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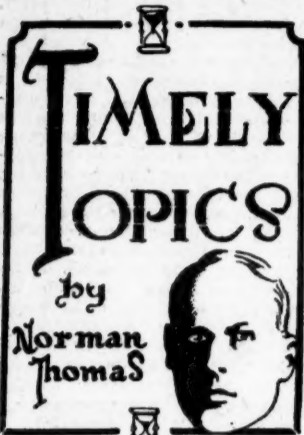
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'Justice Not Mercy' Vanzetti's Demand



ALREADY the Mississippi floods constitute one of the major disasters of recent years. The worst may not yet be over. As usual in our country private individuals and associations are giving generously and quickly. But in a national disaster of this sort private charity cannot be enough. Even supposing that all actual relief funds are raised from private sources there will be a task of rehabilitation and reconstruction which is of concern to the whole nation. After the waters have subsided countless homes must be rebuilt or salvaged from the mud and wreckage of the waters. Above all, the levees themselves must not only be repaired but enormously enlarged and strengthened against future floods. This work must be done before another spring. Extensive engineering works for flood protection will of themselves give employment and bring money into the desolated regions and to help the relief situation. Nothing can be done in this matter without Government action. To wait till Congress assembles in December is criminal. It is to waste precious months. It is to leave to private charity plans of rehabilitation which are a national responsibility. Therefore the greatest pressure should be brought to bear upon President Coolidge to call Congress in special session.

No President least of all Calvin Coolidge, enjoys having Congress on its hands. The thrifty Mr. Coolidge would like to gather in Republican delegates for 1928 and push his own foreign policies in Nicaragua, Mexico and China without a Borah, a Norris, a Wheeler or other bothersome legislators around to watch it. Moreover, it sounds economical not to have a special session of Congress. It is really penurious. Failure to act adequately and promptly may mean the most ghastly wastes of human comfort and well being, if not of human life itself. Under our form of government only Congress can take the necessary action to rebuild and enlarge the levees. There is no time for delay.

There is a somewhat alarming parallel in British-American relations before America's entry into the World War and the present British-American relations in regard to China. Our people did not want to enter the World War. President Wilson made strong declarations of neutrality, but he kept as his Ambassador in London Walter Hines Page, who was intensely and passionately pro-British. Meanwhile, as Gilbert Parker later boasted, British propaganda in a thousand clever ways created the atmosphere in which leaders of American opinion lived and moved and had their being. What is still more important, American economic interests, backed by American diplomacy, took that course which almost inevitably involved us in war at the last. With all his desire for peace President Wilson took no effective leadership to bring it about. He merely followed the time honored methods of protecting American lives and American trade against German submarines. So we drifted inevitably to war. That was in 1917.

Ten years have passed and the theatre of war has shifted from Europe to China. Our people emphatically do not want war or intervention. President Coolidge does not want war or intervention. Nevertheless he keeps as our Ambassador in China a man who in the slang of the Far East is known as the "British Number 1 boy." It is no secret that Mr. MacMurray wants to join the British in an aggressive policy. There is plenty of propaganda by the British and by like minded Americans to force us to an aggressive policy. The British Shanghai press openly accuses us of "deserting our allies." What is still worse, the State Department, for all of its protestations of desire for peace, follows the old line diplomacy. Our gunboats patrol the Yangtze. The fire eating Brig-Gen. Smedley Butler parades his marines in Shanghai. No positive constructive

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LAUNDRYMEN IN HARD STRIKE

Bronx Firm Forces Issue—Other Workers Backing Up Drivers

By Louis S. Stanley

WHEN the North American Laundry Company at 500 East 14th street, the Bronx, violated its agreement with the Laundry Drivers' Union, No. 810, and forced a strike upon its workers, it was a declaration that not merely this concern but also the other employers were prepared to risk a test of strength with the union. Great must have been their chagrin to discover that not merely did the drivers walk out, but the girls employed on the inside struck in sympathy. And thereby hangs a tale. The laundry drivers' organization in the Bronx was organized within the last year or so as a branch of Local 810, with headquarters in Brooklyn. M. Brodie, the organizer, has built up an effective union with control over a substantial number of wet wash laundries. From the beginning the union has met with the most bitter hostility of the employers as little by little the non-union field has been narrowed down. By coincidence or not, the local police have shared the indignation of the laundry owners, but neither intimidation or cajoling have induced the union to let up in its work.

This spring the first contracts, entered into by Local 810 last year, have been expiring. One of these is the agreement with the North American Laundry Company, which runs until June 11, 1927. The firm, backed by the Laundry Owners' Association, decided to precipitate a fight earlier than that date, apparently in order to catch the union unawares and determine the strength of the organized workers in the industry. While other contracts were pending, all through the year the North American has been guilty of various violations of the agreement, against which the union protested. On one occasion, about three months ago, a dispute arose over the question of paying a worker who had been absent on account of sickness growing out of an accident at work. Under the terms of the contract two arbitrators, one from each side, were to dispose of all grievances not otherwise adjusted. The union called for arbitration, and its contention was upheld.

The Firm Breaks the Agreement
Matters did not come to a head, however, until four weeks ago. At that time an active member of Local 810 was discharged without cause. The union asked for arbitration again, and hearings were set for Thursday, April 7. At the last moment the North American Laundry Company sent a communication asking for a week's adjournment because its arbitrator was out of town. To play fair the union granted this request and fixed the following Thursday, April 14, as the date for a session. In the afternoon of that day Organizer Brodie called upon the North American in person to ascertain whether there would be any hitch again. He was assured that no delay was contemplated. Shortly after returning to his office, he received a telephone message asking for another adjournment on the ground once more that the appointed arbitrator was out of town. It was obvious that the firm was merely stalling for time. Brodie replied that an arbitrator could be found easily enough should there be the will to do so, and agreed to wait until late that evening. No representative of the employers appeared and, therefore, the next day they were notified that they had violated the agreement.

(Continued on page 2)

RAND FELLOWSHIP ARRANGES DINNER AND DANCE FOR MAY 14

The Rand School Fellowship has arranged a banquet and dance for the evening of Saturday, May 14, to take place in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street. The affair will mark the closing event in a most successful students' year at the Rand School. The spirit of the Fellowship carries with it assurances that the affair will be a most pleasurable one. Friends of the Rand School should make reservations immediately at the school, 7 East 15th Street.

The three-day bazaar organized by the Women's Committee of the Rand School was a great success. More than a thousand people attended and patronized the many beautiful booths supplied by friends of the school, organizations and individuals.

'Sacco and Vanzetti No More Guilty Than I Am,' N. Y. Judge Declares

BRITISH TORIES DIGGING OWN GRAVE

Passage of Anti-Labor Bill Will Insure Conservative Defeat

IN their fight against the notorious anti-strike bill before the British Parliament the Labor Party and trade unions are involved in one of the most important struggles in British history. Like most legislation that seeks to restrict the power of political and economic organizations of the working class, Premier Baldwin and his associates support the bill in the name of freeing the organized workers from the "tyranny" of rules and decisions which are adopted by the workers themselves.

Premier Baldwin himself has surrendered to the die-hards of his party, who have been urging this legislation for several years. It is recalled that Baldwin opposed this legislation in three notable speeches in March, 1925, when a similar bill was before Parliament. In an address before the House of Commons and in two other addresses at Leeds and Birmingham that year Baldwin opposed legislation intended to hamstring the trade unions. At Birmingham he said: "I want a truce of God in this country, that we may compose our differences, that we may join hands together to see if we cannot pull the country into a better and happier condition." He concluded with the following peroration: "England! Steady! Look where you are going! Human hands were given us to clasp and not to be raised against one another in fratricidal strife."

These remarks and similar sentiments expressed in the House and at Leeds coming home to plague Baldwin. It was his opposition in the spring of 1925 that defeated the anti-trade union and anti-Labor Party bill of that year. He and his party now hope to jam through the present bill by the support of their huge Tory majority. That majority is being reduced by successes of the Labor Party in nearly every by-election, and if Baldwin were to appeal to the voters today on the basis of this bill there is little doubt that the Tories would suffer a disastrous defeat and the Labor Party would be so strengthened in Parliament that it would probably have to again take over the government.

Judge Panken Denounces Court for Part in Condemning Innocent Radicals to Death in Massachusetts—Urges Public Opinion Rally to Their Defense

By Jacob Panken

Justice of the Municipal Court, New York City

SACCO and Vanzetti, now in the shadow of the electric chair, are no more guilty of the crime charged against them than I am. They are innocent. Yet, it seems as if every door through which their innocence could be proven has been shut against them.

The boasted principle of the law of the land, that a man is innocent until proven guilty, has been reversed. These two men have been convicted and sentenced to death, though they were not proved guilty. For almost six years they have asked for an opportunity to prove their innocence beyond the shadow of doubt.

They cannot be pardoned. We ask that these men be permitted to present, not only to the courts of Massachusetts, but to the country and to the people of the world, the proof which is available, demonstrating their absolute innocence of the crime charged against them.

Tried Amid Hysteria

They were tried at a period when our people had lost their sense of fairness in post-war hysteria. They were the victims of politicians who hoped to raise themselves over their dead bodies to positions of power and influence. The district attorney who prosecuted them said to the jury: "Gentlemen of the jury: Do your duty, and do it like men. Stand together like men, and permit no commission of a crime against humanity. Stand together like men, and make your voice heard on the side of decency and justice."

Judge Thayer, conscious of the psychological condition of our people during the trial, knowing that an appeal to so-called loyalty of 100 per cent. Americanism would blind and paralyze the minds of the jury, in his charge, said: "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts called upon you to render a most important service. Although you knew that such service would be arduous and painful, and burdensome, you, like the true soldier, responded to that call in the spirit of supreme, American loyalty. There is no better word in the English language than loyalty."

In the light of his subsequent acts

Court Influenced Jury

The jury was undoubtedly influenced by what the court said. In that charge the judge said that Captain Proctor testified: "It was Sacco's pistol that fired the bullet that caused the death of Berardelli."

Let me at this point say, with all the vehemence that I am capable of, that no such testimony was given by Captain Proctor. I shall prove it out of Proctor's mouth later on. When Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested they did not even suspect that it was in connection with the charge upon which they were tried. They knew they were not connected in any way with the commission of that crime.

They believed that they had been arrested because of their radical activities. They had for a long time been on the files of the Department of Justice as radicals to be watched. As a matter of fact, the Department of Justice was anxious to deport them as they had deported hundreds of others, and, to our shame, be it known that although in the opinion of the Department of Justice agents the South Braintree crime was the work of professionals, and Sacco and Vanzetti, although anarchists and radicals, were not highway robbers and had nothing to do with the holdup crime, it seemed to be the opinion of the department agents that the conviction of these men for murder would be one way of disposing of them. Dispose of radicals, even if you have to fasten the crime of murder against them. If you cannot deport them, trump up charges against them which will send them to the gallows. A misnamed Department of Justice!

D. of J. Agents Aided

Two agents of the Department of Justice—Letherman and Weyand—made affidavit to show complicity of the Department of Justice in the conspiracy which resulted in the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Judge Thayer, however, disregarded their affidavits under oath, apparently on the theory that they had divulged

(Continued on page 3)

PRESERVATION GROUP CALLS CONFERENCE

Second Delegate Meeting Will Be Held May 11 in Beethoven Hall

THE Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions has sent out a call for a second general delegate conference of all affiliated and sympathetic unions. The committee was formed several months ago to aid unions in danger of disruption through Communist activity. It has occupied itself mainly with assisting the reorganization of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the New York Fur Workers' Union.

More than 500 delegates from several hundred trade unions attended the first conference. As large a conference is expected this time.

The conference will be held Wednesday, May 11, at 8 p. m. in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 15th street. Each organization is entitled to two delegates. The officers of the committee will report on the work accomplished since the organization of the committee and outline plans for the future.

PLUMBERS FIGHT IN COURT

Injunction Is Sought to End City-wide Lockout of N. Y. Workers

THE union plumbers of Queens have carried the case of the employers' boycott into court and have obtained a temporary injunction from Supreme Court Justice Mitchell May in Brooklyn restraining the employers from enforcing the lockout. This action is to test the legality of the lockout as the Queens plumbers did not declare a strike.

The injunction is directed against officials of the Master Plumbers' Association of Manhattan, of the Building Trades Employers' Association of Greater New York, and of the Greater New York Master Plumbers' Association.

Kenneth M. Spence, a former special Deputy Attorney General, counsel for the Queens union, said the proceeding was based on the allegation that the employers had entered into an unlawful conspiracy to lock out some 7,000 plumbers outside the Brooklyn district, where a strike is on for an increase of wages, from \$12 to \$14 a day.

"The men in Queens had nothing to do with the strike of Local No. 1 in Brooklyn," said Mr. Spence. "They were locked out, they allege, in an effort to compel them to force the hands of the Brooklyn plumbers and to coerce them in settling their differences with their employers."

"The Brooklyn situation is local in character and furnishes no excuse for locking out the union plumbers elsewhere throughout the city. These men who were locked out have an agreement with the employers which does not expire until May 12, 1927. The lockout was really a violation of their agreement."

Suits for Wages Threatened
"If this proceeding is successful, the plumbers outside of Brooklyn will bring suits against those responsible for the lockout, to recover their wages during the period the lockout remains effective, at the rate of \$66 a week."

According to the injunction order, failure to call off the lockout, it was said, will raise immediately the question of contempt of court.

SCHENECTADY HOLDS SACCO-VANZETTI MEETING

The Trades Assembly of Schenectady held a large Sacco-Vanzetti mass meeting in Red Men's Hall Wednesday night. The local lodge of Odd Fellows voted to participate in the demonstration and joined with the members of trade unions and citizens in general in forwarding resolutions to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts.

DOOMED RADICAL IN MOVING APPEAL

Sacco Does Not Sign Joint Statement Presented to Governor Fuller

BOSTON.—"Justice, not mercy," is demanded in the petition of Bartolomeo Vanzetti for himself and Nicola Sacco to Governor Fuller, asking the executive to stay their execution and order an investigation of the whole course of their trial and conviction.

Innocence of the murders is strongly declared. They would be willing to die for the "cause" of anarchism, "freedom for all men." But, they charge, prejudice and "discrimination" against them on the part of Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at their trial at Dedham, in the fall of 1920, has convicted them of a crime they did not commit.

The two have been sentenced to die in the electric chair in the week of July 10.

The Vanzetti statement, submitted to the Governor as a substitute for the printed forms on which men convicted of crime appeal for clemency, is one of the most amazing documents which has ever figured in a criminal case in Massachusetts.

Containing more than 7,000 words and extending over twenty-four typewritten pages, it is a combination of legalistic contentions and anarchistic dreams. In places it follows almost word for word Vanzetti's speech from the dock on the day Judge Thayer pronounced sentence at Dedham. Some of its passages paraphrase the arguments in Felix Frankfurter's book. At other times his unfamiliarity with English has produced strange combinations of words which are meaningless at first glance.

Although Sacco at the end refused to sign it, the statement throughout is in the form of a joint appeal. In its opening passages it reads:

"We, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, confined in the jail at Dedham under sentence of death after conviction of the crime of murder in the first degree, hereby pray you to exercise the power conferred upon you by the Constitution of Massachusetts publicly to investigate all the facts of our cases and set us free from that sentence, if the findings will so dictate to your understanding and conscience. We deem the faculty of compassion to be one of the highest of human attributes; but here we are asking not for mercy, but for justice, and this is the reason why we have not used the printed form provided for petitions of the nature. It contains the word 'pardon,' which we are unwilling to use, although our counsel has assured us that it does not necessarily mean forgiveness or convey the idea of a confession of guilt. But we wish the utmost possible clearness and precision on this point, and are unwilling to risk being misunderstood."

"Our counsel has warned us that what we have to say may deepen the prejudice against us; but we are foremostly concerned to save what no human power except ourselves can deprive us of, our faith and our dignity, since we have already been deprived of almost all of what men can deprive men. They have no desire to hide their beliefs from the Governor, a man of conservative principles, supreme authority for a great state in its ethnic human meaning; and therefore the statement continues:

"We are anarchists, believers in anarchy, which is neither a sect nor a party, but a philosophy that like all the philosophies aims for human progress and happiness. Our goal is the ultimate elimination of every form of violence and the utmost freedom to each and all actuated by the elimination of every form of oppression and exploitation of the man by the man. Our sense and ideal of justice is based on the principle of man's self-respect and dignity, of the equality of men in their fundamental nature and in their rights and duties."

"We call ourselves libertarians, which means briefly that we believe that human perfectibility is to be obtained by the largest amount of freedom, and not by coercion, and that the bad in human nature and conduct can only be eliminated by the elimination of its causes, and not by coercion or imposition, which cause greater evil by adding bad to bad."

"We are not so foolish as to believe or to advocate that human institutions be changed in a day. The change must be gradual. But we do believe that there ought to be a change, and that it should be in the direction of more freedom and not more coercion. That is where we are opposed to every theory of authori-

tarian communism and socialism; for they would rivet more or less firmly the chains of coercion on human spirit, just as we are opposed to the present system, which is based upon coercion.

They do not deny that their fellow-anarchists in other parts of the world have committed acts of violence, but they justify such acts on the ground that "violence of tyranny has provoked the violence of the oppressed for self-defense."

"For this cause," they continue, "we are willing to suffer and to die, but not for the low and sordid South Brantree crime."

They ask the Governor, in conclusion, to make his investigations in public and not to accept the stories of those who are only willing to give them behind closed doors. The final paragraphs are:

"For these reasons and because we realize how much time and labor will be required to deal adequately with the matters to which we have called your attention, we respectfully urge you, if you doubt our statements, to cause a preliminary public investigation of our case to be made by able and distinguished men. The result cannot be convincing unless the investigation is public, so that all may know what is said against us. But in saying this we would not have you believe that we are asking for mercy or for anything but justice; or that we would purchase our lives by the surrender of our principles or of our self-respect."

Men condemned to die may be forgiven for plain speaking. We would not urge upon you anything that might seem disrespectful or incredible; but in the long run the victims of public injustice suffer less than the Government that inflicts the penalty. We can die but once and the pang of death will be but momentary, but the facts which show injustice cannot be obliterated. They will not be forgotten, and through the long years to follow they will trouble the conscience of those whose intolerance has brought us to our death, and of generations of their descendants. A mistake of justice is a tragedy. Deliberate injustice is an infamy.

"Governor Alvan T. Fuller, we have been in prison seven years, charged with a crime we did not commit, awaiting the fate that every day came nearer and nearer. Perhaps you can imagine what this has meant to us. And do you realize what this has meant to Sacco's wife and children and to Vanzetti's father and mother and family at home in Italy? It is the thought, not of our own approaching death, but of the suffering of those near and dear to us in the seven years that have passed, and of the greater suffering to come, that is the cause of our bitter grief."

"And yet we ask you not for mercy but for justice. We will not impose their sufferings or our own upon you. You cannot justly consider their suffering or ours as a ground for your official action, except that that suffering may seem to you a reason for giving the most careful and unprejudiced consideration to the two grounds of our prayer—that we are innocent and that our trial was unfair."

Lecture on H. G. Wells This Friday in the Bronx

Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx, announces the closing lecture for this season, Friday evening, May 6, at 8:30, on "H. G. Wells: The World of William Chalmers," by Mr. Lazarus E. Schlechter. A symposium as to whether Mr. Wells abandoned his Socialist ideals, together with an appraisal or estimate of that remarkable English genius will follow the lecture, at the close of which the floor will be thrown open to the public for questions and discussion. All are welcome.

Adjourned General Meeting Friday, May 6, 1927 8 P. M. AT THE

New York Labor Temple 243 East 84th Street LARGE HALL

ORDER OF BUSINESS:
1—Referendum Vote—Changes in Constitution;
Article VI, Sec. 1 and Art. VII, Sec. 6; Art. XI, Secs. 1 and 2.
2—Unfinished Business.
3—New Business.
4—Good and Welfare.
Please present your Membership Book.
The Board of Management.

PAINTERS! ATTENTION!

STAY AWAY FROM BROOKLYN! STRIKE IS IN PROGRESS!

In order to work in Brooklyn you must first register with District Council No. 29, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Existing laws on this matter will be strictly enforced.

By Order of District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

THOMAS WRIGHT, Secretary Office: 166 East 56th St., New York

LAUNDRYMEN IN HARD STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

ment; that they had, in consequence, forfeited their security, and that, should they desire to renew relations with the union, they could do so by Monday, April 18. The response of the company was another promise that it would arbitrate, though it knew full well that this was now out of the question in the absence of contractual relations. The union extended its time limit to the end of the week, and then the drivers employed by the North American, who had been in touch with the situation through frequent shop meetings, decide that they would not work under non-union conditions. On Monday, April 25, they therefore walked out.

The Inside Girls Walk Out

Then an unusual thing occurred. The girls employed on inside work declared a sympathetic strike. Such a thing could not have been imagined a short while ago, but within the last year the Joint Committee for the Organization of the Laundry Workers described in the New Leader of April 2, 1927, page 6, has been spreading the gospel of unionism. Sadie Reisch of the Women's Trade Union League and Isidore Rothberg of Local 810—both of whose organizations are affiliated with the committee—have been bearing the brunt of the organization work. The laundry workers have been bombarded with propaganda leaflets; they have been drawn into conversation with the organizers. Some have joined Local 290, which the Laundry Workers' International Union chartered for them. Others have been put in a receptive mood. Through the close relations existing among the various groups in the committee it was but natural that the strike called against the North American should be known to the organizers concentrating on the inside help. Here was a splendid opportunity not only to illustrate the lesson of labor solidarity, but also to bring material gains to the exploited inside workers.

On Monday morning, April 25, when the drivers began their picketing, the girls were on their way to report for work, oblivious of what had happened over the week-end. The actual union membership among them was not considerable, yet when they were approached and informed of the strike situation they responded quickly. First one, then another agreed to strike. Soon about thirty girls were out. Practically all were colored. The whites, native-born in general, refused to budge. They became scabs.

During the morning the company made an attempt to replenish its inside staff. Two taxicabs appeared bearing colored girls who had been hired at a Harlem agency. When the newcomers perceived that a strike was in progress they also struck, and demanded to be returned to their starting point. They displayed a wonderful spirit. Shortly afterwards another cab arrived with white girls. These agreed to work. The incident was another rejoinder to those who claim that the negro cannot be organized. Treated fairly, he makes a marvelous fighter. Such enthusiastic and courageous strikers as the girls of the North American have proven themselves to be, through routine as well as dramatic work, would be difficult to equal anywhere. And their intimate experience with unionism is but a week old. Their demands include union recognition, a \$3 increase, equal division of work, extra compensation for overtime, and shorter hours. Their pay at present ranges from \$12 to \$15 a week, and their hours of work are indefinite.

The Company Prepares to Fight
That the North American Laundry Company was not innocent of the charge that it was fomenting trouble soon became evident. One of the scabs confessed that he had been hired two weeks before the strike broke out and that he and the other strike-breakers had been ordered to be ready for sudden call. Early the first day of the strike guerrillas appeared on the premises of the firm, a half dozen or so alone "guarding" the main door, presumably to keep the unorganized policeman company. Moreover, Adolph Lowy, president of the Bronx Laundry Board of Trade, the more euphonious name for the employers' association, appeared upon the scene to give his personal assistance.

And Marie MacDonald, loyal servant of the Socialist ideal, wrote: "I had to heed your call if only in memory of the great faith my husband and my father had for the future of our movement to lead the workers and bring about a better world."

"It is a pitiful shame that in a city of over 6,000,000 inhabitants, where there should be at least three or four working class dailies, publications like The New Leader must go through such a hard struggle. Three months ago I sent you \$5. Enclosed find check for \$5 more, and my only wish is that I were able to make it a thousand times more. Let's hope that The New Leader will be saved, because I, for one, would certainly miss it very much," L. Mose said.

"Times Are Hard But We Must Give"

Another comrade felt the urge to aid The New Leader so strongly that he sent in his \$5 check despite the fact that his small bank balance made it necessary that The New Leader keep it out of the bank until the donor's next payday. "It would be too much of a misfortune for The New Leader to suspend," he declared. "Times are very hard," wrote a Buffalo comrade, who

New Leader's S. O. S. Brings Flood of Contributions From Its Readers

Mites of Supporters Pour In—General Meeting Called by Socialist Party—Branches Jump In

By Edward Levinson

IT could happen only in the Socialist movement. THE NEW LEADER'S crisis came as a surprise to its readers. In the office it could be seen approaching. Insistent bills kept mounting, always several pieces ahead of the income. Still the editors and managers hesitated to make another appeal to its readers. In three years but one appeal has gone out. However, this time the menace was real and pressing. Something had to be done—and done quickly.

And THE NEW LEADER made the only appeal it could possibly make. It sent out word to the members of its immediate family, its readers. The paper was published for them, and for them only. Did they want it to continue? The response was a revelation. Within two weeks the danger has been almost entirely eliminated. If the response continues as generous as it has been there will be but one result. THE NEW LEADER will go on, fighting the battle of Socialism, unyielding to its enemies, devoted to its cause. It can do no less. The faith of its readers, as revealed in the last two weeks, stands like a bed-rock foundation on which a mighty force for Socialism will rear itself ere long.

The danger signal hoisted, the comrades responded in double-speed time. Twenty-four hours after it had been decided that a hurry appeal must be sent to the members McAllister Coleman had written a simple but appealing letter telling the story. Two thousand of them had been mailed out. THE NEW LEADER operating expense, managerial, editorial and office, had been pruned to a bare minimum. Decks were cleared for action.

Eager Response In Every Mail

For a brief day there was suspense. How would the readers respond? Was the old idealism still awake? Had "tired radicals" and indifference sapped the Socialist movement of its store of idealism? THE NEW LEADER, only organ of Socialism in the great expanse of Eastern states, hung in the balance. How would the scales be tipped? The first mail on Monday morning brought the answer and each succeeding mail confirmed it. Cash and checks in all denominations poured in, \$1, \$50, \$25 and \$5. And as heartening as the money were the letters that accompanied them.

"Our LEADER must NOT die," Miss Elizabeth Thomas, of Milwaukee, vowed, sending \$25 to show that she meant it. Another comrade pledged \$250 if THE NEW LEADER could get three others to do the same. "It would be indeed a crying shame if you were compelled to cease publication," wrote Mark Robbins. And from Mr. and Mrs. A. Reiseroff, of Worcester, Mass., "Enclosed please find check for \$50 in acknowledgment of the good services rendered to the Socialist and Labor movement in this country by THE NEW LEADER. We earnestly hope that the Comrades will rally to the timely support of THE NEW LEADER so it may successfully continue its publication." A. J. Gotchen sent the following with a liberal contribution "Sorry I can't make it ten times as much, but hope that the Comrades generally will come to your assistance and THE NEW LEADER will be able to weather the storm."

Adding Their Mite To Build Our Fight

J. R. M. sent his mite despite the fact that, as he writes, he is "in the shadow of the poorhouse."

"I would gladly send more," he wrote, "but when a fellow is struggling along within the shadow of the poorhouse, he has only a scant chance of helping the fellow who is in the same shadow. But I will send in my \$2, as I want to do all I can for my old friend even though he dies, and I may not get another copy of it." The same faith that moved this devoted comrade will keep his old friend "from dying."

And Marie MacDonald, loyal servant of the Socialist ideal, wrote: "I had to heed your call if only in memory of the great faith my husband and my father had for the future of our movement to lead the workers and bring about a better world."

"It is a pitiful shame that in a city of over 6,000,000 inhabitants, where there should be at least three or four working class dailies, publications like The New Leader must go through such a hard struggle. Three months ago I sent you \$5. Enclosed find check for \$5 more, and my only wish is that I were able to make it a thousand times more. Let's hope that The New Leader will be saved, because I, for one, would certainly miss it very much," L. Mose said.

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Another comrade felt the urge to aid The New Leader so strongly that he sent in his \$5 check despite the fact that his small bank balance made it necessary that The New Leader keep it out of the bank until the donor's next payday. "It would be too much of a misfortune for The New Leader to suspend," he declared. "Times are very hard," wrote a Buffalo comrade, who

Washington Comrade Offers Leader \$250 Providing Three Others Will Give the Same Amount

A Comrade in the national capital, learning of the need of The New Leader, makes a generous proposition that is a challenge to the thousands of other supporters of his paper. His letter speaks for itself; here it is. He asks that his name be withheld. It will be supplied to those interested. Comrade "M" writes:

Washington, D. C.,
April 29th, 1927.

The New Leader,
New York City.

Dear Comrades:

Here is a proposition:
I will donate \$250 to The New Leader, provided you get three other comrades to also contribute \$250 each. I may have to kick somebody in the shins to get mine. But with my \$250 under such conditions, it may be the incentive for others to shoot at the target.

There is only one thing worse than hell that I can think of, and that is the hell of a lot of Socialists who will be without The New Leader fighting our battles!

Fraternally,

"M."

We may add that Comrade "M" has been one of the most constant and helpful friends The New Leader has had since it began publication. Every year he has paid for having the paper sent to 50 public libraries. Who will match this Comrade?

nevertheless could not keep from sending in his \$10.

And Workmen's Circle Branch 42 sent \$5, its secretary, M. Ehrlich, adding: "We are only too sorry that our means do not allow us to be more liberal. Considering the value of this paper, with its unbounded store of Socialist thought and information, we should like to see all branches of the Workmen's Circle pledged to support The New Leader."

Another Workmen's Circle Branch, 284, of Ontario, Canada, is "struggling with a big deficit," but thought that "it would be better than nothing." Morris Wolfman of Brooklyn sent his \$5 hoping "that all freedom and truth-loving workers and intellectuals will not fail to respond promptly to the appeal and thereby save the only 'Leader' worth following."

There are hundreds of similar letters before us. Space cannot permit the printing of all of them. As we write, the postman lays some more on our desk, and among them is one we cannot help quoting. It enclosed \$2 and says: "I received your request for a donation. I wish I could give \$1,000 to the cause, but I am a poor man, 81 years old, and have no income. But the few dollars I have I will share with The New Leader."

Comrades Meet To Plan and Aid

This is a many-sided story. It deserves the telling for all comrades who read it will feel inspired. It is a glimpse into the spirit of devotion lying dormant which, once touched off, will fire our American Socialist movement on to successes of which it never dreamed. Appeals by letters were not enough. Worried New York comrades gathered in the Rand School Wednesday evening, April 27, determined to see that their paper keeps alive. It was a small gathering, less than 40 being present because of the short time available in which to spread the announcement of the meeting.

These forty comrades came together to discuss The New Leader's problems. They appreciated the first problem—the need for funds. Before the evening was over a large sum had been raised, in cash and in pledges. Many of the pledges have already been redeemed. As is almost always the case, Comrade Morris Berman's name led all the rest. Comrade Abraham L. Shipiloff, after giving \$25 of his own, pledged the sale of 300 subscription cards to his union members—the members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union. Comrades William Karlin and Harry W. Laidler, who had been among the first to answer the letter appealing for funds, responded liberally again.

It was Comrade Karlin, we believe, who made a suggestion that has been adopted as a definite procedure for all contributions received. For every dollar received, the donors will receive

a prepaid subscription card which will entitle the holder to a six months' subscription to THE NEW LEADER. Many comrades have already received these cards. As soon as the heavily overburdened office staff is able, the other cards will be sent out. Thus every dollar contributed should bring a new reader to THE NEW LEADER.

General Conference Called by Party

The Socialist Party, whose ideals are the sole reason for the existence of THE NEW LEADER, responded by calling a special general membership meeting to be held in the Rand School the evening of May 18, at which the problems of THE NEW LEADER are to be discussed by Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Toni Sender of Germany, and others. At the party's May Day meetings, THE NEW LEADER was the most important order of business. In the last two weeks, at union meetings and party meetings more than 100 subscriptions were sold. May Day issues of the paper were sold at all May Day meetings, as well as at the Polo Grounds where the big Hakoah soccer game was taking place. The Young Peoples Socialist League was Johnny-on-the-spot as newsworthy for these gatherings.

Among the party branches to respond, particularly prominent was the 23rd A. D. of Brownsville, which first turned over part of the proceeds of a theatre party, and followed it up with a membership meeting at which each of the members was assessed \$1 (for which they are to receive subscription cards). Louis P. Goldberg, who had already made one generous contribution sponsored the idea. He'll have to go a long way, however, to beat Comrade Sadie Rivkin, a colleague in his branch and in the legal profession. Comrade Rivkin proposed an automobile outing into Long Island and be held, charging \$2 a head, the proceeds to go to THE NEW LEADER. The idea was accepted unanimously.

A. R. and Unions Help "New Leader Follies" May 13

There are other items in this story of the devotion of men and women to a cause. We could tell how the conventions of the Workmen's Circle and the Capmakers' Union gave greetings to NEW LEADER representatives and assurances of financial aid; how the comrades in Boston, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are lining up for their paper; how the trade unions of New York City responded with so many May Day greetings that most of the reading matter was crowded out of an already enlarged edition; how Art Young, James Phillips, McAllister Coleman and others volunteered to ap-

Banquet to Be Given Panken Friday Evening, May 20th

THE Socialist party and Trade Union Reception Committee, organized by the 6-8-12th A. D. Branch, announces a reception and banquet to Judge Jacob Panken in celebration of his ten years on the bench as Municipal Court Justice and his many years of splendid service in the labor and Socialist movement. This banquet will be held in Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street, on Friday evening, May 20, at 7 o'clock. Representatives of several hundred trade unions, Workmen's Circle and Socialist party branches will be present. Reservations are \$3 per cover. Invitations have been sent out and the response is more than gratifying. All those who have not received a personal invitation, due to some oversight, are requested to get in touch with the committee, 7 East 15th street, at once. Indications are that this banquet will not only do full justice as a demonstration of affection and esteem for Comrade Panken, but it will also be one of the most remarkable gatherings of labor and Socialists in recent years.

The honorary committee: Morris Hillquit, chairman; Morris Berman, treasurer; Luigi Antonini, Paul Arnone, Abraham Beckerman, Samuel Beardsley, August Bellanca, N. Chanin,

Samuel A. De Witt, David Dubinsky, Max Danish, J. Effret, Frank Bellanca, Louis D. Berger, Morris Elmenreich, J. Baskin, Michael Brown, S. John Block, Abraham Cahan, August Claessens, Jos. Cotalanoti, Julius G. Cohen, E. F. Cassidy, Joseph Cohen, Sidney Hillman, Julius Hochman, H. Heller, L. Hollander, D. Hoffman, Arthur Garfield Hays, B. Jackson, William Kohn, A. Kohn, William Karlin, Alexander Kahn, N. Feinerman, Morris Feinstein, Max Freund, J. Goldstein, Julius Gerner, P. Gelber, A. Giovannitti, Joseph Gold, G. Goetz, G. Goodman, Adolph Held, James Oneal, Samuel Orr, N. Pillot, Max Pine, H. Rosenberg, Alexander Rose, Louis Rainist, H. Rogoff, Morris Sigman, Martin Sigel, Alphonse Lee, William Lehman, Harry W. Laidler, William Lehman, Abraham Mendelowitz, Patrick J. Murphy, Peter Monat, Jack Melhado, Salvatore Ninfo, L. Silverman, Abraham Shipiloff, Nathaniel Spector, Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas, E. Charney, Vladimir, Gioramo Valenti, Eugene Wagner, Louis Waldman, Molly Weingarten, Max Zuckerman, Abraham Zucker.

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Near Troy Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

MAX ZARITSKY TO BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF CAPMAKERS' UNION

The 16th regular convention of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, now in session in Beethoven Hall, New York City, will in all probability elect Max Zaritsky, its former president, to fill that position again. The great majority of the delegates want Mr. Zaritsky to assume the helm which he held so ably for a number of years. If he can be led to accept the position, his election is a certainty.

The first few days of the convention occupied itself with routine matters for the most part. William Karling, addressing the convention on behalf of The New Leader, was well received. Norman Thomas spoke on behalf of the League for Industrial Democracy, Henry Fruchter for the Naturalization Aid League.

A small but vociferous group of Communist delegates succeeded in wasting considerable time of the delegates, occupying an entire morning session with a vain effort to secure affiliation of the union with the Communist "Hands Off China" committee, which has been repudiated by Joseph F. Ryan, president of the central labor council. The Communists made much of the alleged affiliation of Dr. Harry F. Ward with the committee, despite the fact that he has never authorized the use of his name by it. A resolution of sympathy for the Chinese revolution and urging a "hands off" policy for the United States was adopted.

PECHTER AND MESSING RYE BREAD BAKERS LOCK OUT WORKERS

While most of the bakeries in New York signed up with the Bakers' Union, two of the largest employers in the industry, the Pechter Baking Company, which operates 13 plants in various parts of the city, and the Messing Bread Company, which also employs several hundred workers, refused to grant the union its demand for uniform conditions in the various plants.

In previous years when the workers were organized in five local unions covering different parts of the city, it very often happened that workers employed by the same firm in plants operated under different jurisdictions worked under widely varying conditions. Recently the five locals were combined into one local union covering the entire greater city. In presenting the new agreement to be signed by the employers for the coming year, the union presented a uniform scale of wages and hours for the whole city.

The above mentioned large firms are making a concerted effort to establish open shop conditions. The union in turn is preparing to carry on a vigorous strike to compel union recognition and terms. The public is urged to help the striking bakers by insisting on the union label when purchasing bread.

DEBATE Is War Beneficial to the Working Class?

HARRY WATON Says YES!

HENRY JAGER Says NO!

BISHOP PAUL JONES, Chairman
Friday May 6, 8 P. M.

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A DEBATE "THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT VERSUS THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM"

Will be Debated by
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
and BERTRAM D. WOLFE
On FRIDAY EVE., MAY 13, 1927

at the
COMMUNITY CHURCH
34th Street and Park Avenue
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Will Preside
Auspices: Bronx Free Fellowship,
1301 Boston Road

Tickets, at 50c and 75c cents, can be secured at 1301 Boston Road, The Community Church, and the Jimmie Higgins Book Store, University Place, near 14th Street.

TOTAL \$1,672.00
*Indicated sell subscriptions to amount indicated.

SACCO PROTEST CONTINUES TO SPREAD

1,000 in N. Y. C. Join Strike Move—Four Meetings Planned for Bronx

NEVER has a governor of an American State been so overwhelmed with petitions and protests as Governor Fuller of Massachusetts in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti while mass meetings are not confined to workers alone. Not since the Dreyfus case in France have victims of a miscarriage of justice received such world-wide sympathy.

The Liberal Club of Yale University in New Haven, at a mass meeting, urged a review of the trial proceedings. Professor Charles B. Clark, of the Yale Law School, said that, while the case appeared to be a prosecution for murder it was really a persecution for radical beliefs.

Professor Frankfurter said "every reasonable probability points away from Sacco and Vanzetti and toward the Morelli gang. Unfortunately, the motions for a new trial have come before the Judge who tried the case, and he has more and more taken them as an attack upon himself."

Dean Hutchins said: "Intelligent people everywhere are alarmed at the thought that in America and in one of the most enlightened of American jurisdictions impartial scholars may allege that the defendants may have been convicted of murder not because they are guilty of the crimes charged but because their social and political views are different from those of the average juror."

Meantime Sacco and Vanzetti have forwarded a joint petition to Governor Fuller asking for a reversal of sentence.

The determination of both men not to ask for mercy, and their willingness to go to the electric chair rather than repudiate their philosophical ideals, delayed the completion of the petition for nearly two weeks, against all the arguments and advice of their counsel and friends.

The New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, representing 300 ministers serving churches in the States of New York and Connecticut, at their session on Monday, April 25, passed the following resolution.

"In common with a multitude of our fellow citizens we, the members of the New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are deeply moved by the status of two men, Sacco and Vanzetti, condemned to death under the procedure of the Courts of the State of Massachusetts, and we believe that the interest of justice will best be served if the Governor of Massachusetts shall see fit to take such steps as are within his power to provide that the evidence in this case be adequately and impartially reviewed."

A petition signed by twenty-five professors and instructors of Clark University at Worcester asks that, "since grave doubts exist as to the justice of the verdict in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, a special commission of competent and disinterested citizens be appointed to scrutinize closely all the evidence now available and report to the Governor."

James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, wrote asking the Governor either to grant a pardon or appoint a commission to review the case.

Alexander M. Bing, President of the City Housing Corporation of New York, urged the appointment of a commission to examine the evidence. The Trades and Labor Council of Coventry, England, sent a cable protesting against "the proposed judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti."

The Proletarian Party of New York sent the following telegram:

"The Proletarian Party of New York, after a thorough investigation of the evidence of the Brintree case, is convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti are no more guilty than you are. The least you can do is to pardon them. Even that is far short of justice."

The New Jersey State branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom requests the Governor to appoint a citizens' committee of investigation.

One thousand Italian members of Ladies' Dress and Waistmakers' Union Local 89, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have voted to participate in a general strike of Italian workers in protest against the proposed execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Massachusetts radicals facing the electric chair. The date for the brief protest strike will be fixed by Il Nuovo Mondo, the New York radical Italian daily.

The meeting, which was a ratification rally for the installation of local union officials, was unanimous in its condemnation of the treatment received by the two condemned men. Resolutions were adopted and promptly forwarded to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts, voicing the membership's protest.

Cooper Union Forum, held under the auspices of the People's Institute, has passed a resolution calling upon Governor Fuller of Massachusetts for an impartial investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial.

Everett Dean Martin, director of the Institute, presented the resolution prior to his lecture. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Fascists' Reduction Of Unemployed Shown as Propaganda Myth

By Prof. Gaetana Salvemini

(This is the third of four articles prepared by Professor Gaetana Salvemini, noted Italian educator, edited from Italy by the Fascist dictatorship, giving specific facts and figures as to the condition of the wage-earning masses under Fascism. These articles were prepared expressly for THE NEW LEADER and International Labor News Service.)

ANOTHER of the miracles claimed by the Fascist dictatorship in Italy is that of having reduced unemployment to a minimum, notwithstanding the fact that emigration has also been reduced to the lowest possible level. In this connection the "propaganda" gives the following figures: Firstly, it states that while during the five years before the war, the average number of emigrants from Italy was 670,000 per annum, it dropped to 400,000 in 1924, and to 300,000 in 1925. Secondly, it states that the Fascist regime reduced the unemployment figures from over 600,000 in January, 1923, to 100,000 in 1926.

These figures, too, are cooked for the purposes of "propaganda." As regards emigration, "propaganda" gives the figures only of those who leave the country, and omits the number of those who return.

Before the war 90 percent of the emigrants to the other countries of Europe returned to Italy, and 83 percent from overseas. Therefore the net emigration figure was not 670,000 per annum, but, roughly speaking, between 160,000 and 200,000.

After the war there were 400,000 Italian emigrants in 1920, 300,000 in 1922, 400,000 in 1923 and 1924, and 300,000 in 1925. But in the post-war period also the number of those who repatriate must be deducted from the total number of emigrants. In 1922, the number of repatriations was only 111,000; in 1923, 115,000; in 1924, 168,000, and in 1925, 180,000. That is to say, the net emigration was 180,000 in 1922, 285,000 in 1923 and 1924, and 120,000 in 1925.

It must also be remembered that

subsequently, that others are forever disabled, and that finally, a million men died from epidemic during the war. It would be safe to estimate that there was a loss of two million workers between 1915 and 1918—emigrants, who, alas, will return no more.

It will be seen, therefore, that the disproportion advanced by the Fascist propagandists between the pre-war average of 670,000 emigrants per annum and the post-war average of 400,000, does not exist. The truth is that, in 1923 and 1924, the net emigration exceeded pre-war emigration by 100,000 (even if we do not count the men who died as a direct result of the war); it was only in 1925 that emigration fell to 120,000, and this is the first year since the war in which it has been lower than before the war.

Therefore, during the first years of the "new era," not only had the Fascist government no difficulties to contend with from decreased emigration, but it had the advantage of a net emigration figure which had, on the whole, increased.

Following his usual habit of assuming, when it suits his purpose, the credit of all that happens or does not happen, Mussolini declared in the Senate on December 11, 1924: "We have succeeded in increasing the figure of our emigrants from a figure which in 1921 and 1922 had fallen below 300,000, to 400,000 in 1923, and to 260,000 in the first eight months of the current year."

In order to fully understand the practical consequences to the economic life of Italy of the post-war changes in the migratory currents, we must consider the following table:

European Emigration			
Average	1909-13	1924	
North of Italy.....	400,000	196,000	
Central Italy.....	200,000	35,000	
Southern Italy.....	15,000	19,000	
Islands.....	8,000	11,000	

Overseas Emigration			
Average	1909-13	1924	
North of Italy.....	71,000	36,000	
Central Italy.....	47,000	13,000	
Southern Italy.....	187,000	54,000	
Islands.....	95,000	23,000	

These figures show that, in northern and central Italy, there has been a decrease of late years no increase in the working population as compared with pre-war years. On the contrary, taking into account the men who died in the war years, there has been a decrease in men power.

tions of the Executive Board will be presented to the membership at this meeting.

Local 38 to Celebrate

Local 38, the Amalgamated Silver Workers' Union, affiliated with the International Jewelry Workers' Union, will hold a celebration this Friday evening, May 6, to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the organization of the local. An excellent entertainment has been provided for the members and invited guests from other locals and from the district council. The speakers will be Samuel A. Beardsley, president of the district council, and James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader.

Students at St. John's Organize to Study Social Problems

As a result of the recent agitation by some jurists regarding the deficiency of the cultural background of law students, students of the St. John's College School of Law, Brooklyn, have decided to organize a "Social Club" which will conduct lectures, discussions and debates on economic, political, scientific and philosophical subjects, and so show the outside world that the knowledge of the students of our law school is not confined to law only, and that cultural subjects are well within their comprehension.

The meetings of the club will be held in Room A of the Law School Building, 54 Court Street, Brooklyn, every Friday at 9 p. m., beginning with May 6.

Sacco and Vanzetti Meetings in the Bronx

FOUR huge outdoor mass meetings will be held Friday evening, May 6, in the Bronx. Platforms will be placed at the following corners:

Longwood and Prospect avenues, Intervale and Wilkins avenues, Claremont Parkway and Washington avenue, 180th street and Daly avenue. These meetings will be advertised by leaflets distributed in the neighborhood and the platforms will be appropriately decorated with banners and signs indicating their character. A galaxy of speakers will address the audiences on the trial and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, and plead to use every influence possible in the various organizations of which they may be members to send a barrage of telegrams and resolutions to the Governor of Massachusetts to intervene in the case of these unfortunate victims and to grant them a full and complete pardon. At each of these

mass meetings a copy of the telegram to be sent to the Governor will be read and put to a vote. The following speakers will address these meetings: Judge Jacob Finken, William Karlin, Samuel Orr, Beardsley, A. I. Shipcliff, August Claessens, Frank J. Burke (one of the witnesses for the defense), Samuel A. De Witt, Fred Paulitsch, Isidore Phillips, William Morris Fegenbaum, Louis Waldman, Abraham Kaufman, Pierre Di No, Rev. Ethelred Brown, Rev. Dr. Leon R. Land, Frank Crosswaith, Morris Novik, Ben Goodman, Nathan Fine, Louis Finken, Joseph Turvin, Edward Levinson, Marjorie Hansome, Henry Fruchter and Bernard Schuch.

(Special Note:—All speakers and chairmen of committees are requested to gather on corner of Longwood and Prospect avenues, where machines will be on hand to take them to their respective meetings. Committees must be on hand before 8 p. m.)

RAND SCHOOL "Sacco and Vanzetti No More Guilty Than I Am," N. Y. Judge Declares

Plans for Next Year Mark Resurgence of High Tide for Socialist Education

By Algernon Lee

Educational Director, Rand School of Social Science

WITHIN the next few days the Rand School of Social Science will complete its twenty-first year of educational service to the Socialist and Labor movement of the United States. It has been a successful year, full of promise not only for the school but for the movement to which it belongs. The number of students has been materially larger than it was in 1925-26. More significant still, there has been a larger proportion attending study classes, as compared with those who only listened to lectures.

The planning of lecture courses, by the way, was somewhat alighted this year, because it was necessary to concentrate attention on the Workers' Training Course, which had to be arranged on short notice, when it became quite late in the summer that the scholarship plan could be financed. This difficulty has been overcome. We have now the assurance of scholarship funds for 1927-28, and have been able to plan farther ahead than we could do in previous years.

The program of courses for the next season, which is to begin on September 12 and run till May 12, is now almost completed and will be described in full in a bulletin to be issued this month.

There are to be eighty scholarships for trade unionists in the Workers' Training Course, twenty-five for Yip-sels, four given by the Women's Committee, and possibly a few others.

Louis S. Stanley, whose articles in The New Leader have commanded favorable attention, will have personal charge of the courses in Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. But his work will be supplemented by lecture courses on Industrial Policies of American Trade Unions, by Dr. Leo Wolman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the National Bureau of Economic Research; on Practical Problems of Union Organization, by Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; on Historic Struggles of American Labor, by Prof. Paul Brissenden of Columbia University.

Mrs. Esther Friedman will give a course entitled "The Case for Socialism," to be followed by Questions for Socialists, with August Claessens and Algernon Lee as instructors, and a series of lectures by Dr. Henry Laidler on Socialism and Kindred Movements.

David P. Berenberg will conduct study classes in Modern World History and American Social History; Marius Hansome in Data and Problems of Sociology; Algernon Lee in Descriptive Economics and Economic Theory; and August Claessens will have the work in Public Speaking.

Claessens will give also two lecture courses, on Elements of Social Progress and on Sex and Society. Prof. Broadus Mitchell will be with the school again, lecturing on Recent Economic Changes. Joseph M. Osman will again give his courses in Psychology of Personality and in Social Psychology.

Among the courses in the field of natural science will be The Origin of Species, by Prof. Henry E. Crampton of Columbia; The Ascent of Man, by Prof. Samuel C. Schuker, author of "The Meaning of Evolution" and "Man's Life on Earth," and Experimental Science and Human Welfare, by Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg of the National Association for Medical Progress.

The addition of John Macy to the school's staff of lecturers will no doubt win approval. His subject will be Great American Books and Writers. V. F. Calverton is to spend the summer abroad, and will lecture in the fall on The New Drama in Europe.

This is far from being a complete list of the courses already scheduled, but it is enough to show the richness of the program laid out.

The Rand School lays its chief emphasis on study classes and on those subjects that most directly touch the political and economic interests and activities of the working class. It holds, however, that all the knowledge, art and culture of the ages is the rightful heritage of the masses, and aims to help its frequenters to develop as all-round men and women.

Full of confidence that the days of depression are past, that we are entering on a new period of militant working-class activity, the Rand School extends greeting to The New Leader and through it to the rank and file of the unions and of the Socialist Party.

(Continued from page 1)

secrets of the Department of Justice. The keeping of department secrets seems to be more important to this Judge than the sacredness of the lives of human beings and to preserve that degree of justice which protects the rights of men in a duly constituted government. It seems almost unbelievable that these men have been denied the right to prove their innocence in the face of the plain facts as they exist.

The foreman of the jury that convicted them—a man by the name of Ripley, a former chief of police of the little Massachusetts town of Quincy—while sitting as a juror had in his possession cartridges of the same caliber used in the shooting of two men at South Braintree, and used them as evidence. That same man Ripley told a man by the name of Daly that he wanted to serve on the jury in the case of the two "guinies," and in response to a statement of Daly that he believed Sacco and Vanzetti were not guilty, Ripley, before he was drawn as a juror, said: "Dam them, they ought to hang, anyway." A chief of police foreman of a jury! His psychology, by reason of his occupation, excludes any belief in innocence.

There were witnesses who saw the man who committed the crime. One of them was a man by the name of Gould, and although he gave his name and address to the police and told them that he had seen the automobile and the persons using the revolver within five feet of him, he was never called upon to testify. Gould, since the conviction, has gotten in touch with the defense, and he positively says that the man who did the shooting was not Sacco.

Captain Proctor's Part

That brings me to Captain Proctor. Courts are instituted not for the purpose of punishing innocent men. They are instituted to punish the criminals, and it is the duty of the judge as well as the district attorney to preserve the liberty of those falsely accused of crime. When courts and district attorneys fall to the level of withholding testimony or of suborning perjury a blow has been struck at the very foundation of government.

Judge Thayer charged, as I have already told you, that Proctor testified that the bullet which was taken from the body of Beradelli came from Sacco's pistol. But here is what he said when he was asked the question, "Have you an opinion as to whether the bullet came from the Colt automatic which is in evidence?" "I have." "And what is your opinion?" "My opinion is that it is consistent with being fired from that pistol."

"Nowhere does he say that it was fired from that pistol. That is not all. Here is what Proctor said in an affidavit: 'At no time was I able to find any evidence which convinced me that the particular mortal bullet found in Beradelli's body came from a Colt automatic pistol, which I think was numbered 3, and I so informed the district attorney and his assistant before the trial.' And again he says: 'At the trial the district attorney did not ask me whether I had found any evidence that the so-called mortal bullet which I have referred to as No. 3 passed through Sacco's pistol, nor was I asked that question on cross-examination. The district attorney desired to ask me that question, but I repeatedly told him that if he did I shall be obliged to answer in the negative.' Captain Proctor is still of that opinion. That is, that he could not swear that that particular bullet came from Sacco's pistol. It is significant, my fellow-citizens, that the district attorney, Mr. Katzman, and his assistant, Mr. Williams, did not deny the statements made by Captain Proctor.

Proof of Railroaded Here we have a situation where Judge Thayer charged the jury that Proctor testified that the bullet came from Sacco's pistol. No evidence to support that statement. Here we have the statement from Proctor, under oath, that he would not testify that the bullet came from Sacco's pistol. The jury, however, had been led to believe that the proof showed that the bullet came from Sacco's pistol. Can there be any question that these men were railroaded? Can there be any question that the district attorney's office had withheld testimony favorable to the defendants? Can there be any question that the district attorney deliberately manufactured testimony against the defendants?

Let me direct your attention to one more fact that undoubtedly convicts the judge of prejudice. On the motion for the prosecution and the defense, he gave testimony that clearly pointed to the gang who committed the crime—a gang known as the Morelli gang. In the shadow of the electric chair this man confessed the crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti have been convicted and for which they are threatened to be executed. Yet that confession was disregarded and the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has upheld the decision of this prejudiced judge in Plymouth. I do not know but what I would rather be tried by Madeiros than by Thayer, for Madeiros shows

at least some sentiment when he says, "I have seen Sacco's wife come up here with kids, and I am sorry for the kids." Has the state as much human kindness as Madeiros?

These two men were arrested because they were radicals. They were charged with a crime that they have never committed, because, as an agent of the Department of Justice said: "If they were convicted of murder, it would be one way of disposing of those two radicals."

My fellow-citizens, it is not only a question in which the lives of these two men are concerned. It is a question which concerns our entire conception of the administration of justice. Are we to permit legalism to stand in the way of justice?

Law is instituted among men to bring the greatest measure of justice to all. It has no place in civilized society unless it performs that function. It should never be used to perpetrate injustice. The Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts technically may be right. I would rather be technically wrong and humanly right.

There is one hope left for those men and that is an awakened conscience in America. If the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts, because of an outworn precedent, does not step in to undo an injustice, it becomes the duty of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to enact a law giving them that power.

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INDIANA STRIP MINE OPERATORS SIGN PACT WITH MINE STRIKERS

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—An agreement has been reached between the United Mine Workers of America, District 11, Indiana, and the Indiana Coal Producers' Association, representing the stripping mine operators of the State, on the basis of the Jacksonville scale. The agreement is for a period of two years. The tonnage produced by strip pit workings is about 20 per cent. of the State's total coal production.

Fred S. McConnell, president of the operators, and Harvey Cartwright and William Mitch, president and secretary of the district union, were the chiefs in the negotiations assisted by a sub-committee of miners and operators. The contract was renewed with only slight changes in the wording in respect to working conditions.

Conditions in the bituminous mine fields, following suspension of work April 1, are unchanged. Negotiations of separate agreements in many of the districts with operators who desire to keep their mines running during the final adjustment of the wage proposition in the central competitive field are being announced from day to day. Ohio miners and operators have thus far failed to get together. There are perhaps 3,000 men working in Ohio and about 50,000 idle.

The big fight against the union is being conducted in the Pittsburgh district where the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the largest organization of its kind in the country, is battling to break the union. The miners, however, have made serious inroads on the company's production, despite the importation of scab labor and gunmen.

Returns of the elections to the Austrian Parliament show that an increasing number of the young generation is voting with the Socialists, and this gives the bourgeois parties some concern. The anti-Socialist leaders intend to give more attention to young voters in the hope of winning them for conservative views.

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Are the Tabloid Newspapers a Force for Progress?

Battles for Labor Cited As Pictorials' Work

By Martin H. Weyrauch

TABLOID journalism to many persons has become a matter of emotion. Those who admire this departure from conventionalism are impatient of criticisms directed against it. Those who oppose it are often even more violent in their opinions. Many otherwise reasonable people permit their judgment to be swayed in a tidal wave of passion. They flatly refuse to consider evidence that might tend to controvert their set views on the subject. It is evident that there must be something immensely vital in an institution that causes such virulent reactions.

Tabloids upset the equilibrium of impenetrable conservatives. This is because they rush in where conventionalists have feared to tread. Two tabloids fought shoulder to shoulder with the workers during the bitterly contested textile strike in Passaic. Camera men of the Mirror and the Graphic were beaten up. Their reporters were threatened with jail. But the tabloids fought on. They printed pictures of police Cosmacks riding down and beating helpless men and women. They fired editorial broadsides and published scathingly truthful news. They roused public sentiment. Results of a definitely constructive nature were accomplished. The strikers' bulletin in commenting on this, said:

The Graphic has watched the fight since last January and takes pride in having brought it to the floor of the United States Senate through Senator Borah. Last week this newspaper called a halt to the practice of beating up strikers who are fighting for their rights and a living wage.

An Advanced Journalism

Such journalism is a definite advance in the application of the force of public opinion to economic injustices. It is a type of work constantly being done by tabloids. The Graphic, for instance, was the only newspaper in the United States that backed up the People's Legislative Service in battling a proposed three billion dollar food merger that aimed to control every variety of foodstuff from the farm to the dinner table. A series of articles calling attention to the sinister meaning of the merger was followed by a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall. Senator La Follette and other speakers drove home the salient point that if this plan were permitted to be consummated the average American citizen would pay in increased cost of everything he ate. Not a single big newspaper joined this fight. Yet the roar of protest caused by one tabloid's exposure was so vigorous that it reverberated in Washington. The food grab melted into vapor, lacking courage to face the fight it knew would be inevitable.

During the long coal strike of last season this same tabloid made arrangements for delivery to small consumers of available coal at wholesale rates, blocking a threatened price discrimination against the very poor. It then devoted its attention to bringing about an amicable settlement that would be fair to miners as well as mine owners. A mass meeting was held, the feature of which was a debate on the merits of the issue. This was broadcast via radio. Shortly after, the strike was settled with satisfaction to the belligerents on both sides. George Gordon Battle, presiding officer, said: "The meeting held at Cooper Union and the resolutions passed at that meeting were undoubtedly a cause to the happy settlement." In this opinion he was joined by representatives of both sides to the controversy.

Steel Mills Exposed
The Daily News early in its career sent a skilled reporter to become a worker in the Pennsylvania steel mills. His articles revealed conditions that had been available to any similar inquiry for many years, but that had never been touched by the big press. They caused wide comment. And while other factors undoubtedly tended to the same result, it is reasonable to presume that this tabloid helped bring about a state of mind that led Judge Gary later to concede the wisdom of an eight hour day.

Matters that dig to the root of similar existing economic unpleasantness may or may not be taboo in the sedate press. It should be noted, however, that campaigns along such lines have not formed a prominent part of their recent activities. Their policies are often concerned with the dust and bones of dead issues that long ago should have had the benefit of decent interment.

On the other hand tabloids are always busy with current affairs that concern the people in a hundred and one ways as well as in their economic status. No appeal is too small for consideration. Their scheme of sympathetic, constructive service is as varied as human activities. It comprehends such a simple matter as reuniting an elderly husband and wife who had become separated in the rush and roar of our great city, finding them a home, and, most constructive of all, getting him a job and restoring his pathetic little family to society. It comprehends such great efforts as fighting for the life of a boy otherwise completely deserted.

A Losing Fight

A case of that sort was handled on behalf of the Graphic by the humanitarian Mrs. Rose Falls Brea, attorney, and past president of the National Women's Lawyers' Association. This devoted woman recently returned from Florida, where she sought simple justice for a young New Yorker caught in the meshes of

religious and racial bigotry and condemned to die. Abandoned by his fellow-countrymen, by religious institutions, by every class of society, he had sent a despairing plea to a tabloid for help.

Help was extended that counted largely in his favor. It stayed one death sentence by a last minute reprieve. But Mrs. Brea found that certain mis-called "liberals" of New York were so set upon embarrassing tabloids that they gave tremendous encouragement to what in Florida passed for "law and order." As a result of their untimely activities, whatever chance this poor, half-crazed youth might have had for life was blotted out. He went to the gallows a victim not alone of the legal lynx law of the South, but of the moral lynx law of our northern intolerance.

This case of Charlie Perelli points out one of the elements of tabloid journalism that has done much to elevate tabloids in popular estimation above the older newspapers. It demonstrates that there is a new agency in this country which not only listens to the cry of distressed humanity, but busies itself about the practical work of relief. In the past there has been plenty of criticism of such conditions. It is a sign of progress that definite steps are being taken toward overcoming glaring wrongs.

The cases I have cited are random items skimmed from the surface of passing events. There are innumerable forms of similar constructive work constantly being done by tabloid newspapers. All this is non-conformist. It breaks away from the established routine of conservative journalism. And it is a wholesome influence in this land of liberty where the current policy has been to standardize everything from automobiles and women's haircuts to education and personal habits.

A Non-Conformist Size

Their small size has had much to do with bringing about non-conformity on the part of tabloids. They have no space to waste. In consequence their news is cut down by the elimination of superfluities and repetitions. This condenses action to its simple dramatic essentials, and makes every well written tabloid article seem startlingly sensational. Analysis will show that, as a matter of fact, there is nothing in any tabloid news story that is not told in most of the big papers in much greater detail. Tabloids also use pictures to pack the visualization of current events into condensed space—a matter that has been the butt of much thoughtless criticism. Pictures always have been used to tell stories from the time of the cro magnon cave dweller to the present, when speedy presses grind out elaborate rotogravure sections by the hundreds of thousands for even the most conservative dailies.

In considering the status of tabloids it is fair to ask whether their editorial policy is as progressive as are their news campaigns. In answer to that I think it better to make a few direct quotations rather than to draw generalizations that might be open to argument.

On January 14, when everything seemed to be shaping into immediate trouble for the United States in its relationship with the nation south of the Rio Grande, the Graphic published an editorial with this heading: "THE BLOOD OF LIBERTY WILL NOT MIX WITH OIL—Remember! Your

Sons, and Not the Financiers Will Be Sent to Face the Bullets, if We Are Pushed into War with Mexico." The first few words of that editorial read: "Citizens of America, your beloved nation is on the verge of war. Unless you say 'Stop!' our armed forces may soon be marching to crush the liberty of a neighboring state under iron heel."

A Peace Petition
Graphic readers did say "Stop!" They said it more than 10,000 strong. Their petitions for peace clogged our mail for days. These were forwarded to Washington. A day or two later the Senate announced its unanimous vote for armistice.

This tabloid's attitude on the travesty of justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is indicated in a recent editorial, from which I quote in part: "Somebody is seriously wrong with American courts. In many of them justice has been kicked out. . . . Massachusetts justice has swept two human beings into its implacable grasp and has ordained that their lives shall be burnt out in the electric chair. . . . Why? Sacco and Vanzetti are Italians. They used their voices to protest against war. . . . (Regardless of what they think) Americans of every class, race and creed should stand aside under the law. And all should have equal protection."

On the more general topic of individual liberty I take a paragraph or two from the edition of Saturday, April 30: "The padlock threatens to become the national emblem of America. Lawmakers have found that this new legislative device can be used with tremendous effect. . . . The Constitution upon which our government was established provides against everything that interferes with the free exercise of any religion; against the abridgment of freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . . Padlock laws are a direct attack at every one of those inalienable rights of American citizenship."

2,000 in New York

My space has spun nearly to its end. I have aimed to direct attention at specific instances that point to the spirit of tabloid journalism. That spirit is one of constructive service through self-help. It does not make a fetish of printing every last line about every last event that takes place. It gets back to the unmechanical desire for individual freedom of expression and development that market the great days of American journalism. It is a spirit that cares much less about tradition than it does about humanity and its unquestioned right to determine its own destiny.

There has been a definite response to this. In seven years tabloid journalism has grown from zero to more than two million copies sold daily in this vicinity alone. When an institution meets with such hearty endorsement in the plebeian of average humanity it is a safe assumption that it has substantial merit and that it is in step with the present day—a day that has seen the mask torn from hypocrisy and evasion and that is much more unafraid of truth than any previous day has been.

Mr. De Witt Replies

Mr. Weyrauch's splendid exposition of what the petit journalists have accomplished in recent years is something we cannot quarrel with decently. We do not now intend to deny that in the

The Debaters



MARTIN H. WEYRAUCH is the Managing Editor of the New York Evening Graphic, one of the most successful tabloid dailies in the country. He has been with The Graphic since its inception, starting as City Editor. He is a well known figure in the newspaper world, serving the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, among other publications, as city editor. He is the author of numerous magazine articles, writes poetry and has a very sympathetic feeling for liberal and radical ideas.



SAMUEL A. DE WITT is pictured by State Senator Antin in his new book as "The Great De Witt," ferocious and powerful warrior for the Socialist cause. He was elected to the New York State Legislature, served a few terms, kicked out once, and left of his own volition another time. He has written many articles, and, like his opponent, is a poet. He runs a machine tool business as a side line.

course of general news reporting many worthy objects are striven for, and many fell deeds of predatory wealth are exposed by all journals, tabloid and regular, liberal and conservative. During election campaigns particularly, brilliant confessions and exposures are made in which some truth of the general rottenness of society is revealed. However, Mr. Weyrauch's adroitness in not mentioning in particular the objections most of us have against the sales methods employed by the tabloids is diplomatic to say the least. He starts in with an aggressive barrage of episodes and acts that circumstance and business acumen have furnished the photographs to their credit as progressive

(Continued on page 7)

"Tabs" Pander to Lowest, Is Accusation

By Samuel A. De Witt

THE more crowded our universe becomes with human beings, the greater will grow the tendency toward condensing into the smallest possible space all things that make for agreeable living. Tenements, subways and sardine cans are old signs of the evolution, in a material way. The short story, the correspondence courses to professional degrees and the tabloid newspapers are some of the manifest bee-lines toward public education in modern years. One could go on in the matter of dress and hair and bank balances to further the line of "short" influences that are steadily working their way into the accepted prevalence. But since we are mainly concerned here with that abbreviated phenomenon—the Tabloid Daily—we will restrict our discussion to it alone.

Long, long ago it began, when an enterprising newspaper go-getter fell into the queer truths of mob psychosis. He noticed that the average subway rider was either a shipping clerk, a store saleslady or a stenographer. He also noticed how closely these hundreds of thousands were packed together during morning and evening rush hours. He also understood the strange workings of sex and sensual emotion, when adults of all genders were compressed together into such smothering cohesion. He deplored greatly the fact that the ordinary newspaper pursued in such press and posture. Reading, he knew, was a great mental sedative, and would keep weak minds from wandering too far on forbidden experience. Perhaps this sociological gentleman had already lectured on sex hygiene in settlement houses, and understood deeply the need for some under interest that would make the subway or L ride to and from work an intellectual diversion, and not a futile anatomical episode. So was born the Tabloid—a condensed journal that could be conveniently handled within the inches of space afforded by the transit companies for morning and evening travel.

How They Started

We have not before us the first issue of the Daily Tabloid, and so our following conjectures may not be entirely correct, but we have no doubt that it came forth in a blaze of ethical flame, penned by high ideals loftily expressed, and telling the day's news in photo and dictation, with rare artistic design and literary form. We do know, too, that this same splendid attempt to reach the starved minds of the chewing-gum-legions fell as flat as a Communist harangue on a meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Failure loomed with a heart-sickening threat before the philanthropic soul of our Tabloid pioneer.

We remember in particular how hard the road was for the "Graphic" in its small yet idealistic beginning. People are such hounds for habit. The sordid excursions into low sensations that our abominable transit system so cheaply afforded had become an encrusted, albeit, degrading custom. Fine words and splendid photography of any educational uplift were difficult substitutes for facile delights. Economic determinism fixed the next step on the part of our pioneer. Perhaps, if he filled these abbreviated sheets with suggestive photos and sense arousing news at least a great deal of the physical abuse would be lessened, and in that way thousands of decent boys, girls, men and women would be saved

the revolting contacts that were forced upon them every working day in subways and street cars. He must try another method of getting his morality crusade across. Very soon the entire content of the journals were changed. Seductive calves of lovely ladies, interior privacies and composite pictures of marital indiscretions were plastered throughout the pages, with bawdy accounts quite plainly told. All the whispered delicacies of stag parties and smokers, all the indecencies of "sporting" houses, and the disordered indulgences of the upper classes were featured up to the faintest hair line of legal propriety.

Handy Little Murders

A few filthy murders and divorce trials came upon the scene of incident with rare opportunity—and then what a thunderous "wow" all tabloids became.

Bandits, murderers, coarse ladies and coarser shells became glorified household nobility in the cheap glare of tabloid publicity, and trainloads of the litter were carried daily to every corner of the land. And in consequence the old conservative newspapers of the regular size suffered great loss in circulation. Their careful columns and more educational photography was ignored in the mad rush for pornographic delights so freely served up in the tabloids. The immediate result was a mad scramble among the old Victorian ladies of the press to uncorset their policies, and come out as heavily painted and devilish cut-ups to compete with the Follies chorus of the new show. A day without a new divorce scandal, a bathtub episode, or a gut-turning murder was and still is considered a day woefully lost to all of the newspaper owners, of whatever age and tradition. The manner in which the Rhineland, Hall-Mills, Penches and Daddy, and the Snyder cases have been handled recently by the entire press shows, for one instance, to what depths of utter disgrace the tabloids have flung our entire system of news distribution. The manner in which the recent dull and crude Snyder trial has been sold to the public is in itself a revelation how low the journalistic ethics of the day have been set in the mad competition for profitable public interest. Is it not logical to reason that the mental caliber of the people who are given this sort of intellectual truck day after day will suffer immeasurable harm? And what honest student of human welfare will not admit how certain is the ill to the physical health of the being, when the mind is weakened and lowered in moral resistance?

We have no solution to offer any business concern in the game for all the money they can make out of it when their product is injurious to the people who buy it. Especially, when the customers do not readily accept in substitute merchandise that would surely make better men and women out of them. We realize the difficulty and the expense necessary to educate people out of their animal and easy habits into spiritual uplift and even physical idealism. We cannot, under our present form of material civilization, plead with great institutions established for making money that they give up their profitable pursuits in the interest of a better world, and to their own monetary loss.

Not Sermonizing
Everything we touch in our world today, if only pricked in the slightest degree, bleeds forth the foul stuff of vicious infection. The newspaper situ-

ation, brought about since the philanthropy, pandering tabloids have come into the field, has grown into an acute, gangrenous affliction, that will kill whatever public decency is left in our day, unless a revulsion in public sentiment will let it dry up and die in its own rot.

All this sounds like a sermon from the throat of an evangelist, gone mad with a world's iniquity. Perhaps there are some uses for sermons and evangelists that even we radicals may bear with in peaceful tolerance. Sodom and Gomorrah may not be as horrible to that class of liberals who guzzle Village cocktails, indulge in the cheap insincerities of liberated love and wriggle through the Subway Hug in the dens of Black Bottom. There have been and there still are those far advanced intellectuals who find glory in decadence, adventure in unmentionable disease, and even hallowed godhood in leprosy. Personally we are old-fashioned enough to find a certain sanctity in cleanliness, a certain efficacy in sewers and sanitation systems, and a sainthood in the Emersonian doctrine of plain living and high thinking. We are a very ordinary average human being. Our own experiences and our own persistent faith in these homely tenets of living have been very beneficial indeed. At thirty-six we find ourselves ten years younger than most men we come across in physical health and the fine zest for living. This confessional and self-interview is in keeping with all newspaper practice, and so we hope our journalistic friends will allow it to stand without deprecatory comment.

"Peeping Tom"
And that is why, above all other consideration, the present day tabloids are so real a menace to our mind. They offer nothing but the lowest form of public news; they cater only to the easiest emotions of the beastliness in us, and sell their filth as readily to a vast, weak-minded public as the pedler of nude lady post cards vends his wares to the sordid youth that huddle around him.

And saddest of all is the fact that the wretchedness of metropolitan public life among the masses has been compounded in immorality with the advent of the tabloids. The transit facilities are even more inadequate than ever, the old experience of involuntary love-making is ever on the increase, and the Tabloid Newspaper, with its sex-appealing photography and its Peeping Tom tactics into the privacies of men and women acts only as an invigorant—an aphrodisiac, to speak with scientific accuracy—between one station stop and the next. It makes a decent old-timer sigh for the old red light days and the Police Gazette. Their indecencies were a trifle more honest.

A Parable in Reply

Three men set forth to discover the secret of life. Together they beheld a woman kissing her husband farewell. And the first man saw in the woman the gold of a loving heart. The second saw in her the jewel of self-abnegation. The third saw in her the mud of base desire.

Together the three entered a vehicle of transit. They beheld a mother with a child in her arms. A man nearby arose and gave to her his seat.

And of the three observers the first said: "He has the spirit of God in him to do good unto another."

The second said: "He is a humanitarian despite the cares pressed upon him by economic determinism; his example should be emulated."

The third said: "He is motivated by erotic impulses."

Together the three read a book. And the first caught the sparkle of a brilliant thought.

The second found refreshment in a profound inspiration.

The third cried aloud: "I have discovered a filthy thing."

And the three went on their road. They saw the same things, each in his own way. And all the wisdom of the magi could make not one of them see otherwise.

Martin H. Weyrauch.

Growth And Decline of American Communism

By Jacob Bernstein

THE organized Communist movement in the United States is barely eight years old. Considering its brief history, including its secretive and underground plans, a later historian may have access to material not available today. With the data now accessible, the history of the movement by James Oneal (American Communism, New York, the Rand Book Store, \$1.50) is a very creditable achievement, a substantial contribution to an understanding of the origin, decline, tactics and progress of American Communism. The book reveals the author as a man of extensive reading, wide research and possessing the real spirit of the historian—a critical faculty without prejudice.

Because of frequent mention in the headlines, the American Communist movement has been conspicuous, yet it is little understood. Its psychology is more important than its size, its membership having declined from nearly 40,000 to less than 8,000, seven-eighths of which are of immigrant origin. Completely under the domination of Moscow, the movement can do nothing without the consent of Moscow.

The book presents a general summary of force-tendencies in the American labor movement before the appearance of the Communist movement, beginning with Bakounin's activities in the First International, the early struggle between Marxists and Lassalleans in this country, the force Anarchism which led to the Haymarket, the attempt of the Socialist Labor Party to dominate or destroy the American Federation of Labor, the career of the abortive Socialist Trades and Labor alliance and its failure, the rise of the I. W. W. with its policy of sabotage and contempt for political

James Oneal's Book Tells the Story Of the "Left Wing" Movement

action, the minor factions in the Socialist Party indulging in revolutionary romanticism, and each flirting with force methods in one form or another. All these factions and tendencies were force factors that found complete expression in the Communist movement.

The Socialist Experience
The experience of the Socialist Party in the period of the World War is summarized, the war ending with the organization of a Left Wing, which in turn emerged as three Communist parties in 1919. The author then traces the succeeding splits in the already thrice divided Communist movement which led to a philosophy of split justified on the basis of a biological analogy, that is, that the law of life consists in the division of cells. With grim humor the author recalls that the philosophy of split gave way to a new philosophy—the "united front."

This metamorphosis followed a career of underground existence which, in turn, was followed by partial recovery from the acute revolutionary delirium under which Communists had labored for about two years. But the "united front" has never been realized, not even by Communists with Communists. Even the United Communist Party of 1920 issued out of an underground convention of faction which, in turn, split, a dissenting wing of phrase-mongers being disintegrated because armed force was not declared in terms satisfactory to it. Of this support of civil war the author remarks: "Where the workers are to obtain the arms for this civil war and why untrained

masses were expected to be victorious against trained troops with bombing planes, poison gas, machine guns, high-powered rifles and modern artillery are not considered." To expect the Communists to answer such a question is to inflict on them cruel and inhuman punishment.

The Workers' Party finally gathered the numerous factions into it, except the Proletarian Party, which remains outside. The organization of the Workers' Party was only possible after a number of "strategic retreats." Communists had to be won from their support of underground life and activity. They had to swallow their opposition to immediate demands in politics, abandon—in theory—their contempt for a labor party, soft-pedal on the question of armed force and, in fact, give up practically everything which they had presented as reasons for splitting the Socialist Party in 1919. The evolution of the psychology of the Communists and their approach to their new attitude are traced from the documents of the Communists themselves.

The "United Front"
Except for some minor factions the Communists effected the "united front" among themselves and then offered it to the Socialist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party and the trade unions, all of which had been targets for "revolutionary" denunciation as "traitors of the working class." The Farmer-Labor Party accepted, and was utterly destroyed by the Communists. The chapter on the "united front" is an interesting narrative. Its evolution is

traced from its origin in Moscow, through the conference of the three Internationals in Berlin in 1922, and its application in the United States. It is shown that this proposed unity is everywhere a story of broken promises, pledges and guarantees, of peculiar maneuvers, contradictory statements, insincere tactics and policies, by the Communist International and the American Communists.

In a chapter on William Z. Foster's Trade Union Educational League a very interesting and instructive historical background is presented of Foster and his organization. An Anarcho-Syndicalist, Foster transformed his organization in a Communist agency for propagating Communism and the Russian type of trade unionism. Owing to the primitive economic development of Russia the unions there were of the mutual benefit type that precedes the modern combative type. The modern trade unions did not begin to appear in Russia until the first five years of the twentieth century. Functioning under Czarism, they were secret and based on a policy of physical force. They could not be otherwise. Their training, experience and policies were entirely different from the trade unions of Europe and the United States. The Trade Union Educational League, by submitting to the leadership of Moscow, attempted to carry into the American trade union movement a policy utterly foreign to it. The results were mutual suspicion, hatred, internal dissensions and disintegration.

A chapter on the political ferment of

1924 and one on current tendencies in the Communist movement close the book. The author declares that the striking changes, contradictory opinions, beliefs and affirmations of American Communists, including the whole gamut of ideas from civil war to progressive reforms, within six years, prove

(Continued on page 5)

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PROF. SEBA ELDRIDGE, University of Kansas.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Comstock, Cuticles, Cashman, Civilization, Kings and Cats

FRANK HALSEY, one of the contributors to The New Leader, does the seemingly impossible job of turning out amusing, enlightening and highly readable publicity for a high-brow publishing house. He edits the Princeton University Press Almanac. The Almanac for this month contains such gems as this, for instance:

"Saturday, May 14th—Wojciechowski, Polish president, about to resign in favor of Pilsudski, 1926.

"Sunday, May 15th—Newspaper linotypers about to resign if further Polish troubles come.

"Tuesday, May 31st—Philadelphia Sesquicentennial opened by mistake."

And singing of the suppression of books in Boston, Frank warbles:

"On a tour of the bookstores a little Comstock* Moaned, 'Gracious! Salacious, salacious!'"

And I said to him, 'Anthony, why do you rock On your toes moaning, 'Gracious! Salacious!'"

Is it Puritanism, Tony? I cried.

'Or a rather libidinous complex inside?'"

With a shake of his head the Comstock replied, 'Oh, gracious! Salacious, salacious!'"

*Best metrical results obtained by stressing second syllable.

The Princeton University Press, by the way, is publishing a book called, "Plants of the Past." On our way to speak at a Socco-Vansetti meeting we bought a copy thinking it might contain some new material on this famous plant, but apparently the case is too recent to receive mention.

We are in receipt of a circular from A. Simonson, "New York's Smartest Beauty Shop," asking us to drop in some day and get a "shell-pink shaded manicuring with waterproof polish" for the ridiculously low price of one buck. Our beloved comrades of the Workers' Party have frequently hurled the accusation at us that we are "pale pink" and we have positive knowledge that we are waterproof but just the same we are going to leave A. Simonson flat. The last time we had our nails manicured was on the morning of our wedding day, eleven years ago, and our mortification over the comment of the gentlemen-preferred lady on the state of our cuticles set up an inferiority complex within us from which we have not yet entirely recovered.

An appropriately named guest is this Cashman who wanders around the country shooting off his face about "Red Menaces" and the like. He was up at Northampton, the home of Smith College, a few weeks ago, frightening folks most to death with his belated stories about how the American Civil Liberties Union gets its regular rubles from Moscow and so weiter. Morris Ernst, one of the counsel for the Union, was asked to debate with Mr. Cashman on the subject, "Is there a Red Menace in America?" and gladly accepted. Cashman ducked at the last minute, however, which was a wise move as he would have been called on to make good his asinine accusations and this would have been extremely embarrassing. It's one thing to stand up and blarney at a lot of women about their imminent danger of "nationalization" on the part of our native "reds." It's quite another to stand on the same platform with a man who knows his facts and try to prove your stuff. Ernst is going up to Northampton to speak at the same forum that was addressed by Cashman. We are going to trail along. The affair comes off this Sunday night, May 8, and we will let you know next week how it went.

For the sake of George's peace we hope that Mary, Queen of England, never gets to read this headline from a recent issue of The New York Times:

"London Season Opens With King at Opera; Four or Five Queens to Make It Brilliant."

We lick our mental chops every time we look at the two fat volumes of "The Rise of American Civilization," by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, published by MacMillan. We toted them away from the Rand School book store the other day knowing that we had a treasure and from what we have already read we are sure our anticipations will be fulfilled.

Also don't forget to put on your list Harry Laidler's new book, "The History of Socialist Thought," published by Crowell. Parts of this have appeared in The New Leader and have been closely followed by our readers but you must have the whole book if you want ready reference to every significant phase of the movement, past and present.

Our cat family which a short time ago had reached the alarming number of ten, Isabel with her four kittens, and Funny-Face, Isabel's daughter, with her own quartette, has now diminished to the point where we are practically catless for us. All of Isabel's children have now found happy homes and there remains only the job of placement for Funny's offspring. This should be extremely easy as the mother is a brilliant animal to put it mildly and any good eugenist should snap at this chance to prove out his theories of heredity. One of the kittens has a tiger nose that makes it look a bit like the late Boss Croker. Its feet are an enchanting pink at present, though this shade is not guaranteed permanent. Another has the same markings as its mother, namely black with white biases staggered here and there about its person. Extremely attractive to lovers of Futurist art. A third is mostly tiger with white interludes. The fourth is undecided between maltese, angora and Manx proclivities. Very interesting kitten.

Just to show you how much our kittens are appreciated by their owners, we received a telephone call from the middle of Westchester the other night informing us in proud tones that Elizabeth Gurley Flynn had had four kittens. Elizabeth was born to Isabel during the Passaic strike, and is now living with a playwright at New Rochelle. It is understood that she is doing her bit of agitating the bourgeois cats of the community and will soon have them organized under the banner bearing the slogan:

"No liver, no mice."

If by chance you feel a great urge for a well kitted with a highly liberal lineage, you can't do better than communicate with yours for Class-conscious Cats,

McAlister Coleman.

The Great Tribunal

"Wars shall there be till that last war That shall wage WAR ON WAR and sweep the earth Of all war-waggers and of all mankind." So spake the Voice and ceased. And still we gazed—A great white building, on its topmost tower A great white flag, proclaimed a World's Tribunal For the righting of the nations' wrongs. And that great army answered to behests And owned allegiance to no other head. Peace reigned triumphant. On the quiet air I heard the merry laughter of the child And the great sigh of gratitude that rose From all the mother-hearts of all the world.

—John Oxenham.



Utopias and a Social Technique

By M. H. Hedges

THE thesis of this book (Thomas More and His Utopias, by Karl Kautsky, New York, International Publishers) is that More's Utopia, far from being a fantasy, "is based on the living actualities." To the reader unafraid of economic realities, Kautsky has successfully sustained his thesis. At the same time, the reader must conclude that this book is worthy to join that rapidly growing company of critical works which are re-evaluating both past events and departed personalities. Kautsky has set More in the midst of a living scene, and in accord with his own materialistic critical credo, Kautsky has shown More's ideas were propulsions of material conditions—not inner unfoldings of mystical inspirations. He finds More living in an era when an early agrarian capitalism had fallen into decay, an order which had endured previously for two centuries—"A Golden Age for the peasants and wage workers of England"—and crumbling left an army of unemployed, high prices, propertyless thousands, hunger, stupid cruelty and stupid suppressions on the part of the masters. More's Utopia, written in Latin and addressed to a few scholars, often disguised as a mere satire, was an answer to these terrible social conditions.

With entire justice, and with no apparent wish to read into the "Utopia" what is not there, Kautsky analyzes the objectives of the first ranking English Socialist. He finds many of them modern, but "the chief of these reactionary features is the attachment of every man to a specific handicraft." He finds that essential differences between More's and modern Socialism are due to the small-scale production and the absence of machines in the sixteenth century industrial mode.

It is at this point that the reviewer takes a sharp turn of dissent from Kautsky's position. He finds in the author of More's Utopia, and in most of the Russian apologists, and their American friends, a tendency to oversimplify the economic problem—if I may so call it—and make a materialistic interpretation—I believe is due to the fact that Russia is in a stage of primitive industrial development, and that there can not be present in the Russian scene all the elements in the more advanced industrial order. As a result, incomplete and erroneous conclusions follow from incomplete data. In measuring modern modes of production with More's, Kautsky fails to stress the part technicians play in the modern productive process; the part statisticians play with their quantitative methods; the part trade unions play with their workers' education

movements and workers' participation in management; the part inventions play with their revolutionary innovations; the part consumers' co-operatives play with their remedial trends; the part racial antipathies and religious and ethical impulses play with their disruptive or ameliorative remedies. In short, the Russian apologists are strong in synthesis and weak in analysis.

It is likely that More's Utopia remains today merely a frozen image of a great man's wish for a better society, not solely because of the kind of production extant in More's day, but because the collective intelligence of the men involved was unable to fashion an order of society where production is high and distribution is just. The forging of a social technique is quite a different matter from the perception of faults in the old technique. The mere shattering of the form of government is not enough. It means the arousing of new inventions and the creation of new language, new psychic attitudes, and the excitement of new motives. It means the slow and scientific unfolding of new industrial processes.

It is not unlikely, therefore, that if the Russians have discovered a new objective for human society, Americans will evolve the technique to put it into effect. This, no doubt, explains the deep and wide interest of Russians in Henry Ford, and the fact that they sent for Hugh Cooper, American army engineer, to build the hydro-electric plant at Odessa. It is one reason why Russian apologists would be less resentful against what they contend is the conservatism of American trade unions. American trade unions are interested in industrial technique, and technique by its very nature is conservative, that is, it must move in accord with the facts. Technique—the mastery of new industrial methods—is less spectacular than declarations of revolutionary aims, but it is no less—and perhaps is more important in the present stage of American industrial society.

Altgeld in a Novel

IT ISN'T often in this country that Labor supplies the hero for a novel—and a successful, spiritually undebated hero at that. Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois was such a man—and it is his story that James Marshall tells in his novel (Ordeal by Glory, by James Marshall, New York: McBride, \$2). This book ought to be liked by workingmen as well as by the usual fiction-reading public since they, themselves—the Labor Movement in the Middle West during the nineties—have set and peopled the stage. The book is written in a simple,

straightforward style, modernist in the brevity of its sentences, enjoyable reading, with plenty of thrill and excitement in the climaxes. Over and around the facts of Altgeld's career—or John Hoyer, as Mr. Marshall calls him—a story of struggle and of tenderness and of achievement has been woven by the author.

From the first, we are all for this shy Illinois farm-boy, who, among seasonal plantings and milking the cows and a stern life with limited German parents, feels his first stirring care for the rights of a minority as he helps a runaway slave.

Mr. Marshall, a New York lawyer, amazes us with his ability to recreate the tranquil odor of the fields, rural life and country emotions. His pictures of John's relations with women is honest and successful—the women themselves not so convincing. He shows us John as a boy; John as a teacher in a rural school; as a little lawyer in a little town; as a big lawyer in a big city; from judgeship to the Governor's chair—and through all these stages he keeps our interest and affection centered about this sturdy, foursquare man whose ears through personal struggle and rough going have become keyed to the slow pulse of Labor.

You get, incidentally, much political and economic background of the seventies, eighties, nineties that is interesting—the Granger movement, the Haymarket murders and Altgeld's courageous pardon, President Cleveland's unprecedented move in sending Federal troops to Illinois to quell a local strike, and, once more, courage on the part of Altgeld in defying him, Altgeld's unshakable and incorruptible where the rights of Labor were concerned.

This is certainly a workingman's novel, well written, interesting, and as such is recommended to all readers of The Leader.

Margaret S. Ernst.

Rise and Decline of Communism

(Continued from page 4)
vide a splendid study for the psychologist. He summarizes his conclusion in the following passage: "One cannot follow the development of the Communist movement without being impressed with the fact that it is a special product of Russian history. . . . Given the institutional evolution of Russia, it was certain to shape some revolutionary group like that of the Bolsheviks. Russian economic and bureaucratic history weighs like a mountain upon the minds of the Communists. They cannot shake it off. They think in terms of this history, they see the rest of the world through it, and everything else assumes the character, dimensions, coloring and importance of an experience that is Russian. Ex-

pounding the importance of the economic determination of history, they permit themselves to be its intellectual prisoners. The variation in climate, geography, language, customs, historical and physical backgrounds that characterizes each nation does not appear to impress the Communist."

While few will quarrel with the author as to the correctness of this general estimate, so splendidly stated, some will wonder whether in declaring that "given the institutional evolution of Russia, it was certain to shape some revolutionary group like that of the Bolsheviks" the author is not opening a sort of Pandora's box by way of an historic-Philosophic controversy. The declaration attributes to the rise of Russian Bolshevism a kind of historical fatalism that may well be challenged by good Marxists, besides laying him open to the charge of himself becoming an "intellectual prisoner" of his conception of Russian history.

Intelligent labor leaders, students of the labor movement in the United States, members of the Socialist Party, honest Communists and all who desire to understand this remarkable, though briefly-lived, phenomenon will find the book indispensable.

LABOR PARTY DESERTER LOSES SEAT IN COMMONS

The entry into the British Labor Party of converts from other parties has been a common phenomenon in recent years, but it is quite unusual for a member of the Labor Party to pass into the conservative camp, as has happened in the case of Dr. Haden Guest. For some time past Dr. Guest has been at odds with the main tendencies of the party, and lately the difference has come to a head over the question of despatching troops to China, on which he held a view quite opposite from that officially taken.

The result of this difference was that Dr. Guest, who has been for many years a member of the Executive of the Fabian Society and active in many spheres of work for the party, resigned from it and stood for re-election, with Conservative support, in the London district which he won from the Liberals in 1924. Another candidate stood against him for the Labor Party. This curious position has ended in the seat reverting to the Liberals, while Dr. Guest is decisively at the bottom of the poll. The figures were Liberals, 7,434; Labor, 6,167; Independent (Dr. Guest) 2,215.

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For Goodness Sakes

BROTHERS and Sisters:
Seeing how everything is going to the devil I make a motion that congress pass a law compelling everybody to be good. Do I hear a second? I do.

Now everybody in favor of my motion give the usual voting sign.

No one being present but myself, they do. The Ayes have it. The Nays have it not, and so ordered.

The motion being duly passed and inscribed on the minutes of the organization, the next order of business is for someone to propose the kind of law or laws which in his, her or its opinion will compel everybody to be good, and as there is no one around outside of myself, I propose that congress pass a law abolishing legs.

In making this motion I am animated by a sincere desire to assist my weaker brothers to remain on the straight and narrow path by removing the temptations which legs cast in their path to glory. A legless man, as you all know, will not step up to a bar and take a drink. He will not follow a bootlegger, may, not even a legless bootlegger, into a dark alley to exchange the contents of his pay envelope for a vial of vile hooch. Neither will he engage in such sinful pastimes as jazz, or trout fishing on the Sabbath day. I have also observed that legless men are less prone to run after women and the same phenomena has been noticed in legless ladies in regard to men.

The next measure I propose for the salvation of my sinful fellow sojourners through this vale of tears is the abolition of hands. Hands are the tools of the devil. Indeed, I would be perfectly justified in calling them the principal tool of the devil. With hands abolished petting, necking, fondling and Sunday baseball would be impossible. Neither could the wicked point the finger of scorn at the slips of the virtuous, nor make long noses at the pious. Thus by the simple elimination of hands a host of ill deeds could be abolished with one fell swoop.

The greater reform, however, is yet to come. Indeed, it is only my modesty which prevents me to call this reform the reform of reforms, for it is nothing less than the elimination of heads, which are the root of all evil, as I presently shall demonstrate. Perhaps in view of the intelligence of my audience, consisting as it does of myself exclusively, it may not be necessary to enter into lengthy explanation concerning the depravity of heads and their harmful influence on their bearer. It may suffice to state briefly that no one has ever observed a headless flapper making goo-goo eyes at some defenseless man and thereby luring him from the path of righteousness. Bobbed hair, which, as you know, has been responsible for the downfall of millions of fathers of families and their male offspring, will become impossible. The temptations offered by short skirts, rolled socks and rouged lips will vanish and stay vanished. Cigarette smoking will become a thing of the past, and so will profanity, the perusal of lascivious literature, immoral pictures, lewd plays and spitting on the sidewalks.

The greatest benefit from the elimination of heads, however, will be elimination of thinking. There are people who do such things. Not many, I admit, but too many, nevertheless. Because those who do not think, or only think they think, frequently fall prey to those who do think. In this manner the thoughts of antiquity which are the only good thoughts are obliterated by new thoughts which are always bad thoughts. Thus the reveries and revelations of ancient sheep herders, cow boys, and camel chauffeurs are supplanted by the ideas of scientists equipped with microscopes and telescopes.

The result is a housing problem in Hades. Soon there will be standing-room only. This cannot be tolerated. I will not stand for it. People must be saved in spite of preordination and free will. Salvation by amputation points the way. Trimmed to perfection by the laws I propose, souls can be shipped to Heaven in trunks. Their own trunks. What was once a titanic struggle between good and evil becomes a simple problem of standardization. Anybody can do it. Butchers and shipping clerks can do it. In short, what I propose is a series of laws for the mass manufacture of sin-proof souls which must go to Heaven perforce because they lack both will and faculties to go any place else. In other words, I propose to follow moral legislation in its logical conclusion.

Ever heard about the Duplex law? No? Well, congress never passed it, the senate never passed it, the president never signed it, but there's the Duplex law just the same.

How come?

The Duplex people made a printing press with non-union labor. Union machinists refused to set up Duplex presses. The case got into court and the supreme court said they had to or get pinched for conspiracy in restraint of trade under the anti-Sherman trust law passed for smashing trusts like the Standard Oil Company, tobacco and steel trusts. The big trust is still doing business on the same old stand and on holdup principles. But the machinist union is a bad trust now, a very bad trust and ever so much in restraint of trade.

Then union stone cutters refused to handle stones manufactured by the Bedford Cut Stone Company and twenty-three other corporations, nearly all of Indiana, handling 70 per cent of the cut stones in the United States. There are only about 5,000 union stone cutters in the United States. An awful thin layer on so much ground. But no matter, the case came up before the supreme court and the supreme court declared the stone cutters' union in conspiracy in restraint of trade. The Sherman act said nothing about stone cutters. Not a word. The decision was based on a precedent established when the supreme court handed down the Duplex decision.

Now, "ain't it?" These are the only constitutional laws bringing live young into the world in supreme court decisions. Beats the English scheme all hollow. Awfully backward sort of government, that English—almost too backward to rule backward folks. Haven't even got a supreme court to make a law for sovereign Britain to love and obey—must use a parliament for making of laws and subject poor M. P.'s to the wrath of the voters.

How much neater is our arrangement? Congress passes a good law, the anti-Sherman trust law, for instance. The president signs the law. Great applause. Everybody's record is clean as a hound's tooth. The trusts are going to be busted. The politician's reputation as a modern dragon killer is established. Hurrah!

Then comes the supreme court and declares the law unconstitutional, or makes it go off on the wrong end. (Sherman anti-trust law and Clayton act.) Instead of hitting malefactors of great wealth, it hits the horny-handed small fry. Who would have thought it? Too bad 'an' all that. But the supreme court is appointed for life. It can't be ousted by the sovereign voters.

Can you beat it? You can't.

Adam Coaldigger.

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IN THE THEATRES

Views and News of Current Productions

Sincere Drama at the Greenwich Village

THE sincere performance which Fritz Leiber is heading, of Paul Green's drama, "The Field God," at the Greenwich Village Theatre, marks the presentation of the second full-length play of that author to reach New York, and again evinces how close he has come to true depths of dramatic power. "In Abraham's Bosom" seemed slightly drawn from the two one-act plays originally published; "The Field God" is let down into the conclusion of an older drama no one may quite have written, but from which Mr. Green drew the unfortunate ending of a most promising start.

The plot of the play is by no means novel; in a sense it is that of "Desire Under the Elms," a drama of much larger scope by Mr. Green's greater predecessor of the North. Yet the Southern dramatist has a sincerity and a simplicity of touch that mark him above the horde of hustling playwrights, and bring him toward the achievement of Eugene O'Neill. He is still, however, without the ability to make the dire fate that overcomes the main character seem the inevitable result, as with Shakespeare, the Greeks, and all great tragic dramatists, of the breaking of some fundamental law of God, or king, or social order. Hardy, while married, falls in love with his wife's niece, who is indeed much better suited to him and to his life. This, however, is no rational way, save by the supposition that a just Providence intervenes, accounts for the subsequent burning of Hardy's barn, the destruction of his line and swine, the failure of his cotton crops, and the death of his child—all in one season. Even the defiance of God, which distinguishes him from his neighbors and from the stock figures of other plays, seems seldom in real life to bring such dire disaster. Think of the many who have publicly stood forth and defied God, if He existed, to hurl His thunderbolt!

Fortunately for the evening these faults are concentrated in the final act. The first three acts of the play are diverting, rich with frequent humor, deft with dialog and vital characters. The acting, not merely of Fritz Leiber, but of such odd figures as are presented by Clara Throppe, Lillie Brayton, Claudius Mintz and Arthur Allen, makes the play vivid and true throughout the earlier moments. The Louis Bromberg settings are quietly correct; the direction unobtrusive and well handled; the play is given every opportunity—and all but proves itself excellent drama.

"Wall Street" from Main Street's Fancy

The romance of the millions that await the dominant master of bulls and bears, as viewed by the village-store-barrel reader of the financial

berg, produced by The Stagers at the Hudson Theatre. This somewhat old-fashioned drama, reminiscent, indeed, of the 1890's, in which it is partly set, shows one of these young country bloods, scornful of the poor paries, looking for his chance to hit the high salaries of the city. He earns his chance by saving a broker's daughter; he earns his first million (always, you know, the hardest) by blackmailing this broker, his benefactor; he marries the daughter by dominating the firm and divorcing his first, sweet country wife; he grows to be the biggest power on Wall Street, and he is made the most unhappy of men by the faithlessness of his second wife and the treachery of his son by the first.

The play, which is well acted, draws its main interest from its skillful use of the revolving stage. Edward Goodman, the director, has made most effective use of the possibilities of this type of stage structure by having two scenes on stage at one time and by having the action move from one room to an adjoining chamber as the scene revolves in sight of the audience. The play itself is for those who still like the mood of old-fashioned melodrama, with the biblical moral that it is easier for a camel to go through a postern gate than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. It dates, save in details of technique, as clearly from the 1890's as "Spread Eagle," with the same background of activity, is dated in the 1920's.

"Who Steals My Time"

The revival William A. Brady and Lee Shubert are now staging of Henri Bernstein's "The Thief," at the Ritz Theatre, suggests a number of comparisons, is thrown behind the footlights in "Wall Street," by James N. Rosen-

ments. The play is a triumphant demonstration of the worth of that volume of theatrical criticism called "How's Your Second Act?" for the first and third acts are but the slightest of preparation and tucking away. And the second act is a scene big enough to carry an evening. The performances of the players in the revival is of high quality. Lionel Atwill, Gilbert Emery, Orlando Daly, take good advantage of proper parts; Alice Brady holds her way through the trying moments, and Anthony Kemble Cooper makes a most vivid son-hero.

Yet the play reveals the warping hand of time. What was once hailed as sterling drama remains no more than the writhing of a play, very mellow, very theatrical, and very slight. The situation in which Lagarde involves himself for love of Madame Voyiss (which is almost French for "Mrs. Neighbor"), and the chivalrous break with which she refuses to accept his sacrifice, made stirring drama in the days when such things made stirring drama. Today life has passed on such things seem like the yellowing pages of a paper-covered romance, in which a pressed and drying violet faintly flavors the dreams, and a stain, lingering beside the faded flower, dimly, grimly, hints of blood. Perhaps the mood will return upon us at some later time, when the stress of disillusion no longer makes us cynical, when the deeds of self-sacrificing lovers seem once more highly possible, and tremendously important.

Among the many follies that will be committed on Friday, the thirteenth, there should not be overlooked the New Leader Follies of 1927, which blaze forth at the Rand School. The note of youthfulness will be featured in the person of Art Young, who will be assisted by Agnes Laidler, Jim Phillips, Mac Coleman and an unknown pair of masked marvels modestly disguised as Dewittovich and Claessenski. What this unparalleled conglomeration of talent intends to reveal, one dollar will disclose on the fateful night. At any rate there will be dancing after.

Joseph T. Shipley

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

WEEK OF MAY 9

"THE SECOND MAN"

GUILD THEATRE, 32nd STREET, EVENINGS 8:30

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

Week of May 16—"PYGMALION"

WEEK OF MAY 9

"RIGHT YOU ARE"

(IF YOU THINK YOU ARE)

GARRICK THEATRE, 33rd STREET, EVENINGS 8:30

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

Week of May 16—"MR. PIM PASSES BY"

WEEK OF MAY 9

"THE SILVER CORD"

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 58th ST. OF B'WAY, CIRCLE 5678

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From April 18 to and including May 9

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In E. Flood's Echo Cafe at Northern Boulevard and 102d Street
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At 4215 Third Avenue, Northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and Tremont Avenue,
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Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple

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LOCAL NO. 9

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 4921 Stage

Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening

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VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President JOHN TIMMINS, Treasurer

HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent

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LOCAL UNION 488

MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 106th Street

OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET, Telephone Melrose 5674

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Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stage 8414. Office hours every day

except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.

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

Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 245 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

National Executive Meets
The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in Pittsburgh on Saturday and Sunday, May 21 and 22. This meeting is expected to give its attention to party organization and propaganda throughout the country in preparation for the national campaign next year. The National Executive Secretary, William H. Henry, will submit a detailed report of a survey he has been making of the situation in all the States, especially the unorganized and poorly organized States, together with recommendations based upon the information he has gathered. It is expected that Pittsburgh Socialists will arrange a number of demonstrations while the committee is in session.

The members of the committee are Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, James D. Graham of Montana, Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, William R. Snow of Illinois, William J. Van Esen of Pennsylvania, Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal of New York.

May Day Meetings
There were so many meetings held May Day that we are not attempting to give an account of them. Many were held in the larger cities and smaller towns, wherever there was any semblance of progressive or labor thought. From meager reports received, they were far more successful and more enthusiasm was shown than for many years past.

The Yugoslav Federation
Charles Pogorelec, translator-secretary of the federation, is in Kansas and reports organization of two branches, each with eleven members. These are located in the mining region at Cockerill and Arma. Before the war the Yugoslav Federation had many branches in the mining district. War hysteria and post-war troubles in the miners' union destroyed a number of party branches, leaving only one at Cockerill. Interest in the Socialist movement is again reviving and it is expected that the membership among the Kansas miners will continue to increase.

Missouri

St. Louis
The reorganized Socialists of St. Louis are coming to the front in good shape. Reorganization of branches is on the way. The Jewish comrades are talking of bringing National Secretary William H. Henry to St. Louis for a roundup of the Jewish Socialists.

New England

Boston Vespels Protest
At the first meeting of the reorganized Boston Circle of the Young People's Socialist League it was voted to hold a Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration, Sunday, May 8, at 3 p. m. The demonstration will be held at headquarters, 21 Essex street, Boston. All members and those interested in the Sacco-Vanzetti case are invited to attend.

A debating team was also selected and efforts will be made to arrange debates with outside groups. Comrades Thompson, Manning, Ogus and Maltzman were elected on the debating team.

New York State

Vipsel Stamps
State Secretary Merrill is urging all locals to dispose of as many Y. P. S. L. voluntary assessment stamps as possible and to make early returns on the same. The point is made that the youth of the nation, jazz age or no jazz age, must be interested in Socialism and educated to take the places of their parents in the ranks of the party. The Y. P. S. L. declares the state secretary, is the preparatory school of Socialist Party members, and deserves their whole-hearted support. All the money received from the sale of stamps is turned over to the young people's organization.

Referendum
The membership is again reminded that the national referendum on the "light wines and beer" proposition of the national platform will close May 15. Every member in good standing is entitled to vote, and should be recorded.

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one way or the other in this referendum.

A canvass of locals is to be made at an early date as to the possibilities of summer campaigning. Some towns can still hold open air meetings advantageously, and literature distributions at more or less frequent intervals can be made everywhere. An associate judge of the Court of Appeals is to be elected this year, as well as members of Assembly and county and city officials.

New York City

City Executive Committee
The City Executive Committee will meet in room 505, People's House, on Wednesday evening, May 11, at 8:30 p. m.

National Referendum
Branch secretaries must send in the tabulated report of the vote of their membership on the national referendum on or before May 18.

Membership Drive
The following Socialist enrolled voters' meetings will be held: Sunday evening, May 8, in the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway, at 9 p. m. The enrolled Socialist voters of the 1-2nd Assembly Districts will be invited to hear Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens. Monday evening, May 9, at the 6-8-12 Assembly Districts, Manhattan, in the new club rooms of the branch at 96 Avenue C. Speakers, Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens. Tuesday evening, May 10, in the 2nd Assembly District, Brooklyn, at the headquarters of the branch, 420 Hindsdale street, at 9 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens.

Manhattan

1-2nd A. D. Branch
The membership of this branch and the Jewish Downtown Branch are wrestling with the problem of maintaining the East Side Socialist Center. Both branches are in fairly good condition and their membership is again paying back dues. Plans are being made for intensive propaganda and organization work on the East Side. A meeting of the enrolled Socialist voters of the 1-2nd A. D. is called for Sunday evening, May 8, at the headquarters, 204 East Broadway. Speakers are Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens. Every member is requested to be present.

6-8-12 A. D. Branch
Saturday evening, May 7, is the date of the official opening of the new headquarters at 96 Avenue C. A very fine program is being arranged. One or two artists will render musical selections. A band has been hired for the dance and one feature will be a debate between Samuel A. De Witt and August Claessens, on the burning issue, "Can Russian Communism Be Cured in America?" De Witt and Claessens will impersonate visiting commissars from Moscow on a special trip to this country to discuss this vital issue. They will appear in appropriate Russian dress and hirsute adornment. No Communists will be invited as this is too serious a theme to discuss before the average Workers' Party member.

Yorkville
Two fine May Day meetings were held by the Hungarian Branch and another by the German Branch. The Hungarian Branch held its affair Sunday afternoon in the headquarters of the Finnish Socialist Branch, 2056 Fifth avenue. The attendance was not large, but enjoyed a remarkably fine musical and humorous entertainment. August Claessens spoke briefly and the feature was the unfurling of the new banner made by the comrades of the Hungarian Branch. The Germans met in the Labor Temple. Algernon Lee, Bruno Wagner and others spoke.

Harlem
The members called off their May Day meeting on Sunday morning in order to co-operate with a meeting of the Workers' Circle in the New Star Casino in the afternoon, which was a huge success. There was a remarkably fine entertainment with Norman Thomas one of the speakers. The 17-18-20th A. D. Branch is meeting regularly. Its membership has increased and plans are being made for numerous street meetings in Harlem.

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Bronx

The May Day meeting of the Bronx branches was quite a success. The musical program and speeches by Comrades Friedman, Orr, De Witt, O'Neal and Karlin were much appreciated.

The big event this Friday night, May 6, is the holding of four large open-air mass meetings in behalf of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. (For details, see other part of this paper.)

Branch 7
Branch 7 will meet Tuesday, May 10, at 4215 Third avenue. The National Referendum must be voted upon at this meeting.

This branch will run a theatre party Friday evening, May 13. The famous Pirandello play, "Right You Are, If You Think You Are," at the Garrick Theatre, is the event. Those desiring tickets may still obtain them by getting in touch with Sarah Volovick 2043 Washington avenue.

BROOKLYN

Williamsburg
The May Day meeting of the Williamsburg branches did not materialize, probably because of a mistake in the publicity, which announced the meeting for the afternoon instead of the morning. However, the Williamsburg comrades joined the Brownsville branch and participated in their celebration. The 4th-14 A. D. Branch will hold street meetings Saturday evening, May 13, at Havemeyer and South Fifth streets. Esther Friedman has been engaged for a series of lectures every Saturday evening during May. The 5th-6th A. D. Branch will also hold street meetings and the 13th-19th A. D. Branch will hold a Socialist enrolled voters' meeting in May.

Boro Park
A remarkably successful May Day meeting was held in the Boro Park Labor Lyceum last Sunday evening. The audience crowded into every available inch of space in the auditorium and enjoyed a very fine concert, recitations and dances by Workers' Circle children, and heard addresses by A. Litvack, William M. Feigenbaum, Morris Glnet and August Claessens.

Coney Island
The Coney Island Branch held the most successful May Day meeting in many years last Saturday evening. The Pythian Temple was crowded. A fine concert was rendered by two very capable singers and a young violinist. Speakers were Norman Thomas, William M. Feigenbaum, M. Shulman and August Claessens. Chaim Rose Brody handled the meeting in excellent fashion. Quite a number of new members were obtained and many subscriptions to The New Leader were sold. A meeting was arranged under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party, Coney Island Branch, Workers' Circle branches, Trade Union League and the Women's Progressive Club. These organizations are to be congratulated on their splendid work and their success.

Twenty-third A. D. Branch
Brownsville branches held their May Day meeting on Sunday morning, May 1, at the Labor Lyceum. The hall was fairly well filled. The concert included Leon Goldman, the rising young Brownsville violinist; Miss Stromberg, soprano, and a very capable actor from the Workers' Circle Dramatic League. The speakers were Norman Thomas, A. I. Shipiloff, Esther Friedman and August Claessens. Quite a number of new members and subscriptions to The New Leader were obtained. The chairman was Comrade Simon Wolf. In the evening the 23d A. D. Branch and Y. P. S. L. members spent their time at an enjoyable affair at the headquarters. Street meetings at Pitkin Avenue and Bristol street will begin this Friday evening. Esther Friedman has been engaged for a series of outdoor meetings.

Yipseldom

Fitchburg, Mass.
The dramatic club is now working on a new production, entitled "Three Live Ghosts." The play is a full evening comedy, which in New York City won acclaim as being the season's best play. Massachusetts circles are warned to make arrangements for special reservations of group tickets as soon as the exact date is announced, for the local demand is expected to be great. The play will not be presented but once.

New England District
Members of the new and the old district committees met April 10th with Comrade Rabinowitz as chairman. The committee requests each circle to arrange a special affair of some kind to benefit the Debs Radio Fund. This will be the contribution of the district Yipsels toward the memorial radio station.

A monthly bulletin will be issued by the district office, containing circle news, official business and articles of interest to the members. An inter-circle field day is planned for August 7, in Maynard. The event will be largely devoted to athletics and particularly to swimming contests. Greater stress is to be laid upon the distribution of literature, and to the American Appeal. Circles are expected to make weekly news contributions to the Yipsel column, and every circle is requested to supply the meeting headquarters with the Appeal. With reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, a letter is to be sent to Governor Fuller demanding the appointment of a special commission to investigate the case.

ment of a special commission to investigate the case.

NEW YORK CITY

League Hike

The General League hike on May 15 promises to be the largest in the league's history. The 250 that attended the last one will look insignificant in comparison with this one. The destination will be announced in the next issue of THE NEW LEADER and by mail. Every comrade is urged to attend.

Circle 1
Circle 1, Manhattan, the latest addition to the league, is showing a fine capacity for Yipsel work. They have held a few open-air meetings and sold NEW LEADERS, ran a little dance and a few other things. Comrades of other circles are urged to attend meetings of this group. They are held every Sunday, 8 p. m., at 204 East Broadway.

Special Meetings
Beginning May 2 and ending May 9 is Boys' Week. May 8 is Mother's Day. In line with this league will hold open air meetings in various sections of the city urging enactment of laws forbidding both child and mobster labor. Every circle is urged to hold such meetings. The City office must be informed of such arrangements.

After materially contributing to the success of the Socialist Party's May Day meeting on Saturday night, April 30, about thirty Bronx Yipsels and their friends resisted the temptation to remain outdoors on Sunday afternoon, May 1, and attended a May Day celebration of the Bronx Yipsel committee at 1167 Boston Road. August Claessens and Edmund Seldel addressed the meeting. The work of the Boro committee was reviewed. Summer activities were discussed.

Bronx Circles Hike
On Sunday, May 8, Bronx circles will meet at 9 a. m. at the 180th Street station of the Boston and Westchester R. R. and start on a hike to Silver Lake and the Kensico Reservoir. The fare is 70 cents for a round trip. The scenery is very attractive.

Juniors
Members of Circle 12 are urged to be down on May 15, Sunday morning, at 8 a. m. to go to the City League Hike. They will meet in front of the headquarters, 1336 Lincoln Place with members of Circle 9.

May 14, Saturday evening, at the meeting of Circle 12 the Yipsel organization pin will be presented to the maker of the best poster. The circle has a debating team of which "Kid" Blaukopf is captain, and a baseball team of which Henri Meister and Hyman Greenberg are the foremost members.

The Tabloids—A Debate

(Continued from page 4)

and even radical victories. We are fairly driven back with awe at the rapid succession of these undeniable great deeds for public weal.

But pausing for reason a moment, we recall Mrs. Warren and her colleagues, out of Shaw's play, and certain East Side Tammany Hall Irish politicians of twenty years or so ago, out of our own experience. Mrs. Warren and her partners engaged in a horrible profession. Out of its sin and ugliness huge profits were made. In order to keep their position in respectable society they gave generously to worthy causes of public charity and weal. There was abolition and a certain advantage in reputation by such acts. Shaw sets the juxtaposition of these facts with a biting clarity that our poor words can hardly attain here.

In our own days we remember a certain pair of brothers who reigned supreme in Tammany, and held the festering East Side in their vest pockets for political power. They owned and controlled the red light traffic, the saloon business and the general vice trade. They reaped millions in boodle from this commerce. Nevertheless, they were extremely popular with the hot-polit. For did they not hand out ten thousand pairs of shoes and wagon-loads of overcoats to the poor of their districts every winter? Did they not give free picnics and clam-bakes and other such affairs in which a poverty-stricken multitude found a moment of joy? The Ghettoes rang with their praise.

What else is there left to say? The tabloids' traffic in permissible obnoxiousity for profit is balanced alongside of occasional crusades for public weal. Mr. Weyrauch cannot convince a reasonable world that the methods used today for circulation-getting can in any way be offset by the few decent accomplishments he presents. The scale of decency shows the tabloids of today all the way down as far as progress and public welfare are concerned. The end of tabloid viciousness is nowhere in sight and the hearts of all lovers of fine journalism are very heavy indeed.

S. A. de Witt.

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THE NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1927

THE NEW LEADER FOLLIES

WE HAVE an announcement extraordinary, stupendous, sensational! The New Leader has organized "The New Leader Follies" with the best company of artists to be obtained. The members have refused some big offers that have come from the interior and from Europe. Even Greenwich Village has made a big bid, but the company remains intact.

"The New Leader Follies" will appear—positively, emphatically and without any deviations—will appear in the Rand School Auditorium on Friday night, May 13. Among the stars to appear in this notable event is McAlister Coleman, whose masterly gifts as a wizard in his line amazed the late Harry Houdini. As a mahatma Mac has no superior and certainly no equals.

The company has also been materially strengthened by the acquisition of Art Young. Art has met United States Senators from Mississippi and Georgia, from Vermont and Oklahoma and other states. He has studied, statesmen, their habits, mode of life, how they get that way, and why they continue to draw salaries and enjoy the franking privilege. He will tell "The New Leader Follies" audience all about them. Why is a United States Senator? Ask Art. He knows.

Sam de Witt and August Claessens are going to settle an old score. Each has a thesis to defend. Sam claims that August represents a dangerous deviation toward the center, while August insists that Sam will eventually reach the periphery if he does not mend his ways. Both have rejected the offer of a Parity Commission to mediate between them. There will be no compromise, as the feeling is too bitter. They will settle old scores at the "Follies."

Then there is—what's the use? Be at the "Follies" and frolic with our incomparable stars.

RADIO, A KEPT WOMAN

EVIDENCE continues to accumulate from week to week that within a few years radio broadcasting has become a monopoly of our reactionary classes. At the Forward celebration a week ago last Sunday Congressman Victor L. Berger was presented to the audience and had only spoken a few words when the WJZ microphone was removed. The announcer declared that this was due to the fact that "the order of the speeches has been changed." Imagine a radio station removing the microphone at a banquet of the National Security League for such a trivial reason!

This week a similar incident occurred at station WGL. Mrs. Mary H. Ford, while speaking at a dinner given to Millie Gade Corson, the swimmer, declared that she was proud that Mrs. Corson is a native of Denmark, a "country which upholds the ideal of peace." The microphone was immediately removed and music was substituted. The announcer declared that "we believe in free speech," and added, "but." This "but," he explained by saying that "there are certain things which are dictated by good taste." Evidently "good taste" does not include reference to a nation that has honestly acted upon a program of disarmament.

It is said that some twenty messages were received by the station approving the radio gag. An official of the National Security League telephoned his approval by saying that it would have been an "outrage" to permit the speaker to continue. From this we gather that there are plenty who tune in who are satisfied that radio broadcasting shall be a kept woman of our war maniacs and upper class interests in general.

Of the censorship of Congressman Berger, the Brooklyn Eagle observed: "This kind of action justifies those who claim that radio censorship involves a great danger to freedom of thought." All the more reason for the laboring population to contribute to the establishing of the WDEBS station. Today the air is poisoned, and the radio is too often prostituted to serve cowardly and mercenary interests.

FINANCE FUNDAMENTALISM

OF THE publications that present the creed that the world was created for the investment of capital and that governments should represent the investors, The Wall Street Journal is the soundest. It is Fundamentalist in character. Anything that interferes with investment of capital or the realization of dividends for its owners is an

impious defiance of God and an unpardonable sin.

Two recent editorials expound the creed. In one issue the Cuba of President Machado, whose record we mention in these columns, is blessed under the caption of "Cuba and Common Sense." The dictum is offered that he "would be a poor American who did not have a warm sympathy with aspirations" for the "representative government" of which Machado is an exponent. The rest is devoted to an affectionate tribute to the Cuban despot, the "infiltration of American enterprise," and "complete security for American investment which only Washington can give."

"So much for that. The next day Mexico is given some attention under the caption, "When Mexico Is Good." President Calles has little affection for American capital, while President Machado worships at its shrine. The burden of complaint is that Mexico seeks confiscation of American-owned capital without compensation. President Calles might answer that he thinks the precedent of the United States in confiscating about \$70,000,000 of British-owned property in the American Revolution would be a good one to follow. But he makes no such cruel answer. What he wants to know is what titles in Mexico are fraudulent. He knows that Doeheny and his ilk have had something to do with oil titles in Mexico.

But no matter. The Fundamentalism of the W. S. J. requires obedience to American capital as it does in Cuba. Hence affection for Machado and scowls for Calles.

PUT YOUR PURCHASING POWER TO WORK

WHENEVER you spend money, whether it be for food, clothing, luxuries, books, amusements, etc., you are utilizing a force that if wisely directed can be of inestimable aid to the Socialist press.

No publication can exist today without selling part of its space to advertisers. The cost of paper, press work, mailing, distribution and office overhead is never covered by the small subscription price. Then add editorial costs, i. e., writer's and editor's salaries, feature and special writers, researchers and investigators, cartoonists, cuts and plates, cable and telegraph tolls—all these go into the making of a newspaper. They are not covered by subscription receipts.

This great deficiency must be made up from advertising revenue or from a subsidy by individuals or groups interested in keeping the publication going. Those of our friends who are not able to aid us by direct financial assistance can do equally well by making use of their purchasing power in influencing the merchants with whom they spend their money to advertise in The New Leader. This costs our friends nothing but a little thought and a word here and there.

Before buying a suit of clothes, haberdashery, shoes, furniture, books, etc., look through the advertising columns of The New Leader for an advertiser in that line. Go to him and buy, and be SURE TO TELL HIM YOU SAW HIS AD IN THE NEW LEADER. And what is equally important, TELL US what you bought, how much you spent, the date and name of the merchant. Send this information to our advertising department. We can exploit that information for The New Leader's benefit. If you are buying something not advertised in The New Leader, phone our advertising department. They may be able to guide you to a prospective advertiser who is about to come into our columns, and your patronage may be the very act that will make him a supporter of the paper.

Your purchasing power, intelligently utilized, can make The New Leader self-sustaining and leave it enough of an operating surplus to enable it to expand, to reach out for an ever greater circulation, and a wider field of activity. How important this is to the Socialist cause you well know.

A BLACK WEEK

IT IS a long cry from the days when Kosuth was welcomed by our official classes. The liberator and radical was welcomed by cheering throngs, dinners were given in his honor, public receptions were arranged, and eminent men paid tribute to the nobility and daring of any man who attempted to extend the area of human freedom.

Today our ruling classes and their retainers pay homage to despots. Off the Atlantic coast is the island of Cuba bespattered with human gore. The monster who presides over the bloody shambles, President Machado, arrives in New York and Mayor Walker officially welcomes him. Meantime the monster's bloody machine works at home. Editors and trade unionists disappear. The press is a kept woman of Machado. Elections are a farce. Courts have become his personal property. Cuba has become a hell for human beings who think in terms of a larger and freer life.

Francesco de Pinedo, Fascist aviator, representative of a nation where bands of brutal Calibans have strangled the press, transformed courts into bandit agencies, wiped out Parliament, destroyed popular elections, exterminated the trade unions, and control the country by widespread murders—this gentleman is given a reception in City Hall. Gathered at this meeting were thousands of black shirt fascists "who cheered and raised their arms in Fascist salute." Pinedo himself came arrayed in the Fascist uniform. He could even add the insult that "New York is the best Fascist city in the whole world" without being rebuked by the Mayor who owes his office to the suffrage of citizens.

Protest as they may against the charge repeatedly made by intelligent Europeans that the official classes of the United States know not the meaning of freedom, these classes by their conduct belie their own protests. This week is the blackest page in the history of the city, blacker than the slave hunts through its streets in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law.

THE CHATTER BOX

To Sacco and Vanzetti

Before such men as you I stand
With head hung low, abashed, ashamed,
Not only of my Judas land
But that I also should be blamed.

That courts are owned by wealth and terror
Is nothing new in history's pages;
And men who fight the armed White Terror
Must face their death while hatred rages.

But shame on folk of the printed word
Who raise no cry that rich men plunder!
Come, let our voices all be heard
In revolutionary thunder!

—Ralph Cheyney.

Sometimes the paternal instinct in us goes rampant, and we just have to find a helpless group of children that need guidance and advice. The driving force of that urge is great and very often we get into pecks of neighborly abuse from parents who have an idea of their own abilities to lead their offspring in the way of good conduct. Of late years, we have almost abandoned our excursions into juvenile evangelism, and being sore put to an outlet for our excess sociological energies, we have taken to scolding, chiding and reforming the adult infants of our time. The world is full of them, and they make great mess and nuisance, and something must be done to teach them manners ways. One finds whole basements full of them in Greenwich Village and Harlem; aimless, ill-bred orphaned beings who are lost in the maze of self-discovery, who take to intellectual brigandage, and a petty thievery of the mind. In particular, we would like to take a hold of that loosely joined coterie of revolutionary artistic souls, put them all into a line-up and in succession give each individual an old-fashioned trouncing. And not in the head either.

In a sense they constitute the intelligentsia of the mad left wing movement. For one thing, they have the gift of mediocre literary expression, and a warped precocity that passes for art in a sphere of uninformed admiration. They are the spent echoes of an age, when the old "Masses" thundered its vital denunciations and warnings into the ear of a smug world and actually disturbed old assurances. The war silenced it, and we waited for the "Masses" to come to being again when hysteria and patriotism had burned themselves out. The old giants, the big minds and talents have either taken to respectability, or the advertising business. With the exception of Art Young, whose youth is perpetual, not a trace of the old spirit is left for even memory. The crew that came on later were a half-cooked lot of journeyman radicals. They have since found a place for themselves with the aid of the epidemic of revolutionary dementia that the Communist Russian coup d'état spread throughout the laboring world. Most of them have had considerable and numerous experience in publicity for panhandling causes of every nature. They have all gotten into the psychology that there are suckers born for every movement every moment. Money can be gotten from hard working people and others by easier methods than work. Individually not one of them has anything but a pure hobo philosophy.

Shanghai Unions Appeal For Support of Chiang

U. S. Agents at Odds with State Department—Other Developments in China

THE interests, factions and policies in China, both native and foreign, have become so complex that it is difficult to unravel the tangle. The Communists at Hankow and Chiang in Nanking have effected a split within the Nationalists. The section of the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek maintains its own government and makes war on the Communists who in turn war with Chiang.

Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, the Manchurian war lord of northern China and representative of reaction, through his advisor on foreign affairs at Peking, has made a bid for the support of the foreign Powers. Independent of the three Chinese factions are a number of war lords whose armies are living on the country, whose allegiance is uncertain but who are probably open to serve anybody who can pay the highest bribe. Chang Tso-Lin could buy them, but the decayed Peking regime has no money.

Chang's approach to the foreign Powers was made through the New York Times correspondent at Peking. He wants foreigners to supply the funds and promises to have a "united China" within six months.

Hankow Changes Front
As this is offered to save China and possibly the world from the "Red peril," it is likely to appeal to the Powers. But, in the meantime, the Communists at Hankow have made a surprising change of front. Foreign owners of factories are invited to resume operations and the imperialists are asked to reoccupy their concessions. The city is again alive with activity, and it is surmised that the Communists have executed a "strategic retreat," because unemployment was strangling the workers, while fear of warships in the harbor also had an influence.

If the Chinese are divided into factions, so are the imperialist Powers. Japan fears a united policy by the European Powers because she feels that China is her special field of exploitation. The American Minister at Peking and our consuls are anxious to have the United States join the other Powers in a general "clean up" of China. They would have the united military forces occupy the entire valley of the Yangtze River, dividing China, and even risking military domination of the Chinese for many years.

The World's correspondent at Shanghai, Thomas F. Millard, bares the program of the American officials. Meantime, the American State Department disagrees with the American Minister and American consuls in China. It declines to endorse the note drawn up by the Diplomatic Corps at Peking in answer to Eugene Chen's proposal to submit the question of responsibility for the Nanking riots to a mixed tribunal. It has also refused to sup-

port the idea of a united military drive. This is probably due to fear that Great Britain and Japan would gobble the rich prizes reaped by any such raid.

In Shanghai the Federation of Labor organizations held a large mass meeting on May Day, at which Kuo Tai-chi, Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, was the principal speaker. He urged that a cable be sent to J. Ramsey MacDonald in Philadelphia, which was approved, and the following message was sent to the former Labor Prime Minister of England.

"A huge mass meeting in Shanghai on May 1 unanimously resolved to urge support of the Nanking Government and oppose the constant and deliberate impairment of China's sovereignty and the violation of international law by flights of British military airplanes over Chinese territory without the sanction of our Government; also to demand the withdrawal of British troops in view of the establishment of law and order by our Government in this area."

"The presence of foreign troops is oppressive and provocative. We demand justice."

MASS ARRESTS IN RUSSIA OF NON-COMMUNISTS ARE REPORTED FROM BERLIN

(By cable to The Forward)

BERLIN, April 22.—Russian non-Communist workers who have been issuing an illegal paper called the "Voice of Labor," in the issue of April 14 report that there were mass arrests of their supporters in the Ukraine last month. The arrests were made in Ekaterinoslaw to the number of 317, in Charkow 284, Makaeewski 216, Odessa 179 and numerous others at other points. Of these, 185 have already been hastily adjudged.

The political prisoners of Wjatka bitterly complain that they are cruelly treated, live under abominable conditions, are undernourished, and among them are some very ill.

ANOTHER MEETING FOR NEGRO PAINTERS TO BE HELD MAY 15

The International Progressive Alteration Painters and Paper Hangers' Union will hold a mass meeting for Negro painters under the auspices of St. James' Presbyterian Church Forum on Sunday, May 15, at 3:30 p. m. The Forum is located at 59-61 West 137th street.

Negro painters will have another opportunity to enroll as members of the union. The application fee is \$5. A number of prominent speakers will address the meeting, including the secretary of the New York Urban League. Negro painters who would help realize a wage sufficient to enable them to live in decency should attend.

osophy. The discipline that the Communist Party demands from its members is a genuine tyranny to them, and they break its ukases at every comma and semi-colon. And yet they manage to organize magazines, relief movements, theatre guilds, art societies and the like, for each one of which there are jobs created at salaries. Through the necromancy of appeals and inspired publicity, the sentimental dollars are collected, and the overhead is taken care of first. The last thing our literary radicals would dream of would be the reduction of office and editorial expense. Rather let the project go the way of bankruptcy, than one member of their staff go without his stipend. Of course, the affair usually spends all its collected fund in hilarious and dizzy speed, frantic appeals are set forth again, small amounts are received this time, this money being as madly dissipated, and then commences what these editors and leaders term, the era of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. They are not receiving wages since there is none to be gotten. The printer, the janitor, the landlord, the beanie, and all nearby friends who may have that spare tenpenny on Saturdays, are all touched, bullied and finally hung up to try and collect. The interment takes place in a sort of Potter's Field manner, with hardly anyone present to make a decent burial. Our erstwhile martyrs for the cause are already espousing a brand new plan to make Lenin out of Schwabs, and a Kremlin out of the Woolworth Building, and the air is full of their promise.

The suckers spring up eternally in this human jest. It seems to us, that the Workers' Party is just full of decent enough lads and lassies, whose gullibility for the smooth phrases of these chortling charlatans keeps them as yet in the tangle of delusion. Our heroes have a frail talent for literature and art that is just common enough to reach the weak understanding of the unlettered idealists, and just glinting enough to pass for real brilliance in eyes that cannot peer beyond the phrase. Some of these worthies know their inferiorities and assume bluster and bravado as defense armament. Others, however, really meander through the lowlands of their own delusion, shouting down from imagined mountain peaks. They are a sorry lot, and their deeds are pitiable. Some day, the honest followers, the beating lambskins that scamper blindly after these pseudo-shepherds, will either come to reason or heart-breaking disaster. The chances are that when the Workers' Party has become a shambles of hopelessness and no further money can be eked out from the penniless ones remaining, the Bohemians who have led and lived from off its shivered fat will find new fields for quick planting and hasty harvest. Individual anarchists make poor leaders for a proletarian revolt along Soviet rule and syllabus.

And when we consider the loose, self-indulgent manner of personal life these professional literary and artistic agents lead, and make comparison between them and the self-abnegating habits and ascetic conduct of the Lenins, Stalins and Radeks, who have done and are doing their utmost to lead a world-out of chaos into order and light—we just wonder how our American Communist Party brilliants have managed to gumfuzzle their Russian patrons out of huge sums of money for the functions, publications and organizations they have led in the past and which are tottering to dull ruin at present.

READING SOCIALISTS NAME A CITY TICKET; MAURER, STUMP ON IT

READING, Pa.—J. Henry Stump for Mayor and George W. Snyder and James H. Maurer for City Council are named to lead the Socialist city ticket in the campaign of 1927. For the school board the candidates selected were Walter R. Hoollinger, Albert J. Frezeman and George D. Snyder. Raymond S. Hofess, for controller, and William C. Hoverter, for treasurer, complete the city ticket. In addition a full county ticket was named for every office except those of judges and district attorney.

The campaign committee will take active charge of arrangements for carrying local issues to the voters. Stump, Maurer and Snyder are all experienced campaigners and their nomination assures a vigorous contest for the control of the local government.

The Socialists will start their campaign activities long before the election. The assertion that the failure of workers in every ward in the city to register was responsible for the defeat of the Socialist candidates in the past was applauded, and one prominent party member asserted that there were enough unregistered Socialist voters in his ward to have won the legislative fight a year ago. The enrollment of Socialist women this year will be given more attention than in former campaigns. A canvass of the party's strength reveals the fact that in many Socialist households none of the women has voted at any time.

BERNARD SCHUB TO REPRESENT LEADER

Readers and friends of The New Leader are informed that Mr. Bernard Schub is authorized to represent The New Leader in soliciting aid for subscriptions and financial aid in general. Any courtesies shown him in this work will be appreciated.

THE NEW LEADER.

STREET MEETINGS

Manhattan

Tuesday evening, May 10, 8:30 p. m.—134th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaapar.

Brooklyn

Friday evening, May 6, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, Esther Friedman.
Saturday evening, May 14—Have-meyer and South Fifth streets. Speaker, Esther Friedman.
Saturday evening, May 14, 8:30 p. m.—Fourteenth avenue and Kings highway. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvim.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

measures are taken looking to a modification of the unequal treaties which so incense Chinese of all factions. We are in a fair way to drift into war in China in 1927 as we drifted into the World War in 1917. Such a drift is more inexcusable now than it was then. The consequences of an aggressive policy in China may be immediately far less than those which followed our entry into the World War. But no one can calculate the ultimate harvests of hate which we may reap in the Far East.

Fortunately there is yet time to save the situation. Even within the Tory Cabinet itself the British imperialists have not gained complete control. Nevertheless it is true that British imperialism is likely to take aggressive action in China to save its prestige in India and to try to win back its concession in Hankow as well as to protect those it still has. Great Britain does not want to face this task alone. Japan and France for reasons of their own are hesitant as to their next step. Neither is as rich nor as simple minded as your Uncle Sam. Why not get him to fight for some new "sacred principle"? In the World War we fought for principle and Great Britain took the territory. It worked once, it might work again. The British imperial philosophy is easily understood. What causes me almost to despair is that our government and people seem to have such inadequate defenses against it. Unless we wake up we may be involved in some aggressive action in China from which we shall get nothing—not even a concession in Hankow—except the everlasting hatred of the Chinese.

One thing that slows up an aggressive British program in China is the general opposition to it of the British Labor Party and, in particular, the bitter fight that is being waged by it against the government's trade union bill. At the present that fight absorbs the energies of all parties. The government has the votes to pass the bill. By doing so it will consolidate the Labor Party and strengthen it for the next general election. If the Labor Party cannot defeat or soon repeal this law it will go far to end any sort of hope for a peaceful revolution in England. It will have dangerous repercussions in America where our own Tories will welcome this moral support from a country which has heretofore had a rather good tradition and practice of civil and industrial freedom. American workers everywhere ought to encourage their British fellow workers in their fight against this bill which seeks to cripple labor in both its political and its industrial field.

Our own professional patriots are as busy as ever bismarcking the reputation of everybody who does not agree with their identification of patriotism with docility in the presence of such lords and masters of men as drill sergeants, politicians and captains of industry. An amusing and instructive record of the performance of these gentry is given in Norman Hapgood's book, "Professional Patriots," which may be had of the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Army officers, officially or semi-officially, are using the college military fraternity, the Scabbard and Blade, to prove that Jane Addams is the most dangerous woman in America. Our old friend, Freddie Marvin, still saves the country every day for a price. (By the way, how happy we should be if the Socialist Party today were a tenth as strong as he alleges!)

Even our respectable friends of the Federal Council of Churches are circulating an elaborate editorial to refute the charge that they are controlled directly or indirectly from Moscow. The editorial gravely explains that this charge "involves such men as Chief Justice William H. Taft, General John F. O'Rourke and others of equal standing. Gentlemen of the Federal Council, to acquit you of Bolshevism the jury does not even need to retire from the box. But how many moneyed morons there must be to support this sort of nonsense!

More serious than the nonsense to which we have referred is new evidence of the control of the radio. President Aylesworth of the National Broadcasting Company, who is personally a delightful gentleman, in a public address protested his desire to keep the freedom of the air. But when it came time for questions he would not give Dr. Yard of China any better assurance than that he would "consider" whether a speech criticizing the Administration's policy in China might be broadcast. Later on an official of Mr. Aylesworth's company privately assured Dr. Yard that no such speech could be broadcast. The independent companies are still worse. W. G. L. was broadcasting the speeches at a dinner of farewell to the famous swimmer, Mrs. Corson. Mrs. Corson was born in Denmark and one of the speakers started to eulogize her native land for its pacifism. She was immediately cut off. According to the manager, this action was promptly applauded by twenty patriots to whom praise of peace is obnoxious.

Doesn't this prove the need of Station WDEBS? Some of our friends are holding back their contributions for fear that we never can get broadcasting privileges. Within the last few days certain developments make me confident that we can succeed if we get the money.

"Coolidge Pledges Firm Friendship to Latin America." Yes, with the emphasis on the "firm." Ask the marines!