labor Party. James Keir Hardie was the chief promoter of the Independent Labor Party movement, founding the Socialist Independent Labor Party in 1913, and acting as its chairman from 1913 to 1914, the year preceding his death. His courageous and uncompromising leadership of the whole Labor group in the House of Commons is a heroic precedent for the growing movement of today.

The new institute is to be on a large scale, to include administrative, educational and club requirements, such as halls for meetings, offices of the Scottish I. L. P., a Socialist club, and so on. For this purpose a four-story house has already been purchased with money left a few years ago by a Scottish Socialist toward a Keir Hardie memorial.

### FACTORY WORKERS REGAINING LOST GROUND

From the report presented by Secretary R. Stenhuis of Amsterdam to the sixty-four delegates representing fifteen organizations in eleven countries, who attended the third congress of the International Federation of Factory Workers' Unions, held in Copenhagen, June 29 to July 1. It is evident that, despite difficult economic conditions in many countries, the membership of the international is rising again. After having fallen from about 1,000,000 in 1923 to 638,357 on Dec. 31, 1924, the membership began to recover lost ground and had risen to about 660,000 by the beginning of the present year. Considerable dissatisfaction with the management of the international secretariat was voiced by the Dutch delegates and steps were taken to remedy some of the faults they complained of.

A proposal by the Norwegian Chemical Workers that the Russian Factory Workers' Union be admitted to the international upon its affirmation that it would recognize the rules and principles of the international was rejected and a motion of the Executive adopted by a vote of forty-eight to sixteen providing that the Russians be allowed to affiliate if they would endeavor to persuade the All Russian Trade Union Federation to affiliate with the international Federation of Trade Unions. Judging from the remarks of the three Russian fraternal delegates, such action is not apt to be taken in the near future.

R. Stenhuis was re-elected international secretary and August Brey of Germany as president.

### SANITARY SECTION FOR SPORTS INTERNATIONAL

The Lucerne Sports International is to have a special section of labor first-aid and sanitary workers as the result of a conference held in Vienna, July 7, during the great international labor athletic meet that held the center of interest in the Austrian capital for more than a week.

Representatives of "Samaritan Workers" in Austria, Germany, Latvia and Czechoslovakia told of the activities of their organizations and voiced their desire for international organization. In Germany the Samaritan Workers have 900 units, with about 38,000 members, and form a big counter-balance to the bourgeois-militarist Red Cross. Their work is not limited to first-aid and transportation of the sick and injured, but embraces the spreading of sanitary ideas among the young workers.

The Samaritan Workers' organizations in Switzerland and France were represented by proxy, and M. Brixoux of Brussels spoke both for the Sports International and the Samaritan Workers of Belgium.

It was decided that the first task of the new organization would be to try to unite the various labor Red Cross groups in the different countries into national units, which then could be linked together in a section of the Lucerne Sports International. The preliminary work is to be done under the direction of President Kretschmar of the German Samaritan Workers.

### INTERNATIONAL BACKS LABOR IN THE BALKANS

The International Federation of Trade Unions has laid before the competent ministers in Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia the resolutions adopted by the recent Balkan Trade Union Congress on the recommendation of the three committees appointed by it. The resolutions were accompanied by reports dealing with the position of the workers, their right of combination and the activities of the authorities, submitted to the conference by the National Trade Union Centers in those countries. The conference decisions have also been communicated to the International Labor Office, which has already fully and sympathetically defined its position in regard to those matters falling within the sphere of its activities.

In accordance with the decisions of the Balkan Trade Union Conference, the Bulgarian Trade Union Center, which is affiliated with the I. F. T. U., has approached the Executive Council of the "independents" unions with proposals for unity. In the letter addressed to the "independents" the unfortunate position of the Bulgarian workers is pointed out, and attention is drawn to the way in which the cleavage in the ranks of the trade unionists hinders the fight to improve that position. The hope is expressed that the decisions of the Balkan Conference will serve as a suitable basis for unity negotiations.

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# ZINOVIEV FIRED FOR BORING

(Continued from page 1)

and secret individual summons." Lashovich is charged with making a speech urging an organized struggle against the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

It is pointed out in New York that this is a deadly parallel with Communist organization in the trade unions. Sooner or later, it is generally remarked, the program of "cell" organization within the trade unions would be turned against the Communists themselves in their factional war for control. Incidentally it is asked, if the high officials in the Russian Communist Party consider it an offense against the party for any members to organize "cells," how can American Communists object if the trade unions in the United States consider it an offense and take drastic action against it?

In this connection it is recalled that two years ago the American Communists were engaged in a fierce factional quarrel, and one faction charged the other with holding secret meetings and organizing what was practically "cells" within the Workers (Communist) Party. There were vigorous protests against this kind of warfare at the same time that both factions agreed on the plan of planting "cells" in the trade unions.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in its declaration regarding the organization of the Zinoviev "cell" says that the party must protect itself against internal conspirators and warns all the party members, no matter how high they may be in the councils of the organization, that it will take action against all others who try to follow Zinoviev's example. "Only steel unity and the restoration of iron discipline," says the Central Committee, can save the organization from disruption.

This section of the report is also considered by New York trade unionists as a deadly parallel to be quoted against American Communists who insist on "cell" activities in organizations of the working class. The dilemma in which they are placed by the ousting of Zinoviev leaves them in a very embarrassing situation. It is generally believed that the action of the Russian party will unwittingly weaken the Communists in every country where they are organized and that Socialists and trade unionists will be quick to take advantage of it and quote the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party against the Communists themselves.

## On the Wings of the West Wind

(Continued from page 5)

homeland out there in Weeping Gulch, Montana, it was the west wind.

As the smell of it filled my nostrils, I sprang to my feet like an infuriated leopardess. "I will not receive your blandishments. I will be true to Oscar and my great West."

With a cry of rage I seized the luxurious gold cuspidor and crowned the big bum with it. As I heard the butler carrying out his senseless form, I rushed to my room and quickly putting on my jagers I took the night train back to Montana.

It is there in a little vine-clad cottage right opposite the Railroad Y. M. C. A., by Center and Chestnut Streets, near the N. A. A. C. P. tracks, that I am telling this story. Oscar and I have been married now for nearly a year. A future brakeman for the N. A. A. C. P. is rolling about the floor playing with one of Oscar's old lanterns.

To be sure things are not as exciting as when I was drinking Scotch and thinking of love in my uncle's luxurious studio. But then girls, take this lesson from my terrible experience. Excitement ain't everything. A little safety is a good thing too.

McAlister Coleman.

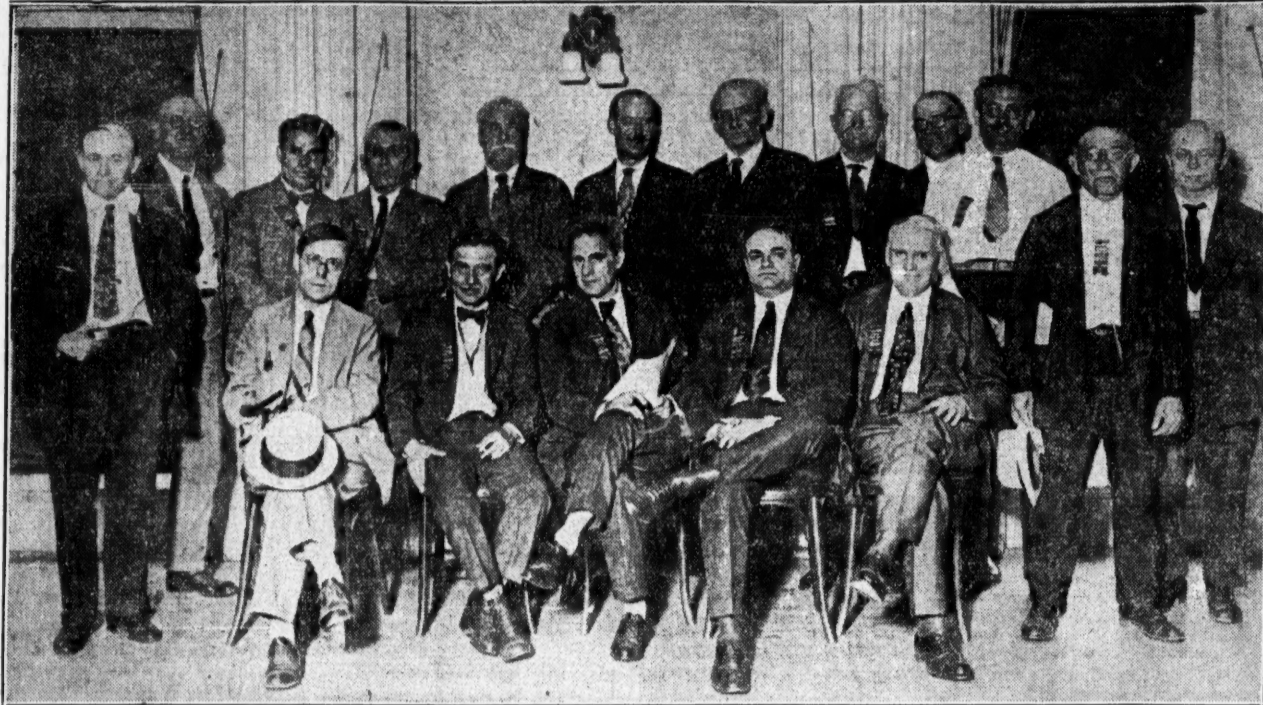
Walk not with the world where it is walking wrong—Carlyle.

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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## At the New York Convention



A group of New York Socialists who were among the delegates to the recent State Convention of the Socialist Party in New York City. Standing, Left to Right—State Secretary Herbert H. Merrill, Fred Sanders, Louis Waldman, Abraham I. Shiploff, Pat Murphy, Algernon Lee, Edward F. Cassidy, James Sheehan, Charles W. Noonan, William M. Feigenbaum, Joseph E. Weil and August Claessens. Sitting, Left to Right—James Oneal, Editor of the New Leader; Morris Hillquit, Judge Jacob Panken, William Karlin, and Joseph D. Cannon.

### Indiana

The State Secretary, Mrs. Effie Mueller, 205 Holliday Bldg., Indianapolis, asks party members and readers of the American Appeal and New Leader to assist in the circularizing of State petitions for signatures to place the Socialist State ticket on the ballot for the November election. Comrade Mueller writes that Party activity is picking up, members are writing for dues stamps and paying up pledges made at the State convention. "I believe we will have a rousing campaign," she writes.

### Montana

James D. Graham, State secretary, writes National Headquarters sending large lists of names for use in regard to organization work and pushing the subscription end of the American Appeal. Graham also writes: "Developments today practically insure us that we will be able to nominate a candidate at the primary election for Congress in the First District, thereby giving the Socialists a full State ticket at the November election in every district in the State. The Democratic Party is in a most deplorable demoralized condition in this State, going into the primary election with very few counties having a full Democratic ticket. This, in spite of the fact that Montana has two Democratic United States Senators and a Democratic Governor who are appointive officers in a State filled with Democrats."

**Organizer Morris' Report**  
Doris Morris has just made a report of her two weeks' work which shows excellent results. She is getting new members, new organizations, subscriptions everywhere, and is selling a good amount of literature and getting good collections.

### California

Arthur H. Eager of Red Bluff writes that he has been nominated on the Socialist Party ticket for Assemblyman of the Fifth District, which comprises the counties of Colusa, Glenn and Tehama. The primary election is on August 31. He says, "We are working on a platform which will be ready soon." Eager has been a resident of his district for twenty years, is a high school graduate and a farmer. He expects to make a good race.

### Arizona

Lawrence McGivern of Chloride urges all Socialists and readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader in the State to get on the job of selecting a Socialist State ticket. We urge all readers in Arizona to write McGivern offering their services in every way possible. McGivern will take good care of the situation if given proper assistance by the Socialists throughout the State.

### New Mexico

The District Secretary of the mountain States reminds us that the present State organizer, Thomas S. Smith, who has been handling the Party work for some time in that State, is now unable to do this work and says that all readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader who desire to take part in the work should write W. F. Richardson, whose address is Roswell, New Mexico. He is secretary of the State committee and will take care of all communications.

### Kentucky

The new State Secretary for Kentucky is John H. Thobe, 702 Patton street, Covington. Socialists of that State should get in touch with Thobe and assist him in the campaign. He needs your co-operation.

### Ohio

Petitions are being circulated, but they must speed up. Dayton reports petitions being signed up good and the comrades are asking for more. Harry Palmer of Cleveland is a hustler. He brings in petitions and says signatures are easy to get. A few more hustlers like him and our place on the ballot is assured. He also brings in subs for the American Appeal.

The Lithuanian Branch of Akron held a successful outing, and Peter Yurgelis writes that large numbers were present. The people want to know about Socialism. They are now arranging for a lecture with Mr. P. Grigaitis, Socialist news editor of Chicago. This is work that counts.

Cleveland is becoming very active. The local has applied for two dates for Tony Sender and promises to make the meetings a success. They are very active in getting signatures to petitions.

Reports from some parts of Ohio show increasing interest in the movement, and Ohio will soon be back on the map for Socialism where it should be. The State officers are doing their best but work requires money. Send in your contribution. We wish to put speakers in the field, and with proper

help we will be able to carry on an active campaign. Circulate the petitions. We must be on the ballot—it means much to the workers. Send in the number of signatures secured to date. If more petitions are needed they will be supplied by the State office.

### Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn more about the Socialist party can do so by writing the Socialist party of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning labor and radical groups should be sent to the same address for publication in The New Leader.

#### Westmoreland

Local Westmoreland has arranged a picnic for Sunday, Aug. 8, at Woodside Park on the McKeesport and Irwin street car line, on the highway from Lincoln to McKeesport highway. All Socialists, sympathizers and those interested in learning more about the movement in Westmoreland and adjoining counties, are urged to attend. John W. Clayton of Pittsburgh, Socialist Party candidate for governor, and Sidney Stark, a member of the State executive committee of the Socialist party, will be among the speakers.

#### Berks County

The Socialists of Reading held a most enjoyable all day picnic at Sinking Springs on Sunday, July 25. A baseball game and very fine music by the Philharmonic Band furnished great pleasure for all.

The interest in the campaign for State-wide officers, and especially the election of James H. Maurer and Andrew P. Bower to the Pennsylvania Legislature, is growing rapidly. The prospects are that these Socialists will again have the opportunity to serve the working class of this great industrial State at Harrisburg.

**New Party Constitution Ready**  
The National Party constitution, as amended at the Pittsburgh convention, is now ready. State, district and federal and local secretaries should order a supply. One copy, 5c.; one dozen, 59c.; 100, \$4.

### Connecticut

#### Hartford

Alfred Baker Lewis addressed a large open air mass meeting here Saturday evening, July 24. Subscriptions for Socialist papers and some new members were taken into the local. A large collection was contributed.

A member of the Workers' party came to the Socialist Party State convention Sunday, July 25, with a resolution asking the Socialist party to join with them in putting up a State ticket. The convention unanimously turned down the resolution.

Resolutions were passed on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. A resolution was also sent with fraternal greetings to William E. White of Local Hamden, who is taking the cure for tuberculosis, hoping that he will soon recover and be with us again.

A resolution asking for more support of the party press, The New Leader, Milwaukee Leader, the American Appeal, and especially our State bulletin, "The Commonwealth," was adopted.

### New Jersey

The State Committee met at State Headquarters on July 11. Newman of Essex County reported renewed activities and that meetings will be held at the Central Market Plaza, Newark, every Friday night. Two meetings have been held with Lewis and Beardsley as speakers. An encouraging phase of the meetings is the number of young men who attend. Leemans reported the

street meetings in Hudson County under way and that arrangements for the party picnic at Floral Park are progressing. Miller for Passaic County reported that a ticket for the November election, with a number of textile strikers as candidates, has been filed by the United Front Committee, but he does not know whether it has been filed under the designation of the Workers' Party or the United Front Committee. The State Secretary was instructed to inquire of the County Clerk under what designation the ticket was filed.

It was decided to issue a credential to Leon Malkiel as organizer for Monmouth County and that Comrade Tuah be permitted to remain as the party's delegate to the Hudson County conference for the Protection of the Foreign Born Workers as nothing has transpired to warrant party participation inadvisable. It was also decided to make further efforts to organize Trenton and Comrade Newman has volunteered his services. Twenty-five copies of the American Appeal will also be sent for four weeks to the Atlantic City Branch. The treasurer's report showed a balance, last meeting, of \$252.31; receipts to date, \$48.90; total, \$301.21; disbursements, \$12.72; balance on hand, \$288.49.

State Secretary Leemans is sending out a final notice this week to all branches which have not yet elected delegates to the State Convention on August 8. It is desired to have this convention fully representative of the movement throughout the State, and each branch is urged to send its quota of delegates.

#### STREET MEETINGS

**Newark**  
Friday, July 30, Central Market Plaza. Speaker to be announced.

**Hudson County**  
Hoboken, Washington and Fourth streets. Speaker, May Harris Mainland.

West New York, Bergenline avenue and Fourteenth street. Speaker, Timothy P. Murphy.

Bayonne, Broadway and Twenty-third street. Speaker, William Kane Tallman.

### New York State

Organizer Emil Herman has returned to Buffalo, where he will remain until August 14. His campaign in Rochester, lasting two weeks, resulted in securing 23 new members for the local, and collections, pledges, etc., totaling \$235.74. Herman collected \$65 in dues for the local, besides \$10 toward its organizing fund, and turned in \$27 worth of American Appeal subs.

Local Schenectady has endorsed the following ticket for the fall election: Representative in Congress, Herbert M. Merrill; State Senator, Lucia N. Oliviere; Assemblyman, First District, James Folan; Assemblyman, Second District, Louis Morgenstern; Superintendent of the Poor, Thomas D. Pashley. Charles W. Noonan has been endorsed for Member of Official State Committee from the First Assembly District, as well as Delegate to the official State Convention, while Theresa B. Wiley was the choice for these party positions from the Second Assembly District. James Folan and Herbert M. Merrill were selected as Alternates to State Convention from the First and Second Assembly Districts, respectively.

**Bronx**  
The County Committee will meet Monday, Aug. 2, at Local Headquarters, 8:30 p. m. Verband Branches are especially urged to be present. Matters of the utmost importance will be acted on, such as completion of county ticket and report of manager in charge of petitions; plans for primary election to insure an increased vote, and plans to supplement the campaign by the City Central Committee during September, October and up to Election Day. The Committee on Headquarters is requested to have report ready for submission.

The Central Branch will meet Tuesday, Aug. 3, at 8:30 p. m., at club rooms, 1167 Boston Road. All members are urged to be present.

Owing to the fact that several members of Branch 7 are on vacation, the regular meeting, which was to be held Tuesday, Aug. 3, is postponed. Branch 7 will meet Thursday, Sept. 2. All members are requested to govern themselves accordingly.

The annual reunion and ball of Bronx county, which will be held Jan. 31, 1927, at Hunts Point Palace, will

be placed on the agenda of the County Committee. Members with plans or suggestions as to the successful conducting of the ball are cordially invited to submit plans to the committee.

**Queens**  
**Joint Picnic Sunday**  
Members of Branch Jamaica who were not present at the last meeting to get their tickets for the joint picnic with the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, to be held all day Sunday, Aug. 1, at Gerken's Cypress Hills Park, Cypress avenue, Evergreen, L. I., are urged to come to the affair just the same and bring along their friends. There will be lots of fun and something doing all the time.

At the last Branch meeting a donation of \$15 was voted to the City Committee and \$5 was added to the Branch's contribution to the special three months' subscription fund of The New Leader.

**Manhattan**  
Friday, July 30, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers: William Karlin and A. Scall.

Tuesday, August 3, 7th street and Avenue B. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and August Claessens.

Rivington and Pitt streets. Speakers: I. M. Chateauf, I. Korn and I. G. Dobeavage.

Wednesday, Aug. 4, 133d street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

Friday, Aug. 6, Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley, I. M. Chateauf. Chairman: A. Scall.

**Bronx**  
Friday, July 30, 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers: Samuel E. Beardsley and Ethelred Brown. Chairman: Mathilda Tillman.

Friday, Aug. 6, 138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, I. G. Dobeavage and J. G. Friedman. Chairman: Philip Hoffman.

**Brooklyn**  
Friday, July 30, Havemeyer and South 4th streets. Speakers: Joseph Tuvin, I. Korn and I. M. Chateauf.

Wednesday, Aug. 4, Rochester avenue and St. John's place. Speakers: Hyman Nenser and Louis Yavner. Chairman: I. Ostrowsky.

Monday, Aug. 2, Broadway. Speakers: Joseph Tuvin and Samuel H. Friedman.

Thursday, Aug. 5, Debevoise street and Graham avenue. Speaker: E. Brown.

**Staten Island**  
Saturday, July 31, Beach and Water streets, Stapleton Park. Speaker: Ethelred Brown. Chairman: Walter Dearing.

**Poughkeepsie**  
Monday, Aug. 2, in front of City Hall. Speaker: E. Brown.

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## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Quackenbush. What Mayor Walker's police did to the strikers certainly pleased Mr. Quackenbush. Mr. Walker cannot dodge responsibility either for his police or for his do-nothing policy. It's a good game while it works.

All this furious discussion of the debts owed to the United States by the European governments gets us nowhere because it rests on false assumptions. It is not true that nations are like men grown large and that the relationship between them is as simple as between men. To understand the debt problem, one must understand what happened. The United States went to war to underwrite the enormous loans made by American bankers to the Allied governments. There was no other reason for our entering the conflict. The bankers, munition makers and propagandists who put us into the war probably fooled themselves by the moral ideals which the nation later professed. Nevertheless, if our bankers had loaned to Germany as they had loaned to the Allies, we should never had gone to war.

The United States as a nation won nothing out of the war. It did not make the world safe for democracy or even increase its own security. Our bankers and business men won a great deal out of the war. The European nations undoubtedly owe us money which they were glad enough to get in their hour of need. But the impoverished people of those nations not unnaturally took at their face value our somewhat hysterical wartime protestations of having a common cause and a common purse. It is unreasonable to expect them to keep on paying these war debts through two centuries. It is at least equally unreasonable to expect the American workers and farmers to pay these debts. Why not collect them from the financial class which did win something out of the war—our bankers and investors? Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of hitting just the right ones, but high income and inheritance taxes would reach the holders of foreign bonds who are not doing any forgiving of debts on their own account and the war millionaires generally. Wouldn't it be a fine arrangement to be generous to Europe on condition that Europe settles once for all the whole tangled problem of debts and reparations and then charge up the costs to the only class which made anything out of the war? But instead of that, we give a further present to these fortunate investors by reducing income and inheritance taxes. It's a crazy world.

### Queens

#### Joint Picnic Sunday

Members of Branch Jamaica who were not present at the last meeting to get their tickets for the joint picnic with the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, to be held all day Sunday, Aug. 1, at Gerken's Cypress Hills Park, Cypress avenue, Evergreen, L. I., are urged to come to the affair just the same and bring along their friends. There will be lots of fun and something doing all the time.

At the last Branch meeting a donation of \$15 was voted to the City Committee and \$5 was added to the Branch's contribution to the special three months' subscription fund of The New Leader.

### Yipseldom

#### Bialy Yipsels

The Bialy Yipsels once more demonstrated what they are made of. Besides holding successful dances, contributing money, holding successful lectures and open-air meetings, they are wonders in the athletic field. On July 25, at Pelham Bay yearly Yipsel meet, they smashed all records for point-getting. By taking the 100-yard dash, 1st, 2d and 3d place; quarter-mile, 1st and 3d place; half-mile, 1st place; relay, 1st place; broad jump, 1st and 2d place; tug of war, 1st place; sack race, 2d place; girls' sixty-yard dash, 2d place, the circle demonstrated its athletic superiority and won the banner. The circle meets every Wednesday during the summer, at which a lecturer will be supplied by the city office.

The circle is preparing for the coming campaign in the 2d A. D. Kings.

The friends of humanity will deprecate war wherever it may appear. My first wish is to see this plague of mankind banished from the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.—Washington.

## AMERICAN APPEAL

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Editor-in-Chief  
**EUGENE V. DEBS**

Managing Editor  
**MURRAY E. KING**

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## MODERN MARRIAGE PROBLEMS

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# Amusements

## DRAMA

### How Ballads Indicate The Current Trend

"THE ballads of a nation better indicate its condition and tendency than its laws," says Arthur Lawrence in his book on Sir Arthur Sullivan. That this statement holds much truth is borne out by the operas of Gilbert and Sullivan, for never in the history of song and story have the existing conditions of England been more clearly epitomized than in the brilliant satirical ballads of W. S. Gilbert and the sprightly scores of Sullivan.

It was but fifty years ago that the incomparable duo began their brilliant successions of light opera with the production of "Trial by Jury." The '60s and '70s were unusually dull from a theatrical viewpoint. Cheap burlesque, which occupied the Gaiety Theatre, had become trivial and hackneyed, and the serious drama received but little attention. The Christy Minstrels, blackface entertainers, held forth at the St. James Theatre, but their travesties and parodies were generally acknowledged as cheap and trivial.

According to Hubert Druce, the English actor and producer, who has seen many of the first nights of Gilbert and Sullivan at the old Savoy Theatre in London, and who has produced a number of the operas throughout the British Isles, the theatre of that day did not deal with actuality at all. Pinner had not begun to write his realities of life. Ibsen had not incited the public to the fact that life around us is interesting. And comic opera was imported from the Continent—especially the Offenbach operas.

Mr. Druce's remembrances are that the music hall ballad was the only ballad of the day, and that confined its efforts to the humors of low life. Such songs as "Champagne Charlie" were sung by the popular favorites, George Coblurn, Vance and MacDermott. Patriotic fervor burned strong in the English breast and the "Jingo Songs" were widely sung by the Tory audiences.

But Gilbert could not abide music hall humor. Through the medium of his publication, "Fun," he began the revolt against the fashionable burlesques which were eventually to be killed by the Savoy operas. His poem, "Musings in a Music Hall," was one of his many slaps at the cheapness of the entertainment of the day, and ran so:

"When a man sticks his hat at the back of his head,  
Tell me, oh, Editor, why do they roar?  
And then, when he pushes it forward instead,  
Why do they scream twice as loud as before?  
When an elderly gentleman rumples his hair,  
Why do they all go delirious as well?  
When he uses a handkerchief out of repair,  
Why do they, why do they, why do they yell?"

"When a vulgar virago is singing her song,  
Why must she offer herself as a wife?  
Why give applause about ten minutes long  
When a baby of seven imperils its life?  
What does a singer intend to imply  
By 'Waack! off the larity, larity, lay'?"

"What can he hope to convey to me by singing 'Rum tiddy, iddity' eh?"  
"There was one spark of naturalism in the English theatre," says Mr. Druce, "and that was the Robertsonian Comedies on caste, school and society, produced by the Bancrofts. Society in general was amply satisfied in the manner so adequately laughed at by the Victorians. The keen mind of Gilbert, who saw things as they were, realized subconsciously, perhaps, that the educated public were ready to laugh at themselves."

And so in "Iolanthe" the laugh is turned on the House of Lords when in recitative "Phyllis, the Ward in Chancery," sings:

"Nay, tempt me not, to wealth I'll not be bound;  
In lowly cot alone is virtue found."  
To which the chorus of Peers answers:

"No, no, indeed high rank will never hurt you;  
The peerage is not destitute of virtue."  
To which "Lord Tolliver" adds:  
"Spurn not the nobly born, with love affected!  
Nor treat with virtuous scorn the well connected!  
High rank involves no shame, we boast with equal claim  
With him of humble means, to be respected!"

"I can remember when my father and mother went to the opening night of 'The Sorcerer,'" says Mr. Druce, "and they returned home after the show, woke me up, and told me about the famous production. There was a couplet that my father quoted:  
"Now for the eggs and ham,  
Now for the strawberry jam."  
"Which was, of course, a laugh at the English breakfast."

"And the fact that the English people appreciated the humor of Gilbert, laughed at their own foibles, and supported the Savoyards shows that the turning point in the theatre was at hand. Times were changing, and

realism was beginning to come into its own. I think if we had another Gilbert and Sullivan in America we might discover many things about this country. Of course, it may be that Americans are not yet ready to laugh at themselves, but I think Winthrop Ames' former production of Kaufman's "Beggars on Horseback" showed that in America we can and do appreciate satire even when written around Americans."

The amazing thing about the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, regardless of the fact that they were of and about their times, is that they still hold good. For this reason Winthrop Ames, in his production of "Iolanthe," follows as closely as possible the original production, believing, as he does, that an intimate opera should be produced as simply as possible to bring out the humor and "patter" songs which made both writers famous and which presented so accurately the times and the day.

KATHLEEN LOWRY



One of the principals in the new farce "Honest Liars" which George MacFarlane is presenting at the Sam H. Harris theatre.

### Massive Ballet and Concert For Passaic Children's Fund

To raise funds to buy milk during the remainder of the summer for the children of Passaic, a massive ballet and symphony concert is to be staged August 28 in the Coney Island Stadium, Surf avenue and West Sixth street, Coney Island, by a group of prominent New York musicians and artists.

Ludwig Landy, with offices at 799 Broadway, who will act as treasurer of the committee and manager of the benefit performance, said, in issuing the announcement, that the Coney Island Stadium had already been engaged and that the identity of the artists and musicians who have volunteered to appear will be made public when details of the program are completed.

"The Coney Island Stadium will seat 25,000 persons," said Mr. Landy, "and the committee has no doubt but that through the widening interest in conditions in Passaic, particularly the effect of conditions on the children, not to mention the nature of the concert that is planned, every seat will be sold. It is particularly gratifying the way these great artists have come forward for this important benefit."

### Broadway Briefs

"The Shanghai Gesture" will end its engagement at the Shubert Theatre on Saturday night. It is scheduled to re-open on Labor Day at Chanin's 46th Street.

"The Merry World Revue" will move from the Imperial Theatre to the Shubert next Monday night.

"The Blonde Sinner" will move from the Cort Theatre to the Selwyn next Monday night.

Bernard Shaw's "Getting Married" will be presented next Wednesday night by the Washington Square Players as the fourth in their series of Shaw and Barrie revivals at the University Playhouse, 100 Washington Square, East.

### THE NEW PLAYS

#### MONDAY

"NIC-NAX OF 1926," a new musical revue, will be presented by John Cort and Gitz Rice at the Cort Theatre Monday night. The book and lyrics are by Paul Porter and Matt Kennedy and the music is the work of Gitz Rice and Werner Janssen. The cast will include Nancy Gibbs, Fred Stanley, Dorothy Mackaye, Ray Raymond, Harry Short, Suzanne Bennett, Ralph Riggs, Katherine Witche, Bobby Grieg and Gitz Rice and a special orchestra.

#### TUESDAY

"NO MORE WOMEN," by Samuel Shipman and Neil Twomey, will be presented by Schwab & Mandel at the Ambassador Theatre Tuesday night. Charles Bickford, Mildred McLeod and Nana Bryant are the principal players. Others in the cast are John Marston, Charles Ritchie, Mildred Brown, James La Curto and O. J. Vanasse.

### "A Night in Paris" Reopens Afresh

New Edition of Parisian Revue Amusing and Entertaining at the 44th Street

BROUGHT into the heart of Broadway from its original home atop the Century Roof, where it originally opened in January, the Parisian revue, "A Night in Paris," reopened with a Second Edition on Monday night at the 44th Street Theatre revamped, redressed—or, rather, undressed—with new scenes and a few new sketches, the production can be classed as a new show. The principals, however, are the same, and include Kathryn Ray, Jack Osterman, Jack Pearl, Norma Terris, Emily Woolley, Harry O'Neal, Oyra, Barnett Parker, and, of course, the beautiful girls in some new artistic poses.

There is much more worth-while material in the new show. Jack Osterman keeps the house roaring with "Impressions of Hollywood," a film visit of his to the noted film stars in the moving picture capital. The scene is a scream from beginning to end.

Jack Pearl also has new material. It is low comedy, but the audience enjoyed it immensely and appreciates his clowning very much. He does his work very well indeed.

The "Miser," as well as the "China-town in 'Frisco"—both hits in the last show—are here again! Sure-fire combinations like the Parisian cafe scene, "The Slave" and "The Friends" are here again—and should continue to entertain.

Watson Barratt has outdone himself in some new settings, especially so with "Cleopatra's Barge," a sensuous, elaborate scene of the Egyptian stren with her lover and her beautiful slaves on the River Nile. This scene gives full opportunity to bring on the girls in full regalia—a Mother Eve costume, which is artistic and natural. Well, why not? The human figure is "divine," so why not show it.

Altogether the new production is entertaining and artistic. An evening at the 44th Street Theatre will not be wasted, and one is apt to get more than his money's worth. Drop in and see the show.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW



A characteristic sketch of the noted Socialist and Dramatist who is being acclaimed by the world on his seventieth birthday.

### "The Circus Princess" to Be Produced by Shuberts

The Messrs. Shuberts announced last week that they had acquired the American rights to "The Circus Princess," an opera with an Emmerich Kalman score, and will present it here after the opening of "The Nightingale." "The Circus Princess," which has a book by Julius Brammer and Alfred Grunwald, was recently produced in Vienna and will be shown in Berlin in the Fall. "A well known star," whose name is not revealed, will head the cast.

### Bernard Shaw Is Honored On His Seventieth Birthday

LONDON was all agog Monday evening, and for a very good reason, too—for George Bernard Shaw was 70 years old, and all the world knew it and gloried in it. The newspapers were filled with columns of adulation and critical analysis of George Bernard Shaw's personality and genius with many tributes from abroad, especially English and Continental. German and Dutch journals have issued special Shaw numbers, while a bulky, handsomely bound volume delivered at the Shaw flat in Adelphi Terrace contained greetings of one hundred eminent German statesmen, authors, musicians, actors and critics, including Dr. Stresemann, the foreign minister; Prof. Einstein of relativity fame, and Richard Strauss, the musician.

Although the fire of his Celtic genius still blazes with all the vividness of youth, as proved by the general acceptance of his most recent play, "Saint Joan," as his best, there is a great change in the personal appearance of the man who sat at the festive board, a special banquet, in his honor by the Labor Party group at the Hotel Metropole and presided over by ex-Premier Ramsey MacDonald, with Socialists, intellectuals, distinguished government officials and famous literary lights ranged along the table.

Bernard Shaw seems as youthful as ever. He is as erect and as trim as a college athlete and is still adhering to his creed of being plunged to the neck in the life of his time. He strides along the Strand on early morning constitutional with all the sprightliness of forty years ago.

The dinner in his honor was one of brilliance. One of G. B. S.'s accomplishments is that he is as remarkable as an after-dinner speaker as he is as a dramatist or a satirist.

Almost unbelievable financial offers have been made by American lecture managers to induce him to tour the United States, but without success, largely because, he says, the enormous sums offered indicate that if the managers were to get their money back he would have to speak to immense audiences in large halls, and that would be no fun.

### Vaudeville Theatres

#### MOSS' BROADWAY

The vaudeville program at B. S. Moss' Broadway theatre next week will have the musical comedy stars, Joe Weston and Grace Eline, in "Character Interpretations"; Emmett Gilfoyle and Elsie Lange, who will offer "A Vaudeville Comedy Classic"; Eddie and Morton Beck, in a new comedy act; Herbert Clifton and Diaz Sisters.

The photoplay feature will be Milton Sills in "Men of Steel," a drama of the steel mills, with Doris Kenyon, Mae Allison and Victor MacLaglen.

#### COLISEUM

Monday to Wednesday: Robison & Pierce; Emmond & Grant; other acts; Anna Q. Nilsson in "Miss Nobody."  
Thursday to Sunday: Paul Kirkland & Co.; other acts; Reginald Denny with Marion Nixon in "Rolling Home."

#### REGENT

Monday to Wednesday: Hawthorne & Cooke; Krafts & Lamont; "By the Sea"; others: "Cyrano de Bergerac," film.  
Thursday to Sunday: "Rolling Home," with Reginald Denny and Marion Nixon. Program of vaudeville

HARRIS W. 42d St. Eves 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat.

GEORGE MacFARLANE Presents A New Farce

### HONEST LIARS

With ROBERT WOOLSEY

Music and Concerts

### STADIUM CONCERTS

N. Y. PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA  
NIKOLAI SOKOLOFF, Guest Conductor  
LEWISohn STADIUM, Ampt. Ave. & 138th St.  
Sunday Night at 8:30  
BRAHMS SYMPHONY NO. 4  
Strauss, "Till Eulenspiegel"  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager, Stadium Piano  
Prices 50c., 80c., \$1.00

### "Americana" Bright With Wit and Fun

New Season's Smartest Musical Revue Is Ushered in at the Belmont Theatre

ONE may rave about the glorification of the American girl and the lavish expenditure on exposing nudity, but in the humble opinion of one reviewer at least the sheer art and humor of "Americana," the new musical revue presented by Richard Herndon Monday night at the Belmont, makes a much stronger appeal on the side of art and humor.

First of all, "Americana" is one of those intimate shows which puts the audience in rapport with the stage at the rise of the curtain by having a master of ceremonies (Roy Atwell) address the audience most informally and introduce the very special girls who come to do their "turns."

Next, one wonders where the producer ever got so many attractive new faces and agile legs to carry the show to success from the start.

"Americana" is formally described as a revue in two acts, written by J. P. McEvoy, music by Con Conrad and Henry Souvaine with special numbers by George Gershwin, Philip Charig, Ira Gershwin and Morrie Ryskind. The production has been designed by John Held, Jr., in a most characteristic and artistic way.

"Americana" is worth the price of admission alone for two sketches, one of which depicts the man unexpectedly called upon for an after-dinner speech and in the other a father of the mauve decade attempts to tell Little Rollo about the mystery of origin. This last, of course, might have exceeded the limit of risqueness on the New York stage, but somehow it did not, and we just screamed with glee.

Then, too, the many people who complained in the writing of the revue did not prove too many cooks, as both the lyrics and music are much above the ordinary average.

Of the principals Roy Atwell, Charles Butterworth, Lew Brice, Harriette Burke, Georgia Ingram and a quartette of negro singers, the Pan-American Quartette, may be singled out for special praise, but the girls, which are primarily the basis for any musical revue, come in for more than their usual share of glory.

To sum up, "Americana" is a bright, clever and sophisticated evening's entertainment and one that should undoubtedly be overpatronized by the T. B. M. with friend wife in the country and by gentlemen of the selling proclivity from points North, West and South, to say nothing of the female tourists who crowd the city this time of the year.

JACK OSTERMAN



The flashing spirit of "A Night in Paris" at the 44th Street theatre. The second edition of the Parisian revue opened on Monday.

## THEATRES

### NEW YORK'S 2 BIGGEST REVUE HITS

WINTER GARDEN Famous Ice-Cooling Plant Now in Operation Eves. 8:30. Mats. Tues., Thurs. & Sat.

44th ST. THEATRE West of Broadway. Eves. 8:30 Matinees Wed. and Sat.

### THE GREAT TEMPTATIONS

Staged by J. C. Huffman By Harold Altéridge

### 2ND EDITION A NIGHT IN PARIS

"BETTER THAN THE FIRST"—Herald Tribune  
New Numbers—New Scenery—New Costumes

RICHARD HERNDON Presents J. P. McEVROY'S

# "AMERICANA"

"Witty, ingenious fun-making."—Times  
"Music Best on B'way"—American

BELMONT THEA. 48th Street, East of B'way. Eves. 8:30 Matinees Thursday & Saturday, 2:30

Plymouth Theatre West 4th St., Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

POPULAR MATINEE THURSDAY WINTHROP AMES presents GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S

# IOLANTHE

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

## MUSIC

### Henry Hadley and Audition Winners at Stadium

AT THE Stadium Concerts next week Nikolai Sokoloff will conclude his visit and Henry Hadley, American composer and associate conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra, will begin his week at the Lewisohn Stadium. The three winners in the National Music League Auditions will be heard on Friday night.

Next Friday is Audition Winners' Night. Enrique Ros, pianist, will play the Grieg Piano Concerto, Giuseppe Martino-Rossi, baritone, will sing the aria "Largo al Factotum," from Rossini's "Barber of Seville," and Alice Goddlett, soprano, will be heard in the aria "Plus grand dans son obscurité," from Gounod's "Queen of Sheba." Miss Goddlett is the alternate for Nora Fauchald, the soprano who won first choice in the auditions. Miss Fauchald is now in Norway and cannot return in time for appearance at the Stadium. On the same program Mr. Hadley has scheduled Berlioz' "Roman Carnival" Overture, Victor Herbert's "Serenade for Strings" and Ippolitoff-Ivanoff's "Caucasian Sketches."

Monday—Overture to "Mignon," Debussy's "L'Après Midi d'un Faun," Stravinsky's Firebird Suite, and Beethoven's "Fifth Symphony."

Tuesday—Mr. Sokoloff will conduct an all-Tchaikovsky program, including the Fifth Symphony, the "Romeo and Juliet" Fantasy-Overture, the Waltz from the ballet "The Sleeping Beauty" and the "Marche Slav."

Wednesday—Mr. Hadley begins his week's regime with a Beethoven-Wagner program, the "Egmont" Overture, the Seventh Symphony, Prelude and Love Death from Tristan and Isolde, Wotan's Farewell and Magic Fire Scene from "Walkure" and the Prelude to "Die Meistersinger."  
Thursday—The tone poem, "Semi-râmis," by Felix Borowaki; Brahms First Symphony, Bizet's "L'Arlesienne" Suite No. 1 and the Liszt Polonaise in E complete the evening's offerings.  
Saturday, Aug. 5 — Procession of Women, from "Lohengrin," Wagner; Symphony No. 3 in B minor, Hadley; Symphony Poem, "Danse Macabre," Saint-Saens; "Death and Transfiguration," Strauss.

FLORENCE REED



The Mother Goddess of John Colton's dramatic "The Shanghai Gesture" at the 44th Street theatre will relax her tense role this Saturday for a short vacation, reopening on Labor Day.

make the Vitaphone known to the world, using as their studio the Manhattan Opera House, which they leased in its entirety for that purpose. It was necessary to turn the upper floors into laboratories, for while the artists gave their numbers on the stage the voices and instrumentation were carried by acutely attuned transmitters through wires into a complicated switchboard and then made "fast" in the laboratories.

Experts claim that the Vitaphone will be hailed as one of the most interesting inventions of the day. Its development was made possible by electrical engineers who have made intensive studies in telephonic, radio and sound-wave recording problems. The experts of the Western Electric Company and the Bell Telephone Laboratories, to whom credit is given for the Vitaphone, claim that they have secured synchronization of movement and sound to a degree of perfection.

The Vitaphone prologue will be a prelude to the presentation for the first time of John Barrymore in his new cinema play, "Don Juan," which is based on Lord Byron's poem.

### Wagner and Mozart Festival Planned at Munich

Vitaphone Debut at Warner's Theatre Thursday Night

MARION TALLEY, Mischa Elman, Anna Case, Giovanni Martinelli, Erem Zimbalist, Harold Bauer, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra of 107 players under the leadership of Henry Hadley, and the Metropolitan Opera chorus will introduce the Vitaphone at Warner's Theatre next Thursday night in connection with the premiere of John Barrymore in "Don Juan."

For many weeks a staff has been synchronizing the program which is to

A WAGNER and Mozart Festival will be held at Munich, Germany, from August 1 to September 5. Hans Knappertsbusch is general music director. A series of Wagner operas will be given at the Prinzregent Theatre, including "Die Meistersinger," "Parsifal," "Tristan und Isolde," "Das Rheingold," "Die Walkure," "Siegfried" and "Gotterdammerung." The Mozart operas at the Residenz Theatre will include "Die Entführung," "Figaro," "Magic Flute," "Così fan tutte" and "Don Giovanni."

THE NEW LEADER

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

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class.

SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1926

HEDLEY WANTS SERFS

WHILE Mr. Hedley of the Interboro hands out cheerful statements each day regarding the revenue of the lines from fares, his figures are in conflict with those of the Transit Commission.

Mr. Hedley is very much interested in padding the report to make it look cheerful for his workless investors. On the same day the Transit Commission told a different story.

A BOGUS CONGRESS

WE HAVE casually remarked from time to time that the two major political parties of this country do not possess the brains for which the Clays, Websters and Calhouns were noted.

The Times of Monday piles up a heap of evidence to support this view. It gives us a picture of the work of Congress, which adjourned on July 3.

The evolution of this custom to the next stage is the printing of speeches after Congress has adjourned and mailing them out free to voters.

Of course, what the member does is to either dictate an "oration" to a stenographer or order a speech written for him by those who specialize in writing speeches for many of the dullards.

This is the complete degradation of the legislative department of the government. When the law-making body of a nation has no more respect for its history and traditions than to make its official publication an organ of deception and a garbage can for receiving all sorts of trash.

All members of Congress are not responsible for this situation. It is maintained by

the leaders of the two main parties and their servile following. Debate is so limited and the floor so difficult to get that members are whipped into line for the two-party machine by getting permission to have a speech printed in return for supporting the bills of the clique who rule.

Need it be a surprise that in the face of these facts the workers of field, factory, shop and railroad get so little consideration while the masters of capital and finance get what they want?

MUSSOLINI

ONE of the striking things about the glorification of Mussolini by some of our Babbitts is the assumption that the Italian nut has formulated something unique in statesmanship, something unknown to any period of history.

Mussolini gives the impression of having invented something new by indulging in obscure language. "Liberty or death was a fine phrase, but co-operation or poverty is more accurate now," says Mussolini.

Let us be frank about it, gentlemen. Mussolini represents the property owning classes of Italy and by ruthless power is trying to reduce the masses to slavery.

THE MEXICAN STRUGGLE

IF IT isn't booze it is religion that is presented to divide the workers into warring camps. Mexico is going through a struggle with the Church that France and some American states have experienced.

One fact stands out in the present situation. The Protestant Church of every denomination in Mexico accepts the laws applying to religious organizations.

The death of the son of Abraham Lincoln at the age of 82 invoked little comment. It is an interesting fact that Robert T. Lincoln became noted as the head of the Pullman Company.

The inner silence. The last farewells of friends are said And Youth and Beauty flown, I linger where my love has fled

The men that worked for England, They have their graves at home; The birds and bees of England About the cross may roam.

But they that fought for England, Following a falling star, Alas, alas, for England, They have their graves afar.

And they that rule in England, In stately conclave met, Alas, alas, for England, They have no graves as yet.

The News of the Week

Bungling the Booze Problem

Since the last issue of The New Leader booze has sprawled over almost every issue of the daily press.

The Illinois Cattle Market

To fish, ham, bricks and other commodities we must add senatorships, governorships and other public offices as the source of American "prosperity."

Business Curbs French Anger

When the anti-American outbursts in the streets and cabarets of Paris, due to the resentment of some Frenchmen at the ostentations way in which some tourists from the United States flung around the paper franc that meant hardly anything in "real money," reached a stage where there was a possibility of a wholesale exodus of these visitors, French business quickly intervened.

Dzerzhinsky Left Big Gap

With the passing of Felix E. Dzerzhinsky at the age of 49 the Soviet Government of Russia suffered a great loss. Holding the double position of head of the "Gaypayoo" (the secret political police that succeeded the Tcheka) and Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, this mild-mannered Russian of Polish blood was one of the most energetic and practical officials of the Bolshevik administration.

Miles' End

The miles may bind, may blindfold us, Ribbons forged of mail; Or they may rise and stab the skies Like walls too high to scale.

On High

The wind that moans on the mountain, Silent, alone and free, Is a different wind from the wind that moans, On the land or sea.

"A Man of God"?

Dear, unknown Source of all life! The protoplasmic portent, The urge to crawl, to grow a spine, To fly, to walk, to stand erect.

Their Graves

The men that worked for England, They have their graves at home; The birds and bees of England About the cross may roam.

The Inner Silence

The last farewells of friends are said And Youth and Beauty flown, I linger where my love has fled

Mr. Bakesless's

Mr. Bakesless's insistence upon the population problem as an elemental cause of modern wars is an instance in which exaggeration has ruined excellency. In China and Japan the population problem is acute and rife with disaster.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

No More Ideals

WAR has become a consuming topic. No magazine neglects it, no newspaper avoids it. Discussions of it range over an enormity of phenomena. The work of Barnes, Ewart, Fay, Montegias and Turner confined largely to the problem of war guilt, is but one phase of this interest.

Miles' End

The miles may bind, may blindfold us, Ribbons forged of mail; Or they may rise and stab the skies Like walls too high to scale.

On High

The wind that moans on the mountain, Silent, alone and free, Is a different wind from the wind that moans, On the land or sea.

"A Man of God"?

Dear, unknown Source of all life! The protoplasmic portent, The urge to crawl, to grow a spine, To fly, to walk, to stand erect.

Their Graves

The men that worked for England, They have their graves at home; The birds and bees of England About the cross may roam.

The Inner Silence

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