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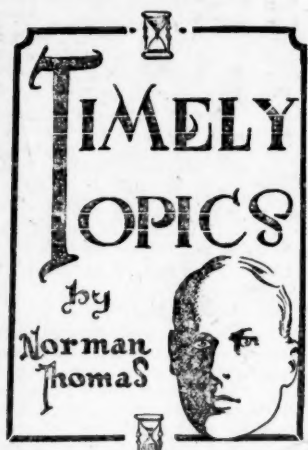
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## Sacco Rally Is Wrecked By Communists



**MODERN** journalistic methods make for short memories. There was something dramatic in accounts of the great Mississippi at full flood, and the newspapers gave them space. There was a generous response to the first appeal for help for men, women and children flying for their lives from the relentless march of mighty waters. But there is nothing dramatic about the dreary days of reconstruction and the task of salvaging homesteads and taking up life anew without money, credit or crops, surrounded by mud and mosquitoes. The newspapers have more entertaining sensations for us. So the public forgets or leaves the task of rehabilitation to Hoover's plan for loans. Therefore thanks must go to the New York Times and its special correspondent for reminding us of the dreadful conditions that exist in large areas in Arkansas and Louisiana. It is tragic nonsense to suppose that any mere system of credit can relieve the dire misery Mr. Speers describes. Credit and the remission of certain taxes may help. In cases far beyond the present resources of the Red Cross there must be outright gifts, and to these gifts there can attach no odium of charity. The relief of these families, impoverished by no fault of their own, is of no 2nd concern.

Matters of national concern are appropriate matters for governmental action. In this case it is not likely that private charity will meet the need. With a governmental surplus of around six hundred million dollars in the treasury it is absurd to require private charity to meet the need. At any rate, no private charity can appropriate additional funds for a proper program of protection against the waters. It is positively dangerous to leave the Mississippi Valley open and defenceless until some time next winter, when Congress may get around to acting on the technical report which ought to be ready for its consideration this summer. To say that two flood years will not come in succession is criminally to tempt fate.

There is one reason, and one reason only, for Coolidge's failure to call Congress in special session within the next few weeks. That reason is cold, heartless politics. There are no Republican votes for Calvin in Louisiana and Arkansas. Congress may prove quite annoying to the man who is fishing for something far bigger than worm-fed trout. Anyway, our great President gets more comfort and, he calculates, more votes by dressing up in cowboy clothes for the moving picture cameras in the Black Hills than by bothering his head over any flood sufferers. Only public opinion strongly expressed can move Mr. Coolidge. Will public opinion speak? What have the farmers of the Northwest, who still seem vehement about the McNary-Haugen Bill, to say about this greater need of their Southern brothers?

**Breaking Up of Huge Demonstration Creates Revulsion Against Workers' Party**

**LIBERTIES UNION DENOUNCES 'LEFTS'**

**Organization of Group to Guard Future Meetings Urged by Shiplacoff**

**B**REAKING up of a huge Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration in New York City, causing the dispersal of a great throng of 10,000 men and women, has brought a revulsion of disgust throughout the labor and liberal movements against the Communists who were responsible for the disturbance.

Chagrined by the refusal of the Sacco-Vanzetti Liberation Committee, a joint organization of New York trade unions, to permit the Communists to take part in the demonstration, the latter attempted to capture the meeting. Led by Ben Gold, the ousted leader of the furrier Communists, a crowd of some 1,000 Communists attempted to rush the meeting and take it over.

Though the Communists failed to force their speakers on the huge demonstration in Union Square, they did succeed in causing the interference of the police, who dispersed the crowd. Adherents of the Communists also succeeded in attacking and severely beating Solomon Levy, a Socialist clockmaker, who was guarding the entrance to one of the platforms and attempting to prevent Gold's interference with the orderly progress of the gathering.

So strong has been the revulsion of feeling against the Communists, that they are making frantic efforts to disclaim the odious responsibility of having broken up a meeting called to aid Sacco and Vanzetti.

Nevertheless, the Civil Liberties Union has condemned the Communists' interference in the meeting. A resolution expressing even stronger condemnation is now before the Central Trades and Labor Council. Several of the largest trade unions in the city have decided to refuse all aid to Communist political prisoners until such time as their party respects the rights of others to free speech.

**What Took Place**

Three meetings were run off in peaceful and orderly fashion, notwithstanding provocative efforts made by a large group of Communists at the one held in Cooper Union.

Because of the known antagonism existing between the unions which compose the Sacco-Vanzetti Liberation Committee, and, further, because of charges of misconduct made against the Communist Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston, the responsible national body, it had been decided that the Communists were not to be permitted to co-operate in the meetings.

To avoid confusion, the list of speakers had been decided upon the day before the meeting at a session of the Liberation Committee. It was perfectly understood by all that any attempt to force deviation from the set program would result only in disorder and great harm to the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The meeting in Union Square, attended by 10,000 men and women, was peaceful for an hour and a half after it had been opened at 4 o'clock. Two platforms had been set up in the north end of the park. Suddenly at about 5:30 there was a stir of commotion. Then the following incidents occurred, culminating in the dispersal of the crowd by the police:

Ben Gold, head of the deposed Communist element in the furriers' union, was raised on the shoulders of two or three followers. He was surrounded by dozens of others. Together they forced their way to the platform at the west end of the square. As they went, shouting imprecations at the chairman and demands that Gold be permitted to speak, they brought the speeches of Hyman Nemeser, on one platform, and of A. N. Weinberg, on the other, to an abrupt end. Thus began the di-integration of the meeting. In the meantime Gold's followers had attempted to throw him up on the platform. The chairman, Mr. Weinberg, informed him he was not on the list of speakers. When Gold persisted in forcing his way to the platform, the chairman was forced to push him off. Having succeeded in completely de-

## DECISION IS DUE ON VANZETTI SOON

**Inquiry on Conviction of Radicals Finally Gets Under Way**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

**B**OSTON.—A tense feeling of expectancy is evident among all who have taken an interest in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. This is due to what appears to be the speeding up of the investigation of the trial by the Governor's commission. The daily sessions held by the Commission and the many persons called before this body suggest that the laborious part of the Commission's work will soon close and that its recommendations will be known within a week or two.

This week six men and women who had no opportunity to disclose important information affecting the case were closeted with the Commission and were cross-examined by attorneys for both sides. At the same time Governor Fuller spent nine hours discussing the case with nine other men and two women. One of the women is the wife of Nicola Sacco. A Swartz of Brockton who was within 600 feet of the murder scene but was never called as a witness also discussed the case with Governor Fuller. These represent only a few of scores who talked with the Governor or the Commission on Monday.

**Thayer Critic Called**

The next two days were a repetition of Monday. Among the more important men called by the Commission was Professor James F. Richardson of the Dartmouth University Faculty who was the author of a letter to Governor Fuller denouncing Judge Thayer for injudicious talk about the Sacco-Vanzetti case while staying at the Hanover (N. H.) Inn during 1924, when the matter was still before his court. The Judge's critic, who wrote the Governor that, from the conversation they had, it seemed to him that Judge Thayer was prejudiced against the two men, went from his interview with the Governor's advisers to one with the Governor himself.

Judge Thayer was with the committee for two hours. The three attorneys, William G. Thompson and Herbert Ehrmann for the defense, and Assistant District Attorney Dudley P. Ranney for the prosecution, were present while Professor Richardson talked to the committee, but left the room as Judge Thayer entered it.

When he left the office, Judge Thayer persistently refused to be interviewed, although newspaper men followed him down the elevator and photographers snapped him as he passed out of the building.

Both Governor Fuller and his advisers, President Lowell of Harvard, and Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and former Probate Judge Robert Grant, turned their attention to the weapons in the case.

**Others Are Heard**

The Colt automatic and Harrington & Richards revolver which were taken

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## KING OF BULGARIA IS CALLED LIAR BY SOCIALIST DEPUTY

Paris.—At the opening of the new Bulgarian Parliament there occurred an incident which puts "electrola freedom" in Bulgaria in its true light. When the King in his speech from the throne asserted that the last elections had proceeded in "full liberty," the leader of the Socialist group, Sakasoff, interrupted him, and called out loudly that this statement by the King did not correspond to the facts.

The Left of the House applauded heartily, while the Government Deputies sought to drown the demonstration by cries of protest. Another Socialist Deputy then cried to the partisans of the White Terror that there they could drown the voice of justice, but not distort the truth.

The King, who had grown very pale when the protest of the oppressed Bulgarian workers sounded from Sakasoff's mouth, hastily continued his speech and then left the House immediately, in order to evade any further demonstrations about the Government terrorism at the Bulgarian elections.

## TIMOTHY HEALY DEFEATED

**McNamara of Boston Is Elected President of Firemen's Union**

**C**LEVELAND.—Timothy Healy of New York, for more than twenty-four years a picturesque leader of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Oilers and Railway Shop Laborers, and nationally known labor leader, was defeated for re-election to president of his organization by John F. McNamara of Boston, 74 to 60, at the annual convention of the brotherhood in session here.

"Old Tim's too old. We need a younger man," was the convention cry which sent the 61-year-old veteran labor leader down to defeat.

Despite Mr. Healy's defeat, three of the vice-presidents elected were members of his party, while only one was a member of the McNamara organization.

Healy is one of the best liked officials in the trade union movement and friends of his regret his defeat. He is of the progressive type and was active in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which finally resulted in the coalition supporting the LaFollette and Wheeler ticket in 1924.

It is absolutely useless for the well-to-do of this country to talk of charity while they are abstracting the vast sums they do from the laboring classes. —Edward Carpenter.

## PORTERS TO SUE WALL STREET PUBLISHERS

**Dow, Jones & Co. Circulates False Reports on Negro Union**

**T**HE Brother of Sleeping Car Porters is taking steps to sue for damages Dow, Jones & Co., publishers of the Wall Street Journal and other publications that cater to the financial and commercial interests of the country.

The cause of the proposed suit is a dispatch alleged to have emanated from Chicago and been published in "The Financial Bulletin Service" of Thursday, July 7, 1927. "No Pullman Porter Brotherhood," says the head on the article. "Negro Radical Receives Setback," the headline continues. Then follows what is alleged to be the reaction of "well-informed circles" on the "dismissal" of the porters' union case by the railroad mediation board. The New Leader last week was able to correct the false dispatch stating the porters' union had lost its case.

The Financial Bulletin Service repeats the falsehood, which was repudiated by the mediation board itself. It adds to its derogatory remarks concerning A. Philip Randolph, the organizer of the union. On advice of Morris L. Ernst, counsel for the Porters' Brotherhood, a suit is to be instituted.

**Randolph Meets Board**

Even while the story appeared Mr. Randolph was in receipt of a telegraphic summons from the Federal Board asking him to come and present his case. Mr. Randolph is now in Chicago, where he has made several appearances before the commissioners. Now that actual mediation is in progress, an early decision may be expected.

The story printed in the Dow, Jones "Financial Bulletin Service" follows: "NO PULLMAN PORTER BROTHERHOOD

"NEGRO RADICAL RECEIVES SETBACK

"CHICAGO.—Well-informed circles expressed satisfaction at the recent action of the Federal Board of Mediation in indefinitely laying aside the complaint of A. Philip Randolph, who claimed to represent a brotherhood of sleeping car porters, that the Pullman Company had refused to confer with him or to recognize his organization, on the ground that the company already had a binding agreement, signed by eighteen delegates elected by at least 85 percent of its porters and maids, which agreement was made in consonance with the spirit and text of the Railway Labor Act.

"Board turned down the complaint on the ground that no case was established showing the necessity for any intervention by it, and, further, because it was not established that the so-called brotherhood organization represented the employees.

"With the air thus cleared and any question of divided allegiance at an

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## French-Italian War Danger Remains Great

**NECKTIE MAKERS' NEW DEMANDS**

**Union Seeks End of Home Work—Strike Approval Voted**

**M**ORE than 2,000 members of the United Neckwear Makers' Union assembled in Cooper Union Tuesday afternoon voted to demand the abolition of all home work and work performed by non-union members. The present contract with the National Association of Men's Neckwear Manufacturers expires in September, when it will have run for two years.

In the event the manufacturers refuse to meet the demands of the union for ending of home work, according to instructions given the executive board of the union by today's meeting, a strike will follow.

Louis D. Berger, manager of the union, presented the recommendations of the executive board, which were unanimously approved. Under these recommendations the union will submit the following demands at an early joint conference with representatives of the manufacturers' association:

**40-Hour Week Asked**

1. The complete unionization of the slip stitch (or hand sewn) tie industry. 2. All the operations on the hand-sewn ties shall be done on the premises of the manufacturers. 3. All trimmers and boxers who are receiving less than \$18 per week to receive a three-dollar increase. 4. All trimmers and boxers receiving more than \$18 a week to receive a two-dollar increase. 5. During the months of May, June, July and August the week-work shall consist of 40 hours, to be distributed over five days. There are other minor demands.

Explaining the demands of the union, Mr. Berger declared that the development of home work on hand-sewn ties during the last few years has been such that the working and wage standards of the 3,000 men and women employed in the shops have been seriously endangered. He estimated that about 80 per cent. of all ties made are sewed together by hand in the homes of the workers. The conditions threaten to bring back the "sweat-shops" of years ago, Mr. Berger asserted.

After hearing Mr. Berger and Business Manager Louis Fuchs explain the importance of the new demands, the meeting adopted a resolution demanding that all slip-stitching work be done on the manufacturing premises under sanitary conditions and that those engaged in such work be given an opportunity to earn a living wage, become members of the union, and thus secure the benefit of union hours and wages, and

"Be it further resolved, that the conference committee of our union be and hereby is directed to make every effort to secure the above demands in a peaceful manner; and

"Be it further resolved, that should the conference committee fail to secure such demands on or about August 31, 1927, the said committee in joint session with the Executive Board be and is hereby authorized to take such means, if necessary by strike, to enforce such demands."

**PLAN TO STRENGTHEN WEST VIRGINIA LABOR**

**CHARLESTON, W. Va.**—The entire meeting of the Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union was devoted to discussion of plans and policies whereby local labor could assist the West Virginia State Federation of Labor to strengthen its position and to inaugurate a general campaign of organization and education throughout the State, to commence on Labor Day.

Information coming from all over the State indicates that the time is ripe to make an aggressive drive. The workers are ready to revolt against the "open" shop system, and the public is disgusted with the tactics of the coal mine owners and others who in their rabid anti-union hysteria have wrecked business and industry and created the most depressing business conditions that have existed for twenty-five years.

Enthusiasm is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding.—Emerson.

**Countries Near Actual Hostilities Over Border Incident in November Last**

**BRITAIN URGES MUSSOLINI ON**

**Fascist Dictatorship Parades Imperialist Ambitions Before the World**

**By F. Seymour Cocks**

**W**HEN in March, 1926, the special Assembly, called for the express purpose of admitting Germany to membership of the League of Nations, collapsed amidst the moist unedifying circumstances and "the depths of national rivalries, suspicions and jealousies"—to quote the "Times"—"were revealed in full measure," a highly significant comment came from Italy. The "Impero" stated that what ever Geneva might do, "wars will break out exactly on the day pre-ordained"; the "Tribuna" dismissed "the so-called spirit of Locarno" as being merely "an expression of imbecility," whilst the "Evere," in a perfect paean of joy, proclaimed the glad tidings that "Italy . . . thanks to Fascism, has long ago abandoned all Utopian ideas of Peace . . . Peace can only result from a balance of war-making forces . . . Thanks to Fascism, Europe . . . becomes again a camp of the rivalries and ambitions of warring civilizations."

An announcement which invites comparison with certain post-prandial utterances of Lord Birkenhead.

**Kaiserism Revived**

The foreign policy of Fascist Italy, in particular the attitude she has adopted towards France, constitutes a real danger to peace. The Fascist Press, for some time past, has been openly attacking the French people and Government. The Fascist Party has been loudly demanding territory, in every direction—in Turkey, Abyssinia, Albania, Dalmatia, Tunis, Corsica, Nice and Savoy. And Mussolini, with his extraordinary speeches, has been brandishing a blazing torch in the powder-magazine of Europe.

"Italy demands," says the Fascist Dictator, in words strongly reminiscent of the ex-Kaiser, "that her indisputable need of sun and land shall be recognized by all other nations. Should they fail to do so Italy will be forced to take matters into her own hands."

Throughout the whole of last year the Fascist Government, encouraged and emboldened by the "intimate" relationship which had been established in London, continued to pursue an aggressively anti-French policy in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

"The foreigner shall be faced by us," exclaimed Mussolini.

"We will, if necessary break through the political ring," he threatened. In the affairs of Tunis, Morocco and Tangier, Italy began to display a most inconvenient interest. In August she strengthened her position by concluding a treaty of "amity and mutual neutrality" with Spain; in September she signed a treaty of friendship with Roumania. It is widely believed that the first of these treaties was accompanied by a secret military convention regarding Roumania. It is certainly true that Italy agreed to supply that country with arms and with a loan. Simultaneously she began to angle for the friendship of Bulgaria and Greece. France, who, in the meantime, had entered into a treaty with Yugoslavia, Italy's Adriatic rival, regarded all these movements with uneasiness and apprehension.

**The First Franco-Italian Crisis**

On September 11 an Italian, named Lucetti, attempted to assassinate Mussolini. It was alleged in Rome that this attempt was the result of anti-Fascist propaganda conducted in a neighboring country, and the "Giornale d'Italia" actually suggested that France should be held responsible for the crime. The Duce himself made matters no better. "An end must be put to a certain culpable tolerance from the other side of the frontier," he thundered. "If it is really desired to maintain friendship with the Italian people. We are ready for all the battles and all the victories." Anti-French demonstrations followed at Leghorn and Trieste, and the "Corriere d'Italia" pleasantly observed that "our Latin sister is no longer a sister, and not even a friend."

The French newspapers replied in vigorous terms. They pointed out that

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## While Coolidge Plays Wild West

**Flood Sufferers Are Abandoned to Disease and Hunger**

**A** HIDEOUS economic and social tragedy is unfolding in a vast area of the Mississippi Valley which involves the health, security and life of hundreds of thousands of people. There are thousands of aged men and women, babies, and those in feeble health, who are destined to die, but whose lives can be saved. There are many other thousands whose economic future is blasted unless they receive aid.

Facing one of the most pitiful tragedies in our history, one that warrants a special session of Congress, Coolidge keeps cool in South Dakota. He has held conferences regarding Mexico and the Philippines and taxes, cut cake and eaten ice cream, approved the landscape and endorsed the climate of South Dakota, but for a region afflicted with desolation, threatening acute suffering for its inhabitants next winter and death for the feeble, the aged and infants, he has said not a word.

The flood waters that have overwhelmed these people with disaster is not a regional problem, although a particular region has suffered. It certainly is not a State affair. It is a national problem. As one sufferer has declared, "The Government has permitted this thing to happen and now it should do something to put the victims back on their feet."

**Through Government Neglect**

The Government has neglected to store the flood waters, thus saving this region from disaster and transforming the water power into a social blessing. By its neglect it has brought a curse to these unfortunate people. Charitable agencies are now relied upon to grapple with a problem that requires national direction and co-operation. Even those farmers whose homes and land have not been completely ruined require aid if they are to avoid bankruptcy. With a fund of \$15,000,000 the Red Cross cannot cope with a disaster conservatively estimated at \$500,000,000.

A Times correspondent in the stricken region describes the destitution, the wreck of homes, the despair and the bleak future that face the people of Louisiana alone. We commend the following paragraphs to Coolidge, who is enjoying his vacation in the Black Hills.

"One can take a launch and travel for miles toward Ravenswood and the happiness that lies beyond, and in all that stretch the traveler will not see one home, one outbuilding, one gin, one store that it not rotting in the murky flood waters of the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya.

"He will see no wild animal life, and this part of Louisiana was but a few short weeks ago the home of some of the finest deer herds in America, a land of wild turkeys and quail, with a bear thrown in now and then for good measure.

"About the only signs of life beyond the levees are vultures that soar above the carcasses of dead animals, and hundreds of beautiful white herons, with the monotony broken sometimes by one of the blue-hued species."

Contrast the neglect and indifference displayed toward hundreds of thousands of these unfortunate with the quick response an oil magnate with investments in Mexico gets from the Coolidge Administration. Where is that "idealism," that "spiritual" outlook, of which Coolidge boasts so often?

**If Some Oil Wells Were Flooded**

It is too bad that a few thousand oil wells representing an investment of a billion dollars are not located in the flooded valley. With the dollars of our ruling magnates at stake it is certain that the "idealism" of the Administration would be touched and all the powers of the Government would be mobilized to protect the petroleum deposits.

Disease, death and economic affliction are certain to follow in the wake of the flood waters. Last May the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party urged Congress to suspend the millions of dollars appropriated for military and naval armaments and "appropriate sufficient funds to rehabilitate the devastated region, rebuild homes that have been destroyed, and insure the comfort of those who must wait for the restoration of agricultural and industrial activities in their communities."

Pious words butter no parsnips, Mr. Coolidge. There are those who can live, but who will die unless Congress acts. What is your answer, Mr. President?



## SACCO RALLY IS Communists Break Up WRECKED BY Matteotti, Vanzetti Meetings in France

(Continued from page 1)

moralizing one section of the great gathering, but having failed to gain the platform, Gold proceeded on the shoulders of his aides to attempt to rush the other platform. Solomon Levy, one of the committeemen, who was guarding the entrance to this east platform, was dragged into the crowd and severely beaten. Again Gold attempted to mount the platform, only to be again repulsed by August Claessens, chairman, and two others, Edward Levinson and Hyman Nemser. After the meetings had been irretrievably ruined, the crowd stirred to a frenzy of anger, the police led Gold away. Immediately they started to disperse the crowd.

It is not easy to portray the scenes that took place. Men, women and children were hurt in the rush of the crowd to escape. Through it all the Communists, the supporters of Gold, added their fury to the affair by shrieking threats and raining blows on people who pleaded for order.

### Interference Was Planned

The action of the Communists was premeditated. In its issue of July 8th, page two, the New York World stated, referring to the demonstration: "After the disbandment of the meeting in Union Square, the police said Gold and his bodyguard had gone to the Communist element in the furriers in Manhattan Lyceum. It was also said there was definite information that plans to disturb the meeting were agreed upon at a meeting of the Workers' Party Wednesday night."

The statement bears out previous information. The district executive committee of the Workers' Party called a special party meeting for Wednesday evening which was held in Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East Fourth street. Camouflaged by an innocent order of business which was issued for public consumption, the meeting devoted itself to plans to capture the Union Square demonstration. The Young Workers' Club was instructed to attend the meeting, and did so.

Some of the Communists were instructed to proceed to Union Square the next day at 4 o'clock. Others met at Manhattan Lyceum at 2 o'clock of the afternoon of the meeting. With Gold at their head these marched to the Square in a body. Others gathered at Communist Party headquarters on 14th street and Fourth avenue. Shortly after 5 o'clock these also marched on the demonstration in a body. The appearance of Gold appears to have been the prearranged signal for the attempt to capture the meeting.

### Communists Commit Violence

Specific acts of violence and attempted violence were freely committed by the Communists during the disturbances. Solomon Levy, as mentioned before, was dragged from the east platform into the crowd. Here he was severely beaten over the head by a billiard cue sawed off. Two of his assailants were arrested by the police and are now awaiting trial. Levy recognized and positively identified as another of his assailants one George Weiss.

This man is well known as "Butch," a gangster who has been arrested a number of times while on the Communist furriers "picket line." He was indicted and convicted in the Mineola assault case. Knives were wielded against Mr. Levy. His face was gashed, his forehead was bruised by the billiard cue, and his back was painfully injured. His clothes were slashed.

Another Communist was arrested for striking a policeman with a soda bottle. Fatal injuries might have resulted had the Communists succeeded in their attempts to overturn the two platforms, after it was evident that Gold could not mount them. These platforms weigh about 500 pounds apiece. If they had been overturned serious injuries would have resulted to those on it and to those on whom it would have landed. The interference of the police alone prevented the capsize of these platforms and the mobbing of the speakers that would certainly have followed.

Samuel H. Friedman, a speaker, was accosted in the subway station and had to be extricated from a crowd of Communists by the police. For hours a group of Communists paraded the section in which A. N. Weinberg, one of the chairmen, lives. Late Thursday evening they cornered him at Second avenue and 14th street. He was forced to flee under a rain of blows.

Charges made by Gold later that he had been beaten are completely untrue. He was not injured in any way, despite provocation that would have justified any beating administered to him. His complaint of having been beaten is merely a cowardly subterfuge to counteract the specific and definite crimes proven against him.

Gold's protestations that he had no desire to speak are false. If he had no desire to speak he would not have permitted his fellow Communists to carry him more than fifty feet to one platform, and then an equal distance from the first to the second. He pleaded with Weinberg and Claessens to be permitted to speak. One word to his aides and he could have restored order. While it may be true that, faced with the determination of the chairmen to force him from the platforms as often as his insistent followers forced him up, Gold cringingly pleaded he had no wish to speak, his previous conduct

### Workers' Groups Now Organizing Guard to Defend Free Speech

PARIS.—A well attended, inspiring meeting called by several workers' organizations in Marseilles, France on June 10 to commemorate the third anniversary of the death of Matteotti was broken up by a group of organized Communists who came armed with clubs, knives and stiletos.

An account of the Marseilles affair is given in La Liberté, a weekly Anti-Fascist newspaper published in Paris by the union of all Anti-Fascist Italian radical parties who have been compelled to flee Italy and establish temporary headquarters in France. The Matteotti memorial meeting had been called by this union of left parties (Concetrzione Anti-Fascista) together with the General Confederation of Labor, the French Socialist Party, the French Radical and Republican Socialist Parties, the League for the Rights of Man and the Groups of Anarchist Action.

Thousands of people had gathered to listen to the speakers in the Ferrer Hall of the Marseilles Chamber of Labor. The meeting had just started when the tumult began. After Gras, of the General Confederation of Labor, and Clot, of the Anarchists, had spoken the chairman was about to introduce the next speaker, Pietro Nenni, ex-editor of the Socialist Daily, Avanti (Forward), when the Communists jumped to the platform, armed with sticks and knives, apparently to silence the voice of this intrepid Socialist agitator, who seems to have earned the hatred of the Communists in his splen-

did work to unite all workers' factions into a solid Anti-Fascist bloc. Socialist Deputy Amedeo rushed to his defense, as did many others on the platform. Amedeo was wounded. In the confusion that ensued most of the people became excited and the meeting ended abruptly.

The account given by "La Liberté" tells of the organized attempt by the Communists to break up the meeting and harm Pietro Nenni.

### Trouble at Sacco Meeting

In the afternoon of the same day the Communists caused trouble at a Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration at a picnic organized by the Anarchist groups. Here, too, several were injured.

All the parties of the left are indignant at this attack on freedom of expression. The Italian political refugees are naturally incensed at the thought that they had to flee Italy in order to escape Mussolini Black Shirt violence, and now, on French soil, they have to contend with Communist violence. La Liberté, in a lively editorial condemning the Communist destructive anti-labor tactics, calls for action on the part of all workers and freethinkers to defend themselves from any similar occurrence in the future.

The same paper reports that in Marseilles, as a result of the disgraceful incident, all the parties of the Left have got together and decided to organize workers' guards to protect the right of free speech in future meetings against any interference from the Communists.

La Liberté concludes by declaring: "We are determined to protect our rights. We, who have not surrendered to the Fascists, are not by any means inclined to yield to the violence of the red Fascists."

showed that his intentions were directly the opposite.

**Shiplacoff in Protest**

An investigation by the Civil Liberties Union was demanded by Abraham I. Shiplacoff, chairman of the Liberation Committee. After reciting the above facts, Mr. Shiplacoff continued: "You will understand that all liberty-loving citizens, among whom we count the Civil Liberties Union foremost, cannot permit such incidents to continue. It must be made known to the Communists that their actions have earned them complete ostracism from all decent men and women. They should be made to understand that they can no longer count on aid for their political prisoners as long as they deny the right of speech and assembly to others."

"As far as the labor movement is concerned, I can assure you that in the future the Communists will be met with their own methods. We intend to organize to protect those rights which the police, in the face of the Communists' fury, seem unable to accord us. All the trade unions have closed their doors against these mad-dogs, and henceforth they may bark at the moon. The cloakmakers, the men's clothing workers, the furriers, the leather goods workers, the capmakers and the neckwear makers have been completely cleaned of these disruptive elements to the great gain of the workers in the respective industries. It is evident that such balked they have decided on a campaign of smashing up every meeting into which they can possibly gain admission. Under the circumstances freedom becomes impossible. This time not from the vested interests of capital, but rather from the sordid selfishness of Communism has the menace appeared. It is time for all lovers of civil liberties to act."

"Sincerely,

"ABRAHAM I. SHIPLACOFF...  
Chairman, Sacco-Vanzetti Liberation Committee."

### Civil Liberties Union Acts

The Civil Liberties Union executive committee met on Monday. It had before it Mr. Shiplacoff's letter and communications from the Communists stating their side of the case. A committee of three consisting of Norman Thomas, Arthur Garfield Hays and Walter Frank was appointed to state the position of the union. Contrary to impressions in some circles, this was not to be an investigating committee. It was rather a committee to place in writing the views which had been agreed upon by the entire executive committee. Nor does the statement express exactly the full views of those on the committee. Thus, it is understood, some members of the committee might have written a more strongly condemnatory criticism of the Communist tactics. The statement, which has brought an expected howl of protest from the Communists, follows:

"Interference by one working-class group with meetings of another resulting in 'confusion, panic or riot' is condemned by the American Civil Liberties Union in a statement issued by its executive committee as a violation of free speech and assembly and an injury to the 'whole cause of labor.'"

"In answer to complaints concerning the disturbance at the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration in Union Square on July 7th, the American Civil Liberties Union, while not in a position to investigate and fix legal responsibility, deems it important to state that a fundamental of free speech and assembly is the recognition of the right of any group to hold and manage a meeting in its own way without interference of any kind by the police adopted in choosing or eliminating certain speakers or representatives of particular groups

at any meeting. On this point opinions may differ. We are unanimous, however, in condemning outside interference with any meeting and in insisting that the rights of those in control be recognized. In so great an assembly it is well known that the acts of small groups may easily precipitate confusion, panic or riot. Common sense and common humanity as well as respect for civil liberty require scrupulous order on such occasions.

"The principle of civil liberty which we have stated applies to all meetings, outdoors or in halls. To working class groups there is no ought to be a further appeal. Interference by one working class group with another's meetings, on whatever pretext, injures the whole cause of labor, strengthens its critics and creates a precedent against the granting of that freedom of meeting and assembly which all working class groups, irrespective of their opinions, demand for themselves. It will be a real tragedy if the chief interference with civil liberty in New York arises from struggles among the workers themselves."

"In connection herewith we should add that complaints have come to us that four other open-air meetings were broken up by alleged organized 'Left Wing' or Workers Party groups."

**Mr. Hays' Position**

Mr. Hays caused much surprise a few days before the meeting of Civil Liberties executive committee by a statement in one of the local papers which quoted him as saying "It was an outrage that Gold was not permitted to speak." In a letter to The New Leader, in response to one asking him to explain his position, Mr. Hays says that Gold had no right to interfere. He goes on to say that he would have preferred, however, to have had Gold invited to speak.

"Of course, those who arranged the meeting had the legal right to choose the speakers," Mr. Hays wrote. "Gold had no legal right to attempt to speak nor did his followers have a right to insist that he speak. I should not budge one iota from the position that anyone has a right to hold a meeting free from interference. While those in charge had the legal right to run the meeting in any way they chose, yet in my view trouble is less likely to arise where those representing all groups are asked or permitted to participate."

"Of course, the Times should not have referred to me as the 'executive secretary' of the Civil Liberties Union. It makes my statement appear official instead of personal. As a matter of fact the union would naturally be interested only in one phase of the subject, to wit, the right to hold meetings without molestation, a position which I quite approve."

Mr. Hays apparently speaks without adequate knowledge of the extent of the conflict now going on between the Communists and their opponents in the trade unions which arranged the demonstration. Without attempting to discuss the issues, the intensity and bitterness of the fight should make it clear that co-operation at this time between Communists, trade unionists and Socialists is unthinkable. It was an obvious fact that an attempt by Gold and his Communists to interfere would bring only disorder and harm to the Sacco-Vanzetti cause.

### Disturbances Continue

That the Union Square incident is not an isolated affair is indicated from charges made by August Claessens, Socialist Party secretary, that the Communist Party is making a concerted effort to break up or disturb

## MOSCOW BANS THE FOSTER "NUCLEI"

### Third International Orders Workers Party 'Opposition' to Cease Boring from Within

ALTHOUGH but a fragment of the Communist movement is left in the United States, its political organization, the Workers' (Communist) Party, has been going through another bitter internal fight of factions. This fight has reached a stage where the bosses in Moscow have cabled an order to the dear "comrades" to cease pulling each other's hair.

As a matter of fact, this internal fight is several years old and grows out of a struggle between the Foster and the Ruthenberg factions for supremacy. Several years ago Foster won a majority of delegates to a national convention for his side and he was about to gather in the plums when a cable came from Moscow placing Ruthenberg and his faction in power.

Following this action of the upper hierarchy, Moscow awaited results, but the fight became more venomous than ever. Secret "cells" or "nuclei" were organized in the party and brawling documents circulated among "nuclei" members. The war became so fierce that Moscow again pleaded with the brothers to be good, but to no purpose. The war of broadsides has continued unabated, although the faction in control has published a number of long and tedious "theses" which it claimed would tend to bridge the bloody chasm.

**National "Nuclei" Organized**

Eventually the Foster-Cannon-Weinstein faction organized its various "nuclei" into a national "nuclei" which it calls the "National Committee of the Opposition Bloc." The name has all the dignity of a parliamentary fighting group. The faction on top carried a complaint to Moscow regarding this secret faction and the "Presidium" in the capital of the "holy land" solemnly considered this complaint.

The result was a cable to the party elders who proudly display the order of the All Highest in the organs of the party. The cablegram, as printed in The Daily Worker, reads:

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., July 7, 1927.

"You should publish the following cable of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the Party Press:

The Comintern is categorically against the sharpening of the factional struggle and under no circumstances supports the statement of the 'National Committee of the Opposition Bloc.' The Comintern recognizes that in many political questions the Ruthenberg group followed a more correct line in the past than the Foster group. On the other hand the Executive is of the opinion that the Ruthenberg group had not understood how to estimate sufficiently the full significance of the trade union forces in the Party and that Foster at that time was more correct on many trade union questions. The line of the Comintern has been: On the whole for the political support of the Ruthenberg group and for bringing Foster nearer to the general political line of the Ruthenberg group, at the same time, however, following the course toward the correction of the trade union tactic of the Ruthenberg group on the line of Foster through co-operation in the Party leadership. Now the previous political and trade union differences have almost disappeared. The Comintern condemns most categorically every attempt toward the sharpening of the situation in the Party, especially in the present objective situation as exemplified by the formation of a National Committee of the Opposition Bloc. The Comintern considers factionalism without political differences as the worst offense against the Party.

(Signed) Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

This Communist bull is now before

Socialist Party open air meetings. Mr. Claessens cited four open air meetings, which, he said, have been made the object of Communist attempts to create disorder. The Socialist secretary ascribed the Communists' effort to chagrin at having been defeated in their attempts to capture the Sacco-Vanzetti meeting in Union Square last week.

"Since the disgraceful incidents brought about by the Communists in Union Square Thursday," Mr. Claessens declared, "our Socialist meetings have been the object of attack by squads of Communist hoodlums. By various means they have attempted to break up these meetings. Monday night, while speaking at the corner of 112th street and Fifth avenue, Frank Crosswath found his meeting embroiled by Communist attempts to draw him into a fight. Saturday night at the corner of Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues, Brooklyn, while I was addressing a large crowd, a group of Communists entered it and began to create disorder. I had to have the police remove them. Friday night at Bristol and Pitkin avenues, Brooklyn, a meeting addressed by Joseph Tyvim was attacked. We are not worried about our ability to take care of these trouble makers. We will deal with them in the manner they best understand. It should be generally known, however, that these incidents are the result of direct incitation by the Communist press and, undoubtedly, the Communist Party."

## Belgian Socialists Ask Retrial for Sacco-Vanzetti

### Party Congress in Brussels Renews Demand That Nations Disarm

BRUSSELS.—The 38th Congress of the Belgian Labor Party opened in Brussels on June 4, under the chairmanship of Louis de Brouckere and Alice Heyman. There were present for the other parties of the International Adolf Braun (Germany), Wilhelm Ellenbogen (Austria), Modigliani (Italy), Rosenfeld (Russia), Clement (Luxembourg) and the secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, Friedrich Adler.

The report of the bureau of the General Council was given by Van Roosbroeck, general secretary of the party. The report of the Parliamentary Group led to a debate on Parliamentary discipline, in which Vandervelde expressed the wish that in the future the Group should act in full union. The Bureau of the General Council was then re-elected as before.

Van Roosbroeck reported as to the raising of the subscription for 1928. He pointed out that the budget closed with a deficit of 17,000 francs, and that the party must be arming for the next elections, which would take place at latest in 1929, or in the event of the dissolution of Parliament still earlier. On behalf of the women's organization Alice Peis urged that the amount of the subscription should be lower for women than for men. Vandervelde stated that it was a question merely of adapting the subscription to the depreciated currency. It was then agreed that the General Council should decide the question along the lines of the discussion.

The Congress then passed to a discussion of the school question, on which Trolet reported on behalf of the Commission. He advanced a claim for an extension of compulsory school attendance to the sixteenth year, accompanied by support for the parents. The ordinary instruction should be replaced by the intuitive method. The speaker specially emphasized the need for developing technical schools.

The discussion centered in particular around the question of the subsidy for private schools, the majority of which are in the hands of the Catholic clergy. Several speakers pointed to the advisability of avoiding a struggle in this direction, so as not thereby restore the unity of the Catholic Party. On the other hand the desire

the shop, street, kitchen, international, neighborhood and other "nuclei" for consideration, but there is no hope of healing the bloody wounds. The English organ of the triumphant faction declares that the Moscow bull "is a rebuke to the Foster-Cannon-Weinstein opposition in the party," but reports from inner circles declare that the under faction will not submit to domination.

Meantime "nuclei" circles are all agog with excitement. The air is filled with charges of "right deviation," "ultra-left deviation," "non-Leninist" ideology, "down with" and "up with," "halls to" and other linguistic ammunition. It promises to be a merry fight that will again chart the course to the "world revolution."

### Porters to Sue Dow, Jones Co.

(Continued from page 1)

end, it is felt that Pullman Company will be able to go ahead with its plans for further improvement of its service.

Through his publication, the Messenger Magazine, Randolph has endeavored to set himself up as a negro Messiah, preaching in violent terms not only socialism and communism, but the superiority of the 'new negro' over the white man. He scoffs at religion and the marriage relations, and the pages of his magazine carry passages unprintable elsewhere.

"While his organization already was near the rocks from failure of its members to pay dues, his present rebuff is expected to furnish a definite setback to the activities of a man regarded as a menace to inter-racial relations in this country."

for a closer supervision of the schools by provincial and local authorities was voiced. A series of other delegates, including the representatives of the Brussels Federation, demanded the centralization of the school system in the hands of the State.

The debate dealt further with the program of action in the school question, the extension of the age of school attendance receiving special attention. It was decided that the local federations should determine their attitude toward the problems in accordance with the discussion at the Congress, and that the general council should proceed to draft the exact text of the program, as to which a referendum of the party will have to make a decision. A motion by the Brussels Federation opposing an increase of state subsidies to private schools in the interim, was defeated, in order to allow of an adaptation to the depreciated currency; but it was agreed that any grant of additional new subsidies was not permissible.

The Congress passed a resolution in favor of a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. On the problem of disarmament the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Congress of the Belgian Labor Party, assembled in the Maison du Peuple in Brussels, the 4th of June, 1927, regrets keenly that the Disarmament Commission at Geneva has failed to reach more substantial results, despite the considerable efforts by the representatives of the various countries; and, considering that general disarmament is an indispensable condition for the establishment of a organized and stable regime of peace under the auspices of the League of Nations, expresses the hope, on behalf of the 600,000 workers which it represents, of seeing the commission resume without delay an examination of this problem, of such capital importance for the future of Europe and of the world."

The Congress passed nem. con. a resolution expressing the sympathy of the Belgian Party for the victims of the Fascist and Bolshevist dictatorship. "The Congress calls on its members to keep steadily in mind the dangers that may arise one day in our own country, and invites them to strengthen according to their means the Matteotti Fund, established within the International, and intended to sustain the democratic forces in the countries where they are temporarily weakened or defeated."

Finally, the Congress agreed upon a resolution endorsing the claims of the disabled.

### Decision Due on Vanzetti Soon

(Continued from page 1)

from Sacco and Vanzetti when they were arrested at Brockton on the night of May 5, 1920, were brought from Dedham to the State House and rested on Governor Fuller's desk while he interviewed three of the firearms experts who have figured in the case.

The three experts were James H. Burns and J. Henry Fitzgerald, who were witnesses for the defense at the Dedham trial and who insisted that the bullet which killed Alessandro Berardelli, the payroll guard, could not have been fired from Sacco's Colt automatic; and Albert H. Hamilton, who was not a witness at the trial, but who came into the case subsequently during motions for a rehearing of the case.

In addition to Professor Richardson and the firearms experts, the Governor's visitors were Robert Reid, an investigator for the defense; John W. Moran, Jr., newspaper reporter on The Boston Traveler; John J. Richards of Providence, counsel for the Morelli gang, who is understood to possess evidence supporting the Madeiros "confession"; John Falconer and Columbus Fortini of Plymouth, alibi witnesses for Vanzetti at the Plymouth hold-up trial, and Charles B. Slater, President of Slater & Morrill, Inc., which employed the murdered paymaster and guard.

England creates wealth admirably, she divides it badly. This solution, which is complete on the one side only, leads her to two extremes—monstrous opulence, monstrous wretchedness.—Victor Hugo.

## S. AFRICA LABOR ERASING COLOR LINE

### White Workers Cause Defeat of Bill Aimed at Natives' Unions

TWENTY years ago only a few struggling trade unions were organized in South Africa, but the export of capital and invasion by immigrants eventually brought capitalist organization of the working class.

But following the organization of the white workers there developed a color prejudice against the natives, especially in the mines where they were employed in large numbers. The white trade unions acted in accord with the principle of "A White Africa" and excluded the black workers from the trade unions.

In the meantime the natives began to organize their own unions, and this resulted in more or less friction between the two sections of the movement. The white unions organized the Labor party, which also excluded the natives. The latter finally organized a federation, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa, and established a weekly, "The Workers' Herald." This organ is unique in that one or more pages are printed in one of the native dialects. Like nearly all unions in the British dominions and colonies, the union of natives has a Socialist objective.

### Color Line Erased

The color prejudice continued in the labor movement till last year, when a remarkable series of events wiped it out. The solidarity now being displayed by whites and blacks and the events that led up to it is one of the most inspiring episodes in labor history. From the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam comes the remarkable story which follows:

"The press service of the International Federation of Trade Unions recently contained particulars about difficulties surrounding the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, known as the I. C. U. The I. C. U. embraces all black workers in South Africa, including Indian workers. Last year this organization intensified its propaganda throughout South Africa. As a result the government decided to check its development. To pursue this end the South African Government restricted the movements of its national secretary, Clements Kadalle, who went to Geneva. The organization strongly resented the action of the government and fought the ban which was placed on its national secretary in law courts. The Supreme Court of South Africa decided in favor of the organization, and this victory gave the I. C. U. an extraordinary stimulus."

"The government could not tolerate the rise of this important black workers' union, and, consequently, introduced a native administration bill containing drastic sedition clauses. The I. C. U. organized vigorous opposition to the bill. Demonstrations unprecedented in the annals of South Africa were organized throughout the country. The I. C. U., being affiliated with the I. F. T. U., called to Amsterdam asking for international support against the bill. The I. F. T. U. at once cabled to the South African Government its strongest protest and requested the withdrawal of the bill."

### Whites Join in Protest

"Arising from this international opposition against the sedition bill, the South African Labor party, which is an organization exclusively of whites, as well as the South African Trade Union Congress, an industrial white body, for the first time in the history of South Africa, joined the black workers in protest against the measure which exclusively affected the natives."

"While the South African Trade Union Congress which met in Cape Town during the Easter holidays unanimously decided to reaffirm the opposition against the measure, conducted by its national executive council, the South African Labor party resolved to vote against the sedition clauses in Parliament. In an extraordinary fighting speech Mr. Arthur Barlow, Labor member for Bloemfontein North, Orange Free State, expounded this new policy of the South African Labor party in Parliament. He vigorously defended the I. C. U., which was being attacked by both the Nationalists and the Opposition, and reminded the House that no government could persecute the I. C. U. any longer in view of its affiliation with the I. F. T. U., and that the I. F. T. U. could not allow one of its members in the world to suffer oppression under capitalist government."

"Mr. Barlow definitely told the House that the South African Labor party has decided to support the I. C. U. as long as it propagates trade union methods. Decidedly a rapid change is taking place in South Africa, and the affiliation of the I. C. U. to the I. F. T. U. is being felt all over the country. Political labor has definitely resolved to support black workers, while the South African Trade Union Congress at its last session, which was held in April, discussed its relation with black trade unionism, arising out of the following resolution, which was adopted at the I. C. U. Congress simultaneously in session at Durban:

"That in the opinion of this Congress we consider that the time has arrived when both white and black workers of South Africa should join in one national trade union movement, with a view to presenting a united front against one common enemy—namely, the arbitrary and unlimited power of capitalism—and that this resolution be telegraphed to the South African Trade Union Congress now in session at Cape Town."

### JUST OFF THE PRESS

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## FRENCH - ITALIAN WAR DANGER GREAT

Countries Were Near  
Actual Hostilities  
Over Border Incident  
in November

(Continued from page 1)

For some time past the Fascists had been carrying on a campaign against France, and had been calling for the annexation of Tunisia, Corsica, Nice, and other French territories, with the result that French patience was now exhausted. Eventually the Italian Government apologized for certain incidents that had occurred, but this the Fascists regarded as a humiliation, the "Tevere" remarking: "We shall never forget it—we shall see at the next 1914."

### Chamberlain At Leghorn

On September 30 an important meeting took place at Leghorn between Sir Austen Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini. Subsequently an official communiqué was issued, which stated that the two statesmen had

"examined the most important questions of the day, and had confirmed the intimacy of Anglo-Italian relations as well as the identity of the policy to be followed for the solution of the most important European problems."

Regarding this meeting the most extraordinary statements have since been made in the Continental Press. It has been widely rumored that some kind of secret agreement—amounting almost to an alliance—was concluded. And there is one very persistent rumor to the effect that a naval agreement was reached on this occasion. It is impossible to prove the truth of this, but when one remembers the secret naval agreement that was made between Britain and France in 1912, by which we virtually undertook to protect the northern coast of France, the suggestion does not pass the limits of credibility. The British naval manoeuvres last spring were held in the Western Mediterranean.

### War Narrowly Averted

On October 31, at Bologna, a boy of 15 fired a shot at Mussolini and was lynched on the spot. There followed a most serious incident. So serious was the matter that for three months it was kept out of the French newspapers. Not until the end of January did the details appear in the "Journal des Debats" and subsequently in the "Manchester Guardian."

The facts appear to be as follows: At the frontier station of Ventimiglia French railwaymen were molested by Fascists. The latter then entered the French Consulate, one of them delivering an anti-French harangue from the balcony. A little later armed bands of Fascist militia assembled on the frontier, and stated that they were going to invade France.

Among other pleasing designs all the French inhabitants of Ventimiglia were to be massacred. Had this plan been carried out, nothing could have prevented a war. It was stopped just in time. The Fascist bands assembled at 4 p. m. At 9 p. m. a special emissary arrived from Rome and called the expedition off. Only then did the French Government realize the extent of the peril and rush troops to the point of danger. War was averted by a few hours.

### Alarming Military Preparations

On November 22 M. Charles Maurras, in the "Action Française," charged Italy with making warlike preparations on a vast scale on the Riviera frontier. "The great garrisons of Italy," he said, "are within 80 miles of the frontier, and the distance which separates them becomes more and more packed with men, works and ways of access." There was an Italian squadron at Port Maurice, and everything had been assembled for the seizure of Nice. From other quarters it was reported that the Italians were constructing military roads in the Alpine districts; that they had established an airplane base at Albenga; and that a newly formed 11th Army had been based at Alessandria.

The French Government took a serious view of these preparations. The garrison of Corsica was strengthened. Tank units from Morocco were disposed along the frontier. Picked troops, including the famous Chasseurs Alpins or "Blue Devils," strengthened by mountain batteries and motor machine guns, gas and flame-throwing sections were brought from the German to the Italian front, while the French Mediterranean fleet, based at Toulon, was reinforced by a new squadron under Admiral Chauvin, which had been sent round from the Channel.

On November 26 Italy concluded a treaty with Albania at Tirana and immediately a critical situation developed on the Adriatic.

(To be continued)

### Garment "Lefts" Enjoined

The Communists received another setback this week when Supreme Court Justice Ingraham, in New York City, signed an order granting the injunction sought by Salvatore Ninfo, secretary-treasurer of Local 48, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, preventing Louis Hyman, Julius Portnoy, Charles S. Zimmerman and other Communists from using the name of the local. Justice Ingraham directed that the suit be tried in October.

## Labor Federation Records Show Socialists Have 100% Legislative Record

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LBANY.—Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, has made a survey of the roll calls and votes of Socialists elected to the Senate and Assembly from 1912 to and including the year 1922. The data have reference to the actions of these members of the Legislature on labor bills.

The figures show that the Socialist members have a 100 per cent record in favor of all bills of interest to the organized workers. The table presents the names of the Socialists elected each year, the number of roll calls on distinct labor measures, and the votes cast on these measures.

The standard taken for making this survey is the Official Book of the New York State Federation of Labor for 1912 to 1922, inclusive, which contains the reports of the Legislative Committee of the Federation. Merrill himself was the first Socialist to go to the Assembly, he being elected in 1912. Abraham Shipplackoff was the next Socialist Assemblyman, he taking his

seat in 1916. The late Joseph Whitehorn joined Shipplackoff the following year.

In 1918 ten Socialists were sent to the Assembly from New York City, these including August Claessens, William M. Feigenbaum, Charles Garfinkel, B. Gitlow, Samuel Orr, William Karlin, Abraham Rosenberg, Abraham Shipplackoff, Louis Waldman and Joseph Whitehorn. The war reaction and suppression soon followed and in 1920 came the expulsion of the Socialists from the Assembly by a Republican-Tammany coalition which brought protests from all over the world.

Emil Sedel was the only Socialist elected to the Senate, he having served two terms for the years 1921 and 1922. The internal war waged by the Communists brought about a decline in Socialist strength with the result that the only party group that has ever had a 100 per cent good labor record at Albany finally disappeared.

The results of this survey are being sent by Secretary Merrill to locals and branches throughout the state.

## WORKERS HEALTH CENTER IN NEW YORK PROSPERS

Unique Institution in  
New York Wins Recognition of Unions  
and Public Bodies

ORGANIZED labor in New York is clearly laboring its own, at present—and in its outlook for the future. A sound mind in a sound body is an old principle, but it is comparatively new with the labor movement. In fact, it was only after the Triangle fire fifteen years ago that the idea of accident prevention and health preservation began to take root in American unions. It was on the initiative of Dr. George M. Price, Morris Sigman, Pauline Newman, Rose Schneiderman and a few others that Local 35 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union became actively interested in this work, and a few years later a Health Department, maintained by the Locals 9, 23 and 35, was organized. Slowly but surely the institution grew. In 1919 the building at 131 East Seventeenth street was purchased and officially opened a year later as the Union Health Center, a co-operative institution maintained by and for workingmen and their families.

The popularity of the Center soon increased to such an extent that other locals followed suit. At present nine locals of the I. L. G. W. U. participate in the ownership and supervision of the Union Health Center. And no wonder. Where else could a workingman obtain X-ray and chemical laboratory treatment for a moderate fee, or, for a nominal fee, get baking, electric and other physiotherapeutic light treatment? Besides, how could they have access to general clinics as well as special ones in Surgery, Nose and Throat, Gastric, Gynecology, Eye, Skin, Orthopedic, Nerve Diseases, and Proctology, all in charge of specialists? Also, the Health Information desk at the U. H. C. with available literature on all health topics is always busy. The Life Extension examinations provide workers with a thorough physical examination by competent physicians, who offer invaluable advice for the prevention of disease and treatment of illness.

The Dental Department is easily the most popular of all departments of the Center. From 1920 to 1925, the work of this department increased to such an extent, the number of patients practically doubling with each succeeding year, that it became absolutely imperative to remove it to larger quarters at 222 Fourth avenue, where its 22 dental cabinets, X-ray laboratories, beautifully appointed waiting rooms, etc., occupy the entire floor of an immense loft building.

## Workers' Libraries Thriving In Three Nations Abroad

In Austria great attention is given to labor libraries in "Bildungsarbeit," the educational journal, which reviews books for the benefit of librarians, etc. Vienna, the chief center of workers' education, has a number of libraries, whose total loans last year amounted to almost 750,000. Progress still continues, and it is hoped to exceed a million this year.

In the provinces, too, libraries are being steadily extended, although statistics are only rarely kept. Sometimes, as in Graz, labor libraries are maintained by the Chamber of Labor. Special courses are arranged for labor librarians, as is also the case in Belgium, where a labor library kept by a certified librarian is eligible for a public grant (similar grants may be obtained in Germany, but usually only on condition that the library is open to the general public).

In Belgium over 200 (mostly Walloon) are affiliated with the Centre. The Swiss Workers' Educational Centre (German Switzerland) administers and superintends labor libraries; its workers' educational journal (now suspended) used to devote much attention to this side of workers' education, advising librarians, reviewing books, etc.

Liberty is a slow fruit. It is never cheap; it is made difficult because freedom is the accomplishment and perfectness of man.—Emerson.

## FINNISH SOCIALISTS IS LARGEST PARTY IN NATION BY NEW POLL

The Finnish Socialist daily, "Riivastaja," of Helsingfors, Mass., publishes a cablegram from Helsingfors which shows that the Finnish Social Democratic Party is sustained as the leading party in Finland. The party won 60 seats, or eight more than the next party, the Agrarians, which won 52 seats.

The distribution of seats among the parties is as follows: Social Democrats, 60; Agrarians, 52; Bourgeois Fusion, 34; Swedish Bloc, 24; Communists, 20. The Agrarians gained four seats and the Communists two. The Socialist administration is like the Labor Government in England three years ago. The Social Democrats are the strongest single party, but a coalition of other parties can oust it. Aside from its own deputies, its other support comes from the Swedish and Communist groups, which are precarious and uncertain allies.

## THREE NATIONS TO JOIN IN ANTI-FASCIST RALLY

VIENNA.—On August 14 a mass assembly of working people organized by the Lake Constance Workers' International, the union of Socialist bodies in the states bordering on the lake, will be held at Bregenz in Vorarlberg (Austria). This demonstration is to be an expression of the determination of the masses to take a stand against the nationalist agitation in the service of imperialist aims, and at the same time a protest against international Fascism.

Before the war demonstrations by the Lake Constance International were held regularly every year. On this occasion the Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, together with speakers from the three countries represented, namely, Paul Lobe, President of the German Reichstag; Deputy Wilhelm Ellenbogen (Austria) and Deputy Huber (Switzerland) will deliver speeches. The demonstration will be accompanied by a series of artistic and sports events. A procession will follow the assembly. On the previous day, August 13, a rally of Socialist Youth will be held, while on the morning of the festival, August 15, there will be several excursions conducted by the Bregenz Comrades.

## Socialist Daily Paper On the Faroe Islands

At the last Danish elections a Socialist candidate stood for the first time in the Faroe Islands. Among the poor inhabitants of these northern islands, consisting almost wholly of farmers and fisher folk, Socialist propaganda has taken firm root, so that the Socialist candidate at his first attempt reached at once the second place.

To make full use of this advance, there has now been founded in the islands, with the aid of the Danish party, a Socialist daily, the "Faroe Social Democrat." This paper appears both in the vernacular and in Danish and is printed in the party's own press, since all the private printing firms declined to undertake the production of a Socialist newspaper.

## Disarmament Session of the L. S. I.

The Disarmament Commission appointed in August of last year by the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International will meet in Zurich on August 27. The Secretariat of the L. S. I. in Zurich has been chosen as the place of meeting.

In almost every one, if not in every one, of the greatest political controversies of the last fifty years, whether they affected the franchise, whether they affected commerce, whether they affected religion, whether they affected the bad and abominable institution of slavery, or what subject they touched, the leashed classes, these educated classes, these titled classes, have been in the wrong.—William Ewart Gladstone.

## 'LOONEY GAS' BAN DEMANDED OF U.S.

Safety Standard for  
Miners on Program  
of Workers' Health  
Bureau

"HEALTH and safety standards have originated hitherto from the employers' organizations such as the National Safety Council and the American Engineering Standards Committee. . . . Trade union standards of protection would rid industry of the dangers that now menace health and life."

With this principle in mind international unions are urged to lend their co-operation to the program outlined before the recent National Workers' Health Conference at Cleveland. This summary of a triple attack on the hazards of industry which down a worker every 15 seconds of the working day is advocated by the Workers' Health Bureau:

1. Federal action for a minimum health and safety standard for miners. Mining is spread over 23 states and a few companies like the Pittsburgh Coal Company operate in nearly all the 23. One standard would help to save some of the 2,300 miners killed every year.

2. A federal ban on tetra ethyl lead or "looney gas," benzol and wood alcohol; in industries where the deadly effects cannot be successfully controlled. No agency exists to determine the hazard of a poisonous material before workers are exposed to its danger. Only when they are sacrificed is an alarm given.

3. Unguarded machinery should not be allowed to be an article of interstate commerce and chop off fingers, arms and legs or mangle workers before the excessive cost makes the employer take steps to stop the waste.

Trade union vigilance alone can check the loss of life and health. It is recommended that trade union inspection committees act on every job to enforce health and safety regulations. Furthermore, it is urged that labor insist on equal representation on all labor department and government committees which have to deal with the safety and health of the workers.

Among the strongest safeguards of workers' health in the pressure of modern life, it is held, is the general introduction of a maximum 40-hour, 5-day week, with a further reduction in extra hazardous callings, such as mining, to a 5-day, 30-hour week.

Triple compensation benefits for children under 18 years of age who are injured would help to curb employers who put inexperienced youths to work in a dangerous shop, is one recommendation. Adoption of the Federal Child Labor Amendment is also advocated as one of the best means to save life and safeguard the health of future generations.

## The Labor Library in German Workers' Education

Labor libraries as a means of widening and deepening workers' education, are a special feature of the workers' educational systems of Austria, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, German Czechoslovakia and Sweden, to which we may add Palestine and Finland.

With regard to Germany, Hennig, a leading workers' educationalist, made an inquiry on the subject in September, 1926, sending a questionnaire to 100 labor libraries, but receiving replies only from 52. In Berlin, although several unions (transport workers, metal workers, printers' operatives, etc.) have libraries of their own, no records are kept; in Bremen, Breslau, Magdeburg and Munich full-time librarians are maintained, but in most other places only part-time librarians can be employed and the lack of funds prevents the acquisition of a sufficient number of new books; 6 towns (including Bonn and Dresden) have had to give up their labor libraries.

Although few libraries kept full records over the whole period of the inquiry (1919-1925), it was clear that 1923, the maximum inflation year, was also the year in which the greatest number of loans were made; since then there has been some exceptions been a slump, which has been variously attributed to the growth of sport and to the apathy due to long unemployment. The loans were nearly 500,000 in 1923, but not much over 450,000 in 1924; the total number of books in all the 52 libraries rose from 176,000 to 222,000 in the five years.

Hennig recommended an Educational Levy to raise funds for new purchases, a national book centre to advise and superintend, and special courses for librarians. The inquiry conducted through the Socialist education committees, does not, perhaps, take into account the libraries of the Allgemeine Arbeiter-Bildungsinstitut of Leipzig, which a year or two ago had a total of over 60,000 volumes.

## The Matteotti Fund

The Conference of the Swiss Association of Employees in Public Service, meeting in St. Gallen July 17-18, voted to grant the sum of 1,000 Swiss francs to the Matteotti Fund of the Labor and Socialist International as the proceeds of a plate-collection supplemented from the fighting fund of the association. The proceeds of the Matteotti celebration arranged on July 11 by the Socialist Youth Associations and the Socialist Students' Group of Zurich, amounting to 200 Swiss francs, were remitted also to the Matteotti fund.

## WOMEN'S COMMITTEE AIDS THE INTERNATIONAL

An International Socialist Women's Committee has been set up to act as an advisory committee on matters of special interest to women to the Executive of the Socialist International. All parties affiliated with the L. S. I. are entitled to be represented on this committee by at least one delegate, while some of the larger parties are entitled to two members, and Germany and Great Britain to three each.

The following have till now been appointed to the committee: Austria, Adelheid Popp and Gabriele Proft; Belgium, Mariette Adam and Alice Pels; Czechoslovakia (Czechs) Betty Karpiskova, (Germans) Fanny Blatny; Denmark, Nina Bang and Henriette Crone; Estonia, Alma Ostra-Oinas; Finland, Hilda Seppala; France, Louise Saumoneau; Germany, Marie Juchacz, Gertrud Hanna and Toni Sender; Great Britain (Labor Party) Susan Lawrence and Agnes Dolla, (I. L. P.) Dorothy Jewson; Holland, E. Ribbuis Peletier; Latvia, Klara Kalnin; Poland, Dorota Kluzynska and Budzinska-Tylicka; Switzerland, Gertrud Duby.

## CAP UNION HALTS BOSSES' DRIVE

40-Hour Week Forced  
from Manufacturers  
—Zaritzy in Chicago

THE attempt of some manufacturers in the cloth, hat and cap trade to avoid the enforcement of the 40-hour week, which brought out 1,000 members of the Cloth, Hat, Cap Millinery Workers' International Union in New York last week, has been substantially checked by the union and victory is in sight.

The manufacturers desired to get manufacturers in other markets to close the shops and also make an issue of the 40-hour week, but in this they failed. The agreement with the union last year conceded the 40-hour week for this year, beginning July 1, and it is this agreement that the manufacturers tried to break by trying to effect united action in other markets.

President Max Zaritsky, of the International Union, was in Chicago this week and succeeded in getting the manufacturers to live up to the 40-hour agreement. The members of the Chicago union had already inaugurated the 40-hour week, while the manufacturers in Boston closed their shops the week of July 4. This action, however, was considered by members of the Boston union as a gesture and on July 11 they entered the shops on the basis of a 40-hour week.

In New York City many new manufacturers have already introduced the 40-hour week, and the crumbling of the employers' resistance in important cities shows that the battle of the union is practically won. At the present time about 600 workers are not working the 40-hour week in New York City, but these are workers whose shops are not working at all.

The 40-hour week basis has so penetrated the industry and has been accepted by so many employers that within another week it is expected that all workers will be at work on the new basis. Once established the 40-hour week will become permanent in the industry.

## GAS STATION WORKERS END CHICAGO STRIKE

CHICAGO.—While Chicago's public gasoline supply was dwindling rapidly and motorized vehicles were deserting the streets by the thousands, the first strike of gasoline station attendants of the automobile era was settled upon a compromise basis.

The filling station men demanded a \$10 a month increase and got \$5 added to their salary of \$140. Gasoline tank wagon drivers, formerly paid \$175 a month, got an increase of \$7.50 a month. They demanded a \$15 raise and a week's vacation with pay.

The agreement called for the immediate return to work of all the employees. It will expire two years from today.

The filling stations, approximately 2,000 of them scattered over Chicago and three adjoining counties, and 700 tank wagons were affected by the strike.

## Furniture Varnishers

To Meet on July 18

The Furniture Varnishers and Finishers Union, Local 697, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, has called a special general meeting of the members at 151 Clinton street for Monday night, July 18.

An important matter will be a consideration of the agreement with the employers and working out demands of the union to be submitted to them. Some important reports regarding trade matters will also be submitted to the members.

Moral criticisms on social organization are useful only in so far as the critics bear in mind that the organization hitherto has been necessarily unable to respond to them, and that the chief concern of moralists should be to improve the organization of society so as to make every function contribute to and share in the benefits of the whole organic life. This is the aim of Socialism.—Ramsay MacDonald.

## Poets to Voice Sacco-Vanzetti Protest In Anthology of Verse Being Collected

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

New Haven, Conn.—Poets of the world rallied today to the aid of two anarchist laborers sentenced to death in the electric chair on charges of murder.

An anthology of poems protesting the projected execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Massachusetts, is being rushed to print by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney, editors of Contemporary Verse.

A flood of verse has been received from all parts of the world, the sponsors of the movement said.

A prose statement from Sacco and Vanzetti will be included in the anthology.

All poems are subjected to the approval of the publishing board, which includes John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church of New York; Zona Gale, novelist and playwright; Harry Elmer Barnes, professor of history at Smith College; Forrest Bailey of the Civil Liberties Union, New York; Gardner Jackson of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Boston; Samuel A. DeWitt, columnist of the New Leader and one of the Socialist Assemblymen ousted from the New York Legislature; B. W. Heusch, New York publisher, and Gremm Zorn, editor of "Free Verse."

Among the poets already included in the protest volume are Lola Ridge, E. Merrill Root, Mary Seigrist, Louis Ginsberg and Ernest Hartsock.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such a command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do.—William Morris.

## SOCIALIST MEASURE FOR DISARMAMENT SHELVED IN DENMARK

COPENHAGEN.—The Disarmament Bill introduced by the late Socialist Government has been thrown out by the Senate. The coalition of the liberal Left and the Conservatives furnished thirty-nine votes against the bill, while Socialists and Radicals together produced twenty-four votes in its support.

The bill had been passed by the chamber in March of last year. It provided for a reduction of naval and military expenditure from sixty million to 17.5 million. Fortifications were to be removed, military service abolished and the army converted into a police force and a kind of frontier corps.

In consequence of the Radicals having gone over to the Capitalist United Front, the Socialist Government, in December of last year, was placed in a minority. After the elections, which brought to the Socialists, despite an absolute and relative increase in their poll, a slight loss in seats, the Radicals suffered a heavy defeat. There was formed a government of the liberal Left with the support of the Conservatives. The latter has now, for the time being, in the Senate overcome the Socialists' great initiative towards disarmament.

One class of society is compelled to pay tribute to another class for permission to inhabit the earth.—Marx.

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# The Weak Spots of the American Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

HAVING considered the more important criticisms directed against the Socialist Party we may now consider some causes of its weakness in this country. Those who ascribe to an alleged support of Bolshevism by us are not only wrong in their assertion. They also attempt to explain a general situation by one alleged factor. The explanation is too simple to be accepted. It ignores the fact that the A. F. of L. fought Bolshevism as has also declined and that today there are A. F. of L. men who fear for the future of trade unionism itself.

Moreover, every phase of the working class movement in this country, political and economic, and from the extreme Right to the extreme Left, has exhibited a decline. These include the A. F. of L., the Nonpartisan League, the National Farmer-Labor Party which has completely disappeared, the I. W. W., the S. L. P., the Workers' (Communist) Party. In the past few years the Socialist Party has made no gains but has simply marked time. Recently the writer also saw a letter by Basil M. Manley, who represents a more or less progressive movement in politics but of the non-partisan type. The letter is sent to all its supporters asking them to explain the general apathy and indifference that affect them. Then it must be remembered that the promising Conference for Progressive Political Action disappeared early in 1925.

When one considers all these movements, some of which have disappeared, some presenting evidence of heavy losses, and others just managing to hold an organization together; when it is also remembered that each represents a variety of views regarding the war, Bolshevism, political and economic action, it is absurd to say that the explanation of why the Socialist Party has made no advances in recent years is because of one or two factors. The situation is much more complex than what is implied in this simple explanation. Some of the causes are rooted in the political and economic history of the United States and some of them consist of mistakes made by the trade unions and also the Socialist Party in the past. Some causes lie in the post-war situation of the United States and some in our historical traditions.

## HISTORICAL HANDICAPS

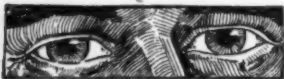
In the first place we should remember that the trade union and Socialist movement in this country was not powerful in this country when the World War began in 1914. The most advanced industrial country in the world had the weakest economic and political movement. There were reasons for this anomaly. These include (1) free land down to the twentieth century which took thousands of proletarians of the East, transformed them into western farmers, and who ceased to be material for a labor movement; (2) the more sluggish and satisfied type was left in the industrial centers as material to organize; (3) continuous immigration from Europe, bringing a confusion of tongues, and making organization difficult; (4) the comparatively easy passing of many workers out of the proletarian class into business and the professions, despite marked contrasts between the capitalist class and the working class and despite fierce conflicts in many class struggles; (5) the fact that there has been no hereditary families or nobility inheriting prestige and power by virtue of their birth tended to confirm belief in an equality of status; (6) survival of historical traditions of democracy arising out of the American Revolution which have little basis in fact but which, nevertheless, powerfully coerce the masses into support of the rule of the bourgeois class; (7) lack of any historical traditions of class struggles by the workers, traditions that have had a profound effect on the workers of England and Europe in organizing their movements; (8) mistakes of early trade unionists and Socialists: (a) organizing a political party in the seventies before the trade union was stable; (b) disappointment evolving into force Anarchism in the early eighties with its decade of conservative reaction; (c) organization of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in the nineties by the S. L. P., extracting idealism from the trade unions and fostering a disastrous war on the unions; (d) organization of the

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## ARCHAIC REPRESENTATION

All these factors and influences contributed to the pre-war weakness of the economic and political organizations of the American working class. Some of these factors survive into the present period, while we are also still paying the price made for some of the early mistakes. The senseless wars between the trade unions and the earlier political movements of the workers brought an almost complete estrangement between the economic and political sections of the working class movement, with consequent weakness for both. Ours is the only modern nation in the world where the trade unions and the political movement do not march together, where most of the trade unions are committed to a policy of supporting candidates almost exclusively representative of capitalistic parties.

Another factor which has affected the Socialist Party and checked even its pre-war growth must be considered if we are to understand our problems. Ours is the only modern nation which, in its local and national elections, clings to an archaic system of representation in legislative bodies. Our electoral system for local bodies, State legislatures and Congress makes no provision for proportional representation of parties or even for majority elections. Our representative system is a powerful support for the maintenance of two bourgeois parties. Voters are almost forced to vote either the Republican or Democratic ticket or to remain away from the polls. This is one reason for the fact that for years at least half of the qualified voters do not vote.

What this means for us may be fully appreciated when we remember that on the basis of the vote which the Socialist Party cast in the election of 1912 we were entitled to 26 members of Congress. In that year we were permitted to have one. In that year, on the basis of our vote, the Socialist

Party should have had from one to 30 members in every northern legislature and many thousands of Socialists in city councils. As a matter of fact, we had about a thousand members in local bodies. In many cases the two capitalist parties would unite on one candidate, defeating our own, and continue the alliance until they had discouraged the radical voters. Then they would resume their pretense of opposition to each other by nominating their own candidates. In this way thousands of voters have been discouraged.

I do not believe that a labor party in any other country is so handicapped in this respect as we are. Three years ago the University of Chicago undertook a survey of the non-voting population of Chicago to ascertain the reasons why so many voters stay away from the polls. The survey showed that quite a number of Socialist voters had become convinced that elections in the United States are a farce. This view was shared by other voters. Among the reasons given by Socialists for their indifference to elections were the following: (1) some had given up hope in democracy; (2) others believed that little could be accomplished in public office; (3) some asserted that capitalist candidates always won regardless of how the votes were cast; (4) one declared that the expulsion of Victor L. Berger from Congress and of Socialists from the New York State Legislature showed that political action is useless; (5) another declared that political experience convinced him that the only hope lies in direct action.

## CAPITALIST PARTIES' ADVANTAGE

Through election to legislative bodies from single member districts bourgeois parties are able to unite to defeat Socialist candidates, or by gerrymandering a strong Socialist district a large group of conservative voters are thrown into the district. If we had proportional representation, fusion of parties and gerrymandering of districts would be of no avail to reaction.

Each party would get its proportion of representatives no matter where the vote was cast. Today we have plurality elections—that is, a party polling a minority of the vote has a majority of the representatives, while a party polling from 25 to 40 per cent. of the vote may have no representatives or possibly one or two. That this ancient system of representation has contributed to discourage third parties is certain.

This reactionary system of representation will have an influence in discouraging members of a labor party, and those who look forward to such a party will have to take into account. Equitable representation of all political groups and parties is the most important political reform facing the masses today, and yet Socialists have neglected it. It is more important than the referendum and the recall of elected officials. It should be the most important item in our program and we should try to enlist the co-operation of all organizations that are interested in modernizing our representative system. We may next turn to the pre-war Socialist Party itself. In the perspective of ten years it is possible to observe some weaknesses in organization which injured it and which must be avoided as it is rebuilt. There are three that occur to me, (1) the existence of a powerful propaganda weekly practically independent of the party, the Appeal to Reason; (2) a large publishing house, also independent of the party, the Chas. H. Kerr & Co.; (3) a dozen foreign federations constituting as many independent parties within the party, each often pursuing its own policy and a majority of them, following the World War, combining in a war on the party to control or destroy it.

## FREE LANCE PAPERS

First, the Appeal to Reason and those who think that the Socialist Party exercises a "European discipline" are invited to consider how loose Socialists agencies were allied for their common work. This weekly independent of the party and probably

had a circulation larger than all other Socialist publications combined. That it accomplished much good in elementary propaganda cannot be denied, but in no other country would the movement have tolerated a paper independent of the party, drawing its substance largely from the movement, and bearing no responsibility to the movement.

This weekly has drawn to it the services of thousands of party members. They were more interested in the Appeal than in the Socialist Party. It frequently engaged in crusades without consulting the party, practically assuming a national directorate over the movement in the issues and crusades which it raised. In its eagerness for increased circulation it offered prizes that were of a dubious character to say the least. Its power over the movement was demonstrated in 1916 when, for the first time, the party nominated a presidential candidate by referendum. The Appeal presented and supported Allan L. Benson and because of its wide influence Benson was nominated.

Benson lacked one of the foremost qualifications of a candidate. He was not a public speaker and his efforts on the platform were pathetic as well as humiliating for the party. He could not have been nominated in a representative convention of the party. An independent power in the movement, thrust Benson upon us. To make matters worse, shortly after the United States entered the World War, Benson left the party and joined with others in attacking it so that our enemies could say that our presidential candidate was opposed to the organized Socialist movement. In no other country would the movement have permitted such an independent power to appear in it and exploit the movement for its own policies and purposes. Had there been some definite relations between it and the party like those with the Rand School it is not likely that what did happen would have occurred.

## ANOTHER INDEPENDENT

We had the same experience with

the Chas. H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago. As a Socialist publishing house it also became an independent power in the movement. It thrived on the activities of party members in the main and the party was never consulted regarding the pamphlets and books it proposed to publish. For years it served the movement fairly well with its publications but by 1908 its monthly magazine, its pamphlets and books became a decided Anarcho-Syndicalist character. The party was formulating its program from one convention to another while this power was attacking the program in its publications. We in the meantime had not built up a party publishing agency of our own and Kerr was solidly placed in the literature field. As a result of the work of this firm, Anarcho-Syndicalist factions were sown in the party all over the country while the International Socialist Review published articles after articles attacking political action.

If the Appeal and Kerr constituted two independent powers in the party the language federations contributed a dozen more. It only required the shock of the World War to bring all these independent powers into bold relief and to show that as an organization the Socialist Party was little more than a rope of sand. Instead of maintaining a "European discipline," we were so tolerant of the most diverse opinions and methods that the party became a bedlam of views and factions after the armistice. Kerr's followers and most of the language federations became afflicted with the Communist delirium which ran its course and only now is facing complete collapse. The language federations carried into the Communist movement all of the factional animosities which they had brought to the Socialist Party and were responsible for numerous Communist "splits" as well. Kerr has vegetated in a twilight zone between the I. W. W. and the Communists. He began publishing the New Time, a radical monthly in the nineties, on the ground that he wanted a "religion that

is rational and a rationalism that is religious." It is probable that he has finally found it.

What I have discussed are pre-war factors that have adversely affected the Socialist Party. The post-war factors are better known and may be briefly mentioned. They include (1) the war with its private and government terror; (2) our war with the Communists; (3) disappointment of many former members and workers in general with the Russian Revolution; (4) our alleged "prosperity."

It would be absurd to deny that our position toward the war hurt us and especially our organization which in thousands of communities could not survive the terror. But our war record is now becoming an asset as knowledge of its origin and the cynical record of the imperialist powers becomes known. We paid a heavy price but it was a price worth paying. As for the war with the Communists, it is not necessary to specify in detail. It is sufficient to say that it has been the most bitter one waged in this country and that it has retarded recovery goes without saying. On the other hand there could be no substantial recovery by making any compromise with the Communist movement.

## SUFFOCATING PROSPERITY

The Russian Revolution has also contributed to pessimism, not only among those who voted our ticket but others who are not attached to us at all. Many cannot understand why Socialism in Russia is impossible and they are still less able to understand the quarrels between Communists and Socialists. Time alone will make for clarity of understanding.

Then there is our alleged "prosperity." W. J. Ghent declared that the party had generally made advances in periods of prosperity and concluded that, as we are not forging ahead now, we are being punished for our alleged support of Bolshevism. It is true that we did make advances in previous periods of prosperity, but there is a marked difference between present prosperity and previous installments of it. In the first place it is largely bogus in many industries. In the second place where it is a reality it has come to the workers as an automatic process without fighting for it. The ruling classes have piled up such fabulous wealth in some industries that they have granted some concessions without a struggle. In many cases it has taken the cynical form of welfare plans and company unionism.

This sort of "prosperity" is suffocating. That is, when it comes without a consciousness of fighting for it, it has a deadening influence on the working class. Its fighting spirit is stifled, its idealism is smothered, its will to power is all but destroyed. In such a psychic atmosphere both Socialism and trade unionism suffers and they suffer now. Contrary to our friend Ghent's opinion, I think that disillusion will come of economic distress. Even the spurious economic blessing now called "prosperity" cannot last. It will eventually go into the ditch and capitalism will again be confronted with its old contradiction—widespread want in the midst of plenty. But partial and "spotted" as it is, for the time being our "prosperity" has drugged many voters. They are due for a rude awakening.

Owing to the length of this article I will have to reserve a final one for suggestions in rebuilding the Socialist Party.

## :: New Legal Rulings on Picketing ::

By Charles Solomon

THE Court of Appeals of New York State, highest tribunal in the Commonwealth, has very recently decided two cases of the utmost importance to the organized labor movement. These cases are Exchange Bakery and Restaurant, Inc. vs. Louis Rifkin, individually and as president of Waiters and Waitresses' Union, Local No. 1, and People vs. Paul Phillips.

One of these cases, the first mentioned, was a civil litigation arising out of an injunction action brought by the employer against the labor union. The other was a proceeding in a criminal court. Those cases lay down propositions of law of tremendous moment to the struggles of the labor unions in this state and render a situation of great value in clarifying a situation which for a long time has been characterized by much uncertainty and confusion.

The Court of Appeals in these cases has definitely and unequivocally restated the rules of law applicable in labor disputes governing the right of a labor union to call a strike and of workers to picket. A long line of Supreme Court decisions has been overthrown and the legal soundness of others, a minority, to be sure, has been vindicated.

## Lower Courts Reversed

In both cases the Court of Appeals reversed the decisions of the lower courts which were adverse to the interests of the organized labor movement. In the Exchange Bakery case the cause of the workers prevailed in the highest appellate court by a vote of four to three. In the *Lifroff* case the court was unanimous. The opinions in both cases were written by Judge W. S. Andrews. It is of more than passing interest to note that Judge Andrews, when a Justice of the Supreme Court back in 1902, wrote a noteworthy opinion in the case of *Foster and Hinman vs. the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association*, et al. (39 misc. 48), in which he expounded the point of view and enunciated the rules of law which, a quarter of a century later, he succeeded in writing as the law in this state. In 1902 the opinion in the *Retail Clerks* case was just one of many Supreme Court, Special Term, decisions which other Supreme Court Judges, sitting in labor controversies, might follow or not.

The two recently decided cases held particularly that picketing is lawful regardless of whether there exists between the employer and the employees a strike or not. The only qualification to this proposition of law is that the picketing must be peaceful, not misrepresentative of the actual situation, and not motivated by a purely malicious purpose. Formerly, the Supreme Court almost invariably held the contrary, and this holding was affirmed repeatedly by the Appellate Divisions. The fact of the matter is that in the Exchange

## The New York Appellate Division Upholds Picketing Without a Strike

Bakery case the Appellate Division in the First Department, which includes Manhattan, reversed the lower court, that is the Supreme Court, which refused to grant a temporary injunction, and issued a sweeping restraining order on the ground that there was no strike against the particular employer and that therefore no picketing was warranted or lawful. The Court of Appeals decision flatly contravenes this, even the dissenting opinion recognizing the validity of the rules of law laid down in the majority opinion, but disagreeing as to their applicability to the particular facts of that special case.

## Picketing Without a Strike

This means that as the situation now stands, strike or no strike, picketing is lawful. However, if there is no strike it would be unlawful to represent that there is. But the picketing may bring to the public notice that the employer is unfair or does not employ union labor and the picketers may appeal to the general public to refrain from dealing with or patronizing the particular employer for these reasons, and they may, through the instrumentality of picketing, seek to induce so-called loyal employees to abandon their employment and join the union ranks.

In this connection, the Court of Appeals, by indirection, has indicated its more than possible reaction to a situation in which employees under contract for a definite period of time, to the knowledge of the union men, were induced to leave their employment these contracts notwithstanding. It is and has been the law of this State in this respect that an interference, consciously and without justifiable cause, with a definite and valuable contract relationship is unlawful. The significance of this rule of law is that what is a justifiable interference in a labor dispute is yet to be determined by the Court of Appeals.

It has been the practice of many Supreme Court judges sitting in Special Term to issue injunctions on the authority of a case decided in the United States Supreme Court, the *Hitchman* Coal case, which decided that the absence of a written contract for a definite period of time was beside the point and that the bare relationship of employer and employee was a sufficient contractual relationship. It was pointed out by labor lawyers and others that this was certainly not the law in this jurisdiction; that it was clearly otherwise, and expressly so stated in several well-known decisions; moreover, that the United States Supreme Court was passing upon a controversy in the State of West Virginia, and that, in any event, the decision of the Federal court was not necessarily binding on our State courts, particularly when these State courts held otherwise. However, this contention did not seem to weigh, and it is now an interesting speculation what the Court of Appeals will decide in the event there comes before it a controversy involving these considerations.

Referring back to the Exchange

Bakery case, while it restated many basic rules of law proclaimed in earlier decisions, especially the case of *National Protective Association of Steamfitters and Helpers et al. vs. Cuning et al.*, decided in 1902 by Chief Judge Parker, subsequently a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, it is especially interesting for what it has to say on the right to picket. Judge Andrews wrote:

"That they (the Union) may prevail, it may call a strike and picket the premises of an employer with the intent of inducing him to employ only union labor. And it may adopt either method separately. Picketing without a strike is no more unlawful than a strike without picketing. Both are based upon a lawful purpose. Resulting injury is incidental and must be endured."

The dissenting opinion, written by Judge Crane, acknowledged:

"The union had a right to inform people that the plaintiff maintained a non-union shop, and to request them not to patronize it; it could also picket the place with placards to that effect. . . ."

Writing on this same question twenty-five years ago, Judge Andrews, then a Supreme Court Judge and now an associate Justice of the Court of Appeals, in the *Foster* case already referred to, said what has now been adopted by the Court of Appeals:

"More picketing, therefore, if it is peaceful, if there is no threat or intimidation, if it is confined to simple persuasion, I do not regard as in any sense unlawful, whatever

may be the motive of the picketers."

Shortly after the Court of Appeals decided the Exchange Bakery case there came before it another labor case on an appeal from a judgment of the Court of Special Sessions, Manhattan, which affirmed unanimously the conviction of a striker on the charge of disorderly conduct tending to a breach of the peace. The picket was a member of the Laundry Workers International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which was conducting a strike against the owner of a hand laundry, growing out of a breach of the contract with the union by the employer.

The Magistrate before whom the case was tried took the position, over the protest and objection of the lawyer for the picket, that if he were satisfied there was no strike he would find the defendant guilty of disorderly conduct. He concluded there was no strike, found the picket guilty, and sentenced him to pay a fine or spend several days in prison.

The Court of Appeals, before which the case finally came, unanimously reversed the Magistrate's Court and the Court of Special Sessions, and dismissed the complaint against the union man, remarking that the conviction seemed to be predicated "upon the erroneous idea expressed by the magistrate 'if there is no strike and he (the picket) is marching up and down in front of his place of business he is guilty of disorderly conduct.'"

At the same time, the Court also, for

the first time, rendered a judicial interpretation of the word "crowd" since the defendant worker had been charged with having caused a "crowd" to collect in front of the employer's place of business.

"To sustain the conviction" the Court said "there must be some evidence that he did collect a crowd. We are told that a crowd is a throng, a great number of persons, a multitude. At best the word is indefinite. Differences in time and place may shape its meaning. A crowd at midnight might not be a crowd at noon. A crowd in a country schoolhouse might not be a crowd in Washington Square, but there is always implied in the word numbers with reference to the hour and location. Here we have a sidewalk ten or twelve feet wide at Broadway and Twelfth street during the morning. The complaint says this is all the testimony on the subject, that the crowd consisted of 'two or three or four or five or six or seven or eight or nine or ten or eleven or twelve or thirteen or fourteen or fifteen or sixteen or seventeen or eighteen or nineteen or twenty or twenty-one or twenty-two or twenty-three or twenty-four or twenty-five or twenty-six or twenty-seven or twenty-eight or twenty-nine or thirty or thirty-one or thirty-two or thirty-three or thirty-four or thirty-five or thirty-six or thirty-seven or thirty-eight or thirty-nine or forty or forty-one or forty-two or forty-three or forty-four or forty-five or forty-six or forty-seven or forty-eight or forty-nine or fifty or fifty-one or fifty-two or fifty-three or fifty-four or fifty-five or fifty-six or fifty-seven or fifty-eight or fifty-nine or sixty or sixty-one or sixty-two or sixty-three or sixty-four or sixty-five or sixty-six or sixty-seven or sixty-eight or sixty-nine or seventy or seventy-one or seventy-two or seventy-three or seventy-four or seventy-five or seventy-six or seventy-seven or seventy-eight or seventy-nine or eighty or eighty-one or eighty-two or eighty-three or eighty-four or eighty-five or eighty-six or eighty-seven or eighty-eight or eighty-nine or ninety or ninety-one or ninety-two or ninety-three or ninety-four or ninety-five or ninety-six or ninety-seven or ninety-eight or ninety-nine or one hundred or more.'"

Those who, as attorneys, picketers, or union representatives, are brought into continuous and close contact with the problem, will promptly recognize the importance of the foregoing because so often picketers are arrested and charged with having collected, or caused to be collected, a crowd. (Continued on page 5)

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Oh, What'll We Do?

**C**HARLES E. MITCHELL is president of the National City Bank. His business is to handle money, make money and invest money. When it comes to making and handling money Brother Mitchell is the flea's knees. In other words, he knows his onions. What's troubling him now is what to do with the money.

Speaking before the National Electric Light Association recently, Boss Banker Mitchell related his troubles and proposed certain remedies, which, in his expert opinion, would relieve the high boodle pressure from which the body plutocracy is suffering.

Loaning our surplus cash (heavy on "our") to Europe, won't work, says Mr. Mitchell. The people over there owe us (heavy on the "us") already more than they can pay. If they would pay, they would pay on interest and sinking fund more than a billion dollars a year says Mr. Mitchell. Fortunately, they don't pay because if they did pay they could pay us only in goods, and if there is one thing we (heavy on the "we") don't want, it's goods. Of course, they could pay us in gold if they had the gold, which would be still worse because we've already got more gold than we know what to do with.

Until now, Europe has borrowed more money from us every year than it paid us, says Mr. Mitchell. If this satisfactory arrangement could be kept up indefinitely, Europe would furnish a permanent investment for our money, so that what we lost in collections could be made up by the increased cost of book-keeping. The only draw-back about this solution of our money troubles is that in the end the borrower would have all our money. Otherwise it would be perfect.

Giving up Europe as a bad egg, Mr. Mitchell sees America second. American industry should absorb our money surplus, he says. Then spoils it all by adding: "In manufacturing lines, we all recognize that the building of plants during the war days gave us an excess producing capacity for peace times. No, more industrial plants on top of too many industrial plants won't do. So why not invest the money in labor-saving devices and better equipment? Doing this, we could produce more wealth at lower cost, thereby increasing capital faster than ever."

Righto, Brother Mitchell, but is it not this very surplus of idle capital that is bothering your master mind? And I say master mind deliberately and with malice aforethought, for it goes without saying that only a master mind can preside over the destiny of America's biggest and foremost financial institution.

To the credit of Mr. Mitchell it must be said, however, that he seems to have a lurking suspicion regarding the curative quality of his suggestion, for he deserts manufacture in favor of transportation. The railroads, he thinks, ought to absorb our surplus capital. It is true most of them are doing pretty well nowadays. What is more, all of them are already doubly and trebly over-capitalized. But by tearing up old ties and rails, junking invalid cars and engines and replacing them with brand new ones, the railroads might find a reasonable excuse for selling a few billions more in bonds, thinks Mr. Mitchell.

Then recalling suddenly that the roads can't very well increase their bonded indebtedness without raising rates or cutting into the dividends of their stockholders, and anyhow, they are not needing the money now, he winds up with deep advice:

Get the money while the getting is good and use it when you need it."

Yes, folks, this is one helluva fine system. For awhile I thought there were only too many mines and too many miners. Then after awhile it dawned on me that there are also too many farms and farmers. Next Henry Ford lays off twenty-five thousand automobile workers—indicating there is a surplus of Lizzy plants and Lizzy makers. Then I read that the railroads have sidetracked thousands of idle cars and engines, which seems to show that there is a surplus in rolling stock and railroad men.

And now comes this crushing revelation from Brother Mitchell that there is a money surplus menace on top of all our other troubles!

If it wasn't almost sacrilegious to offer advice to the president of the biggest bank in the United States, if not in the whole world, I would suggest to Mr. Mitchell that higher wages, shorter days and weeks, coupled with a reduction in prices, would go a long way in mitigating the woes of over-production, over-development, over-capitalization—to say nothing about the deplorable over-supply of working people.

However, as it seems to be against the religion of big biz and the bankers to pay more to labor than is absolutely necessary and take no less for service and good than all the traffic will bear, there are a number of other ways by which this heart-rendering superfluity of all good things can be reduced to a safe and sane basis. Here are a few of them:

Prohibiting children under eighteen from working at gainful occupations.

Free education, including board, clothing and books up to and including college for all children capable of passing the required tests, which should be severe enough to exclude bone heads, rich or poor.

Replacing slums and filthy factory towns with garden cities.

A symphony orchestra, municipal opera and theatre for every city above a hundred thousand population.

A pension for every useful worker, intellectual, manual or mechanical, above the age of fifty.

Unemployment and sickness insurance.

Two months vacation per annum with full pay.

Reforestation of denuded forest lands.

More parks, playgrounds and libraries.

An honest attempt to reproduce in every American city the size of ancient Athens, the imperishable glory and beauty of ancient Athens.

Anything to make the United States of America the cleanest, healthiest, happiest and most cultured nation on earth.

All these things would cost money, of course. But why worry about money when, according to all economists, including such an eminent authority as Mr. Mitchell, our surplus of the filthy lucre is becoming a positive menace to the welfare of the nation?

Moreover, what higher service could our captains and Napoleons of money-getting render than to place themselves at the head of cultural drives that would make their country the wonder of the ages?

Minor details, such as the raising of wages and the lessening of hours of toil, would be gladly assumed by the existing labor unions as a matter of patriotic duty.

The tax gatherers could collect the necessary funds from the money makers, who would still retain their beloved right to chase dollars. The only difference would be that the dollars would be used for the good and the glory and the happiness of all.

A fine, sensible scheme. Now somebody please put the bell on the cat.

Adam Coaldigger.

## Scanning the New Books

### Religions, No-Religions and Social Religions

My M. H. Hedges

**T**HE brain of man is a good deal like the headlight on an automobile. It charts for a little way the road down which mankind is speeding. But unlike the auto headlight (and herein lies the painful irony of the situation) the brain of man seems to be charting the road only over which mankind has come. It is for all the world as if man were his lights behind instead of in front; and as if mankind were speeding blindly down a dark, lonely, unexplored road, at the end of which may be either a precipice, or a smiling farmstead.

The hopeful and pleasant fact in this disconcerting situation is that more advanced society is producing seeing minds capable of charting the contemporaneous scene. These intrepid, daring intellects, who by some have been brushed aside as mere journalists, are the hope of speeding mankind, the reckless driver of the time-machine; to them should go the credit, if men are at all capable of breaking the poisonous circle of history by avoiding the pitfalls, the road catastrophes of the past—what Nietzsche called the "everlasting return."

At once we think of H. G. Wells, the gallant wrestler with immediate problems; of Shaw, the dissector of current foibles; of Bertrand Russell, grim grappler with present superstitions. In this group inevitably falls Horace M. Kallen, who if he lacks the glowing gift of saying things grandly because he says them simply, always flashes meaning upon the confusion of the present hour. His "Education, the Machine and the Worker," bridges the gap between the old cultural education and the new cultural education. And

here before us lies "Why Religion" (Why Religion—by Horace M. Kallen, Boni & Liveright) a book that is not afraid to stare in the face the modern—no-religions and social religions whose ferment begins to rip asunder the sacred institutions of the past. This book, though not formally so divided, is in fact a discussion first of the ancient religions on a comparative basis; second, of the noble scepticism of men like Bertrand Russell, and the scientific faith of men like Shaw; and third, of the slowly forming new social religions—not only socialism but social stirrings in Methodism and other conventional religions.

This reviewer found in the first section not so much that was new or exciting, but the last two he recommends heartily, for here for the first time there is a fair weighing on the scales of justice of the new religions that stir men.

Occasionally we detect a false interpretation as in this passage on the Russells.

"Each confronts a crisis. The crisis may reside in the inseparable qualities of the intellectual position that honesty of conviction imposes upon a reluctant heart. The crisis may be due to the intolerable hardships that the social structure compels masses of men to suffer. The crisis may be due to the utter conflict of embattled inward impulses all of which can not be realized at the same time. The godless religion is sophisticated and reflective. It is disillusioned. It begins by evaluating the situation. It judges, as Mr. Russell does, and it condemns. It rejects ends and instruments. It withdraws from the social

structures. It turns its back on the business of living."

We do not understand how Mr. Kallen can reach that conclusion; withdraw the no-religions do not. That is their glory and their might. They strive on despite the pain of disillusionment. They act—as Russell says—from the depths of "unyielding despair." Herein they differ from the Buddhists whom Kallen seems to wish

to link with them. But Kallen does not err in interpretation often. His touch is sure; his intelligence deep; his tolerance broad; and his motives touched with humanistic passion. We wish that many men would read and understand this book. It will bring them out on the other side of many inward shadows to a new peace—a peace that hides within the turmoil.

### The Story of Negro Labor

By Frank R. Crosswaith

**I**N the light of certain more or less securely held beliefs concerning the Negro in industry, "Negro Labor in the United States" (by Charles H. Wesley, Ph. D., The Vanguard Press, N. Y., 50c) comes like a refreshing breeze after a day of sweltering heat. In three hundred pages, the author has gathered abundant facts that will serve to literally blast asunder the many moss-covered conceptions about Negro labor.

Beginning with the period when slavery was first introduced in this country and ending with the entry of Negro labor in large numbers into the industrial part of the nation in 1925, Professor Wesley has written for all who care to read, the unprejudiced record of the role played by Negro workers in the economic history of the United States and their several attempts, some of which were remarkably successful, to organize.

With the exception of the first twenty-four pages, the author makes no attempt to interpret the facts he has unearthed. However, he points out very interestingly, how at first, slave labor was confined to agricultural pursuits and gradually spread into the semi-skilled trades such as stone

quarrying, blacksmithing, coopering, etc.

The book is full of interesting and highly important figures showing the total number of slaves during certain periods of slavery, their numerical distribution in the various agricultural vocations and the number of free Negroes during the period prior to the Civil War.

"Slave laborers of every race have been unsatisfactory workers, and slave labor as compared with free labor has always been less efficient, whether it was the slavery of Europeans or Africans." In that sentence the author has torn a wide gap into the old argument which is largely responsible for the widespread belief about the Negro's inability to function in the industrial order (viz) that the Negro was shiftless and lazy and would not work unless a Simon Legree stood, whip in hand, over him. The Northern Abolitionists are no less responsible for this notion than are the slave holders. In their fiery zeal and relentless attacks upon the institution of slavery, these well-meaning Abolitionists very frequently used the argument that Negro labor was slow, inefficient and awkward.

"The slaves seem to go through the motions of labor without putting strength into them," remarked one Abolitionist. Upon visiting a rice plantation another exclaimed that "the slaves worked their hoes so slowly that the motion would give a quick working Yankee convulsions." These comparisons were quite freely and frankly made and the wide variance observed nearly always attributed to the difference in race instead of in methods of labor.

"Great efforts were made to show how unprofitable labor with slaves was for the South because of racial inferiority," says Professor Wesley. One observer with the customary tone of assurance so notable among most quick American sociologists asserted with an air of majestic finality that the "difference was not between free and slave labor, but between white and Negro labor."

Every true unionist and Socialist should consider it a duty to read "Negro Labor in the United States," particularly since the Negro in American industry is fast becoming the most absorbing question confronting all phases of American labor.

Professor Wesley deserves the high appreciation of all students of labor for giving us this valuable piece of economic history. It represents a study made and presented by him as a thesis on the subject, and was instrumental in securing for him the coveted Ph. D. at Harvard. All who desire knowledge calculated to fit them to play an intelligent role in labor's struggle to extricate itself from the web of wage slavery and race prejudice, should read "Negro Labor in the United States."

### New Sanctions For Picketing

(Continued from page 4)

Enumerate convictions having had under these circumstances.

Frequently, on the basis of such convictions in the inferior criminal courts, the employer has gone into equity and sought injunctive relief, predicating his demand on the alleged disorderly character of the picketing, and the convictions had in the Magistrates Court and the Court of Special Sessions.

The writer believes, and his belief is based on a large experience, that often employers and their attorneys, appreciating the readiness of some Supreme Court Judges to grant injunctive relief on the theory that the picketing was disorderly and the strikers were causing crowds to collect, have deliberately sought arrests and convictions, if possible, intending to prejudice the demand for injunctive relief on this foundation.

With the decision in the Phillips case, we have a complete statement on the right to picket. Picketing in the absence of a strike is not unlawful so as to afford basis for the granting of injunctive relief, nor is it a violation of the penal law defining disorderly conduct tending to a breach of the peace.

The very law which moulds a tear, And bids it trickle from its source, That law preserves the earth a sphere, And guides the planets in their course. —Samuel Rogers.

Without halting, without rest, Lifting better up to best. —Emerson.

Let us teach that great wealth is not great happiness; that money will not purchase love; it never did, and never can, purchase the highest happiness. —Ingersoll

## Walls and Bars

Experiences and impressions in three prisons

by Eugene V. Debs

### II. Society and the Convict

**A** PRISON is a cross section of society in which every human strain is clearly revealed. An average prison, and its inmates, in point of character, intelligence and habits, will compare favorably with any similar number of persons outside of prison walls.

I believe that my enemies, as well as my friends, will concede to me the right to arrive at some conclusions with respect to prisons and prisoners, by virtue of my personal experience, for I have been an inmate of three county jails, one State prison and one Federal penitentiary. A total of almost four years of my life has been spent behind the bars as a common prisoner; but an experience of such a nature cannot be measured in point of years. It is measured by the incapacity to see, to feel and to comprehend the social significance and the human import of the prison in its relation to society.

In the very beginning I desire to stress the point that I have no personal grievance to air as a result of my imprisonment. I was never personally mistreated, and no man was ever brutal to me. On the other hand, during my prison years I was treated uniformly with a peculiar personal kindness by my fellow-prisoners, and not infrequently by officials. I do not mean to imply that any special favors were ever accorded me. I never requested nor would I accept anything that could not be obtained on the same basis by the humblest prisoner. I realized that I was a convict, and as such I chose to share the lot of those around me on the same rigorous terms that were imposed upon all.

His Public Career

It is true that I have taken an active part in public affairs for the past forty years. In a consecutive period of that length a man is bound to acquire a reputation of one kind or another. My adversaries and I are alike perfectly satisfied with the sort of reputation they have given me. A man should take to himself no discomfort from an opinion expressed or implied by his adversary, but it is difficult, and oftentimes humiliating to attempt to justify the kindness of one's friends. When my enemies do not indulge in calumny I find it exceedingly difficult to answer their charges against me. In fact, I am guilty of believing in a broader humanity, and a nobler civilization. I am guilty also of being opposed to force and violence. I am guilty of believing that the human race can be humanized and enriched in every spiritual inference through the saner and more beneficent processes of peaceful persuasion applied to material problems rather than through wars, riots and bloodshed. I went to prison because I was guilty of believing these things. I have dedicated my life to those beliefs and shall continue to embrace them to the end.

My first prison experience occurred in 1894, when as president of the American Railway Union I was locked up in Cook County Jail, Chicago, be-

cause of my activities in the great railroad strike that was in full force at that time. I was given a cell occupied by five other men. It was infested with vermin, and sewer rats scurried back and forth over the floors of that human cesspool in such numbers that it was almost impossible for me to place my feet on the stone floor. Those rats were nearly as big as cats, and vicious. I recall a deputy jailer passing one day with a fox-terrier. I asked him to please leave his dog in my cell for a little while so that the rat population might thereby be reduced. He agreed, and the dog was locked up with us, but not for long, for when two or three sewer rats appeared the terrier let out such an appealing howl that the jailer came and saved him from being devoured.

PRISONERS TORTURED

I recall seeing my fellow inmates of Cook County Jail stripping themselves to their waists to scratch the bites inflicted by all manner of nameless vermin, and when they were through the blood would trickle down their bare bodies in tiny red rivulets. Such was the torture suffered by these men who as yet had been convicted of no crime, but were awaiting trial. I was given a cell that a guard took the pains to tell me had been occupied by Prendergast who assassinated Mayor Carter H. Harrison. He showed me the bloody rope with which Prendergast had been hanged and intimidated with apparent glee sparkling in his eyes that the same fate awaited me. His intimidation was perhaps predicated upon what he read in the newspapers of that period, for my associates and I were accused of every conceivable crime in connection with that historic strike. I was shown the cells that had been occupied by the Chicago anarchists who were hanged, and was told that the gallows awaited the man in this country who strove to better the living conditions of his fellowmen.

Such was my introduction to prison life. I can never forget the sobbing and screaming that I heard while in Cook County Jail from fifty or more women prisoners who were there. From that moment I felt my kinship with every human being in prison, and I made a solemn resolution with myself that if ever the time came and I could be of any assistance to those unfortunate souls I would embrace the opportunity with every ounce of my strength. I felt myself on the same human level with those Chicago prisoners. I was not one whit better than they. I felt that they had done the best they could with their physical and mental equipment to improve their sad lot in life, just as I had employed my physical and mental equipment in the service of those around me, to whom I was responsible, whose lot I shared, and the energy expended had landed us both in jail. There we were on a level with each other.

Then to Woodstock

With my associated officers of the American Railway Union I was transferred to the McHenry County Jail, Woodstock, Illinois, where I served a six months' sentence in 1895 for contempt of court in connection with the federal proceedings that grew out of

the Pullman strike in 1894. My associates served three months, but my time was doubled because the federal judges considered me a dangerous man and a menace to society. In the years that intervened some national attention was paid to me because I happened to have been named the presidential candidate in several successive campaigns.

But there was no real rejoicing from the influential and powerful side of our national life until June, 1918, when I was arrested by the Department of Justice agents in Cleveland for a speech that I had delivered in Canton, Ohio. I was taken to the Cuyahoga County Jail, and when the inmates heard that I was in prison with them there was a mild to-do about it, and they congratulated me through their cells. A deputy observed the fraternity that had sprung up, and I was removed to a more remote corner. Just after I retired that Sunday midnight I heard a voice calling my name through the small aperture, and inquiring if I was asleep. I replied no.

"Well, you've been nominated for Congress from the Fifth District in Indiana. Good luck to you!" he said.

The Canton Sentence

When a jury in the federal court in Cleveland found me guilty of violating the Espionage Law through a speech delivered in Canton on June 16, 1918, Judge Westenhaver sentenced me to serve ten years in the West Virginia State Penitentiary at Moundsville. This prison had entered into an agreement with the government to receive and hold federal prisoners for the sum of forty cents per day per prisoner. On June 2, 1919, the State Board of Control wrote a letter to the Federal Superintendent of Prisons complaining that my presence had cost the state \$600 a month for extra guards and requested that the government send more federal prisoners to Moundsville to meet this expense. The government could not see its way clear to do this, since it was claimed there was plenty of room at Atlanta, and if, as the State Board of Control averred, I was a liability rather than an asset to the State, the government would transfer me to its own federal prison at Atlanta, which it did on June 13, 1919, exactly two months after the date on which I began to serve my ten years imprisonment—a sentence which was commuted by President Warren G. Harding on Christmas day, 1921.

I was aware of a marvelous change that came over me during and immediately after my first incarceration. Before that time I had looked upon prisoners and prisons as a rather sad affair, but a condition that somehow could not be remedied. It was not until I was a prisoner myself that I realized, fully comprehended the prison problem and the responsibility that, in the last analysis, falls directly upon society itself.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

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## Horrid Predicament of Well-Known War Fan

**M**R. OGLEVY-OGLE was evidently depressed. This surprised us, as it is one of the Oglevy-Ogle standing traditions to be cheerful and bright under all circumstances. Somehow the family feel that they are doing their loyal and patriotic duty to God, to country and to the capitalist system if they "go about with broad grins on their faces from dewy morn to dewy eve. They were cheerful as hell during the Great War. They were even more cheerful in the immediate boom days thereafter, and having successfully salted away their pile, they were positively beaming during the depression of '21. At the time of the British General Strike the entire family chuckled themselves into near hysterics thinking what the Tories would do to those damfool workers.

And now here came Mr. Oglevy-Ogle looking as low as if enough States had ratified the Child Labor Law to make it Constitutional, as if women workers throughout the country had the forty-eight hour week or any other calamity had befallen the good old status quo.

It seems that what upsets the Oglevy-Ogle applecart is the prospect of a war between the Soviets and Poland. This gloom was the more astonishing as we had always figured that a good bloody war was just meat and drink to the family, especially as they are all over fifty. It turned out that the reason for the apprehension was not the possibility of Russia licking Poland, as we had figured. Of course, from Mr. Oglevy-Ogle's viewpoint, one Pole could lick ten of those "filthy Bolsheviks" with his left hand tied behind his back. And if the Poles didn't, there was always fall back to more strategic positions and in the To be sure, history has shown that in falling back, the British army is second to none. But according to the Oglevy-Ogle's newspapers the stalwart British always fall back to more strategic positions and in the end come out victorious.

No, Mr. Oglevy-Ogle is worried because he feels that this Polish-Soviet war is going to tax his knowledge of international affairs almost to the breaking point.

"Heaven knows," says Mr. Oglevy-Ogle, "It has been wearing enough to untangle this Chinese mess. I have to explain it every morning to Mrs. Oglevy-Ogle, who can't seem to keep her Changs straight. There is that Chang in the North and one in the South who seem to be on the outs, and then there is a Feng in the middle and somewhere on the fence are a couple of Kooes. Why can't they take good sensible English names like Pugh or Cholmondeley or Joynson-Hicks? We had a map with little pins to denote the positions of the rival armies just as we have always had in every war, but we had to shift the red pins and the yellow so quickly with each new dispatch in The Times that we finally gave up and decided to leave China flat until they get up a war that a white man can understand."

"Now if Poland gets into a war with Russia just think of the difficulties ahead. Of course Mrs. Oglevy-Ogle and myself have been studying up the history of Poland. We know that it has a partition after every European war. It apparently has something to do with a Corridor. They put up the Partition and make a new Corridor. Anyone can understand that. And then they named their national hero after a mineral water, Hunyadi-Janos, and had Paderewski for a premier until he got behind on his Carnegie Hall assignments, so they elected a man with a mustache named Pilsudski, who is stabilizing the slavy, national currency. So far, so good. Of course, we haven't bothered much with Russian history. We know that General Brest-Litovsk got licked by the Germans at Omsk and that some Jew named Stalin is nationalizing the women with his Chinese mercenaries. But what is the use of getting a headache learning all about a government that the Herald Tribune says is going to be overthrown almost any minute? It's only in case of war that we are concerned. Suppose, for example, that the troops under Col. Bespoykov get into a bicker with the advancing legions of General Stepanak Sergei Mikhailovich Kravithinsk, how will Mrs. O-O and I know whom to cheer for? And even if we do know, how can we make up a snappy cheer about people with names like that? Why compared with the prospects of such a war, the proceedings of the Arms Conference at Geneva make hammock reading."

We are in receipt of the following letter from our old friend Jim Hicks of South Dakota:

Dear Mac:

I seem to detect in your writings a certain anxiety over the dispatches from the Black Hills to the effect that Mr. Coolidge is "winning the heart of the great West" by going around dressed up in cowboy pants and a ten-gallon hat. Say, what do they think we are out here anyway? The last person in our town to appear in such a costume was Alf Dumm, the village idiot. We none of us paid much attention to Alf because he is a harmless old thing who once saw a rodeo in the Yankee Stadium in New York and came back raving about chaps and ropes and pinto ponies and the like. Ever since then he has been reading those Western books that are published by Street and Smith at 79 Seventh Avenue, New York, and nobody wants to spoil his simple pleasures by telling him that cowboys are about as prevalent around here as honest Congressmen in Washington.

"Naturally, it's nobody's business but the President's if he wants to give us all a good laugh every morning. Personally I get almost as much fun out of looking at his pictures as I do out of reading the Andy Gump strips in the Chi 'Tribune'. But it's hard for some of us to figure how the cause of farm relief is going to be furthered by having the President go on Keith's Junior Circuit. If I was Will Rogers I'd start suit for violation of copyright. If Calvin is going into this fancy dress suit seriously it will cut into his working hours. Will he try to get back the police vote, for example, by dressing up like a harness bull? There are a lot of Southerners who have recently been flooded who might be beguiled by the sight of the President in a one-piece with water-wings and the emblem, 'The Spirit of Mississippi!' across the chest. And he would probably sweep Hollywood by coming out disguised as Mary Pickford."

"No, Mac, we may appear simple to you intellectual sophisticates of the East, but we're not as bad as all that. If we have a vaudeville for our next President, then let's have Moran head of the ticket with Mack for vice-president or Groucho Marx or old Mr. Albee himself. But nix on this Vermont cow-puncher stuff."

"Yours for a chapless President, JIM McAlister Coleman."



# The Government in the Power Business

By Judson King

FACTS first and observations afterward.

The United States Government for the past twenty-two months has been operating Muscle Shoals, with army engineers in charge, and selling electric current to the Alabama Power Company.

Official figures of operation for the calendar year ending December 31, 1926, are now available at the War Department. Here are the cardinal facts as to the sale of power from Wilson Dam:

Average price paid, \$0.002 per k.w.h. (Note—Two mills, or one-fifth of a cent.)

Total current sold, 428,265,885 k.w.h.

Total receipts..... \$872,717.47

Cost of maintenance and operation..... 173,777.53

Net operating profit..... \$698,939.94

This amazing showing was made with only three, and sometimes four, generating units in operation. But there are eight units installed, ready for work, and there is room for ten more.

Scheduled for action at the next session of Congress is the widely advertised bid of the thirteen Associated Power Companies of the South, all controlled by Electric Bond and Share of New York, for a fifty-year lease on Muscle Shoals, a bid recommended by the Joint Congressional Committee of which Senator Deneen of Illinois is chairman, and made an administration measure during the last session by President Coolidge—and some Democrats. This bid offers Uncle Sam an annual rental of \$600,000 for the first six years. Hence we may make another table, thus:

Total profits to the people of the United States which Government operation of 3 and 4 units of Muscle Shoals has yielded to them in 1926..... \$698,939.94

Total rental the people would have received for the whole of Muscle Shoals had the Power Trust bid been in effect in 1926..... 600,000.00

Net gain to the people for the first year of public operation. \$98,939.94

It will not do for my financial friends to begin quibbling over the fact that this does not take into account "fixed charges" on the \$37,000,000 invested in the plant. The Power Trust bid takes no notice of those fixed charges. Under it Uncle Sam would have to provide for interest on his investment and, besides, out of his rentals he would have to keep his dam in shape and pay for any extraordinary destruction by flood, lightning, etc. This is an operating report, and it stands.

The question is, in the light of these facts: How can President Coolidge and Southern Senators and Representatives continue to give aid to the propaganda that Muscle Shoals is an "elephant on

## A Trip to the Minidoka, Idaho, Plant and What It Revealed

the hands of the Government"? How can they insist on this bid?

It is scarcely safe for proponents of this bid to raise the issue of "fixed charges" at this juncture. It is a matter of official record that Southern power companies estimated their fixed charges on power production at THREE MILLS (\$0.003) per k.w.h. and operating expenses at TWO-TENTHS of a MILL (\$0.002) per k.w.h.

Army engineers, always conservative, declare that Wilson Dam, as it stands, without any new work or construction in headwater storage, will produce ONE BILLION, FIVE HUNDRED MILLION kilowatt hours annually, and that the power companies can easily absorb this within the next few years.

**The Price Proposed**  
It is more than fair to assume that this current is worth as much to the combine as their own fixed charges to produce it, or \$4,500,000 annually. And what do they propose to pay the Government for this power? Two million dollars annually for the last 32 years of the lease! Or \$50,000,000 less than it would cost them to make it under present conditions.

And since the Trust absorbed nearly one-third of the capacity of Wilson Dam in 1926, does anyone suppose that eighteen years will elapse before it will be using it to full capacity? Yet, they propose to pay annually only \$800,000 for the first six years, \$1,200,000 for the next six, \$1,500,000 for the next six and \$2,000,000 thereafter.

Even the most honest opponent of public ownership and operation of Muscle Shoals ought, it would seem, to balk at such a contract as that, unless he believes public money should be used to subsidize private utilities.

Incidentally, I ought to add that, to avoid confusion through quoting too many statistics, no mention has been made of an additional net operating revenue of \$160,370.73 reported as having been received from the steam plant at Muscle Shoals.

**Its Future Worth**  
We are not here discussing the profits which have accrued to the Alabama Power Company in 1926 from the sale of this power to the people for domestic use at EIGHT CENTS per kilowatt hour which it purchased from the people at TWO MILLS. Nor what Muscle Shoals is worth to the Power Trust for the next fifty years.

We have been concerned up to this point with the character of the contract which the Power Trust is trying to drive through Congress, and the light shed on that contract by a partial try-out of public operation.

Nor are we criticising the War Department for making the best deal it could—since the Alabama Power Company is the only possible customer in sight, at present. Nor the company for driving the best bargain it could—that is business.

But whether it is good business for the people of the United States is a different issue.

**The Congressman's Dilemma**  
I was talking over this bid of the

Thirteen Associated Power Companies with a Congressman last spring. He was against it even though a strong Republican. It was voting away public property of gigantic value for a song—comparatively—and urged by men who lecture farmers on the dangers of "paternalism."

"But what can we do?" he demanded. "The government has no distributing system. Uncle Sam cannot go into the business of peddling electricity to housewives, store-keepers, garage men, machine shops, factories and farmers all over the South!"

"I am aware that this talk of cheap fertilizer for the farmers is all political bunk. Muscle Shoals is a power proposition and the dear farmers will be tricked again. Senator Norris is right on that."

"But the power companies have distributing systems. They are equipped and experienced. I cannot see how Uncle Sam can take their place. So, after all, is it not better to get what we can out of the Shoals rather than let it go to waste?"

**An Honest Question**  
The Congressman was perfectly honest. No power company money was behind his election. He was picturing public operation of Muscle Shoals as magnified example of the local light plant in his home town.

He visualized a hoard of electricians, meter readers, superintendents, assistant superintendents, bookkeepers, stenographers, bill collectors and engineers operating in a hundred or so southern municipalities—all under the direction of and responsible to some gigantic bureau off in Washington. He was unaware that his assumption

were preposterous because he had no knowledge of the detailed operation of the plan proposed by Senator Norris. In short, he was in the same fix as a majority of his colleagues and of the American people. I do not desire to appear impertinent but that is the truth—net; he had no adequate knowledge of the electrical game, for one reason because he had been forced to spend so much of his time attending to the petty personal demands of his constituents to give much attention to problems of real statesmanship.

"Did you ever look into the structure and management of the great hydro-electric system of Ontario?" I asked.

"No. I have heard about it, and that rates are cheap, but what works there might not work in this country."

"Did you know that Uncle Sam has been in the electrical business for years; that he operates several hydro-electric systems along the same lines as Norris proposes for the Shoals—and successfully?"

"No—I did not realize that. Tell me about it."

"There is one on the big Minidoka Reclamation Project in Idaho. I am going out there to get the facts about it. I already know enough to feel safe in promising you an article that will present a simon-pure American example of what to do with Muscle Shoals."

(In another article next week Mr. King will tell of his trip out West and what he found out there about the success of government-owned and distributed power.)

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# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## PENNSYLVANIA

**From the State Secretary**  
We have heard from some of our branches and locals during the past month and as a few sent in generous contributions the financial statement this month shows a smaller deficit than last. The next two months are apt to be the dullest of the year.

**Nomination Papers**  
Philadelphia, Westmoreland, Montgomery and Northampton Counties are circulating nomination papers for county officers. A number of the other counties will fall in line in the very near future. It is dangerous to lay off for an entire year because you think it may be easier to get on the ballot next year. Nothing increases enthusiasm so much as activity and nothing creates apathy so much as inactivity.

**Press and Radio**  
Again, I want to urge you to keep up the support for the American Appeal and the New Leader. At present, our press is the only method we have of keeping in touch with what other branches of our movement are doing throughout the world and it is our most efficient method of propaganda. We must not let it die for lack of support. Even if we get a radio station, we will most certainly need the press. Get a few new subscriptions every month and see that the old ones are renewed.

**Radio is the modern method of communication.** We must have our radio station in the very near future. This means that you must send in contributions to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund.

**Philadelphia Picnic**  
The summer activities of the Socialist Party will be celebrated with a picnic at Belmont Mansion on Sunday, July 24, given by the North and West Philadelphia Branches. In order that we may wind up for the fall campaign it would be encouraging to gather in large numbers and in a spirit of comradeship. We should raise the operation necessary to the building of a lively Socialist organization.

The committee is arranging a program which will consist of songs, games and a speaker of prominence. To get there stop at Belmont Mansion in Fairmont and cross tracks to the left. Come early.

## OHIO

**To Members and Branches**  
The opportune time is here for propaganda. Are you preparing to get your candidates in the field for the coming election? Are you going to try and arrange for meetings? Will you distribute literature if it is sent you? You will greatly assist in building the Socialist Party if you will answer in the affirmative. The State Office is ready to help in supplying you with literature, etc. Let's become active and build.

The American Appeal is our mouth piece. The bigger the circulation, the more Socialist we should receive subscribers to the American Appeal that have run out and they should be urged to join the Party and be dues paying members.

A new branch of the Ohio-Socialist Federation was organized in West-Park, Cleveland, and they show prospects of building a strong movement in that part of the State. Why not other comrades do the same? The campaign is here. We will help. What can you do? Let us hear from you.

JOHN G. WILBERT,  
State Secretary.

## WISCONSIN

**Black River Falls**  
L. N. Doud reports that the School District there on July 5 elected Mrs. L. N. Doud, Sr., Socialist, as School Board Director for a term of three years. She had been elected in 1924 and 1925. Socialists are enthusiastic and feel confident of great progress in Party activity.

## TEXAS

**Building the Party**  
The Socialists of Texas are making progress in organization. Another good order for due stamps has been received by the National Office, State Organizer David Curran, whose address is 230 West Oakwood street, Station A, Dallas, writes that work of organizing the State of Texas into locals and branches in preparation for the national campaign of 1928 began on June 23, when their first meeting was held in the open air. He has devised a plan to have all organization meetings during the summer on the lawns of Comrades over the city of Dallas, speaking from their front porches. We expect this work to bear abundant fruit for the fall and winter meetings will be staged in halls. We are endeavoring to find some way to finance the organizer so that locals can be established. A disturbing letter was received by a member of local Dallas, who is universally loved and known over the state, a man who has been one of the mainstays of the movement. The letter is thought to be from Communists, who are using tactics foreign to the policy and aims of the Socialist Party. It is an attempt to mislead and disorganize Socialist Party activity.

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## CALIFORNIA

**Los Angeles**  
Local Los Angeles is embarking on a big campaign to put an organizer in the field for a year. It is our aim to raise \$3,000. We want to be in a position to put up a strenuous campaign in 1928. California is overwhelmingly Republican and it may be that in some instances, as in the last campaign, the Democrats will not put up any candidate, in which case they will only be opposed by the Socialists. We held a joint meeting on June 22 and nearly \$200 was pledged toward the fund. We are preparing to send out 2,000 letters to registered Socialists appealing for funds.

## NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

**Ether Friedman's Tour**  
Ether Friedman's dates in Massachusetts are as follows:  
July 16, Dorchester, at Woodrow and Blue Hill avenues, 7:17, Boston Common; July 18, Chelsea, at Bellingham Square; July 19, Columbus and Warren avenues, Boston; July 20, Brockton, at Main and Ware streets; July 21, Brockton; July 22, Lowell; July 23, Dorchester, at Blue Hill and Woodrow avenues; July 24, Boston Common; July 25, Chelsea; July 26, Columbus and Warren avenues, Boston; July 27, Brockton; July 28, Cambridge, at Cambridge Square; July 29, Amesbury; July 30, Dorchester; July 31, Boston Common; Aug. 1, Chelsea; Aug. 2, Tremont and Warren avenues, Boston; Aug. 3, at Blue Hill and Lawrence street; Aug. 4, South Boston, at Broadway and F streets; Aug. 5, Lowell; Aug. 6, Dorchester.

## NEW JERSEY

**Passaic Yipsels**  
On Monday, July 18, the Yipsels will meet and Andrew P. Wittel of Passaic will preside. He will lead with a lecture on Socialism, which will be followed by a general discussion by the Yipsels. The meeting will be held at the Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe avenue. The Yipsels expect to have August Claessens of New York the following Monday.

## NEW YORK STATE

**Rome City Ticket**  
State Secretary Merrill attended a special meeting of Local Utica and Oneida County last week, July 8. Comrades from Orleans and Rome were present, and it was arranged to put a city ticket in Rome for the fall election. Last year old party men sneaked in on the Socialist ballot in Rome. Comrades were urged to get the ticket in the affirmative. The State Office is ready to help in supplying you with literature, etc. Let's become active and build.

The American Appeal is our mouth piece. The bigger the circulation, the more Socialist we should receive subscribers to the American Appeal that have run out and they should be urged to join the Party and be dues paying members.

A new branch of the Ohio-Socialist Federation was organized in West-Park, Cleveland, and they show prospects of building a strong movement in that part of the State. Why not other comrades do the same? The campaign is here. We will help. What can you do? Let us hear from you.

## NEW YORK CITY

**City Central Committee**  
The City Central Committee met Wednesday, July 6. Fred Paulitsch, Federal Socialist League, presided. The following business was transacted:  
Minutes of the City Executive Committee concurred in, referred to the organization and propaganda activities and that an increasing number of street meetings are being held with varied success in New York, Kings and Bronx counties. Meetings are also being arranged in Queens and Richmond County. The Executive Committee reported concerning on nominations for public office. After some discussion the list of nominees were endorsed. (Complete list of candidates for public office will be published shortly.) Julius Gerber was elected to chair charge of the primary petition work.

Delegates reported on the activities of the branches and their reports indicated that quite some work is being done.

Secretary Claessens reported on the death of two comrades, Thomas H. Hopkins, former treasurer, Local Kings County, and August D. Montague. Brief addresses were made in behalf of our deceased comrades, and upon motion the committee arose and paid its respects to the passing of our late comrades. Comrade Claessens and Tuvim were elected to draw up resolutions to be presented to the families of our late comrades, Hopkins and Montague.

Joseph A. Well reported in behalf of the 13th-15th Assembly District Branch, Kings County, and presented a request that the matter of literature for campaign and propaganda purposes be taken up at the next session of the Executive Committee. He also presented suggestions relative to the character of the literature to be gotten out during this campaign.

Comrade Pepperberg aroused a discussion in behalf of the conduct of our

speakers at street meetings and suggested certain measures.

Secretary Claessens reported in behalf of the city organization.

**New Leader**  
An outing and picnic for the benefit of The New Leader has been arranged through the initiative of the Brownsville Branch, 234 A. D., Kings County, for Sunday, July 24. The destination is Valhalla, Westchester County. All comrades having cars and who are willing to donate the space therein for this outing are urged to get in touch with Secretary Claessens at 7 East 15th street. Further details will be announced later.

**MANHATTAN**  
34-55th-10th A. D.  
It was decided during the summer months this branch will meet but once each month. The meeting of July 11 was fairly well attended, the most active members being present, and an interesting discussion took place relative to greater efficiency in our outdoor propaganda.

**6th-8th-12th A. D.**  
At the branch meeting of July 11 a campaign committee was elected and instructed to meet with the candidates and begin work on preliminaries. Two street meetings per week are being held in the district with remarkable success. An outing is planned for an early date. Details will be announced later.

**Upper West Side**  
The branch met on July 12. It is interesting to note that several new members are being obtained each month. Its membership is steadily increasing. Its outdoor meetings are quite successful and plans are being made for more meetings.

**Central Branch**  
The next meeting will be held on Tuesday, July 13, at the headquarters, 1187 Boston Road.

**Branch 7**  
The next meeting will be held Tuesday, July 19, at the clubrooms, 4215 Third avenue.

**BROOKLYN**  
**Second A. D.**  
The Vechevinka and social gathering to celebrate the ten years' existence of this branch will be held Saturday evening, July 16, at the headquarters, 429 Hinesdale street. Invitations have been sent to all Socialists and sympathizers in Brownsville and East New York, as well as to the membership of the Y.P.S.L. circle in that neighborhood. It is hoped that this will be the last affair run in the present building. The building committee announces the good news that the old building will be removed shortly for the removal of the wooden structure which now occupies the plot at 429 Hinesdale street and that a commodious brick building will be erected. The building committee is busily engaged in organizing its forces for an active canvass of the district.

**4th-14th A. D.**  
This branch meets regularly every Monday evening at its headquarters, 345 South Third street.

**5th-6th A. D.**  
Branch meetings are held regularly every Tuesday evening at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue.

**Borough Park**  
A joint meeting of the four branches in this territory was called last Friday evening, July 8, at the Borough Park Labor Lyceum, Fourteenth avenue and Forty-third street. The meeting was fairly well attended. Comrade Claessens spoke on the campaign and the political situation. Nominations for Assemblyman and Alderman were made and the following comrades were nominated: Assemblyman—J. I. Abb, and in the 16th A. D., Rose Brody, Alderman, 40th A. D., Charles Kanowitz, and in the 41st A. D., G. Gordon. A splendid campaign committee was elected and empowered to begin the work in the 9th-16th Assembly Districts. By the enthusiasm displayed it was evident that for the first time in several years the Borough Park, Flatbush, Bensonhurst and Coney Island branches within the 9th-16th Assembly Districts will be actively canvassed. Comrade Claessens is being made for street meetings and several hall meetings and a widespread distribution of literature. Due to the failure of many of the comrades in the Bensonhurst and Coney Island branches to attend, the campaign committee left vacancies for additional members from these branches and a committee was selected to go before the next meetings of the Bensonhurst and Coney Island branches and solicit their active support and co-operation in the committee's work.

**22d A. D.**  
Street meetings held every Saturday evening at Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues are making a good impression. Comrade Claessens is delivering a series of lectures Saturday evenings and a good audience greets the speaker. Immediately upon the conclusion of Claessens' lectures, Ethelred Brown will speak on this corner for a number of Saturday evenings.

**23d A. D.**  
Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Preparations are being made for an active campaign in this district. Street meetings held so far were well attended and the number will be increased shortly.

**RICHMOND COUNTY**  
Street meetings will be held on Staten Island on Saturday evenings, beginning July 23. Joseph Tuvim and Ethelred Brown will be the speakers at the first meeting, to be held at Beach and Water streets, Stapleton.

## STREET MEETINGS

**MANHATTAN**  
Friday, July 15, 8:30 p. m.—10th Street and Second Avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.  
Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—13th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.  
Monday, July 18, 8:30 p. m.—10th Street and Second Avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswaith.  
Tuesday, July 19, 8:30 p. m.—79th Street and First Avenue. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Wednesday, July 20, 8:30 p. m.—95th Street and Broadway. Speakers, Isidore Phillips and Leonard C. Kaye.  
Thursday, July 21, 8:30 p. m.—Fifth and Grand Streets. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m.—Sheridan Square (Grove Street and Washington Place). Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m.—Clinton Street and East Broadway. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Sunday, July 24, 8:30 p. m.—137th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

**BRONX**  
Friday, July 15, 8:30 p. m.—Intervale Avenue and Wilkins Street. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Isidore Polstein.  
Saturday, July 16, 8:30 p. m.—Tremont and Bathgate Avenues. Speakers, I. Phillips, Hyman Nemser.  
Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m.—138th Street and Willis Avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and Isidore Polstein.  
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m.—Haver Street and 137th Street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.  
Sunday, July 24, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter

and Pennsylvania Avenue. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.  
Monday, July 18, 8:30 p. m.—Summer and Floyd Street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvim.  
Thursday, July 21, 8:30 p. m.—Pulaski and Tompkins Avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.  
Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m.—Fitzkin Avenue and Bristol Street. Speaker, August Claessens.  
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Pennsylvania Avenue. Speakers, Samuel Kantor and August Claessens.  
**STATEN ISLAND**  
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water Streets, Stapleton. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvim.

## If a Man Die

By Geo. R. Kirkpatrick

COMRADES, some of you have spent your prime in the Socialist movement and are now growing old. However, the "heart never grows old." You have loved—and you still love—the great Socialist movement, the movement that must and will march on when your hearts have ceased to beat and your flesh has turned to dust. In love and service and devotion you have already taken part in this sublime effort of the human race to throw down the final foundations of tyranny and build the brotherhood of man into the souls of men and into the institutional arrangements of mankind.

As the political crowns and thrones of the world are now being tossed into the ash cans of the nations, so the industrial thrones and crowns of the world must be cast aside and the workers of all the world walk forth free, unshackled and glad in the new order, the new society, the new world. The industrial reconstruction of the world is a vast task. No single generation can accomplish this sublime work. You, comrades, many of you who have grown old and gray in this glorious movement, will live in its heroic long, long years after you are gone; and—if you wish—many of you can still fight side by side with us right on, after death cuts you down. How can you do this?

You can do as old Comrade Sokoloff of Sioux City, Iowa, did many years before he recently died—as our generous Comrade Blaine of Santa Fe, New Mexico, did years before death called him a few months ago; as thoughtful Comrade Sims of Ohio did before his recent death. These comrades, by well drawn wills, made bequests to the American Socialist movement; they arranged that certain forms and portions of their wealth should be used in the cause they loved after death had summoned them. Our national organization will, within the next year, come into the possession of valuable properties as bequests by will of these noble-hearted men. And out in California there is now living a certain old comrade, owner of valuable properties, who a few months ago named our national organization as his beneficiary in a carefully drawn will. He is now sincerely paying the thought of his loved one in the thought of the movement he has loved and served for so many years. This dear old man's letters to the national office are now full of fine good humor, deep seriousness and comradeship. He has observed all the requirements of the State of California pertaining to such matters, and he now knows that his wish must be respected and that his intentions cannot be defeated. He has thus added to the deepest pleasures of his remaining years. He will fight on in our ranks after his funeral bells have tolled.

Other comrades could do this, should do this, and will wish to do this. It is important that the matter be attended to in good season and with extreme care. Comrades should remember that billions of dollars of this nation's wealth will—by bequest—be handed over to the children of the present industrial masters thus placing the chains of industrial slavery on the wrists of the workers; hundreds of millions will be invested in powerful newspapers and capitalist-controlled colleges and universities to still further solidify and perpetuate the foundations of capitalism and make still stronger the shackles of industrial injustice. Many comrades could do much, very much, to strengthen the Socialist movement for the fight against the system that makes gifts of billions, many billions, to the parasite pets and princely loafers who—guaranteed against work—will loot the lives of coming generations of toilers in the mines and mills and on the farms.

Comrades, this is not a solicitation. This is intended as timely caution and co-operation with generous and loyal Socialists who want to make sure that their intentions shall not be defeated in costly and avoidable will contests.

The Socialist movement is the greatest educational influence in the world, working with patience, courage, intelligence and devotion for the real freedom, the industrial freedom, the fundamental freedom, of the workers everywhere.

Even if a man die he can live again—in the hearts of his comrades—and fight right on in the one sublime war worth-while, the world-wide struggle for industrial freedom and justice.

Those who wish to help the Socialist Party in this way can obtain a sample form of will which will assist them in carrying out their wishes. Forms can be obtained by addressing the Socialist Party, 2853 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

There's something wrong in a government where those who do the most have the least. There is something wrong when honesty wears a rag and rascality a robe; when the loving, the tender, eat a crust while the beastly and infamous sit at banquets.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

# UNION DIRECTORY

## N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.  
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET  
Phone: Orchard 980-1-3  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec.-Organizer.  
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELBER, Organizers.

## OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.

## CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.  
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 210 East 5th Street.

## REBER BUTCHERS UNION

Local 231, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 10th St.  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
M. L. GRADEL, President  
L. KORN, Secretary.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.  
7 East 15th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3637  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
26 E. FRIEDMAN, President  
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RISEL, Vice-Pres.  
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7078  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 102 East 23rd Street  
Fred Enslin, N. Ullman, President  
A. Weiser, Sec. Sec'y  
Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent

## HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.  
Phone Dry Dock 3360  
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

## Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.  
Office: 175 East Broadway.  
Phone: Orchard 6639  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

## See That Your Milk Man Wears The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.  
OFFICE: 208 W. 14th St., City  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL 210 East Fifth St.  
Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 3 P. M.  
BEETHOVEN HALL 210 East Fifth Street  
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.  
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.  
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 63 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 1073. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
ABE LEMONICK, PETE KOPP, Sec'y.  
GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y.  
JACOB RAPPAPORT, AARON RAPPAPORT, Treasurer.

## German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g at the Labor Temple, 243 East 14th St.  
PETER ROTHMAN, President.  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary  
ASHBORE HAAS, Fin.-Sec'y.

## PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 306 EIGHTH AVENUE  
Telephone Longacre 5039  
Day Room Open Daily, 1 P. M. to 8 P. M.  
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Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn  
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Philip Lurie, Pres.  
M. Brodie, Organizer  
I. Borstein, Treas.  
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He only is advancing in life whose heart is getting softer, whose blood warmer, whose brain quicker, and whose spirit is entering into living peace.—Ruskin.  
Fear not that tyrants shall rule for ever.—Shelley.

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City  
Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President  
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street - - - - - Telephone ASHLAND 2000  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street, Union Local 45, I. L. G. W. U.  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
SECTION MEETINGS  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—17th St. & 3rd Avenue, 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—70 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.  
Melrose 7830  
CARL GRABER, President.  
N. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 5:30 P. M.  
R. GUSKIN, Chairman  
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.  
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6300-1-2-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
ABRAHAM BECHERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

37 ORCHARD N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1887  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MOHRIS BLUMENKRICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOY, Sec'y-Treasurer.

## Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 9 Delancey St., Drydock 8500  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
GE. SCHNEIDER, Chairman  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

## Pressers' Union

Local 2, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple 414 1/2 Arlon St., B'klyn, N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Sec'y-Treas.  
M. TAYLOR, Sec'y  
LEON RECK, Fin. Sec'y

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman  
CHARLIE GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. I. SHIPALOFF, Manager

## MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway. Phone Spring 4448  
Uptown Office: 30 West 37th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1270  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening  
HYMAN LEDEPARD, N. Y. Sec'y-Treas. ALEX. ROSS, Chairman  
E. D. Rec. Sec'y  
ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

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

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 Broadway (Room 282) Phone Spring 3235-3236  
G. GOOZE, Manager. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.  
Office and Headquarters: 949 Willesbury Ave., Brooklyn. Phone 7078  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Monday.  
M. REISS, President.  
E. FINE, Vice-President.  
E. FRIEDMAN, Sec. Sec



# THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1927

## CLASS CONFLICTS

AN essential item in the creed of those who think that social evolution has stopped at the present stage of the higher capitalism is the assertion that there are no classes and no irrepressible conflict of interests. They assume that the age of oil, steel and imperialist finance is the age of social harmony and that any person who denies it is a miscreant guilty of treason to the State.

No other ruling class ever claimed this, and even the founders of the Constitution never claimed it. All former ruling classes frankly asserted the conflict of interest between those who owned the important forms of property and those who did not. In framing the Constitution Hamilton, Madison, Gerry and others did their work in accord with the belief that the interests of commercial men, planters, small farmers, manufacturers and mechanics differed. Their idea was to give the more important forms of property security against all others. They associated "virtue" with property and "vice" with lack of it.

At a later period when the masses without property were pressing their claims for the suffrage the old ruling classes were afflicted with panic. In all the early State conventions in the East and South which revised their constitutions the most determined struggles were waged over the question of granting suffrage to the masses without property. The old cliques frankly declared that with this power in the hands of the majority the ruling forms of property would eventually be at the mercy of the lower classes, whose interests were in conflict with these forms of property.

Of course, these fears have not yet been realized, as the upper groups and their politicians have been able to win the support of the masses for their two parties. But this support has been won by intellectual coercion, clever deception, appeals to tradition, and reliance upon the habit of hereditary voters to support what is. But accompanying this habit are strikes and demands of rural and urban workers which are assertions of the class conflict. Even in Congress and the State Legislatures political agents of workers and farmers appear to present their special claims as classes and again the economic conflict of interests is expressed.

American capitalism is just as rife with class struggles and class interests as any capitalist society abroad. The assumption that the rule of our great magnates has brought the era of social harmony is hokum and nothing else.

## BALANCED JUSTICE

MORE than six years ago President Harding transferred certain oil reserves from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. This was the beginning of a dirty piece of business that has left its odor in one Cabinet, two departments of the Government and a number of Federal Courts. To this hour the polished gentlemen connected with the swindle walk the streets free, while two oil magnates, whose testimony is considered essential in another trial, are sojourning in Europe and apparently have no intention of returning to the oil faterland.

A Senate investigation and a series of trials have followed, and while the Elks Hills lease has been invalidated, nevertheless Fall and Doherty were acquitted by a jury last year of conspiracy. They are yet to be tried upon a charge of bribery, and how long this will drag through the courts and what the end will be nobody knows.

However, it is not difficult to predict the future course of litigation. About 1930 the case will still be in the courts on technicalities, and a few years later more technicalities, and then some more. By 1950 the accused will be very old gentlemen. Possibly they will be gathered to their fathers and the final chapter in the epic of oil and the "black satchel" will then be written.

Two Italians in Massachusetts for whom the electric chair yawns are invited to spend their leisure hours in contemplating the queer antics of "justice" in the United States. They may lament the fact that they did not burglarize national property or invest in Mexican oil. Had they done either, "justice" would have been tender with such men of quality while their millions of cash would have insured them a ripe old age with few worries to them as they approached the end of their lives.

Friends of The New Leader in Greater New York, who have automobiles, may combine pleasure with service to their paper by joining the drive to Valhalla on Sunday, July 24. See announcement on the party news page. Enroll your car and help make this a big affair.

## PARTY NAMES

UPON a recount of the vote in Minneapolis it is found that five instead of four of the Farmer-Labor aldermen were defeated. Just what is the significance of this defeat it is difficult to tell, but it is probably evidence of the general apathy that prevails regarding politics.

Some light is thrown upon the election by the experience of Lynn Thompson, who was one of two candidates elected to the school board. Although elected as Farmer-Laborites, Thompson is a Socialist and a member of the Socialist Party. This fact was continuously stressed by two of the daily opposition papers and his Socialism was made an issue. Yet Thompson was elected despite the fact that the Farmer-Laborites suffered some reverses.

Thompson reaches the conclusion that the fear of some Laborites that the Farmer-Labor Party would suffer if its Socialist candidates are known as Socialists is exploded by his experience. He did not deny his views and every vote he received must have been cast with knowledge of his convictions. He adds that it will be necessary to revive the Socialist organization in South Minneapolis, as experience has shown that nothing will be lost by this revival.

We are inclined to believe he is right. There is a good deal of superstitious fears about names in this country. Many assume that a movement will make headway under one name, but not with another. The fact is that the ruling classes and their organs will place a bad label on any movement that seriously challenges their supremacy. When the Working Men's Party elected a man to the New York State Legislature in 1829 the party was denounced as the "dirty shirts" and the "free love" party. The farmers in the Nonpartisan League a few years ago also received the "free love" label. Reactionaries will not be deceived by names. They know when their loot is in danger.

## BARREN POLITICS

IT IS a striking fact that while our ruling classes fatten with satisfaction and maintain their two political brokerage firms intact, the urban and rural workers remain apart from each other and within each there is no unity of action or program. The working class of the United States is more politically helpless than the workers of any other nation. In 48 States and in Washington the upper class enacts its will into law. Occasionally a bone is thrown to the masses, but the juicy meals are enjoyed by the happy bankers, capitalists and corporate magnates.

Throughout the Northwest the Democratic firm is practically bankrupt and in a number of states it does not nominate candidates for many offices. It is in this region that the farmers have been thoroughly skinned through the "wise" policies of the firm represented by Lord Calvin, but many farmers have not lost faith in the firm itself. They believe that if they replace Coolidge with another member of the firm they will be permitted to own their shirts. If many of them have their way the millionaire, Lowden, will be the G. O. P. candidate next year.

Meantime an Agricultural Conference is meeting in St. Paul and is venting its sense of grievance against Coolidge. As a counter-demonstration a delegation of farmers has visited Coolidge, its spokesman declaring him to be "the safest man in American public life" and that nobody can defeat him. For this, of course, Coolidge was grateful, very grateful.

It is safe to say that never in our history has national politics been so colorless and barren of interest. If any human being depended upon an idea to live in that desert he would starve to death. Even the Smith brokers are unable to disturb the snoring that rises from the offices of both political firms.

## RIGHTS AND LEFTS

THE disgraceful affair on Union Square last week when the Left Wing broke up a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting was another exhibition of criminal fanaticism. When we add to this the fact that this same element has collected hundreds of thousands of dollars ostensibly for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti for which the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti Committee can get no accounting, we understand the low depths to which some men can sink. They are equal to taking the val-ables of the condemned men and dividing the cash realized from the sales between them.

The only compensation from such an affair is knowledge of the fact that such actions further ostracize these men from the labor movement. At the same time it is necessary to consider a view that is advanced now and then in answer to a few who assume to take a higher ethical stand on this "factionalism" in the unions. These few deplore factionalism in general and take the lofty attitude of condemning "both sides." We are not blind to the fact that there are occasions when, under intense provocation, the "rights" have retaliated without handing the Left Wing a text-book on personal etiquette.

On the other hand, it is not possible to always deal with the vicious or the fanatic like one would with normal human beings. When a man approaches us with a dirk we are not likely to read him the Sermon on the Mount. Before we reach the second sentence we are likely to be planted on the hillside. If he would permit us to read the Sermon on the Mount something might be said in favor of this course, even though such reading would not affect a change in the fanatic at its conclusion.

But this policy of condemning "both sides" also permits its advocates to not only ignore the fact that the Left Wing brought the factionalism into the labor movement, but to also dodge their plain duty in that movement. By assuming to be above the battle they also ignore the fundamental issues involved. If these men do not know that the Left Wing brought civil war into the movement they have been asleep. Their attitude of being "above the battle" is like waiting to see who wins and when the battle is over to side with the winner no matter whether he is right or wrong. It is an easy opportunism and evasion of a duty that is not creditable to any man.

# The Farmers' Plight

## "An Individualist in a Collectivist Age"

By Benjamin C. Marsh  
(Managing Director of Farmers' Council)

THE agricultural plant is at least twice as large as necessary to produce on anything like an efficient basis the amount which farmers can sell with present production costs at a fair price, with our present system of distribution and with our present economic system, neither of which bid fair to be terminated within the near future. In 1924, the total acreage of crop land was in round figures, 391,000,000 acres, of which about 12 1/2 percent, or one-eighth, were not harvested. In 1925, about four-fifths of the acreage of crop land was planted to five great staple crops—cotton, 46,053,000; wheat, 52,200,000; corn, 101,631,000; hay, 69,398,000; oats, 45,100,000. In 1924, the cotton crop was reduced 34.7 percent from full yield per acre, and in 1925, the reduction for the other four staple farm products was winter wheat, 41.7 percent of acreage abandoned; corn, 39.7 percent reduction from full yield, and hay, 19 percent, and oats, 15.3 percent reduction. Even with present inefficient methods of production and low acreage yields, at least forty to forty-five million too many acres are planted to these five staple farm products.

It is not pleasant to record the fact, but many farmers—through no fault of their own—are not efficient nor are they especially trained for production or marketing of farm products. Farming is an inherited vocation to an unfortunate extent. There are today approximately 6,300,000 farm units operated—vastly too many under existing conditions. American farmers compete with each other into poverty, and the farmers of nations producing the same products are competing each other into poverty as well. The mortgage debt on farms is approximately ten billions of dollars, and the short term mortgage debt between four and five billions, the total being considerably more than the national debt while there is no talk of "refunding" farmers' mortgage debt on any wholesale scale such as has been done with regard to the loans of several of the nations to whose governments the Government of the United States made loans to assist.

It would be a bold person who would forecast statistically or in point of time the extent of the change in our farming system, but the figure cited above of the increase of farm machinery is

slat in the grand and unsuccessful effort to make the world safe for democracy.

## Increase in Farm Equipment

America is industrialized and imperialized. The Department of Commerce's figures on the manufacturers' sale of farm equipment report that in 1926 the total production of farm equipment was valued at \$461,399,000, compared with \$323,367,000 in 1924—an increase in two years in the value of manufactures of 42.7 percent. What this means as to the future of the unskilled capitalist farmer requires no comment. Morevoer, since America is industrialized, manufacturers are going to secure cheap raw material for food and clothing to enable them to grab foreign markets as far as possible for manufacturers. They are also going to get cheap raw material other than that produced on farms, but that is another story which has to do with concessions.

The American farmer is a land values animal and has relied largely upon increases in the selling price of farm lands to recoup him for the lifetime of underemployed labor on the farm of himself, his wife and that large and underprivileged "free labor force" which he has been encouraged to propagate, euphemistically called the family of farm children.

Farm children make the earliest transition from financial liability to financial asset. The peasants of most other countries are land animals and want the land for that feeling of ownership which is supposed to keep the home fires of patriotism burning when the owner of the home fire begins to get mad at what is happening in the name of patriotism. Agriculture is doomed with our present industrial and imperialist policies under the present method of conducting most farms, except as a diminutive home for the aged, indigent, and a return to the land for professors and millionaires about ready to return to the dust from which they sprang. The co-operative movement has not been, eminently successful for farmers, partly because farmers are congenitally and to some extent by force, individualists and find co-operation and team work difficult.

## Must Be Collectivists

It would be a bold person who would forecast statistically or in point of time the extent of the change in our farming system, but the figure cited above of the increase of farm machinery is

significant. This report gives the number of farm tractors manufactured in the United States as 181,995 in 1926, compared with 120,613 in 1924, and the best estimate is that about 700,000 tractors are in use on American farms today. No definite facts are available as to the success of corporation farming which does not mean necessarily producing even the staples on large unit farms, but limiting the number of directors and managers of farms and so eliminating the competitive and unrestrained tendency to diminish farmers' losses by increasing the number of people who lose.

The farmers are the last branch of producers who insist upon taking all the results of an unregenerate providence and unscrupulous marketing system themselves. Labor has had the common sense to leave the burden of risks upon the bedevilled and beheaded capitalists, while the farmer is trying to live the double economic life of farm worker or at least supervisor, and capitalist or would-be capitalist. Perhaps some may compare the effort of labor organizations to be labor organizations and bankers at one and the same time. Our whole agricultural policy has been built up and fostered by the federal and state government until within recent years, along lines which inevitably mean disaster for the men, women and children engaged in this industry. Needless to say, much of the farm lands of the country over-mortgaged, partly because over-valued during and immediately following the war, will never pay off the mortgages. Farmers are honest, however. They won't take the farms to town with them. They will leave them for the bankers and other gentlemen of refinement who own the mortgages. One more big freeze-out of farmers, due within a year or two, will do more to break organized labor than all the Communist propaganda of the ages.

Important staple farm products which enter into international commerce are affected of course by the world price, and it is safe to assume that there cannot be any satisfactory solution of farmers' problems until there is at least reasonable co-operation as to acreage and production between the farmers of all nations producing the crop which enters into international commerce.

The farmer cannot survive as an individualist in a system which, in order to survive, he must be a collectivist. This is economics and not morals.

# THE CHATTER BOX

## Street Lamps on a Misty Night

The city holds a Passion Play tonight. A Calvary is set on streets and places. And all the Christs are nailed before our sight. With haloes circling their illumined faces.

Mr. Maxwell Bodenheim, the distinguished American poet and novelist, has sent us in a poem of his for this column. We intend to publish it serially beginning next week. It is entitled "Jazz Music" and to our mind quite a splendid specimen of his peculiar genius. We shall ask our readers' interest and their comment.

## When Love Is Gone

When love is gone  
The moon is just a moon,  
A cold dead planet,  
Out of rhyme and tune;  
And stars are merely sparks  
That trail her round;  
And nights bring lonely bedtimes,  
All too soon.

—KATE HERMAN.

Henry Ford's recent recantation of his anti-Semitic campaign is the first open act of dishonesty he has committed in an otherwise regular business career. For a long time we admired his childish clarity of action. No man in his financial and public state has so lucidly revealed himself. His candor has always been intriguing. And now like a sweet Bess having given such fine milk all these days, he has gone and kicked over the brimning pail.

His confessed ignorance was always refreshing. His tirades against Jewish bankers and business generals, coupled with lurid protocols and legends about giddy Hebrew ritualisms, have always been zesty. His autos have rattled and tin-panned by with symphonic glory. His billions have piled up with inspiring speed. And in these years of his dotage he has so charmingly gone in for antique Colonial furniture and primer story book scenes, that our amusement is sweetly forfeited.

And now, he just shrinks himself into a "I didn't know better" sort of an urchin, and willingly gets into the familiar posture, ready for a spanking. We certainly don't believe our four-cylinder genius means a word of his retraction. He has as little use for the Jew of his Dearborn philippics now as ever. The chances are he is making a political play for the Presidential nomination, or is seeking for an unembargoed market for his new car this autumn. Perhaps a combination of the two. And certainly he can build a cheap efficient car. And undoubtedly he possesses enough fundamental ignorance to fit him for the White House.

Mr. Ford, as we have learned to know him, for all his stupendous wealth, suffers from inferiority complexes with all genuine ignoramuses. He is the unhooded King Kleagle of the land and will continue to hold that place for all of his belated repentance. It would be easier to make a comfortably riding vehicle out of his product than take the race hatred out of his stunted soul. And the chances are that Ford has sufficient business reasons to hate the moneyed American Jews in particular. Rumor has it that not so many years ago he was compelled to go to the Jewish bankers for a large cash loan in order to complete his expansion projects. The market all over the world was clamoring for his cars and his factories were far behind in delivery. These bankers, true to the characteristics of international mammon, made such hard and usurious demands against his urgent need that he had gone through with the deal the bankers would have by now taken his plants away from him and left him a ruined man. These bankers kept Henry dangling through a studied delay until he found a great loss facing him. In desperation he called on his fifty thousand agents throughout the

world to pay cash in advance against the future delivery of a certain quota of cars. His dealers, hundreds of them hard working Jews, by the way, came across with remarkable unanimity, and gave Ford close to \$100,000,000 inside of a few months. This saved the situation for the manufacturer and left the Wall Street murrers mightily befuddled. As soon as Ford got into the swing of his planned production and found time for reflection he started his little hymn of hate against Jewry. Strange to note, just about the time the K. K. K. went off on its own little merry-go-round. And so you see, fellow citizens, the materialistic conception of history gave birth to our own anti-Semitic episode in quite a logical manner. And how the cloak and suiters, the moneyed and industrial professional Jews, fumed, fussed and trembled before the Busy Berthas of bigotry that Ford bombarded them with for almost a decade. He surely made it miserable for every junk dealer and dry goods merchant of the hinterland towns and villages. He schismatized the happy middle class union of dollar chasers, the Free and Accepted Order of Masons. He almost pogromized the country, with his silly stories of Jewish cannibalisms and weird rites. And now his plea for tolerance will in no way make the going easier; not for many years to come. Messrs. Untermeyer, Perlman, Marshall and others will make much hubbub about de-Fordizing the anti-Jewish feeling in the States. The results will, however, be sad and frail.

In the first place, while Ford was utterly ridiculously in his accusations and revivals of canards along religious ritualism against the Jew, he was peculiarly correct on what he said against the moneyed Jews, the control of the clothing manufacturing industries, the theatre and the movie trusts, etc. No apology can remove the fact that while lust for profit is creedless, these industries are exploited in greedily fashion by capitalists who chance to be of Jewish extraction. This played upon properly will always stir up resentment among equally greedy and lustful Gentiles. For doesn't Mr. Ford control one of America's largest industries, while Mr. Gary lords it over the Steel Trust and the Rockefeller have a scissoring hold on oil? None of these worthies are Jews. And since none of these are Jews and certainly unashamed of their positions as industrial robber barons, why should the Schiffs and the Laekys and the Sadowskys suffer mortification for their particular ascendencies? From what we can gather through perusing past issues of the Dearborn Independent, besides the false religious accusations, all that was said by Ford amounted to this: That the Jews control this and that, and these are the questionable methods with which they acquired what they now legally own. . . . Tush! Some day someone might inquire how Ford himself came by the Selden patents for planetary transmission; even as Ida Tarbell once anted up Rockefeller's conduct with his first partners; and as for Comrade Gary, his rise to the heights, we understand, would hardly bear the scrutiny of copybook precepts for fundamental honesty. All successful business, religion included, of all creed and fashion, conceals the odoriferous. We say this under duress of being polite and cleanly spoken.

Nope, Mr. Ford will never outlive his genuine hatred of Jews, although it will be just like the traditional Jews to outlive their dread of him. This he will never learn, that Jew, Gentile, pagan and Moslem are good, bad and indifferent in numerical relativity, in so far as the civilization in which they live makes 'em for good and evil. Until a world does come to pass wherein people will no longer be divided and exploited through racial animosities, there will be the Fords—professional Gentiles, and the bankers—professional Jews to quibble over an ancient and dishonorable question. Personally, we refuse to let Mr. Ford out of his true self. He is much more the man openly hating the Jews, than just weeping silly tears of unfelt repentance, and filling the air with walls of diplomatic apology.

S. A. de Witt.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

ing armament into a conference for increasing it.

Finally, responsibility for disaster at Geneva will lie in some degree not alone on public officials but on public opinion in America as well as in England, if we let ourselves be fooled into building a lot of boats of doubtful value even from a military point of view. Certainly, the United States has, as even the British Tories reluctantly admit, a right to parity of tonnage with England. We shall be fools and worse if because of that right we start out quite needlessly to match the burden which Britain's big navy men insist on putting on their harassed and overburdened fellow citizens. It is cheaper in dollars and cents, to say nothing of those priceless values of good will, to encourage British labor sentiment to control the hell-bent imperialism and militarism of England's Tory government rather than to let ourselves increase it by matching boat for boat on some big new program.

The last few days have seen two good suggestions for improving New York's housing. Neither of them came from the City Administration or the official State Housing Board. Alexander Bing urges that housing in the outlying parts of the city be restricted to a 40 per cent. building limit on any lot. This would make possible many more garden city improvements of the Sunnyside variety. (By the way, can anyone give a single good reason why the State Housing Board has made no recommendation on the terrible building situation in Queens, where the new, flimsy, packing box construction brings almost as many perils to the city as East Side slums?)

Leonard Wallstein points out that the city has had the right since 1913 to condemn additional land when putting through new streets. This extra land could be leased on long term at a low per cent. of the cost of acquisition to the housing corporations. The idea seems sound. It has been suggested, however, that the law may require leases of city land to the highest bidder which would upset the plan. Besides this legal point, Comptroller Berry raises the practical point that the city is paying too much for land acquired by condemnation proceedings anyhow—a matter which requires prompt attention.

Of course, there is nothing in Mr. Wallstein's proposal, even if it works out, to change the argument that the only way for the city properly to deal with housing is through public housing by a municipal corporation. Such a corporation would be far more entitled to cheap rent on land acquired by excess condemnation than 6 percent private profit companies. It is a commentary upon either the intelligence or sincerity of our City Administration in its approach to this vital problem of housing that its legal power over land had to be discovered by an outsider after the important Allen Street condemnations were already closed.

At last the Sacco-Vanzetti defense is getting a hearing, even though a private hearing, by Governor Fuller and his advisory committee. And that is something to be thankful for. In the interest of justice I think there should be formal public hearings. There may be reasons to the contrary but I can't even guess what they are. This is no ordinary pardon case. What Governor Fuller and his commission are or ought to be doing is to provide as far as possible an extra-legal but not illegal substitute for the new trial which the limitations of Massachusetts law and the incorrigible prejudices of a Judge denied these innocent men.

It is a cause for profound sorrow that at this critical juncture labor cannot present an active and united front in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. On the part of too many unions there is an utter failure to understand the human issues involved. There is apathy of the sort which is partly responsible for Mooney's continued imprisonment in California. In other cases there is active interest, the effect of which is somewhat marred by factional quarrels. It is, however, easier to say: "Let's get together in one meeting for Sacco and Vanzetti" than to work out a practicable plan to unite groups which are fighting each other not only in the general union field but in regard to this case. The last possible way to bring about unity is for one group to interfere with another's meeting.

What Ben Gold and his left-wing supporters did at the Union Square Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations might easily have precipitated a riot with loss of life. It certainly hurt the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti and made it harder, not easier, to defend the principle of civil liberty to which the Communists in America, for all their contempt for democracy, are continually appealing. There is, to be sure, a certain grim humor in Ben Gold's charge that the affair was spontaneous and that he was forced up twice on two widely separated platforms by men whom he could not control, some of whom had "spontaneously" provided themselves with weapons for the occasion. What becomes of the boasted left-wing discipline if an experienced leader like Gold cannot better control his men on a critical occasion? The affair is the more serious because it is only one of five instances of which I have been informed in which left-wing groups have broken up meetings.

If Christianity were taught and understood conformably to the spirit of its Founder, the existing social organism could not last a day.—Emile de Lavalley.