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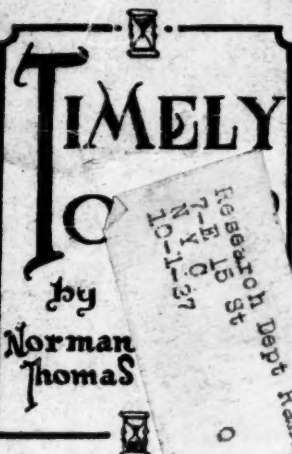
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THESE more than "rebels" killed in Nicaragua, most of them by men safe in airplanes. Against whom were they rebelling? Against the United States? Has Congress declared war on Nicaragua? Who else has the right to send our marines to kill and be killed in foreign countries. Secretary Kellogg writes President Green of the A. F. of L. that this General Sandino and his little army are bandits. Maybe. Though the difference between bandit and patriot often depends only on the point of view. Who made our Marine Corps the extirpator of bandits in Nicaragua? And what sense of wrong made General Sandino a bandit?

There is something nauseating about the tone of our newspaper dispatches in this whole shameful affair. Brave and capable our marines and aviators doubtless were. They wiped out a little band of men with only one casualty, but their bravery was employed in the service of the profiteers and militarists who have made the State Department their dupe to protect some shadowy national prestige and some tangible personal profit in a country against which Congress has declared no war. This is stark imperialism, indefensible alike in law and morals. The gentleman now playing politics in the Black Hills, far from danger in tropical jungles, is fortunately afraid to try his imperial policies so boldly in Mexico and China as in little Nicaragua. But what contemptible cowardice it is on the part of a resident and people which reads us this to play the role of guarantor of profits for sleek investors in a country too little effectively to fight back!

To make full our sense of shame, it was also reported to the Pan American Labor Congress in Washington that our little puppet president in Haiti had jailed the Haitian labor delegates to the Congress, just as he jailed editors who displeased him. It is fortunate that the sessions of the Labor Congress may shed some light on this imperial ruthlessness. President Green's letter to Secretary Kellogg was a step in the right direction. We hope that no false patriotism will lead our delegates to pussyfoot in the Pan-American Congress on the subject of their government's imperialism. And, talking of the courage and vision to condemn imperialism, just how far will our Democratic friends, remembering Wilson's record, dare to go? What has prospective nominee Al Smith to say? How long will he continue pleasing all factions in his party by saying nothing?

Comment on the Vienna riots ought to wait for more authoritative information than our papers have given us. So far as I can make out, no one planned to turn the peaceful demonstration of a short general strike into a riot. It was the police who provoked the trouble by which a little handful of Communists may have sought to profit in characteristic fashion. The Communists are partly right in saying that the episode shows how precarious is Europe's stability. They are wrong in their parrot-like denunciation of Socialist treason. Suppose the Socialist leaders had tried to turn the riots into revolution. How would that have cured Austria's economic ills? Vienna cannot be saved by civil war with the rest of Austria or by inviting foreign intervention. The whole of Austria must be incorporated in some larger economic and political unit, preferably Germany. Could any Communist or Socialist rebellion in the City of Vienna bring that to pass? If not, Communist criticism of the Vienna Socialists is futile as well as ungenerous. In view of the tolerance that Socialist Vienna has shown in its treatment of all those agitators that other countries usually jail. From this distance it would appear that Vienna has more to gain by a continuance of her municipal Socialism than by any violence, even in the face of reactionary courts which may play into the hands temporarily of the Communists, but, in the long run, of capitalist and imperialist groups in Europe. However, we are justified in having a real trust in Austrian Social Democrats to manage their own affairs.

Edward F. Albee, president of the Keith-Albee Vaudeville Circuit, is the latest to come to the defense of American institutions. He trusts that his artists "will refrain from using cheap jokes not only in reference to street car companies but to any other industry or official of our nation, state or city." Mr. Albee's artists will appear. (Continued on page 2)

U. S. TROOPS SLAY 300 NICARAGUAN LIBERALS

BOMBS MASSACRE LIBERALS' ARMY

A. F. of L. Warned of War a Few Days Before Attack Started

By a New Leader Correspondent
WASHINGTON.—The United States is waging war against another nation and some 300 citizens of that nation are either dead or have been wounded by American forces! Congress alone has the power to declare war and Congress is not in session!

These are the startling facts of our relations with Nicaragua, a little Central American country which for more than twenty years has been policed by American forces, whose elections have been under their control, and whose rich resources are exploited by American capitalists and bankers. Five American bombing planes have been employed to force submission of a small force of Nicaraguans to the mastery of the country by American power.

A few days before the war began President Green of the American Federation of Labor received a telegram from two delegates of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor to the Fifth Pan-American Labor Congress which met in Washington this week. This telegram warned of an expected attack upon the Nicaraguans who are supported by the Nicaraguan trade unions. The telegram to Green reads: "Commander American Marines in Nicaragua threatens to attack the Nicaraguan forces which Nicaraguan Federation of Labor wholeheartedly supports in their opposition to Stimson's outrageous proposals. Unless some great influence such as your exercise is brought to play immediately American bullets will mow down Nicaraguan workers in Nicaragua. American commander says attack will commence tomorrow, July fourteenth. This will be a matter we are instructed to bring before Pan-American Labor Congress meeting eighteenth. We trust something can and will be done immediately, that July eighteenth we may not regret what amounts to assassination of fellow workers. Fraternally."

Salomon de la Selva, Tranquilino Saenz,
Delegates Nicaraguan Federation of Labor to Fifth Pan-American Labor Congress.
On July 15 President Green wrote to Secretary of State Kellogg, presenting a copy of this telegram as President of the A. F. of L. and of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, covering it with the following letter: "The officers and members of the Pan-American Federation of Labor are deeply concerned because of the exceedingly disturbing condition which exists in Nicaragua. Recently we had hoped that peace had been re-established and satisfactory arrangements for the holding of an election had been made. Now, it appears, from the information received, that a general strike in a riot. It was the police who provoked the trouble by which a little handful of Communists may have sought to profit in characteristic fashion. The Communists are partly right in saying that the episode shows how precarious is Europe's stability. They are wrong in their parrot-like denunciation of Socialist treason. Suppose the Socialist leaders had tried to turn the riots into revolution. How would that have cured Austria's economic ills? Vienna cannot be saved by civil war with the rest of Austria or by inviting foreign intervention. The whole of Austria must be incorporated in some larger economic and political unit, preferably Germany. Could any Communist or Socialist rebellion in the City of Vienna bring that to pass? If not, Communist criticism of the Vienna Socialists is futile as well as ungenerous. In view of the tolerance that Socialist Vienna has shown in its treatment of all those agitators that other countries usually jail. From this distance it would appear that Vienna has more to gain by a continuance of her municipal Socialism than by any violence, even in the face of reactionary courts which may play into the hands temporarily of the Communists, but, in the long run, of capitalist and imperialist groups in Europe. However, we are justified in having a real trust in Austrian Social Democrats to manage their own affairs."

ROCK-DUSTING PROTECTS MINERS' LIVES, BUT MANY MINES FAIL TO DO IT

The practice of rock-dusting bituminous coal mines, as a means of preventing and limiting disastrous coal dust explosions, has undoubtedly saved the lives of hundreds of American coal miners within the past two years, although the practice is not generally compulsory and is, therefore, by no means universally followed in the United States. Director Scott Turner of the United States Bureau of Mines, Department of Commerce, points out. The partial rock-dusting of mines, or rock-dusting by improper or inadequate methods, however, provides no assurance of safety, and rock-dusting may be worse than useless if it is not done adequately and systematically. Mr. Turner declares. Merely perfunctory scattering of rock-dust or sporadic rock-dusting at long intervals, or the rock-dusting of only a few main haulage ways, may result in an unwarranted sense of security.

To provide adequate assurance against deadly mine explosions, all accessible open areas should be thoroughly rock-dusted, including haulage entries, air courses, rooms, cross-cuts and pillar regions; and the rock-dusting should be replenished from time to time so as to hold the combustible content of the rib, roof and floor dusts at all times over 65 per cent.

It is now approximately two years since the rock-dusting method has been tried more or less extensively in a considerable number of coal mines of the United States.

Pan-American Labor Congress in Protest On U. S. Imperialism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—With thirteen nations represented in the fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor here, the delegates met with knowledge of the frightful massacre of the remnant of liberal Nicaraguan forces at the village of Ocotal by American marines. The delegates were also stirred with resentment upon receipt of a telegram from Port-au-Prince declaring that Haitian delegates to the Congress had been jailed by order of President Borno, informed men and women know that Borno has been set up by American power and that he could not hold office without American support. The message was signed by the "Haiti Labor Fraternal Association" and said that seven "independent newspaper directors," who were about to leave with the labor delegation, had also been thrust into prison. Never before have the organized workers of this country and the Latin-American nations had such a forceful demonstration of American imperialism as in the Nicaraguan massacre and the jailing of the Haitian labor delegation.

Marines Are Attacked

An attack upon American marine operations in Nicaragua was delivered by Salomon de la Selva, the delegate from that country, who asserted that he had just been informed that 300 of his countrymen had been killed by Americans, shouted.

"I have been in contact with the intimate feeling and sacred mind of the people of Nicaragua for many years, and I want to say that if the marines do not depart from Nicaragua, they will have to destroy the population of the entire country. This is the conviction of the labor population of Nicaragua."

De la Selva introduced a resolution opposing the presence of American marines in Nicaragua and denouncing the killings at Ocotal. Luis Morales, the Mexican Secretary of Commerce, Labor and Industry, postponed discussion by moving that the resolution, designated for preferential consideration, be the first to go to the resolutions committee. De la Selva then withdrew the resolution for redrafting. (Continued on page 2)

UPHOLSTERERS IN SOCIALISTS WIN CONVENTION UNION SUPPORT

President Kohn Reports to N. Y. Gathering of Union's Gains

EXPANSION and progress in spite of depression in the industry and numerous strikes and lockouts is the record of the Upholsterers' International Union whose delegates are meeting in convention in New York this week. The report of President William Kohn presents a record of achievements that is cheering and which evoked general satisfaction.

The last convention was held two years ago and the report presents a comparison between the present standing of the organization in membership, locals, organization work and other matters with the period of two years ago. At the Chicago convention in 1925 the total membership was 9,400, a gain of 400 members over the year 1923. This year the membership is 11,063, an increase in two years of 1,663.

The number of Locals, 32, is about the same as two years ago. Fifteen were disbanded, four merged, nine organized and disbanded, and 16 organized and retained. The fluctuation of Locals continues, yet the membership has continued to increase in a period when the trade unions in general have suffered losses in membership.

Locals Are Federated

Federation of Locals into District and Territorial Councils for mutual aid is also a marked feature of the two-year period. In Chicago, St. Louis, Oakland and San Francisco, Calif.; Philadelphia, and New York City District Councils have been organized, while Philadelphia and New York have formed the Eastern Wholesale Upholsterers' District Council. In May 16 Locals on the Pacific Coast in a number of cities set up a similar territorial organization. This expansion of the union is also evident in the work of 27 organizers who have rendered service in this country and in Canada where the Locals have become strong enough to bear part of the expense of organization work. Work of organizing the workers in the awning section of the industry is slower but there are now three Locals with the prospects of several more.

"The organizing of women in our industry," the report declares, "is one of paramount importance and no opportunity should be passed up to bring them in ever greater numbers into our fold." A number of Locals of women have been organized and there are women members in other Locals.

The net result of strikes since the last convention shows a healthy balance to the good. In this period out of 60 strikes 41 were won, 16 lost and three are still pending. Two general strikes were waged in New York City, the net gains being a 40-hour week, a ten percent increase in wages and a better regulated apprentice system. Of the 25 lockouts the union (Continued on page 2)

Labor Aid Brightens Chance of Victory in Reading, Pa.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—The chances of success for the candidates of the Socialist Party in the next municipal election, already brighter than at any time since the first election of James H. Maurer to the State Legislature, were strengthened when 40 delegates, representing various local labor unions, met in Labor Lyceum and endorsed the candidacy of every Socialist Party nominee for city and county offices. As a result of this action, the names of the Socialist nominees will appear on two columns on the general election ballot.

The local Labor Party came into being during the last Presidential campaign when the Socialists of America joined with other liberal and progressive forces for the election of La Follette. In its ranks are former members of the two old parties who have severed their connection with old party politics and stand ready to vote for any party or candidate which is likely to function in the interest of the great majority as against the few.

James George, business agent of the Plumbers' Union, as chairman of the Labor Party in this county, announced that a special effort will be made this summer and fall to win the active support of trade unionists in the district for the candidacies of Messrs. Stump, Maurer and Snyder.

"Ordinarily we, as trade unionists, do not take part in politics, although many of us, as individuals, have done so in rather a prominent manner," Mr. George said. "But in viewing the situation this year we feel that to safeguard the interests of the small home owners of this city the great majority of whom are wage-earners, we must enter this campaign on the side of the men we believe will give us a fair deal in the matter of a more equal and just system of tax assessments. It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to play party politics, but to punish our enemies and to reward our friends. As members of the A. F. of L. we have felt that there is a case where it is important that we put into office veteran trade unionists—J. Henry Stump, James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder."

Frank J. Meglathery, secretary of the county Labor Party and vice-president of the Federated Trades Council, outlined a plan for canvassing all the labor unions in the city to have these bodies elect special committees to assist in the campaign for Stump, Maurer and Snyder. Meglathery's plan was adopted by the meeting and John W. Edelman, of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, was put in charge of the work of securing co-operation from the different organizations.

The Labor Party endorsed the candidacies of Raymond S. Hofes, Albert J. Freseman and George D. Snyder for the school board and went on record in favor of Walter Hollinger for city controller and William C. Hovert for city treasurer.

VANZETTI AND SACCO ON STRIKE

Radical Prisoners Refuse Food as Protest Against Secrecy

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—All doubts of rumors that Sacco and Vanzetti have begun a hunger strike in Charlestown prison were set at rest this week. The rumor became a theme for gossip late last week, but was denied by prison officials, who at first declared that the condemned men were eating little due to the hot weather. By Tuesday the rumor had become a certainty when the question of forcible feeding of the men was raised as a possibility should the prisoners refrain from eating much longer.

On Sunday members of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee reiterated a statement made the night before that Vanzetti had begun a hunger strike in protest against the secrecy with which Governor Fuller is conducting his review of the evidence taken at the trial of the two men. In the statement on Saturday the committee quoted Vanzetti as saying that he "preferred to take his own life by starvation rather than be killed on false evidence introduced in Governor Fuller's office behind closed doors, where he was not represented by counsel." Warden William Hendry of the prison declared that there was "not a particle of truth in the statement."

Thompson Makes Plea

Members of the committee asserted that the hunger strike was a grim reality and that William G. Thompson, counsel for Vanzetti, had spent three hours Sunday endeavoring to dissuade the condemned man from his purpose. At the prison Sunday it was admitted that Vanzetti took only a cup of coffee at luncheon, while Sacco ate nothing. A breakfast of oatmeal, milk, bread and coffee failed to tempt the prisoners, who are confined in cells in the Cherry Hill section of the prison. The luncheon consisted of meat, potatoes, bread and coffee.

Monday was the second successive day that Sacco had refused food and Vanzetti had accepted only coffee. The two men have been drinking water in their cells.

Mrs. Sacco visited her husband Monday. She said that he had given her no intimation that he was planning a hunger strike.

Sanford Bates, State Commissioner of Correction, said that he would leave the question of forcible feeding entirely to Warden Hendry in case the abstention of the two men should be prolonged.

Vanzetti appears to have begun his hunger strike by degrees, taking a sip of coffee occasionally, while Sacco cut himself entirely off from foods and liquids. Neither of the condemned men ate solids on Tuesday, although the usual fare was pushed through their cell doors at the three meal periods. Sacco refused everything while Vanzetti tasted coffee only at breakfast. (Continued on page 2)

AUTOMOBILE DRIVE TO AID NEW LEADER TO BE HELD SUNDAY

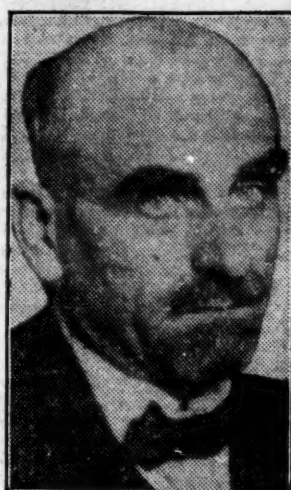
The automobile ride to Valhalla, postponed on account of rain a few weeks ago, starts Sunday morning at 9 o'clock. Brownsville Socialists have taken the initiative in this outing for the benefit of The New Leader and they want as large a representation of cars as possible.

Early this week twenty cars had been enlisted and by the end of the week it was expected that more than double this number would be enrolled. Here is the program. All cars are to assemble promptly at 9 o'clock Sunday morning at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. Party members and friends are invited to come along and fill the cars. The rate is \$2 for each person, the full proceeds to go to The New Leader. Friends with cars in Greater New York are urged to enroll them in this outing to Valhalla, a drive of about 27 miles near White Plains.

Bring your lunch along. Refreshments will be served at Valhalla, the proceeds therefrom also to go to The New Leader. Socialists without cars must come to fill the machines.

All aboard for Valhalla for a glorious time and a red reunion!

Fights Fascists



OTTO BAUER
Leader of the Austrian Socialist Party

ITALIAN FARMERS IN REVOLT

Police Fire Into Crowd of Laborers Who Demand Work

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

UGANO.—A second anti-Fascist revolt, the causes of which are concerned with the serious economic crisis now ravaging the Italian countryside, is reported from Trezzo sull'Adda, a village 70 kilometres from Milan.

A crowd of unemployed agricultural laborers gathered outside the Town Hall, shouting, "We want work!" The demonstration soon became very hostile, and when the police appeared on the scene the angry peasants bombarded them with stones.

At first the police defended themselves with the butts of their rifles, but presently they lost their heads and fired several volleys on the crowd. The list of casualties includes ten peasants, who are in a dying condition at hospital, and a number of wounded among the police and the Fascists.

Later in the night police reinforcements were rushed from Monza and Bergamo to the scene of the conflict, and over a hundred villagers' homes were raided and the occupants arrested.

Mayor Attacked
The wounding of a deputy Fascist Mayor, named Mario Baroffio, is reported from Veduggio Olona, a village near Varese. Baroffio, who was assaulted in the street, is now lying in hospital with two bullet wounds in the breast.

The old rivalry between industrialists and agrarians in Italy, which the economic crisis has brought again to the fore, threatens to become one of the most powerful factors of disintegration in the present crisis. Fascism was the result of a compromise between the agrarians and the industrialists, and all the efforts of Mussolini have, during the past four years, tended to prevent these two contrasting forces and interests, upon which he had based his dictatorship, from breaking their alliance.

But the economic crisis has now shown itself to be more powerful than the anti-Socialist feeling which had reconciled the agrarians to the industrialists. Mussolini must now solve the difficult problem: which of his two supporters is to be sacrificed? He is no longer in a position to satisfy both.

U. S. LYNCHING RECORD FOR 1927 IS EQUAL TO THAT OF OTHER YEARS

TUSKEGEE, Alabama.—According to the records compiled at Tuskegee Institute in the first six months of 1927, there were 9 lynchings. This number is the same as for the first six months of the years 1925 and 1926; it is 4 more than the number 5 for the first six months of 1924.

All of the persons lynched were Negroes. The offenses charged were murder, 4; attempted murder, 2; rape, 1; improper conduct, 1; charge not reported, 1.

The states in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows: Arkansas, 2; Louisiana, 1; Mississippi, 4; Missouri, 1; Texas, 1.

It is the opposition of the personal interest of the higher classes to the development of the nation in culture which causes the great and necessary immorality of the higher classes.—Ferdinand Lassalle.

80 SOCIALISTS DIE IN AUSTRIAN RISING

Decisive Action of Socialist Troops Saves Republic from Great Menace

By Edward Levinson

THE growing indignation of the Vienna masses against the Austrian government's leniency toward Fascist depredations took on the appearance of a violent revolt for a day last week. Huge crowds of Socialists gathered in the square in front of the Ministry of Justice building to protest. The police forces of the Federal Government are blamed for having attacked the protest gathering.

The real fury of the workers was then let loose. It knew no bounds, culminating in the firing of the Ministry of Justice edifice, symbol of the reaction.

For a day Vienna hung on the brink of revolution against the Federal government. Chancellor Seipel was besieged by demonstrations demanding his resignation. By a combination of the peculiar circumstances in which Austria has found herself since the end of the war, these mass demonstrations of Socialist republicans held in them a great danger to the republic itself.

Intervention Threatened
As forceful overthrow of the Seipel government appeared possible, the Fascist forces of Italy and Hungary roused for a pounce on the Austrian nation. They have long awaited such an opportunity to crush the powerful Austrian Social-Democracy. The Austrian provinces, where Fascist sentiment is strong, were ready to join in the war on Vienna.

Austrian Socialist movement then revealed its greatest strength—its Republican Guard of 150,000 trained Socialist soldiers and the discipline of the Socialist trade union movement.

The efforts of the Federal police were only adding fuel to the inflamed populace. They had slain 80 Socialists. In defiance of the Federal Prefect of Police Schober, an emergency police force of 12,000 Socialists began to establish order in Vienna. Simultaneously, the Trade Union Federation proclaimed a general strike.

The Fascist garrisons of Italy, Hungary and the Austrian provinces hung in suspended animation as the Socialists systematically removed any pretext they might have had for intervention. The riots and street fighting took place Friday. Saturday, when the strike went into effect, peace had been restored.

The Socialists' Power
Not even the opponents of the Austrian Socialists doubt their power to overthrow the Federal government by force if they wish to. The Socialists have 70 of the 145 members of Parliament. A bourgeois coalition is necessary to outvote the Socialists. The Federal army is overwhelmingly Socialist. At the last elections to the Soldiers' Council, four-fifths of the soldiers voted Socialist. In addition the party has a trained army of 150,000 in the Red Republican Guard. Since the Socialists hold Vienna, to drive the Federal Government from power in the most important part of the country would be a simple matter.

But Austrian Socialism has been in the position where it must mark time while the neighboring Socialist movements catch up with her. Only the clipping of Mussolini's wings, or his complete overthrow, and a change of government in arch-reactionary Hungary, will make an Austrian revolution permanent. Even then the gain of such a step would be doubtful. The Versailles peace treaty binds Austria, as a Federal unit, to conform to the dictates of the victorious financial imperialists.

Far from bringing positive gains to the workers, accession to power of the Socialists would endanger, if not cripple altogether, the great progress that is being made in Vienna. Housing, tax and transit reforms in Socialist Vienna have won the admiration of the entire world. All this would go into ruin in the maelstrom of a violent revolution and the certain aftermath of intervention.

No Demands on Seipel

It was these thoughts that undoubtedly guided the action of the Socialist leaders, Otto Bauer, Burgomaster Seitz of Vienna and their associates. Contrary to reports, they did not demand the resignation of Seipel. Nor did they ask for a coalition government. Seipel would be only too willing to have the Socialists share responsibility for his bungling administration. Nor was the general strike called in an effort to force concessions. The object of the strike was to establish order. This it accomplished with great success.

As has happened invariably in such critical situations, the American press correspondents displayed vast ignorance. Despite the fact that many

correspondents cabled directly from Vienna, the New York Times representative found it necessary to retire to a nearby border town, thus giving himself the thrilling experience of imagining that Vienna was an isolated city. Most correspondents, until the truth seeped through upon them, ascribed the disturbances to Communists. The Moscow adherents were practically wiped out in the last election. Their vote dropped from 24,000 to 6,000.

With the burial of the 80 victims of the riots, accompanied by a 15-minute general strike, attention has now turned to Parliament. The only demand made of Seipel by the Socialists was the immediate convening of Parliament so that responsibility for the riots might be fixed. To this the Catholic Premier has acceded and the Deputies will meet on Monday.

One of the Socialist demands that is likely to arise as a result of the incidents will be for the creation of a permanent municipal emergency guard under the auspices of the Vienna government. The police, at present, are under the jurisdiction of the anti-Socialist Federal Government. They are blamed for the rioting of Friday. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the acquittal of two fascists—Nationalist "frontkämpfer"—on charges of the murder of two Socialists killed in Burgenland the latter part of January.

(Though other details of the incidents in Austria have appeared in the American press, The New Leader would caution its readers against accepting them wholesale. We are making efforts to make direct connections with reliable Austrian and European sources so that the American Socialist and labor movement may have all the facts.)

POLICE BLAMED FOR VIENNA RIOTS

Firing Without Provocation Charged by Breitner, Socialist Leader

VIENNA.—That the police repeatedly fired without provocation on the crowds during last week's street rioting was asserted by Municipal Councilor Breitner, Socialist, speaking as the representative of Burgo-master Seitz, who is confined to bed by illness.

"Against all precepts of law and humanity," said Dr. Breitner, "policemen repeatedly fired without having been directly attacked, and without previously warning the crowd to vacate certain places."

"A strict investigation of this will be conducted publicly and under every guarantee that those who are guilty will be made responsible and that measures will be taken to prevent a repetition of such occurrences in the future."

Dr. Breitner ridiculed the idea that the Communists had prepared for last week's excesses, declaring that they were due entirely to popular fury at what was considered a miscarriage of justice when the men thought guilty of the murder of two Socialists were suddenly acquitted.

He added that the police had, in general used only legitimate means for quelling the riots. He also praised the workers' organizations, the firemen, first aid squads and other volunteer bodies which helped to restore order. Concluding, he said:

"Vienna is a city of calm and progress, just as much as a city of revolutionary energy and free community spirit. Vienna remains a city of work, freedom and peace."

Dr. Breitner also told his questioners about the organization, armament and reasons for being of the new "Stadtschutzwehr," or city protection guards, which first put in an appearance at the funeral of last week's riot victims.

Boston.—Increasing dissatisfaction with the secrecy surrounding the investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial has found expression in a communication to Governor Fuller by four members of the Defense Committee urging that secrecy be abandoned. Alarming rumors of intimidation of witnesses in the secret sessions have prompted this action. The hunger strike of Sacco and Vanzetti is also intended as a protest against the secret sessions.

Sacco has addressed a pathetic letter to his six-year-old daughter, Inez, who was born while he was in prison. The letter is in response to one received from the child. Sacco in writing his daughter declares that he will carry her letter "right under my heart to the last day of my life. When I die it will be buried with your father who loves you so much as I do also your brother, Dante, and holy dear mother."

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Churchill Cements Tory Britain and Italian Fascism

By F. Seymour Cocks

WHILST Franco-Italian rivalry continued to pursue its dangerous course in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, British diplomacy and Russian diplomacy were at grips in Eastern Europe.

In April, 1926, a treaty of neutrality was concluded between Russia and Germany, but in the following month an improvement in the relations between the Soviet Government and Poland was checked by the success of Marshal Pilsudski's coup-d'etat at Warsaw.

Russia gained two diplomatic successes in September by concluding treaties with Afghanistan and Lithuania, but in December there was a counter-revolution followed by a White Terror in the latter country, and it has been widely suggested that this movement, as well as the Pilsudski movement in Poland, owed much of its success to the support of British finance.

In November there was some comment at the simultaneous presence at Ankara of representatives of China, Persia, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia. This was followed by a meeting between Tewfik Bey and M. Tchicherin at Odessa, at which anti-imperialist speeches were made, and the common interests of Russia and Turkey in the Black Sea were emphasized.

During the autumn anti-Russian feeling in British Government circles was intensified by the generous help given to the miners by the Russian workers, and on December 14 Mr. Baldwin, in reply to a deputation of Tory Die-Hards, was reported to have said that the Government was playing a "waiting game" against Russia, and that the struggle against Communism would reach its climax in 1928.

The Treaty Of Tirana

In November, 1926, the Treaty of Tirana was concluded between Italy and Albania. Italy, through the bank "Il Credito Italiano" and the "Compagny for the Economic Development of Albania," had previously secured an economic stranglehold over the country, and as the new treaty practically placed Albania in the position of an Italian protectorate, great consternation was aroused at Belgrade.

The French Government proceeded to assist Jugo-Slavia diplomatically, and speeches calling attention to the aggressive designs of Italy were made in the French Chamber. In Belgrade writer after writer pointed out that Italy had come between Jugo-Slavia and Roumania, had won the friendship of Bulgaria, had made a pact with Greece, had carried on intense propaganda in Hungary, had planted her advance posts in the heart of the Balkan peninsula, and, having ringed Jugo-Slavia with satellites, was now making her final move. Many of these writers urged that steps should be taken to cultivate closer relations with Russia and Turkey, whilst on the other side of the Adriatic the Fascist newspapers stated that the whole trouble was due to the machinations of the French Foreign Office.

1927 opened in an atmosphere of gloom. "Europe is in a state of profound uneasiness," said the "Tevens," "the word Peace is worn out . . . the authentic peace is resolving into thin air." And as crises has succeeded crises the uneasiness has become more and more profound.

Churchill Visits Rome

There has recently been published in the "Politika," of Belgrade, the text of a telegram which the Greek Minister in London is alleged to have sent to his government on January 4. According to this telegram, the British Government recommended Greece to come to an agreement with Bulgaria, to avoid any difference with Italy, and to refuse to sign any treaty with Jugo-Slavia. The publication of this document greatly strengthened the belief in the Near East that Britain was supporting Italy in her dangerous anti-Jugo-Slav, anti-French policy in the Balkans.

In the midst of the excitement Winston Churchill suddenly appeared in Rome. What he said at his private meetings with Mussolini has not been reported. In public he was enthusiastic in his praise of Fascism.

"If I had been an Italian I should have been whole-heartedly with you," he said. "We shall succeed in grasping with Communism and choking the life out of it." The Fascist press was delighted with him, the "Corriere d'Italia" stating that he possessed a better understanding of Fascism than did many Fascists. He was shown departing for London with an enormous Fascist party emblem amongst his baggage, "evidently," said the "Manchester Guardian" correspondent, "for use at home."

A Naval Understanding?

During February an invitation from the United States to attend a conference on Naval Limitation was rejected by both France and Italy; the Italian government stating that their navy was already insufficient, whilst a semi-official note, published at Rome, referred to the "buried program of naval armaments carried out by some great and small powers which adjourn, or may enter, the Mediterranean."

A war scare in Austria, as the result of alleged irredentist dangers threatening from Hungary, was followed by an announcement that the Allied Military Control Commission had given the Hungarian government permission to manufacture munitions on an extensive scale and to supply the army with 52,000 gas masks.

At the Paris meeting of the Labor and Socialist International delegate after delegate expressed his conviction

tion not only that Britain and Italy were acting together, but that a naval understanding had been reached between them, and that there was a traffic in arms from Italy to Hungary and Roumania. In Russia a series of speeches were made by prominent leaders to the effect that an attack upon Russia was being organized, and that war in the future was almost inevitable, while in England an abusive campaign, directed against the Soviet government, culminated in Sir Austen Chamberlain's menacing note to Russia.

Europe Furiously Arming

The dispatch of this note liberated a perfect spate of rumors. Leading Continental newspapers stated that Great Britain was trying to form a cordon sanitaire against Russia, and Sir Austen Chamberlain's denial that he had any such intention was received with complete scepticism. This scepticism was strengthened by Italy's sudden announcement that she had decided to ratify the annexation by Roumania of the former Russian province of Bessarabia. This, said the "Temps," an organ closely associated with the Quai d'Orsay, "registers the determination of Italy to put herself on the side of England in the struggle that has begun between London and Moscow."

The "Pester Lloyd," a leading Hungarian newspaper, said that England could now count on Italy and Roumania against Russia, whilst Italy could count on Britain in South-Eastern Europe. The Roumanian press took the same line.

"British policy," said the "Argus" of Bucharest, "with regard to Russia, is now directed toward strengthening the position of the border states, particularly Poland and Roumania, with the co-operation of Italy, which presupposes that Britain is prepared to support Italian aspirations in the Mediterranean and Near East."

Equally significant was the following passage in the Fascist party orders: "The spirit of Locarno is evaporating with impressive rapidity. Soon nothing will remain but the faded label . . . the whole of Europe is furiously arming."

Most significant of all was the action of the French Chamber of Deputies in adopting, in four short days, a measure for the conscription, in the event of war, of every man, woman and child in the country, and in the French African Dominions as well. No such measure had ever before been adopted by any nation.

In the words of the Paris correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian": "This scheme will enable the government to silence the whole nation. No opposition to any war will be possible except by revolution, and when war has once begun any peace movement will be equally impossible."

This measure was rushed through the Chamber at a moment's notice and almost without discussion. Yet there are still people who say the danger of war is exaggerated.

(To be concluded.)

SANITARY CLOAK AND DRESS LABEL WILL BE RESTORED, UNION SAYS

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has succeeded in obtaining the pledges of every organized group of employers in the New York cloak and suit trades to stamp out non-union shops by restoring the use of the "Prosants" or sanitary label which is sewed into garments produced under hygienic conditions in union-controlled shops.

The label had fallen into disuse, the International stated, when Communists, while in control of the New York unions, neglected enforcement of provisions of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, of which Dr. Henry Moskowitz is director.

The manufacturers' organizations, which made this pledge before Raymond V. Ingersoll, impartial chairman of the cloak industry, include the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association. The associations promised to notify their members that a label must be sewed into every union-made garment during the fall season. The union, on its side, has informed shop chairman to observe faithfully the provision.

Communist Paper Sued By Workers for Wages

Chicago.—The Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party, was made an involuntary defendant in bankruptcy when J. R. Wurkhula, linotype foreman at the publishing plant, filed a petition in Federal Court alleging that the paper is insolvent and unable to pay \$1,000 in back wages to linotype operators.

SOCIALISTS BURY Pan-American Labor THEIR DEAD IN VIENNA

Adler and Bernstein Deliver Orations at Impressive Services in Cemetery

VIENNA has begun to bury her dead. In awe-struck grief, a crowd of Viennese stood Wednesday afternoon contemplating the grim array of fifty-seven coffins containing the bodies of victims of last week's bloody riots, ranged in two long rows before the big stone monuments flanking the main entrance to the central cemetery.

The total number of deaths was placed today at ninety-nine, but the rest of the funerals had been postponed. The obsequies this afternoon caused a cessation for fifteen minutes of all work and the draping of public buildings with black emblems of mourning. They were of victims whom the municipal authorities had offered to inter in common graves and whose relatives accepted the offer.

Behind the double row of coffins flanking the entrance to the cemetery were standard-bearers representing various Socialist organizations, each carrying a red banner draped in black with black crepe. Behind these the walls of the cemetery rose up, hung with great sheets of black cloth and before which were funeral lamps emitting smoking yellow flames.

Admission to Cemetery by Card

In weeping groups before the coffins were the relatives of the victims and on each side a crowd of about 2,000 who had obtained cards of admission. Only these were allowed so close to the cemetery. The great masses of the Viennese, mostly of the proletarian class, were kept at a distance of two or three blocks by hundreds of members of the Schutzbund and other Socialist organizations, who, though unarmed, carried out their orders with unswerving determination from beginning to end of the funeral ceremonies.

Punctually at 2 o'clock the funeral strains of a military band caused hundreds who gathered in silence before the cemetery gateway to whip off their hats and bow their heads. Then came speeches paying tribute to the dead by Acting Burgomaster Speller of Vienna, by Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Socialist International, and several other Socialist leaders, one of whom, Herr Edward Bernstein, flew from Berlin in an airplane as the representative of the German Socialist Party.

After the singing of a dirge by the choir, the banners of the standard-bearers were sunk downward as a last salute to the victims.

Impressive Scene of Grief

It was an impressive picture of grief upon which the spectators gazed—rows of gold and gray coffins heaped with wreaths, the bright scarlet of the banners, smoky flames from the funeral lamps, sobbing mothers, wives and sisters of the dead. An especially vivid scene was provided by one standard-bearer, a young girl with a mass of tousled yellow hair, carrying a flaming scarlet standard and standing out in vivid contrast to the sombre gray of the coffins and the mass of black draping on the cemetery walls.

After the singing of the dirge by the choir, the relatives of the victims moved sorrowfully toward the coffins and took up positions beside their dead.

The black-garbed bearers lifted the coffins and carried them one by one between long lines of Socialist guards toward the grave. Behind each coffin a group of each victim's relatives—weeping women, and men trying hard to keep control of themselves—fell into the mournful line of march. Many were clad in the deepest black, but some were too poor for such extra outlay and wore workaday garments, showing evidences of their grief only in the stricken expressions of their tear-furrowed cheeks.

For fully two hours the long succession of coffins, each with its little sobbing group behind, moved slowly toward the place assigned for the burial, while the lines of Socialist guards stood at rigid silence and the wailing notes of a funeral march pierced the air.

Of the fifty-seven dead who were buried this afternoon, twenty-one were cremated and thirty-six buried in the ordinary manner. Though all will be in a common grave the body of each victim will be kept separate and bear a name for future identification. Eventually the municipality of Vienna will erect a monument over the grave of the riot victims.

The first body borne in the funeral procession today was that of a little child killed by a bullet while it was carried on the arm of its father during Friday's bloody rioting. Next followed the body of a 15-year-old girl, who was shot while watching the street fighting from the roof of her house.

All the buildings on the streets leading toward the cemetery were bedecked with long black flags which gave them a grim and sombre aspect. During the funeral ceremony and subsequent to the procession several women fainted and had to be carried to first aid stations by Socialist guards specially detailed for that purpose. One man was so overcome by emotion that he was taken away raving as if stark mad.

Beside the grave where the victims of the riot were buried, Catholic and Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis administered the burial rites according to the religion of each victim.

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In more emphatic form by the Central American delegates.

Morones, who is vice-president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, in an address to the congress, denied that any country affiliated with the Pan-American Federation found inspiration in Russian quarters.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L. and of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, caused great enthusiasm by his frank condemnation of American policy in Latin-America.

"I cannot conceive of any dispute of any kind or character that could arise between the Latin-American republics and the United States that cannot be settled through the process of arbitration, understanding and good will," said Mr. Green.

"It is for that reason that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have consistently opposed any aggressive act upon the part of the government of the United States toward Mexico because of the controversy which arose over the development of oil in that section by corporations and financiers who reside in the United States."

"On repeated occasions representations have been made to the United States Government through the Secretary of State and directly to the President by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in which protests have been filed against any break in the friendly relations between the Republic of Mexico and the United States because of the passage of the land laws in Mexico."

For Non-Interference

"We believe that every country should be accorded the fullest and freest opportunity to work out its own political salvation; that the self-determination of every country, great and small, must be recognized.

"For that reason we are unalterably opposed to the interference of our government or any other government in the political and domestic affairs of any other nation on the American continent."

The report of the executive council told of the part played by the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Mexico and Nicaragua.

The report cited the exchanges between President Green and Secretary Kellogg in June, 1925, regarding Mexico's alleged failure to indemnify property losses, Mr. Green telling the Secretary that "it was unthinkable that our government should contribute to the development of a situation that might lead to military intervention in Mexico."

Early this year, the report said, President Green wrote President Coolidge protesting against lifting the arms embargo and "thus making civil war in Mexico possible."

Charges that the Mexican Federation of Labor was a Communist organization are "indignantly" denied by the executive council. The report said that during the 1926 convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor a letter was indorsed to be sent to the Minister of Russia in Mexico.

The Russian Minister was charged with "lending moral and financial backing to Communists and radical groups, enemies of the Mexican Confederation of Labor and the Mexican Government." He was told to "keep hands off" in the future.

In Nicaraguan affairs the report tells of President Green's protest to Secretary Kellogg, saying that the Nicaraguans had lost their constitutional form of government through the dictatorship of General Chamorro. Then it records the peace settlement obtained by Colonel Henry L. Stimson.

Iglesias Replies To Argentine Party

That the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Argentina condemned the Pan-American Federation of Labor unheard and unjustly, is the contention of Santiago Iglesias, Spanish language secretary of the Federation, in a letter sent on July 1 to Adolfo Dickmann, General Secretary of the Argentine Socialist organization. In answer to the communication from the latter (quoted in The New Leader of July 2) notifying Senor Iglesias of the decision by the Executive Committee not to send a delegate to the Washington convention.

As has been explained, the Argentine Socialists were rather peeved at the extreme emphasis laid by Senor Iglesias upon the necessity of the Argentine Federation of Labor being represented at the convention, rather than the Socialist Party, and also at the fact that Iglesias had used the Argentine Embassy in Washington as a means of reinforcing his invitation to the Argentine Federation of Labor. In their letter to Iglesias they said there had been a misunderstanding all around and that they now saw that the "labor movement called Pan-American is one of the agencies through which the Secretary of State of the United States would like to extend his influence."

A. F. of L. and Socialists

In his reply Senor Iglesias ridicules the idea of the Pan-American Federation of Labor being a tool of the State Department, or of any other body, and points out that his use of the Argentine Ambassador to transmit invitations to the convention was merely in line with the usual procedure in the case of all the countries asked to send delegates. He hedges at the statement that Argentine Government officials were to fill out the credentials and

shows that the correspondence published in La Vanguardia of Buenos Aires proves that such was not the case. Iglesias indignantly denies that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is failing to do its duty toward the aspirations of labor and of oppressed nations on the American continent and points to the frequent protests made by President William Green to the American State Department as cases of such oppression.

Senor Iglesias also notes that, while it is true that the A. F. of L. has no official relations with the Socialist Party of the United States, many of the delegates to A. F. of L. conventions are active Socialists and are not handicapped in their trade union work by that fact. He points to his own Socialist faith and to the fact that he is a Socialist Senator in Porto Rico as further proof of his contention.

No Argentine Delegate

It appears that when Jose Negri, General Secretary of the Argentine Federation of Labor, last March wrote to Iglesias thanking him for the invitation to send delegates to the Washington convention, he said that lack of funds was the reason that his organization would be unable to send anyone, although it hoped the convention would be a great success. On July 5 Iglesias sent the following cablegram to Negri:

"Your representation to Pan-American Labor Congress very necessary to investigate erroneous imputations of the Socialist Party. Could you appoint a comrade residing now in the United States? Mexican delegation would facilitate him means to attend congress."

On July 8 Negri sent the following reply from Buenos Aires:

"Impossible accept invitation. We predict success of congress." A side-light on the views held by some of the labor organizations of Ibero America regarding the position of the labor movement of the United States is given by the following cablegram sent to William Green on July 3 by Florindo Moretti, secretary of the local labor union in Cordoba, Argentina:

"Ask Government to authorize the sending of a delegation which will sustain anti-imperialism against Gompersism."

Santiago Iglesias sent the following reply to Senor Moretti on July 6: "The Government's authorization to send Argentine labor delegation is unnecessary. We guarantee to you absolute liberty to expose [defend] anti-imperialist ideas favoring noble cause of organized labor."

Upholsterers in N. Y. Convention

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won 13, lost seven, and five are pending. Most of the lockouts occurred on the Pacific Coast where the open shoppers are especially active.

40-Hour Week Gained

Of the 40-hour week in general in the industry President Kohn says: "The number of Locals enjoying the 40-hour week has increased. We have not as yet been able to establish this new goal of ours in most places but we are making progress and it will not be many years before the five-day week will become general in the crafts at which our members are employed."

An attempt has been made to organize auto upholsterers in the automobile industry and a number of Locals have been organized in the past few years but, reports President Kohn, the "ramifications of auto production are so vast and so simplified that it is evident that the only way to organize this field is to organize it as an industry."

The International has not succeeded in its attempt to affiliate with the Building Trades Council of the A. F. of L. although it made application two years ago but the Council voted not to grant a charter. No reasons were given for the refusal although 28 Locals are affiliated with various local Building Trades Councils.

In referendums the union members have voted in favor of group insurance and the establishment of co-operative shops. The International is also a stockholder in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and holds shares in the Federation Bank and Trust Company of New York.

Demonstration At Consulate

Paris.—Explosion of a bomb in the gardens of the American Consulate at Nice late Tuesday night is charged to anarchists although there is no positive evidence to link the act with any particular persons or movement. It is generally believed that the explosion was intended as a protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in the United States.

It is probable that if the explosion was due to a bomb that some crank acting on his own initiative was responsible. In labor circles it is not believed that any organized movement would attempt an act of this kind which would only tend to react against the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti.

What promises to be the largest demonstration yet held in Paris is being organized for Saturday night. The proposed meeting is described as a final attempt to save Sacco and Vanzetti "from their American oppressors."

TIMELY TOPICS

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ently be restricted to jokes about mothers-in-law and foreign countries. The rest of us, deprived of the privilege of laughing at the Tonerville Trolley, the Interborough subways, and Cal Coolidge all dressed up in cowboy clothes, will have nothing left to do but to swear.

The news from Boston about Sacco and Vanzetti is terribly disquieting and quite explains their hunger strike. It is reported that at least one of the Governor's Advisory Commission had openly expressed prejudice against Sacco and Vanzetti before his appointment; that both the Governor and his Commission in their secret sessions have handled defense witnesses roughly and indicated prejudice, and, finally, that in the secret hearings "evidence of great importance to Sacco and Vanzetti has not been brought out. Of course the secret hearings themselves are all wrong."

If these reports misrepresent Governor Fuller he can take pains to correct them. Under present conditions his affirmation of Sacco and Vanzetti's guilt will carry no more weight before the bar of the world's opinion than did the conviction of Dreyfus by the French courts. Protest by bomb throwing in Nice or elsewhere is bad business but it will not be answered by sending innocent men to death. In this situation I for one would be willing to unite with men of any and every shade of opinion, even my worst enemies, on the sole condition that we should all protest without ulterior motive against the danger of a great wrong.

The Geneva Conference for Promoting Jealousy and Suspicion between the United States and Great Britain and Enhancing the Danger of War continues to drag its weary way under the auspices of some of our most accomplished diplomats, admirals and other war makers. The accepted and hypocritical method of conference is this: The American and British delegates declare that war between their two countries is unthinkable and then both sides go ahead demanding a kind of navy which is only necessary if they and possibly their third good friend, Japan, contemplate this unthinkable war. To make the joke complete these gentlemen were assembled to talk about limiting armament.

I never heard of any religion which urged its adherents to nominate a conspicuous converted sinner for President. Yet that's what some folks want to do to Ford. Regardless of his motive, his belated public apology on the Jewish question is a real victory for tolerance in America. However, one of two things is true. Either Henry Ford didn't know what his own paper was saying and was himself grossly ignorant of history; or in some case he was too stupid and irresponsible to be President. Or else Mr. Ford was forced to repentance by an economic boycott, fear of an expensive law suit or hope of political honor dangled before his eyes. In that case he is unworthy to be President. In this whole affair I haven't seen many signs of the famous "Yiddish kop" in good working order. You can accept a man's belated apologies and recognize certain of his abilities without slobbering all over him or nominating him for the Presidency.

BITTER DISPUTE DIVIDES MONTANA FEDERATION INTO TWO FACTIONS

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

UTTE, Mont.—A serious division has developed in the Montana Federation of Labor following its recent convention in this city. The delegates voted to abolish the office of Secretary-Treasurer, held by E. H. Manson, and substitute for it the office of "Executive-President." As a result of this action Manson has refused to surrender the books and records of his office, claiming that the action of the convention is unconstitutional.

On the other hand, Stephen Ely, who was elected to the new office, has sent a letter to all affiliated organizations notifying them that he has succeeded Manson and to send all communications and per capita tax to him. The affiliated unions are beginning to choose between the two rival officials, and just how the issue will be settled cannot be determined at this writing.

The feud between the two men has been brewing for several years. Ely was president and Manson was in the office he still claims. Ely appears to represent the more progressive element, and Manson is charged with using his office to promote the interests of one of Montana's United States Senators.

At Bozeman there are certain canneries that have imposed degrading conditions on women workers, and a boycott was placed upon these canneries by organized workers. It is charged some labor leaders secretly aided attempts to render the boycott fruitless and thus helped Commissioner of Agriculture Bowman to undermine the living standards of the women workers of the State.

Meantime, a referendum of the unions on the disputed issue will take place, but the result will not be known for several months.

A Critical View of the American Labor Movement

By Joseph Schlossberg
Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America

AMERICAN prosperity is attributed by European experts to high wages, which means high purchasing power, an active market and big profits. Accordingly, those experts advise the European employers to bring wages up to the American level and thereby create for themselves American prosperity. But the American wages, which are high as compared with the European, are at their higher level not as a result of a deliberate policy of the employers, but because they cannot be brought down to a lower level.

The aim of the American employer, as that of any other, is to pay as little as possible for labor, as it is his aim to pay as little as possible for anything else bought by him. This attitude is perfectly natural and, therefore, universal. There is nothing to make the American employer an exception to the rule, a high wage advocate. The official declaration that labor is not a commodity, an article of sale, does not free it from its commodity status. In spite of the Clayton Act there is a labor market which is conclusive proof of the commodity character of labor. The buyer of this commodity, as of any other, strives to buy it as cheaply as possible. There is, however, this peculiarity to the labor market, that certain means may be used to depress the price of labor which may not be used on the market of any other commodity.

Immediately after the war the American employers proclaimed the "deflation" of labor as a sound business policy and a patriotic duty, and a general onslaught was made on wages. Since 1920 the strongest efforts of the American trade union movement have been concentrated on resisting wage cuts rather than on obtaining wage increases. Business competition, eagerness for ever greater profits, and the natural tendency of the master class to dominate, have operated at all times to press wages down to the minimum.

THE CAUSE OF "HIGH WAGES"
Wages are higher in America than elsewhere because conditions, which are different here than elsewhere, have made for a higher wage level. In the past, American workers were able to choose between working for wages offered them by an employer and taking up land and work for themselves. When free land, or a rush to California for free gold, took workers away from employment, the American employers were unable to look for relief to a low wage fixed by law, as was the case in England when the Black Plague carried off many workers. The American employer was compelled to pay a higher wage in order to hold the worker. Also, the American employer has been able to pay a higher wage because the great abundance of the natural resources in this country and a highly developed technique, have made for high labor productivity.

MENACE OF COMPANY UNIONS
Company unionism and open shopism, which are firmly established in American industry, have as their chief aim the keeping down of wages, or preventing them from going up. We speak now of wages as differentiated from production cost. The trade unions, too, are interested in keeping down production costs. The trade union that is a factor in its industry, and conscious of its responsibilities to the workers, cannot help being interested in production costs and lending its help to keep them down. But it fights to keep wages up. The company union and open shop employers reach out for both low production costs and low wages. The American trade union movement has no greater menace than the company union, which has been growing at the expense of the trade union, and is organized much more effectively. It embraces all the workers in the plant and is entirely free from jurisdictional wrangles, which are so disruptive to the trade union movement. The company union is becoming ever more dangerous to the trade union, because it reveals advantages to the employer in addition to the original purpose of open shop and low wages, thus assuring its permanency. The company union membership is, for instance, a new financial source, which may be tapped successfully by the employer.

The trade union movement embraces only a portion of American labor. Some industries are well organized; others poorly, and still others, not at all. The total trade union strength is very small relative to the total number of workers. Some of the large organizations have lost heavily in the past six or seven years, while the company union has been gaining. The vast army of unorganized workers is recruiting material for the small band of loyal trade unionists and for the company union. Whom should the unorganized labor give allegiance to? A decision is reached quickly and simply. The employer who owns the company union also owns the job; the worker accepts the former in order to hold the latter. The union man may have scruples to overcome when accepting a job under such conditions, but the unorganized worker has no such scruples, because he has no allegiance to renounce, and the number of unorganized workers is several times that of the organized. To most of the unorganized workers the labor movement is a sealed book in an unknown tongue.

The company union employer is constantly watching the trade union, through the industrial spy system, and ready to block its moves. Under pressure from the trade union the employer may grant concessions to his employees through the company union and enhance its prestige rather than that of the trade union.

The army of unorganized workers is a burning problem even for the well organized union. Because the bulk of American labor is not organized it is not generally considered a disgrace for

Schlossberg Traces Some Problems of Unionism And Suggests a Program for Progress

a worker to stay out of the union in his industry. In some industries, such as wearing apparel, employers are able to force the organized workers, however strong their organization may be, into competition with unorganized workers, drawn from new labor sources, by moving the work from old and organized centers to new and unorganized points. Thus the union is kept busy struggling incessantly to organize new groups of workers who were brought into the industry to defeat the old and organized workers. The needle trades unions can testify to the seriousness of this problem. If the labor movement generally were better organized, the individual union would find it less difficult to unionize its own non-union groups. As things stand today, the well organized union is constantly challenged by the competition of the unorganized, with the latter being supported by the courts and public authorities against the union.

What is the labor movement to do in the face of this company union, open shop and unorganized situation, a situation which is steadily becoming more desperate?

CRAFT VS. INDUSTRIAL UNION
Let us not attempt to lay out a detailed program to meet all possible emergencies. That program must grow out from the actual experiences of the labor movement in its efforts to deal with the problem. This much, however, may safely be said: The trade union movement must free itself from the fetters of craft unionism; for this form of organization makes for waste, disunity and lack of confidence. One by-product of company unionism, not in the employers' reckoning, is the training that the worker is in a position to receive in labor organization efficiency. He may acquire the habit of meeting his colleagues as fellow workers in the plant, not merely on the basis of craft or trade. The trade union must do at least that—build up that habit and spirit. When the unorganized worker is won by the union let him come into the labor movement, not

into an industrially and spiritually detached group.

IDEALISM NECESSARY
The campaign to organize the unorganized workers must be carried on with all the labor movement idealism possible. This point cannot be stressed too much. In the first place, this is the one field in which the company union is unable to compete with the legitimate labor union. In the second place, the eagerness for quick results on the part of trade union organizers too often tempts them to place the task of unionizing the workers on a "practical" business basis. Taking the cue from shrewd business promoters, those organizers tell the worker that by investing a small amount in union dues each week they will receive returns many times over in higher wages. The American workers, who, like the American business men, live in a get-rich-quick atmosphere, do really expect quick results. But a union must fight for higher wages. Fighting calls for unity, self-sacrifice and the risk of defeat. There must be a cause to justify such fighting, and the cause must be clearly understood. This understanding can be obtained only through sound workers' education. Labor education, as distinguished from general education, is, therefore, essential for lasting labor movement success. The old slogan of Invest-and-Get Returns is demoralizing and makes the union's task a Sisyphean job. In the third place, the labor movement must approach the unorganized workers in a spirit of idealism, because there can be no real labor movement otherwise. Every mass movement must be imbued with the idealism of its own cause if it is to live and thrive.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is being pointed to as a model of a successful trade union. How was the Amalgamated built? All of our initial assets consisted of idealism. Outside of that we had nothing, not even factions. In truth, the absence of factions was an important part of our intangible assets. But for

the effectiveness of our idealism there would have been no occasion for our realism. When a serious situation develops, organizationally or industrially, we lean upon idealism surely no less than upon realism. Idealism and realism are not incompatible, as many imagine; on the contrary, they supplement one another. Idealism without realism is a soul without a body; realism without idealism is a body without a soul. Is there a choice? It is impossible to have a real labor movement without both.

A LIVING WAGE SLOGAN INADEQUATE

Neither real idealism nor true realism can include such slogans as "a living wage," a saving wage, etc. Those slogans have outlived their usefulness, if they ever had any. They are too vague to have any meaning at all. What is a "living wage" to one worker may be a starvation wage to another, depending upon the standard of living, which, in point of material welfare, is the only true criterion. A "saving wage" is entirely misleading. The underpaid worker will make a much greater effort to save than his better paid colleague because of the greater fear of the future. The "saving wage" may represent tragic self-abnegation.

The labor movement must come to the workers with slogans of new hope, with an inspiring working class message; a message that would fire the imagination of the workers as workers, not as petty business men; that would convey to them the spirit of labor's struggles and aspirations. He who will respond to such a labor movement message will know what he is in the labor movement for and is more likely to be dependable. When the appeal is for quick results only, and on a slot machine principle, a worker cannot be blamed for standing by the employer against the union. If that seems to bring him better immediate results. If the appeal is for the high purposes of the labor movement, giving the workers a great and

ennobling social vision, including, of course, immediate betterment, the worker becomes conscious of a higher and better self within him. With the labor movement rising to such heights, which it can do if it makes the effort, its possibilities are tremendous.

AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY OF LABOR

The company union, as an open shop institution in American industry, seems to be here to stay for a long time. If there ever was a chance to check or prevent its phenomenal growth we were too helpless to avail ourselves of it. With the propaganda methods generally used by the labor movement today the company union members remain indifferent to it. A real idealistic working class propaganda is our only hope for a response from those workers. The educational work of the legitimate union should interpret their own status to them and they will understand it. The company union members will not be able to free themselves from their yoke easily, but there may be various ways for them to help the genuine labor union. At any rate, the spirit of the labor movement will animate them. Here is one possibility: We all hope the trade union movement will set up an independent political party of labor. Its coming seems inevitable, though no one can tell when. In that event it is not unlikely that the company union members, enlightened and encouraged by the educational work of the trade union movement, will give the labor party their whole-hearted and enthusiastic support, as a powerful protest against their own condition. The secret ballot will make it possible for them to roll up a big labor party vote without interference from the employers.

BUILD THE UNION FIRST—OTHER FUNCTIONS FOLLOW

The question is asked, should the trade union take up unemployment insurance, labor banking, co-operative housing, etc., as means of promoting its work? There can be but one an-

swer: Build up the union, and if it is numerically strong, and of good spirit and morale, it will have no difficulty in determining what new functions to assume. Labor banks are good, co-operative labor homes still better, but they do not build unions; unions build banks and homes. Did the Amalgamated originally plan banks, unemployment insurance, co-operative homes? It planned only the building up of the organization. The subsidiary institutions came later. Again, they did not make the Amalgamated; the Amalgamated made them. The strength of the labor union secures the safety of those institutions, but their strength cannot secure the safety of the union. The union must take care of itself.

THE BANE OF FACTIONALISM
One of the best organized and most progressive internationalists in our trade union world inaugurated a system of unemployment insurance, established a labor bank and undertook cooperative housing. But in spite of such encouraging evidence of labor union vitality that organization is now lying prostrate as a result of ruthless factionalism. Its unemployment insurance and cooperative housing went by the board. What this factionalism has done to one important section of our trade union movement is enough to make our blood boil, or perhaps, freeze in our veins, depending upon one's temperament. This factionalism may solve the union's problems, by destroying the union, but it cannot solve the workers' problems.

In spite of its history of more than half a century, the labor movement is still confronted by the burning question: How to organize the unorganized? One group says, "We must be practical; dreams will bring us nowhere." "Practical" in this case is not synonymous with "realism"; it has a rather sinister meaning. We ask them, "Where is the power and glory that this 'practicalism' has brought the labor movement in the past several decades?" Another group, judging by the actual results of its present work,

has undertaken to destroy what it. They might be asked: "By what miracle will the discrediting of the labor movement and the annihilation of confidence in it help to organize the unorganized?"

There is a strong temptation to charge the so-called labor leaders with sole responsibility for the present labor movement condition. But this is neither an explanation nor a solution. It is well known that a people has, in the long run, the kind of a government that it deserves. Likewise in the labor movement, the unions have, on the whole, and making due allowance for all exceptions, the kind of officers that they want.

STAY BY THE LABOR MOVEMENT, DESPITE ITS FAULTS

Many of us have serious grievances against the labor movement: It has no social philosophy or vision; it leaves political power entirely in the hands of labor's enemies by opposing independent political action by the unions; it refuses to adjust its form of organization to the changed and changing industrial conditions, and thereby keeps the organized workers divided; at this late day it is still in the de-vitalizing Civic Federation state. But with all of its grave faults it is the labor movement, OUR labor movement; we are part of it. We cannot have our own private labor movements to suit our individual tastes and desires. The labor movement is what it is, and we change it only as we can, not as we wish to. Some groups of workers have good organizations, enjoying industrial protection. There we may find opportunities for higher labor movement activities, which may include labor education, efforts towards a political labor party and assumption of new responsibilities. But there are not many such groups. In most industrial groups the unions are weak, or do not exist at all. Our efforts there must be concentrated on building them up, building up the labor movement. In the past thirty years labor movement factionalism has brought no constructive results, but its sound teachings of industrial unionism have taken root. No serious minded person in the labor movement now opposes that principle. It is recognized as useful even if not frequently applied. This is one more proof of the need and value of labor education.

The irresponsibility and character assassination, which are the chief features of present day factionalism, should serve to emphasize the necessity of a high standard of labor movement ethics.

RADICALISM DISCREDITED
Radicalism is proposed as a panacea for our trade union movement, which is characterized as conservative or reactionary. But what is the meaning of Radicalism today? There was a time when Marx said that he was not a Marxist, because Marxism was being vulgarized. Radicalism is likewise being vulgarized and discredited today, thereby, giving the reactionaries their best opportunities. We do know what the class struggle is. We should know how to talk about it, organize for it, and deal with our labor problems in the light of that philosophy. There is for us but one determining test. Will a given line of action advance or obstruct the progress of the labor movement, the class interests of the workers? If the former, that should be our course; if the latter, we should steer clear from it. The promotion of the interests of the working class in the highest sense is the supreme purpose of the labor movement.

Do Wages Keep Up With Production?

By Louis Stanley

THE productivity of labor has increased, but wages have not kept pace. Such is the conclusion reached from a study of the available data. Such, too, is the interpretation officially sanctioned by the American Federation of Labor.

There has been an expansion of production enormously since the war. Simultaneously, the number of wage-earners has declined in most industries, or at least lagged behind the gains in production. This state of affairs has attracted the attention of many trade unionists with a penchant for economics. John P. Frey of the Molders' Union has been one. How he electrified the said convention of the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City in 1925 when he arose to expound the productivity theory of wages! It was all so sudden. The seventh day of the sessions had rolled around. Matthew Woll was speaking for the committee on resolutions. A section of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the question of wage reductions as raised by recent occurrences in the textile industry was under discussion. The committee had stated that wage reductions were unjustified because they reduced the purchasing power of the workers, that they did not make for low production costs and that they could be avoided by elimination of waste in production.

The Productivity Theory Crops Up

Then Frey arose. He moved an amendment asking that these words be added to the committee's report: "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wage, the purchasing power of their wages, is advanced in proportion to man's increasing powers of production." His motion was seconded. The chairman of the committee, First Vice President James Duncan, raised the point that this was not an amendment but an addition. Frey accepted the correction and then proceeded to discuss the point. He insisted upon the necessity and timeliness of clearly defining the philosophy of wages upon which the trade union movement should act. He pointed out the significance and inadequacy of the historical theories, the law of supply and demand, the iron law of wages, the living wage, the full return for the value of the workers' services to society. Then he continued with his main thesis:

"A short time ago the Secretary of Commerce issued a statement showing that from 1919 to 1923 the production in our American industries increased nine per cent. The census bureau informs us that during the same period the number of those employed in industry decreased three per cent.; so that during this brief period of four years our capacity to produce has increased almost eleven per cent. And why? Because of the greater use of white coal, because of the more scientific arrangement of power units, because of inventions of machinery and because of improved methods of marketing. If we continue to increase our capacity to produce as we have since the beginning of the war, unless we are able to consume a much larger proportion of what we produce than we are doing at present, all of these

Significance of the A. F. of L. Wage Theory; Statisticians Dodge Question

Improved methods of production are working to our injury. . . . The power which nature furnishes must be reflected in the wages we receive in addition to the actual manual and material work which we give to industry. . . ."

Woll tried to stem the tide. He voiced opposition to committing the A. F. of L. to any single wage theory. "Indeed," said he, "I am led to believe that the less we have to do with theory in these matters the better we are because we find ourselves confronted with all sorts of conditions, circumstances and environments, and we find oftentimes that theory will lead us nowhere, while our crude judgment expressed in trade union activities has gained more for us."

Frey, however, insisted upon having his way. President James M. Lynch of the Typographical Union suggested some reference to shorter hours. Chairman Duncan tried to smooth things over and then Woll moved to refer the whole matter to the committee again.

The New Wage Theory

The following day Woll reported back. The committee had agreed to agree to add a new paragraph to its former references to wage reductions. It read:

"Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted. Thus, the so-called new wage theory of the A. F. of L. came into existence. It is not our purpose here to criticize the productive theory of wages. We are simply interested in showing the factual basis for its promulgation. Has the productivity of labor increased and to what extent in comparison with wages? That is the question we shall try to answer.

Indexes of Productivity

By productivity of labor we do not mean efficiency of labor. Workers may put forth more effort or increase their capacity for work by other means. That does not concern us more than does increased production due to better managerial efforts or inventions. We are only determining the statistical fact of how much of the annual volume of production would go to wage-earners if it were divided equally among them. If wages fall short of this per capita amount, then the increased social product is being absorbed by capital. Finally, in order to make comparisons we shall not need the actual numbers for wages, wage-earners or production. It is enough to have relative figures. This we can supply by means of index numbers. The data for a selected year is reduced to 100 and all other figures are changed in proportion. Thus, for example, we

present here indexes for the productivity of labor, calculated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and our own indexes for annual earnings per wage-earner. The years are those of the Biennial Census of Manufacturers. The year 1919 is used as the base equal to 100.

Manufacturing Indexes.
Quantity manufactured per wage-earner. Year. 1919..... 100.0 100.0 1921..... 101.8 100.3 1923..... 123.3 107.3 1925..... 134.0 110.6

This table shows at a glance that while the productivity of labor has increased 34 percent in the five years elapsing between 1919 and 1925, the average annual earnings of each wage-earner increased only a little more than 10 percent, or one-third as fast. In 1921, a year of depression, productivity and earnings were about the same, though even here labor fell behind. Actually, if account were taken of unemployment, the showing for the workers would be worse, for the figures shown are for wage-earners who were employed.

Productivity by Industries

Comparisons similar to the above may be made for individual industries. Ewan Clague, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, prepared for the Bureau of Labor Statistics a series of index numbers of productivity in eleven manufacturing industries in which sufficient data for production were at his disposal. He defined productivity of labor as production per man per hour. We are unable for lack of space in this issue of The New Leader to reproduce his index numbers, or, for that matter, other indexes. Instead we shall have to limit ourselves in most cases to percentage changes between selected or available years. In the first column below we have indicated increase or decrease in productivity of labor from 1923 to 1925, based upon Clague's index numbers. In the second column we show the corresponding changes in per capita annual earnings, which we calculated from the data in the Biennial Census of Manufacturers.

Percentage Increases or Decreases (—) from 1923 to 1925 in Indexes of Productivity and Per Capita Annual Earnings

Percent change, 1923-25. Industry. Iron and steel... 14 3 Boots and shoes... —1 —2 Leather tanning... —6 2 Slaughtering and meat packing... —1 5 Petroleum refining... 25 3 Paper and pulp... 16 2 Cement manufacturing... 23 1 Automobiles... 1 —1 Tires... 17 1 Flour milling... 9 5 Cane sugar refining... 25 10

It will be noticed by comparing the corresponding columns that further proof is supplied that wages have not kept up with the enormous increase in labor productivity since the war. One instance is the iron and steel industry, where productivity of labor rose 14 percent between 1923 and 1925. Average annual earnings went up only 3 percent. Another example is boots and shoes. Productivity declined 1 percent in the same period and wages 2 percent. The exceptions are leather tanning and slaughtering and meat packing. Both these industries have made little, if any, technological advances recently.

The Day-Thomas Index

Recently Prof. Edmund E. Day of the University of Michigan and Woodruff Thomas of the Federal Reserve Board worked out for the Department of Commerce index numbers to indicate production per person engaged in various industries. Note that employers and salaried employees are, therefore, also included. We shall present the percentage changes indicated by their indexes and in connection with these the increases or decreases in annual earnings per wage-earner that we calculated from the Biennial Census of Manufacturers. The two sets of figures are not exactly comparable because different persons are involved, as has just been indicated but we shall present them for what they are worth and upon another occasion show how the calculations of Day and Thomas for production apply to wage-earners exclusively.

Percent change '19-'25. Production Annual per person earnings per in industry wage-earner. Industry. All mfgs. 41 11 Food, etc. 43 13 Textiles, etc. 14 10 Iron and steel, etc. 35 5 Lumber, etc. 21 7 Leather, etc. 3 9 Rubber, etc. 99 10 Paper, printg., etc. 40 36 Chemicals, etc. 53 11 Stone, clay, glass, etc. 55 20 Metals, etc. 63 18 Tobacco 56 —1

Railroad Labor Falls Shy

Railroad labor has also been subjected to analysis of productivity. Walter H. Dunlap has constructed indexes for the traffic units per man-hour for all employees and for train and engine crews on Class 1 railroads, in the United States, excluding switch and terminal companies. In the following columns we present Dunlap's indexes for all employees and in addition our index numbers for average annual earnings of the same group. His figures for 1926 cover only the first ten months. We have selected 1921 as a base because in that year the railroads began to approach stabilization

after the period of government operation.

Indexes of Productivity and Average Annual Earnings per Employee of Railroad Labor, 1921-'26

Year	Traffic units per man-hour for all employees	Average annual compensation per employee
1921	100.0	100.0
1922	103.8	97.4
1923	107.0	97.1
1924	109.8	96.8
1925	115.6	95.4
1926	118.5	99.2

The figures indicate an increasing productivity and in general a declining compensation. A slight gain has taken place in earnings for all groups of railroad employees in the last two years.

Before closing we should like to make one observation. No governmental authority, neither the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics nor the Department of Commerce, has ever attempted to compare earnings with productivity. Private research bodies have been just as amiss. We have attempted to supply the deficiency with a little mathematical manipulation of our own, but the task is still incomplete. We hope at a future date to present a more comprehensive survey and to construct an index number to reveal at a glance the exploitation of labor.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Baptists and The Bolsheviks

WE HAVE just finished reading the proofs of a book about religion in Russia. And we are discouraged. From all accounts from our friends who have been there, we had concluded that there wasn't any. But it may have been that the sort of friends of ours who went to Russia wouldn't hang around churches anyway and would naturally skip the religious phases of Russian life, they not being what you would call religious fanatics.

It seems, however, that there is an awful lot of it still around. Not only have they a full-blown Orthodox Church with its Fundamentalists and Modernists the same as here, but they also have all sorts and varieties of sects and schisms and such.

Baptists and Methodists and Seventh Day Adventists tramp all over God's Russia. And this despite the fact that the Government propagandists are doing the best they can to atheize the population. Into a village comes an anti-religious speaker with the word that there ain't no God and that the thing to do is to throw out the priest and turn the church into a bowling alley or a blind tiger or something. Fine! All hands are agreed to this and the old priest is canned and the church is made over into a filling station. And along comes a Baptist missionary. He gets busy and does his Billy Sunday stuff and hands out the Russian words for some of the old hymns and pretty soon every mujik in town and his wife and his cousins and his aunts are howling the Slavic equivalent of "Shall We Gather at the River?" and "Dare to Be a Daniel," and "Pie, Roman Soldier, You Told a Lie." To say nothing of "Brighten the Corner Where You Are" and "The Brewers' Big Horses Can't Run Over Me."

We have been reading "Your Money's Worth," by Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, published by Macmillan, price, two bucks, in preparation for a review that will appear elsewhere in this paper and we want to say right now that if you boys and girls want the real low-down on the "game" called advertising, this book is your meat. Ourselves when young did eagerly frequent divers and sundry advertising agencies and have sinned grievously as a hired man to this profession. We here to say that Stuart and his friend Schlink have done a grand job. Only in our opinion they have not gone half far enough. A dispassionate description of the day by day activities of an average advertising agency with its "trained seals" in the copy department, its "visualizers," "contact men," "account executives," its jargon about "consumer resistance," "dealer assistance," etc., is enough to make a normal mind go 100 per cent. blooey. So perhaps, after all, it was just kindness on the part of the authors to spare us any closeup of such fantastic scenes as are the daily portion of those master minds who do up the many and ingenious ways of telling us that one piece of adulterated soap is better than another. W. E. Woodward is one boy who has done it to the King's taste with his "Bunk," "Lottery" and other magnificent spoofs of the Big Bull Bowlers.

But Stuart Chase's book is not supposed to be fiction and its bad luck of all us consumers that it isn't. It's a ghastly true account of one of our basic industries, hokum hawking. It's done in Chase's best style, which means that it is a new sort of economic writing, satiric, biting and starkly sincere. If only some of our orthodox economists could write like Chase! If only some of our official pronouncements were put forth in such enjoyable and eminently understandable English! Just why is it necessary to write like a Viennese psycho-analyst who has been out on a three days' jag with a copy of the U. S. Census reports, every time someone wants to tackle economics? If for no other reason than he can write like a regular reporter, Chase deserves our heartfelt thanks.

In the confusion and hullabaloo attending Lindbergh's flight and subsequent receptions, we overlooked one achievement, the thought of which has haunted us ever since we were told about it. This is the remarkable feat of a man in Newark, N. J., who sat on a flag pole on top of a skyscraper for forty-eight hours, or some such astounding period. They rigged up a chair for this intrepid spirit and he crawled out and just sat there and sat, and sat. Cheering crowds on the street below sent him up food in buckets. He was interviewed by string line as to his opinions on the chances for genius in America, the validity of the Spenglerian dogma of decay and whether blondes are more faithful to their husbands than brunettes. Since we read how Levine got a momentary respite from family cares by flying to Kobuss, we have come upon no happier device for fleeing from monotony of a machine civilization than this same flag-pole stunt. Just think of it. No telephone from the bank to tell you that you have overdrawn your account. No post-cards from 70 Fifth Avenue telling you that you have been made assistant secretary (without pay) of the Committee for the Preservation of Unity Among the Middle Magyars. No visiting delegations of reformers who want to renovate your pet habits. Peace, perfect peace, and at the end the sweet meed of fame with generations of little children pointing at you on the streets and crying out, "That's the man who sat on a flag-pole in Newark, N. J., for forty-eight hours in 1927." A pole, a pole, my kingdom for a pole.

We regret to report the illness of Isabel, our black cat. For several days, now, rain or shine, she has been sitting in a private sanitarium that she has picked out for herself in the garden of our estate at Wilton, Connecticut. This is a clump of lemon lilies which affords protection from both heat and rain and, apparently, solace as well for an overburdened soul. For, remember that Isabel is now approximately eleven years old, and in the course of her most colorful life has given birth (as this goes to press) to 132 kittens. This is figuring on twelve a year, her average performance.

Now for a while she has become the friend of solitude, steadfastly rejecting all offers of food, endearment and advice. There have been many theories advanced as to this sudden weltschmerz on Isabel's part. The one to which we incline is that the all-too sudden transition from life on crowded Ninth Street, New York, to the almost passionate quietude of Wilton has disorganized Isabel's nervous system. At first, she seemed to thrive on country air. Now she has apparently had a surfeit of it. It's too much of a good thing for her. Obviously she yearns for the roar of the distant El, the harsh notes of the city's symphony. The only other cat around here that she has met up with has proved a bitter disappointment, having started in life with every good intention of being a male and having been thwarted from a masculine career by the mysterious methods of modern surgery. Like every woman, cut off from all male companionship, Isabel, beneath the lemon lilies, droops and withers, and there is no health in her. Restored to her native heath, she would undoubtedly once more reign supreme as the Sheba of Ninth Street. Immured in puritanical Wilton, she is no more than a very sick black cat.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

The Genius Flowered From Labor

By James Oneal

OCCASIONALLY we come across a book that towers like a peak above level plains because of its theme, its manner of treatment, its warm human sympathy and the thorough understanding of the author. When the theme is some phase of the age-old struggle of workers for release from economic subjection, when some epoch revealing the soul of that struggle is painted in vivid colors, we want to share our enjoyment with others. Helen Drusilla Lockwood has written such a book in "Tools and the Man" (Columbia University Press, \$3), a comparative study of the French workingman and English Chartist in the literature of 1830-1848.

Thomas Cooper, an English workman, and Agricol Perdiguier, a French workman, are the two chief figures chosen for the study, but throughout the book the work of such notables as Charlotte Bronte, Carlyle, Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, Charles Kingsley, George Sand, George Eliot and others is related to the main theme. The period is that of the emergence of capitalism when machines took away the workman's tools and made him a member of a new class hostile to the tool-owners.

The grim shadows of the abyss into which the workers were cast made a lasting impress upon the literature of the period and in the lives of the workers who broke into poetry, fiction, song and reminiscences. Cooper, with his mother making paste-board boxes, their dinner often of potatoes and finally moving to a stable; the boy's thirst for knowledge, the man's religious experience only to end in disgust, the world of marvel opened to him by Byron's romances, his emergence as a Chartist journalist, then two years in jail, and authorship of "Wise Saws" and the "Purgatory of Suicides," is a segment of life charged with tragedy and heroism.

One of Mme. Sand's Heroes. In France Perdiguier becomes a hero of one of George Sand's novels as Cooper did in Kingsley's Alton Locke. It is Perdiguier who has told the story of the secret societies of workers known as "compagnonnage," descended from the Middle Ages, of which he was a member. Each member made a tour of the nation, shelter and food being provided by the "companions" in each town and village in an inn supervised by a woman called the "mother." At the inn the "companions" gathered to participate in fetes, initiation ceremonies, and "marvelous secret affairs, solemn and dramatic." Imagine rival factions, one the "devorants," the other the "gavots," engaged in fierce battles and "all because of some ancient tradition such as the murder of one of their masters in the building of the temple of Solomon." Surviving into the new age of capitalism, its stronghold remained in the south

where the Catholic Church was strong and where these workmen desired the restoration of the old monarchy. Perdiguier's history of "compagnonnage," revealing its secrets, raised a storm among the "companions," but his insistence on organization adapted to new conditions eventually won favor.

Conditions in France produced more proletarian writers than conditions in England did. Magu, "simplest of all the worker poets," losing his pension in the Revolution of 1848, his old age passed in misery, half blind, sometimes losing his memory, and supplied with tobacco by George Sand, is an appealing figure. Moreau, the printer, an illegitimate child, dying in the same year that his one book appeared, "roused a storm of comment in Paris, for the feeling ran high that somehow the materialism of the time had let a rare spirit die, suffering from poverty and unrecognized." Gilland, the locksmith, dying of consumption at the age of 39, with two volumes to his credit, "found life dark, tragic, at times almost impossible to bear." Rebutol, the baker poet, "found sorrow the keynote of life," despite the help of Lamartine and praise by Hugo and Vigny. Jasmin, born in crushing poverty, "in a corner of an old street, in a house where more than one rat dwelt," became a barber poet and won the somewhat extravagant appellation of "Homer of the proletariat." Foncey, the mason, was hailed by George Sand as the new poet of the people. Patronized and encouraged by her, he fancied he was in love with her which invoked a rebuke.

Out of measureless misery came practically all these writers. Imagine this flowering of genius in a period when workers "ate rotten meat and decaying vegetables; . . . cocoa adulterated with dirt. . . . People were known to gnaw bones from refuse heaps or gather potato parings." The factory worker must permit the owner to have "pleasure" with wife or daughter or be discharged, while large numbers died of consumption, typhus, scarlet fever and cholera. Surely the class that can write its tragedy, loves, hates, struggles and ideals while vegetating in the social pit is capable of falling heir to the mastery of the social order which issued out of this hideous early regime. At least this is an impression left by this notable book.

The Perfect Traveling Salesman

IN "Marco Millions," Eugene O'Neill, playing where fancy has free reign, has created of Marco Polo the perfect traveling salesman. Moving beyond realism to the fairy-tale technique, he presents a Kubla Khan whose stately pleasure dome in Xanadu was reared for the joys of the spirit, whose sage adviser murmurs naught but wisdom, whose philosophic contemplation and self-control are

ultra-Confucian; two elderly Polos who are "complex" caricatures; Marco, made by machine, the 100 per cent. practical business man; and a sweet princess of rose-scent and sterling to die for him—though she falls from her height in denying him a soul.

Yet soul as symbol, spiritual interest, he has none; little less than the salesmen who exchange stories in smoking cars today, whose forerunner O'Neill too obviously intends Marco to be. For the idea of making this early Venetian commercial traveler the prototype of our own, and through his career of satirizing our life, seemed (as it is) so good that O'Neill—too prone in general to write his plays before thinking them fully—went wholeheartedly to the job, and joyously. His delight has given us some excellent dialogue, philosophical insight, effective contrasts, and good theatre—but his eagerness has led to an oversteering of the application to our times, obvious enough without his pointing. This betrays itself in such comments as that of Marco's father, who is consoled for a two years' commercial delay, awaiting the election of a pope, by the thought that "well, it's a new world's record, anyway." Even assuming, as perhaps is valid satire, the legitimacy of such a sentiment in the Thirteenth Century Venetian, in what other place were papal elections held, or what other choice would a

Christian consider, to call for the insertion of the word "world's?"

Bernard Shaw, especially in "Caesar and Cleopatra," has of course earlier employed the device that is the basis of O'Neill's satire; the assumption that folk of days long gone talked, acted, thought, and felt, such as we do ourselves. . . . Apart from its allegory, as a mere drama of the Middle Ages, "Marco Millions" retains more power and beauty than can be here discussed. Indeed, if study of his earlier volumes, wherein each drama is dated, did not show an interweaving of several aspects, one would be rash enough to say that O'Neill, without growing less the dramatist, is becoming more the poet.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Notes of The Drama

Shaw Play Provides Gay Opening for Season at N. Y. U.

THE picture of what happens to middle class families thrown out of their carefully constructed havens of respectability and launched into unknown seas, vividly and vivaciously sketched by Shaw in "Fanny's First Play," was put again on exhibit at 100 Washington Square, where a revival of that play opened the sixth summer season of repertoire of the Washington Square College Players.

A marriageable daughter gets into jail after a row with police; the young man she is engaged to also goes to prison, and what the respective families say and do about it, and what the daughter and the young man learn from their experience form the subject matter of bright witty lines representing attitudes and beliefs of all colors that fuse into white hot rays of truth by which the reality behind melodramatic situations and funny incidents is brought into view.

The many gay incidents which can by themselves carry this play through an evening of July weather, are manipulated with skill by the actors, as a group and individually, so that not a laugh is lost.

The speech in the second act by Miss Judith Knight, who took the part of the young pretty middle-class daughter, describing the glory of fighting against an act of injustice, and the speech in the third act of John Koch, who took the part of a French lieutenant, were particularly well handled. The other members of the cast also did their part with a professional precision and a click that speaks well for the directing. Paul Hayes as Juggins, Louise Schlichting as Dora Delaney, and Kathleen Fitzgerald as Mrs. Knox did good work.

The prologue and epilogue were made as interesting as the play proper, setting forth the reaction of four different sorts of critics to the play. Current misconceptions of Shaw and his work are neatly satirized. "Whatever we may say about the play, we have only one thing to say of the acting," is the line with which one of the critics ends the epilogue. This graceful gesture by Shaw on behalf of the future actors of "Fanny's First Play" is an excellent way of introducing the applause, applause which the Washington Square College Players fully earned on their own account last night.

"Fanny's First Play" will be again produced tonight, Shaw's "Misalliance" and Barrie's "Alice-Sit-by-the-Fire" will be given on the following weeks.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Open Letter to Henry Ford

DEAR HENRY: Ever since you shocked the capitalist world by inaugurating the five dollar minimum wage in your plant I've had a warm spot in my heart for you. Then when that peace ship of yours started for Europe to take the boys out of the trenches before Christmas my admiration for you increased still more.

Of course, I knew right along that you couldn't do any such thing as stop the fool war because wars are the only machines that have no reverse in their make-up. They've just got to run until they run out of gas or into the ditch.

But it's not what a man succeeds in doing but what he tries to do that counts in the opinion of angels and thinkers. And for you to spend good kate to put an end to that assinine butchery over there showed that you had your heart in the right spot—although your head was out of gear.

So, for that and one other reason, whenever I bought a flivver I always bought one of your tin lizzies. You may not find my name on your books because I have a hankering for antiques—and the antique-est thing I know of is a second-hand Ford.

When your paper, The Dearborn Independent, started those attacks on the Jews my enthusiasm for you cooled a little. To save my life I couldn't see where you got the silly notion that the Jews were trying to upset an economic, social and ethical order under which they were doing better than anybody else—with the exception of a few good Christians like Brothers Morgan, Mellon, Rockefeller and yourself. Besides there are only three million Jews in this country and if this little tail wag the national dog it only would prove that the said dog had more brains in his tail than in his head.

On the other hand, I had a hunch that perhaps you were too busy otherwise to read the Dearborn Independent. There are plenty of great editors just like that. It's a fine situation for a great editor to be in, too, for if anything goes wrong with his paper he can always claim ignorance—and prove it—while collecting full credit for all the brilliant stunts of his "hired men."

Well, be that as it may, I see that you have recanted the anti-Semitism of your assistants and promised to bounce them if they ever do it again, and there is peace with thee and Israel once more.

Some of the newspapers put all kinds of ulterior motives behind your apology to the international Jew-ry. Some claim you did it to escape testifying at two \$10,000,000 libel suits. Others say you're trying to touch the Wall Street Jew-ry for a couple hundred million dollar loans. Still others maintain that the new, higher-priced car you're about to bring out is good enough for the sons and daughters of Israel to ride in, as the old one was not, and so on.

But as for me, you apologized—thereby adding your mite toward bringing more peace to a nation torn by class, racial and religious hatred and that's all a good citizen should ask for.

Well, Henry, now that all is hunky-dory between you and Abraham, I want to put you next on how to make a big hit with a still greater number of people than the Jews, thereby enlarging the field for your new car tremendously.

As I mentioned before, there are only about three million Jews in the United States and most of them are above the medium price car strata. While, on the other hand, there are some five million union men and union women in this country who are just dying for a medium-priced union car.

Now, Henry, you go and throw your factories, mines and railroads open to union organizers. Then advertise in all the Hebrew, Labor and Brotherhood Journals that new car of yours in somewhat this shape:

Ford

THE KAR KOSHER
Fair in Price and Fair in Make
Forty Miles Per Gallon

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT UNION
FIRST COST LOW UPKEEP DITTO

Made by the best paid mechanics, working the shortest hours under the most healthful conditions in the world.

Do that, Henry, and you'll knock the eternal socks off your competitors. The plutons won't buy your car, anyhow, and the proletarians, who have been your best customers in the past, will buy more than ever. On top of that you can start an agitation among the shop-keepers and farmers showing that the high wages paid to your employees will enable them to spend more money for duds, food and radios. In this way you'll appeal to ninety and nine in every hundred and your new car will sell like hot dogs.

Now, Henry, if you follow my advice you'll be a millionaire yet. And then you won't miss it if you present me with one of your new autos—as you ought to.

Well, so long, old scout. Don't take in any wooden nickels and if you ever need another brilliant idea like the one sprung here, don't forget to call on Your friend,

ADAM COALDIGGER.

P. S. When you present me with that new car we've been talking about all you have to do is to pay the freight on it. I'm in hopes I can sell the old one for enough to pay for the license.

Oh! Barnum! Barnum!

Scene painters from the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, have been at work for some time painting the panorama of visiting farm delegations in the act of thanking God for Coolidge. In addition, Artemus Ward's famous wax figure show has been bodily removed to the presidential camp. Repainted and newly costumed, the figures will be posed as groups of Democratic food sufferers, praying for four more years of rain and Coolidge.

Made desperate by the propaganda barrage which presently will inundate the middle west, ex-Governor Lowden is contemplating a swing around the threatened territory in an all-Pullman train. To assure record-breaking crowds at the stops, Col. Charles Lindbergh has been requested to act as pilot of the train.

Goodnight!

King George, Up to Date

Governor General Wood, returning from the Philippines, brings the staggering news that the Philippines will not be ripe for self-government for some time to come.

They say his serene majesty, King George the Third, found a similar lack of qualification among the denizens of the thirteen colonies some years ago. The colonists demurred and, according to late reports, are said to be governing themselves.

Adam Coldigger.

Walls and Bars

Experiences and impressions in three prisons

by Eugene V. Debs

THE prison problem is directly correlated with poverty, and poverty is essentially a social disease. It is a cancerous growth in a vulnerable spot of the social system. There should be no poverty among hard working people. Those who produce should have, but we know that those who produce the most—that is, those who work hardest, and at the most difficult and most menial tasks have the least. But of this I shall have more to say in later articles. After all, the purpose of these articles is to set forth the prison problem as one of the most vital concerns of present day society. A prison is an institution to which any of us may go at any time. Some of us go to prison for breaking the law, and some of us for upholding and abiding by the Constitution to which the law is supposed to adhere. Some go to prison for killing their fellow man and others for believing that murder is a violation of one of the Commandments. Some go to prison for stealing and others for believing that a better system can be provided and maintained than one that makes it necessary for a man to steal in order to live.

The prison has always been a part of human society. It has always been deemed an essential factor in organized society. The prison has its place and its purpose in every civilized nation. It is only in uncivilized places that you will not find the prison. Man is the only animal that constructs a cage for his neighbor and puts him in it. To punish by imprisonment, involving torture in every conceivable form, is a most tragic phase in the annals of mankind. The ancient idea was that the more cruel the punishment the more certain the reformation. The idea, fortunately, has to a great extent receded into the limbo of savagery whence it sprang. We now know that brutality begets brutality,

and we know that through the centuries there has been a steady modification of discipline and method in the treatment of prisoners. I will concede that the prison today is not nearly as barbarous as it was in the past, but there is yet room for vast improvement, and it is for the purpose of causing to be corrected some of the crying evils that obtain in present-day prisons and making possible such changes in our penal system as will mitigate the unnecessary suffering of the helpless and unfortunate inmates that I set myself the task of writing these articles before I turn my attention to anything else.

It has been demonstrated beyond cavil that the more favorable prison conditions are to the inmates, the better is the result for society. We should bear in mind that few men go to prison for life, and the force that sweeps them into prison sweeps them out again, and they must go back into the social stream and fight for a living. I have heard people refer to the "criminal countenance." I never saw one. Any man or woman looks like a criminal behind bars. Criminality is often a state of mind created by circumstances or conditions which a person has no power to control or direct; he may be awamped by overwhelming influences that promise but one avenue to peace of mind; in sheer desperation the distressed victim may choose the one way, only to find he has broken the law—and at the end of the tape loom the turrets of the prison. Once a convict always a convict. That is one brand that is never outworn by time.

How many people in your community would be out of prison if they would confess frankly their sins against society and the law were enforced against them?

How many lash and accuse themselves of nameless unnumbered crimes for which there is no punishment save the torment visited upon the individual

conscience? Yet, they who so accuse themselves, assuming there exist reasons to warrant accusation, would never admit to themselves the possession of a criminal conscience. In Atlanta Prison I made it a point to seek out those men that were called "bad." I found the men, but I did not find them bad. They responded to kindness with the simplicity of a child. In no other institution on the face of the earth are men so sensitive as those who are caged in prison. They are oftentimes terror-stricken; they do not see the years ahead which may be full of promise, they see only the walls and the steel bars that separate them from their loved ones. I never saw those bars nor the walls in the nearly three years that I spent in Atlanta. I was never conscious of being a prisoner. If I had had that consciousness it would have been tantamount to an admission of guilt, which I never attached to myself.

If was because I was oblivious of the prison as a thing that held my body under restraint that I was able to let my spirit soar and commune with the friends of freedom everywhere. The intrinsic me was never in prison. No matter what might have happened to me I would still have been at large in the spirit. Many years ago, when I made my choice of what life had to offer, I realized, saw quite plainly, that the route I had chosen would be shadowed somewhere by the steel bars of a prison gate. I accepted it, and understood it perfectly. I consider that the years I spent in prison were necessary to complete my particular education for the part that I am permitted to play in human affairs. I would certainly not exchange that experience, if I could, to be President of the United States, although some people indulge the erroneous belief that I have coveted that office in several political campaigns.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Consumers' Bills Are Cut, While U. S. Makes Money on Public Power Plant

Minidoka Station Puts \$335,000 in Treasury Through Sale of Power

CITIES BUY AND SELL CURRENT

Individual Bills One-Third Those Paid for Private "Juice"

By Judson King

IN October my wife and I reached the government's Minidoka project by automobile and spent several days in investigation.

Here is a district of 190 square miles which in 1904 was a sage brush desert. Today it supports a population of 14,000 people and there is room for more. There are 2,286 farms, and seven towns—23 schools—33 churches—and five banks. The farm and dairy products were valued at \$5,000,000 for 1925. Water to irrigate this region comes from a dam on the Snake River north of the project. Land north of the river is irrigated by gravity. On the south side it has to be pumped. Hence a hydro-electric plant at the dam of 10,000 horse power, which furnishes power for the aforesaid pumping and develops additional current which is sold commercially by the government to the people on the project.

100 Miles of "High Line"

To distribute power to the farmers and towns on the project the government has built over 100 miles of 2,300-volt transmission lines which penetrate every section of the project. These high lines with their sub-stations have cost to date \$278,557.

The total investment in the dam, headworks, power house, buildings, high lines and sub-stations, for both irrigation pumping and commercial current, stands at \$1,513,421. All of this will, of course, be paid back to the government ultimately by the water users.

The accounts of the commercial electrical business are kept separated from the irrigation accounts. It is known to the fraction of a mill how much it costs to generate and distribute this power. Hence we are not compelled to resort to "conservative estimates" as in the case of private companies who refuse to divulge the inner facts of their business. That's one healthful thing about public plants—they are open to the daylight.

Uncle Sam makes \$335,033 in 15 years. To quiet any fears as to whether Uncle Sam is losing money let me state at the start that the net profits of this commercial business from the beginning in 1920 to 1926 have been \$335,033, which is not so bad when

you consider the commercial "load" at the beginning was next to nothing. The first year's sales of commercial power were only 200,000 K. W. H., but in 1925 the sales totaled 19,506,287 K. W. H. Let me be very exact and give the official figures.

Total gross income, 15 years	\$997,015.26
Total cost, maintenance and operation	383,424.76
Gross earnings	\$613,590.50
Less cost of—	
Transmission lines	\$137,677
Sub-stations	140,890
Net Earnings	\$335,033.50

The price charged by the government was 1 and 20 per K. W. H.

Method of Distribution

But how can Uncle Sam do all this without "going into the business of peddling electricity to house-wives, storekeepers, machine shops and farmers?"

Simple enough. The government sells the power wholesale; his customers do the retailing themselves.

Just now he has contracts with seven municipalities and twenty farm companies, according to the blue print report of business for the month of May, 1926, which I have before me.

He generates his current at the dam and distributes it over his high-power lines to the transformer sub-stations of each of these customers. There his troubles end and theirs begin. At the end of each month he renders his bills to seven city clerks and twenty secretaries of farm companies which does not seem to involve a dangerous amount of bookkeeping and bureaucracy.

The City of Rupert

With Uncle Sam sitting safe and pretty with \$335,000 in the bank, all bills paid and business going strong, we may now turn and inquire how the cities fare. Is there anything in their experience to instruct us as to what might happen in southern towns and cities if they could buy power from Uncle Sam at Muscle Shoals, as does the town of Rupert, for example, from Minidoka?

Rupert has a population of 2,500. It started in 1910 and kept out of the electrical business by granting a franchise to a private company, which in turn bought juice from Uncle Sam and sold it to the people.

Trouble arose. In 1920 the city voted a bond issue of \$60,000, bought the company out and made extensions (20-year 6 per cent returnable serially after 1930).

Through the kindness of Mr. H. B. Colwell, City Clerk, and Mr. Barry Dibble, Superintendent of Power on the project from 1910 to 1921, I have a complete history of the electrical tale of Rupert.

A financial summary must suffice here; after charging off a depreciation of around \$5,000 annually, paying interest and meeting all expenses of

operation and maintenance of every kind, the city as a result of its \$60,000 bond issue has this to show as a result of six years' operation ending April 30, 1926:

Value System (after depreciation)	\$50,611.78
Profits transferred from the Electric to the "General Fund" and for city expenses	51,204.87
Cash in the bank	10,597.04

That is, the system has paid for itself in six years. But the city fathers have chosen to use the money and thereby they have been able to reduce the tax rate to 11.5 mills. In addition, the town has had power for city pumping and street lighting for 1 cent per K. W. H.—which spells another saving of thousands of dollars.

As a principle of taxation I do not agree with taking money from light users to pay tax burdens which should be paid by non-light users and others—especially those holding valuable city lots out of use for speculative purposes. But it is done, in Rupert and elsewhere, and I suppose the people find some comfort in the thought of the profits of the business going into their city treasury rather than into the pockets of absentee stockholders.

The city of Burley has owned its system from the beginning. Starting with a population of 400 in 1910 it now has 5,500. For several years, after paying all obligations, it has turned \$10,000 over to the general fund. The complete story of Burley is reserved for a future article.

The Ultimate Consumer

Uncle Sam, then, is making money by selling current wholesale to Burley and Rupert at ONE CENT per K. W. H. The cities are making money. But how about the people? Are they being robbed by high rates to make these fine showings?

No. Rates are cheaper than those charged by the Idaho Power Co. and the Utah Power Co. in even the large cities of the state—or by private companies all over the United States generally.

In Rupert residential and commercial lighting starts at 7 cents and goes down to 5 cents per K. W. H.

A combination rate starts at 7 cents and drops to 1 cent per K. W. H.

I visited the Rupert Milling Company. Mr. S. J. Hawkins, proprietor, handed me his bill for power for May 30, 1926:

7,860 K. W. H. used. Net bill	\$72.50
Average cost per K. W. H.	0.0092

In the great city of Birmingham, Ala., Mr. Hawkins would have paid the Alabama Power Company for that service two or three times as much, according to installation.

Mr. Johnson's Bill

Here is the bill of Mr. S. R. Johnson, of Rupert, for September 30, 1926—a "combination bill" at a rate which permits lighting, cooking, washing, iron-

ing, house heating, hot water heating, etc., etc., to be done on one meter: 649 K. W. H. used. Net cost \$9.30. Average per K. W. H. .0143. In Birmingham, the Alabama Power Co. would have charged Mr. Johnson, at its lowest combination rates for such service, 18.32 net.

It is pleasant to recall here the established claim that of necessity small towns must have high rates. (Next week Mr. King will continue his report on the Minidoka government owned and operated power plant.)

MEXICAN LABOR DEPARTMENT URGED

Deputies Petition for a Separate Federal Bureau for Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MEXICO CITY.—The Labor Party members of the Mexican Congress are planning to petition Congress when that body meets in the fall to create a separate Ministry of Labor. At present, the one Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Labor under the direction of Luis N. Morones, Labor member of President Calles' cabinet, deals with matters coming up under all three of those headings but Mexico's rapid industrial growth with its accompanying increase in labor problems makes such a new department a necessity.

The Labor Party will also insist that the Labor Code, being regulation of Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution defining the exact position of labor, be federalized during the coming congressional period.

Mexico has 14,000 official schools and 1,800 private schools including those of all denominations, according to Moises Saenz, under-secretary of Public Education in Mexico, when confronted with the oft-repeated statement that outside of Mexico the idea persists that Mexico is dependent for education on private schools, mostly Catholic, and that therefore education within the country is suffering by the present church-state conflict in Mexico.

The list of official schools which far outnumber the private schools includes schools located in the cities, small towns and rural districts and supported by the federal as well as state governments wherein a modern and non-sectarian curriculum is followed and attendance is within the economic reach of all classes. While more rural schools are still needed and are being added as fast as circumstances will allow, Mr. Saenz emphasizes the fact that today in Mexico educational facilities are well within the reach of all.

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Fortunately the remainder of the country enjoys a degree more of freedom than Boston. You may still read "Oil." But we are not sure how long the privilege will be yours. The New Leader has been lucky enough to secure a number of copies of "Oil" for its readers.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

Walls and Bars

The National Office is holding up a little longer on the printing of the Debs' book, "Walls and Bars," than anticipated, due to the fact that the printing house was rushed with other work. The book is now being bound and we will begin to mail it out shortly. Orders are coming in with every mail. Order from National Office, Socialist Party, 2655 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

OHIO

Cleveland

Local Cleveland has placed five candidates in the field for City Council and the Socialists expect to have representation in the Council after the city election. The system of voting for Council gives the Socialists an excellent opportunity of being represented in the Council.

IOWA

Since organizing the preliminary state organization quite a number of communications from individuals who are desirous of assisting party work have been received. John M. Work of the Milwaukee Leader, contributed \$5.00 to the National Headquarters, with instructions to place Iowa names on the mailing list of the American Appeal.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Local Los Angeles is sending in a large number of subscribers to the American Appeal. The Local has invited the National Executive Committee to meet in Los Angeles some time after the National Convention. The Committee may meet there in the spring of 1928. Comrade Anderson, Local Secretary, has just sent in his first order for a dozen copies of the new book, "Walls and Bars."

UTAH

Following are lecture dates for Ida Crouch Hazlett: Salt Lake, July 24 and 25; Park City, July 26; Lehi, July 27; Am. Fork, July 28; Springville, July 29; Provo, July 30; Payson, July 31; Bunka, August 1; Sp. Fork, August 2; Helper, August 3; Price, August 4; Wellington, August 5, and Green River, August 6.

WISCONSIN

Successful State Picnic

The picnic of Wisconsin Socialists in Pleasant Valley Park, West Allis, last Sunday was a big family affair. By evening at least 3,000 automobiles were parked in a space reserved for them. According to Edmund Melms, general chairman, the attendance numbered at least 12,000. Old-timers, newcomers, and those in between mingled in the pleasant wooded picnic grove, renewing acquaintances, recalling past events and matching plans for further activities in spreading the faith. The attractions were well balanced and there was something to hold the interest every minute. Family groups spread their lunches under the big trees in the outer reaches of the grounds, and everyone wore a smile, while it was a big day for children. The provisions for supplying the required food, drinks, candies, etc., were admirable, and the number of standard gave perfect service. There was lots of hard work for the volunteers in these booths put in a 12-hour day. "I want to say, with all sincerity, that the general committee feels well pleased with the results and with the attendance and the returns. We shall not repeat several thousand dollars, a larger amount than we cleared in any one of the past three annual picnics," said Melms.

Milwaukee Yipsel Outing
The North Side Young People's Socialist League will hold its annual picnic and games Sunday, August 7, at Borgenhagen's grove, Winkla. Chartered cars will leave the Public Service Building at 8:45 a. m. Round trip tickets, 50 cents a person. Those going by auto are advised to take Highway 36, Loomis road, which will take you directly to the grove. Dancing in the pavilion; splendid music. The feature of the day will be a \$125 Freshman Masterpiece Console radio, complete, which will be given away free.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading Picnic

What promises to be the biggest Socialist and labor picnic in the history of Reading will be held at Keller's Park, in Sinking Spring, Sunday, July 24. Jim Maurer's promise to tell something about the working of the State Legislature has excited considerable comment. He is also expected to consider the prospects of the coming city election. The labor party and 40 delegates of local trade unions have endorsed the Socialist candidates. (See story on another page.)

NEW YORK STATE

Buffalo

Irvine Schnabel has been elected secretary of Local Buffalo. His address is 17 Marshall street, Buffalo. Secretary Schnabel is conducting the distribution of the "Out of Work" pamphlet and is endeavoring to arrange for a local speaking campaign. Warren Fitzgerald of New York.

BUY IN BERKELEY HEIGHTS, N. J.

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SEBASTIEN LIBERTY

2 EAST 23rd ST. (PHONE ASHLAND 6772), NEW YORK

(New Leader, 855, 5-28-27)

former party secretary for the New England district, was a visitor at the State office last week.

Party Builder Leaflet
State Secretary Merrill is urging locals to take up the distribution of the new party builders' pamphlet among enrolled Socialists and sympathizers. A copy of this leaflet, declares the State secretary, should be sent with every letter and appeal to Socialist voters. The tentative date for the next meeting of the State Executive Committee is July 31, and the place of meeting will be Albany.

NEW YORK CITY

Primary Petitions
Nominations for candidates for public office have practically been completed by the branches and the City Executive Committee. The work of gathering signatures for the primary petitions is now begun. It is absolutely essential that every branch see to it that its petitions are on hand and that proper committees are selected to obtain the signatures. A partial list of the nominees to be voted for at the coming primaries is as follows:

NEW YORK COUNTY
City Court Justice—Leon A. Malkiel, Isaac Sackin, Alexander Kahn.
General Sessions Judge—William Karlin.
Municipal Court, Second District—Jacob Panken.
Member of Assembly—1st District, M. Goldowsky; 2nd, Frank Manzella; 3rd, Evelyn Hughes; 4th, Bertha Malloy; 5th, Samuel Beardsley; 7th, Walter Karp; 8th, Henry Fruchter; 9th, Joseph Mueller; 10th, Jessie Wallace Huchan; 11th, Mary Murphy; 12th, Bernard Fenster; 13th, Fred Gao; 14th, George McMullan; 15th, Eleanor D. Brannon; 16th, Herman Volk; 17th, Leonard C. Kaye; 18th, Hyman Marcal; 19th, Maurice Caspe; 20th, Warren G. Fitzgerald; 21st, Gotthold Ollendorf; 22nd, Louis Sabloff; 23rd, David Milstein.
For Alderman—1st district, Isidore Corn; 2nd, Dominick Cantillo; 3rd, Ernest K. K. Hansen; 5th, Nina Prey; 6th, Norman Thomas; 7th, Clarence V. Howell; 8th, August Claessens; 9th, Simon Berlin; 10th, McAllister Coleman; 11th, Pierre De Nio; 12th, Mikko W. Bruun; 13th, Andrew Regaladi; 14th, Louis Binger; 15th, Julius Halpern; 16th, Joseph Laas; 17th, I. George Dohse; 18th, Edward F. Leonard; 19th, William R. H. H. West; 20th, Lucile Randolph; 21st, George Meyers; 22nd, Meyer Gillis; 24th, Philip Hensel.

BRONX COUNTY
County Judge—Max B. Walder.
Municipal Judge—1st district, Nicholas Rosenauer.
Members of Assembly—2nd district, Andrew McLean; 3rd, Samuel De Witt; 4th, Isidore Polstein; 5th, Emanuel Deutsch; 6th, Kurt Eichler; 7th, Esther Friedman; 8th, Patrick J. Murphy.
For Alderman—25th district, Edmund Seidel; 26th, Joseph H. Diskant; 27th, Frank Nadelman; 28th, Hilda Claessens; 29th, Samuel Orr; 30th, Louis Falkon; 31st, Isidore Phillips; 32nd, Robert Hofbauer.

KINGS COUNTY
County Judge—Rufus L. Perry, Morris Ginet.
Sheriff—Max Rosen.
Clerk—Eleanor Levenson.
District Attorney—Jacob Axelrad.
Register—Minnie Weisberg.
Municipal Court—3rd district, Morris Weisberg; 5th, Herman Rivkin.
State Senator—11th district, Harry Schachner.
Members of Assembly—1st district, Abraham Beck; 2nd, Frank Krosch; 3rd, William Sobel; 4th, Joseph T. Atkins; 5th, Samuel H. Friedman; 6th, Martha Sadoff; 7th, Hyman L. Weinberg; 8th, Jacob Can; 12th, Meyer Robinson; 13th, Harry Smith; 14th, Anthony Di Biasi; 15th, Paul Godwin; 16th, Ross Brody; 17th, Simon Sarason; 18th, Albert Halpern; 19th, Dr. Samuel L. Mailman; 20th, Joseph A. Weil; 21st, Arthur G. Breckridge; 22nd, W. B. Robinson; 23rd, Sadie Rivkin.
For Alderman—33rd district, Samuel Helgott; 34th, Samuel Schneider; 35th, Morris Blumenreich; 36th, Lisa Zwirn; 37th, Chaitner; 38th, Ida Crouch Hazlett; 39th, Harry Malloy; 40th, Charles Kanowitz; 41st, G. Gordon; 42nd, Louis Gelpar; 43rd, Bernard J. Riley; 44th, M. M. Elish; 45th, Julius Switkies; 46th, Frank Pinto; 47th, Louis Zicht; 48th, M. G. Wolpert; 49th, Joseph Tuvin; 50th, Louis Greenberg; 51st, Joseph Leppo; 52nd, H. L. Greenberg; 53rd, William Shapiro; 54th, Eva G. Dann; 55th, William Halpern; 56th, A. I. Shiplacoff.

QUEENS COUNTY
County Clerk—Eli H. Ehret.
Members of Assembly—1st district, Edward Levinson; 2nd, Charles Rees; 3rd, Matthias Palm; 4th, Sadie C. Smith; 5th, Ernest Weisbach; 6th, Ernest Megerlin.
Alderman—57th district, James Oneal; 58th, William L. Herman; 59th, Israel Goldin; 60th, Robert Otto; 61st, Harold Anderson; 62nd, Emerich Steinberger.

RICHMOND COUNTY
Sheriff—Ejmalmer Murahenen.
Member of Assembly—1st district, Walter Dearing; 2nd, Eleanor Byrns.

MANHATTAN
The Manhattan branches are now busily engaged in obtaining signatures for the primary petitions, the handling of open-air meetings and the organization of campaign committees.

BRONX
Circulation of primary petitions is under the direction of Samuel Grossman. All comrades volunteering for this work are requested to report to Comrade Grossman every evening at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

Socialists who have enrolled at the last week of registration, October, 1926, can facilitate matters considerably and save some of our comrades a good deal of walking by calling at the headquarters every evening and signing the petitions.

BROOKLYN

2d A. D.

Branch meetings are held Friday evenings at the clubrooms, 429 Hindsdale street. The committee in charge of the work of gathering signatures for the primary petitions will be organized and every Comrade is urged to assist.

4th-14th A. D.

Branch meetings are held Monday evenings at the clubrooms, 345 South Third street.

5th-6th A. D.

Branch meetings are held Tuesday evenings at the clubrooms, 187 Tompkins avenue.

23d A. D.

Branch meetings are held Monday evenings at the clubrooms in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The committee for gathering signatures to primary petitions will be selected at the next meeting.

YIPSELDOM

The city office asks all members to keep their dues paid up to date. July and August are two months in the year when there is a tendency to lapse into bad standing. Please make every effort to keep your record clear. All financial secretaries are urged to look after this matter with more than usual interest.

Successful Play

"Mr. God Is Not In" was played before an exceedingly large crowd at the Feder Colony, Stetson, N. Y. The play was given a tremendous ovation after the play. Aside from the play, Sid Rothberg sang some songs and the "Goody Trio" supplied the music. The city office takes this opportunity of congratulating Circle 2 Senators for their good work both here and at Stetson.

Circle 2

Friday evening, July 8, a short business meeting was held by the members of Circle 2 Senators. They voted to hold joint meetings with the Juniors for the rest of the summer. The rest of the evening was spent in the educational director, Pughie Press, gave an extemporaneous talk on books. The circle is working on a play called "Cripples," which is expected to be even more successful than "Mr. God Is Not In."

The Y. P. S. L. athletic meet was not held last Sunday. It will probably be held on Sunday, September 11.

Claessens to Lecture

August Claessens will lecture to the members of Circle 12 Wednesday evening, July 27. All comrades are requested to be at 420 Hindsdale street at 8:30 p. m.

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m., Clinton street and East Broadway. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and 7th avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and Ethelred Brown.
Tuesday, July 26, 8:30 p. m., 79th street and First avenue. Speakers, Isidore Phillips and Pierre De Nio.
Wednesday, July 27, 8:30 p. m., Grand and Pitt streets. Speakers, Ethelred Brown, Pierre De Nio.

Thursday, July 28, 8:30 p. m., Sheridan Square (Grand street and Washington Place). Speaker, August Claessens.
Friday, July 29, 8:30 p. m., 115th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and Pierre De Nio.
Friday, July 29, 8:30 p. m., Clinton street and East Broadway. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.
Saturday, July 30, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

BRONX

Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m., 138th street and Willis avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and Isidore Polstein.
Thursday, July 28, 8:30 p. m., Bath and Tremont avenues. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Hyman Nemeser.
Friday, July 29, 8:30 p. m., Aldus street and South Broadway. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Samuel H. Friedman.

BROOKLYN

Friday, July 22, 8:30 p. m., Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m., Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, August Claessens and Samuel Kantor.

Monday, July 25, 8:30 p. m., Summer and Floyd street. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and Joseph Tuvin.
Thursday, July 28, 8:30 p. m., Pulaski and Tompkins avenue. Speakers, Isidore Phillips, Samuel H. Friedman and Joseph Tuvin.

Friday, July 29, 8:30 p. m., Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker, August Claessens.
Saturday, July 30, 8:30 p. m., Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speaker, August Claessens.

STATEN ISLAND
Saturday, July 23, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water streets, Stapleton. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvin.
Saturday, July 30, 8:30 p. m., Beach and Water streets, Stapleton. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Joseph Tuvin.

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Co-operative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members in Various Matters in which They Should Have the Advice and Other Services of a Lawyer.

S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel

Labor organizations can obtain full information regarding cost of membership, etc., from the office, 225 Broadway, Rooms 2709-10, New York. Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

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Carpenters' Union No. 493 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
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IN THE

Workmen's Circle

News of the Young Clubs

(What the Fraternal Monitor, the Leading Magazine in the Fraternal World, Writes About the Workmen's Circle)

"THE convention of the Workmen's Circle, held in May in Cleveland, Ohio, took important action which will be of lasting benefit to the membership of the society. At a cost of between \$150,000 and \$160,000 a new hospital for members suffering from tuberculosis is being constructed. It will be equipped with all of the latest improvements. For a number of years the Workmen's Circle has maintained a sanatorium for tubercular members. It is located at Liberty, N. Y., in the Catskill Mountains, at a high altitude. It is not far distant from New York City, the home of the society, and has proven a most satisfactory location for the important department of its work. The new facilities will make it possible to take care of 34 additional patients. It will thus considerably extend the aid suffering members. In addition to the hospital will probably be completed by the middle of August or the early part of September of this year. Many improvements will also be made in the sanatorium. These will provide more comfort and still better sanitary conditions.

To meet the cost of this building activities, a special assessment was levied on the members at the beginning of 1926 and will continue during 1927 and 1928. Each member contributes \$1 per year and the payments will be completed by the middle of August or the early part of September of this year. Many improvements will also be made in the sanatorium. These will provide more comfort and still better sanitary conditions.

Another important action of the convention was the adoption of a resolution which will make its sick benefit fund solvent. The quarterly rates in this department in the past were \$1.20, or \$4.80 per year. Beginning with January 1, 1928, the quarterly rate will be increased to \$1.35, or 15 cents additional. After the next convention in May, 1929, a further increase of 10 cents will be made. This action does not relate to its life insurance features. The members have given evidence of their desire to have this sick benefit fund solvent and capable of meeting the demands to which it is subject. The society is to be congratulated upon having taken this step.

An Unusual Membership Campaign
Another feature of the convention was the adoption of a resolution for a vigorous campaign for new members among the younger generation of Americans. The Workmen's Circle, and many other societies whose membership are made up largely of those who have recently come to America, have felt the retardant effect of restricted immigration. This will be met by a determined effort to establish an open speaking branch. In conjunction with this campaign summer camps will be established where the children of members and young people may have recreation and enjoy the provision for adults will be made at these camps and for the accommodation of visiting parents and those who wish to spend the summer in the open.

It would be difficult to estimate the amount of good and the educational possibilities of the plans of the Workmen's Circle. Its sanatorium has secured national publicity. It is encouraging Americanization of its members and provides facilities to promote their health and well-being. The liberality of the convention when further demonstrated in donations of about \$50,000 to hospitals and various charitable institutions and the gift of \$1,000 to flood sufferers. This latter effort to establish an open speaking branch that the Workmen's Circle has no lodges in the lower Mississippi Valley. A society whose action is along such altruistic lines is proof that fraternal lives and that fraternal societies are a boon to members and to the land.

Federal Employees Seek

Half Holiday Saturdays

Washington.—President Luther Stevedard of the National Federation of Federal Employees will urge the setting up of a new bill for Government workers when they meet in convention at San Antonio, Texas, in September, says the Office Worker.

"This year for the first time," said President Stevedard, "Government workers in Washington have obtained the Saturday half-holiday for four months, instead of three. With the seven-hour week in the summer months from June 1 to September 30. The next step for the union is to win the Saturday half-holiday the year round."

UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 8th STREET
Phone: ORchard 9585-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
JACOB ROSENBERG, Sec'y-Treasurer.
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, 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.

BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. 5th St. Orchard 9250
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
AL GRABEL, President.
I. KORN, Secretary.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
1 East 15th Street Tel. STUYvesant 3037
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREDMAN, President.
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Local 6939, A. F. of L.
1 East 15th Street STUYvesant 7078
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Kaselband, N. H. H. Sec'y.
A. Weiner, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec. & Treas.
Wm. K. Chisling, 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 6689
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

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Local 584, I. O. of F.
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 1st and 3rd Thursday at 8 P. M.
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 6 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1073. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
ABE LEWIS, Pres. Sec'y.
GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y.
Vice-Pres. AARON RAPAPORT, Treasurer.
JACOB RAPAPORT, Bus. Agent.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499 BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Evg. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
ALVIN BOETTNER, President.
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 308 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longways 5589
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M. McDONALD, Vice-President. Sec. Secretary
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Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SHUMAN, President
ABRAHAM SAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone ASHLand 2489
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Office, 221 E. 14th Street.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
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Brooklyn—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Ellyn—158 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—14 Montross Ave.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday, at the Office, 401 E. 15th St. Melrose 7699
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributions are requested to be sent to the Editor, 7 East 10th Street, New York City, and not to the local office. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1927

VIENNA WORKERS SPEAK

WHAT is apparent in the Vienna demonstrations is that provocations by royalist and clerical fascists had reached a breaking point. For several years they have assaulted Socialist and trade union meetings and demonstrations and have indulged in anti-Semitic propaganda. These Black Hundreds first got their inspiration from the Bavarian fascists and later from Mussolini, but, fortunately, the Socialists and trade unionists of Vienna are solidly united in sentiment and action. They have remained armed and on a number of occasions they have repulsed Fascist assaults.

Moreover, Vienna is a Socialist city. Its public powers have been used to protect the republic from attacks by both the Left and the Right. The Communists are a very small handful in Vienna and the attempt of some American dailies to give the demonstration a Communist label is silly. Of course the Moscow mandarins also began to call for what the capitalist press pretended to see in Vienna—a Communist dictatorship. But the Vienna masses are so well disciplined that they are not likely to follow Moscow up a blind alley.

The immediate occasion for the outbreak was the acquittal of two fascists in court who were charged with the murder of Socialists. This was but one of a long series of provocations and the tense feeling of the masses burst into fury. No doubt the participation of criminal elements as well as the few Communists made the situation perilous for a few hours, but the old discipline soon asserted itself, thanks to the intelligent leadership of the Socialists. Such vast expressions of protest are tests of the training and leadership of the movement. The criminal, the eccentric and the lunatic fringe are inevitably drawn in and the fact that the Vienna Socialists and trade unionists kept their demonstration out of the hands of criminals and freaks is a credit to the whole organized working class of the city.

Meantime the Seipel Government has been given a warning of the elemental power of the working class. That Government has been too passive in its tolerance of the extralegal activities of the fascists. The workers also have given an inspiring example of protest, solidarity and discipline which will never be forgotten.

THE APE-MAN SURVIVES

IT MAY be difficult for immigrants and people who have always lived in the Northern States to understand the saddest enigma many Southerners get out of flogging the naked backs of men and women. The number of these floggings in Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Tennessee have been alarmingly large the past few weeks. These brutalities occur in the Fundamentalists belt, the Baptist faith having a good percentage of the floggers. One Baptist Sunday School Superintendent held the head of a woman between his knees while her back was cut into bloody strips and ordered the same torture for her son when he cried out in protest.

This savagery is a survival of the harsh life of frontier days when life was cheap. It is also a brutal heritage of slavery. For generations whites were accustomed to witness brutal whippings of slaves. It was a stern regime of mastery at the top exercised through overseers on the plantations. These overseers were generally illiterate and, left in charge of the slave gangs, their only knowledge of labor discipline was use of a whip or a club.

This brutality nursed on the plantations came to shape the character of many whites in their relations with each other. The upper class of landed magnates, aping the aristocracy of the Old World, generally resorted to the duel with knife or pistol. The lower whites relied upon sheer brute force, kicking an opponent in the stomach, gouging out eyes with a twist of the thumb, biting the nose off with the teeth, and tearing strips of flesh from the face of an enemy with the finger-nails. A fight between lower whites was always a disgusting spectacle to travelers from the North and from Europe.

This savagery is an inheritance of over 200 years of bondage for the Negro. It has come home to plague the whites themselves. It is in a way retribution coming out of the past. Its survival means that the ape still lingers among these Fundamentalists. Perhaps that is why they deny that there is any evolution.

Great excitement is reported among the members of the Workers' Party this week. It is claimed that yellow taxis represent a "dangerous right deviation." The Polcom of the Plenum has been instructed by the Presidium of the Kitchen Nuclei to present a thesis on this danger to Leninist tactics.

NICARAGUAN "OUTLAWS"

BE AS sanctimonious as they may, the American officials responsible for the bloody affair in Nicaragua cannot avoid the plain implications of American policy in Latin-America. It is a ruthless policy of American control in the service of American banks and American investors. The labor movement in these countries is also to be crushed when it protests against this policy. This is evident from Secretary Kellogg's implied denunciation of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor in his letter to President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Kellogg's waving aside of the forces under Sandino as "nothing more than common outlaws" who are to be exterminated recalls another "outlaw" in our own history. When Washington and his ragged and starving forces had dwindled to a few thousand encamped at Valley Forge, British imperial officials spoke with contempt of the "outlaws." Lord Howe, enjoying his mistress in Philadelphia, dancing the minuet with perfect ladies, drinking goblets of madeira and sneering at the "outlaws" shivering in the icy blasts of winter, was never more confident of his power.

Certainly this American "outlaw" never anticipated the lackey of Minnesota corporations hoisted into the State Department there to insult all the peoples from the Mexican border to Cape Horn by transforming the village of Ocotol into a bloody shambles and then denouncing the resistants as "outlaws." It remained for this mediocre "lame duck," who was kicked upstairs into the premiership after being repudiated by the people of his own State, to play the part of an imperialist boor.

On the other hand, those in the labor movement who think there are no issues in American life may contemplate this dirty episode. It is charged with peril. If organized workers of Nicaragua are regarded as the associates of "outlaws" by Kellogg, it is only another step to us being so regarded here. Not only this, but we may anticipate the eventual union of all the peoples from the Rio Grande to the Argentine in an alliance against the United States. On this side of the Atlantic we may see two powers arming here for the holy cause of oil and banks, the others for the right to live their own life without molestation. The "outlaws" may then teach us a lesson, but it will be paid for by us in suffering, tears and death.

Here is an issue for the American working class. What more vital one could there be?

SENSIBLE SCANDINAVIANS

IT IS doubtful whether the statesmen of capitalism will ever learn anything from the functioning of the social order over which they preside. They are like half-wits playing about vats of dynamite, but, unlike half-wits, are not injured when the explosion comes. Nine years have passed away since the world ceased to shake with the shock of a world war and we began to mop up the bloody mess. Notwithstanding that horrible butchery they are still playing at the lunacy which they call diplomacy, matching their dull wits at the old game of "balance of power," and while they drivel at Geneva and at home drool over their secret archives the old system drifts toward the ditch of war.

The only sane spot in the world of capitalism appears to be the cluster of Scandinavian countries. Their statesmen had brains enough to keep out of the last world war and they are now trying to avoid getting into the next one. They had sense enough to know that the ruling classes of both warring alliances were tarred with the same dirty stick. No doubt they were approached by both sides as Italy was and offered a price to wallow in the bloody muck. They refused. The Italian statesmen obtained a satisfactory price from the Allies and now Italy is mastered by an ego-maniac with the assistance of degenerate yeggs.

Sweden and her Scandinavian neighbors have agreed to a series of treaties that promise them some relief when blood again begins to spatter across their frontiers. They have sought shelter behind agreements which apparently conceal nothing and which provide for arbitration and conciliation even on those two matters which other capitalist powers always hold to be outside the realm of arbitration. These are issues involving what they call "vital interests" and "national honor." Those "vital interests" generally involve investments or trade or smell of petroleum. "National honor" is generally a flag to conceal issues that are no better.

The Scandinavian treaties outlaw no issue at the bar of arbitration and they do not think that their "honor" has been sacrificed. The old code of the other imperialist powers is really the duel code which survived into the nineteenth century even in this country. The pompous individual who believed that he had a grievance sought an opportunity to vindicate his "honor" by running his opponent through with a sword or planting a few bullets into his body.

We like the Scandinavians. They are preparing to quarantine themselves from the next bloody storm while we are being prepared as a sacrifice for the Grand Dukes of Capital and Finance.

If Men Were Wise

What might be done if men were wise,
What glorious deeds, my suffering brother,
Would they unite
In love and right,
And cease their scorn of one another?
Oppression's heart might be imbued
With kindling drops of loving-kindness,
And knowledge pour
From shore to shore
Light on the eyes of mental blindness.
All slavery, warfare, lies, and wrongs,
All vice and crime might die together;
And meat and corn,
To each man born,
Be free as warmth in summer weather.
The meanest wretch that ever trod,
The deepest sunk in guilt and sorrow,
Might stand erect
In self-respect,
And share the teeming world tomorrow.
What might be done? This might be done,
And more than this, my suffering brother:
More than the tongue
Ere said or sung,
If men were wise and loved each other.
—CHARLES MACKAY.

In Cal's Footsteps

Thayer Aspired to Role of Red-Killer

By S. A. De Witt

WHEN Cal Coolidge played up his breaking of the Boston Police Strike and landed himself into the White House on his anti-Red parachute, all the pinhead office holders in America started to yowl against radicals and dissenters that lasted long after the World War dwindled into distant memory. Had not Palmer gotten himself mixed up with the alien property mish-mash of thievery and bootlegging, he might have even superseded Cowboy Cal as the Wall Street sweetheart on the strength of his outrageous hounding of Socialists and political progressives.

The Red rage had the country agog, and on that excitement rode many lame ducks and office-houndards. April, 1920, found Mr. Thaddeus C. Sweet, Speaker of the New York State Assembly, all swollen with the anti-Red virus, and incidentally quite infected with a desire to become Governor of the Empire State. He knew that five Socialists had been elected to the assembly from New York City. He also thought he knew the native temper regarding Socialists in general. A grand stand play such as ousting these Socialists from the State Parliament would bring him and his courageous act to the notice of every banker and captain of industry in the land.

Who could follow logically to what famous state he and his patriotic mood would lift an otherwise inconsequential politician? Sweet took the step with out advice of sane counsel. The haste with which he acted was fully evidenced after the faked "trial." And were it not for the dictatorial power of patronage and past favors, the Republican and Democratic puppets who pulled his cart of blunder through muck and mire would have left him to founder into a well deserved obloquy. Anyhow, not only did he slip into his ally calculations against the

Socialists, but he even refused to listen to such respectable satraps of his party as ex-Governor Hughes. The latter he deliberately insulted on the Assembly floor when protest was made on constitutional grounds from a committee representing the general public.

Thayer sees how this last act of stupidity cooked the Sweet gander insofar as the Governorship was concerned. He was defeated for the Assembly when he was the following term in his own district. But all this happened before Justice Thayer sitting in a Massachusetts court had sentenced two obviously innocent men to death on a charge of murder. Sacco and Vanzetti were radicals. A robbery had been committed, a paymaster killed, and the culprits had escaped. Crime waves were inundating the land as an aftermath of the war and police and courts were being criticized severely by the moneyed and propertied classes. The police with the aid of the National Department of Justice found Sacco and Vanzetti.

These were two lonely, lowly and un-influential aliens, of anarchistic faith. No one knew them, and no one would bother about them if they were offered up as sacrifices on the altar of official laxity and judicial incompetence. The Italians were properly framed and set up for public condemnation. Judge Thayer, another of the innumerable tribe of New England official pinheads, sat in judgment over them. He too was envious of that other nincompoop, the Northampton guy who had jumped over the heads of a thousand worthier barristers into the first place of the country.

And all on the pretext of being anti-radical. And so it was brought out quite irrelevantly, but significantly in the trial that these men on trial for murder ought to be punished for being political non-conformists as well. Four times during Thayer's charge to the

jury he stressed the fact of how "disloyal and traitorous" the accused men were to the institutions, etc., of our glorious country. In fact, at times the entire trial revolved on the issue of radicalism, and hardly on the charge of robbery and manslaughter.

Therein lies the distinct parallel between Thaddeus C. Sweet who ousted the Socialists for political self-advancement, and Judge Thayer's determination to convict Sacco and Vanzetti as Reds in addition to murder on the flimsy evidence he and his prosecuting puppets presented. It is not definitely known to what higher political office the Judge aspired to. But it is definitely understood that he expected some sort of reward, for the anti-red stand he took in that crisis. His entire conduct through the trial evidenced his desire to be publicly discovered as a "law and order" specimen of the Coolidge type. And surely if one politician received his pieces of silver for a similar episode, would it not follow that he too should expect a somewhat similar compensation?

And all through these seven years the "die-hards" who had planned a political reward for Thayer's loyalty to their interests have been dragging their cart of blunder and public shame through the muck, assisted as they have been by the constitutional law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Fortunately, the very purpose of the Judge that forced into his ambitious plotting the issue of radicalism in what has delayed the execution of his victims all these years. And may yet save two innocent men over whose bodies he perhaps planned to step into a higher political office.

When Sweet and Thayer reach the room of dull oblivion beyond life they will have much to converse about in common interest.

In the meantime, Sacco and Vanzetti are in jail, still uncertain as to their fate.

THE CHATTER BOX

Jazz Music

I've got a south-wind's lowdown heart,
I'm sneaking out like soft-shoed sin.
The moonlight's drowned my little soul,
The moon's a spilling glass of gin.
Oh! Honey slide me
Right through the grasses.
The night's untied me,
And all the masses
Of fear and envy.
They say: "Goodbye, boy."
Oh! Honey, when we,
Me and my sly boy,
Commence to foxtrot
The night goes crazy.
It's moaning knocks hot
Against the hazy
Magnolia silence.
Just creamy madness.
The flowers lie dense,
And when the sadness
Of old night shakes him
To weird romancing
Their perfume makes him
All drunk and dancing!
The moon deceived me, hurt me so,
Just like a promise dead when dawn
Slunk up the hillsides, mean and slow.
I cried all day 'cause it was gone.
Oh, Honey let me
Stay with the moonlight.
It can't forget me.
I hope it's soon night.
I turned my shoulder
To singing pain, dear.
My legs grew bolder,
Fast with disdain, dear.
My body shouted
In every motion.
And how I flouted
The heavy notion
That day was real, dear!
Oh! All my heart beats
Rose to a squeal, dear.
I left the cold streets
And found the hills, dear.
Just where the moonlight's
Warm pity spills, dear,
And where a tune fights
The fears of life, dear.
The great night made me
His leaping wife, dear,
And nothing stayed me!

The moon was tragic,
Yet thronged with lightness,
Just like a magic
Where grief and whiteness
Become so winsome
They melt together.
They cry: "Step in, come!"
"Sway like a feather!"
But now the daylight's made me still,
And all my heart's a splintered cup.
I lean against the window-sill.
No storm of music swings me up.
I've got the slow, black, orchid blues.
I'm in the jungle, trapped and lone.
My fingers tap against one bruise.
The last place where the moonlight shone.
—Maxwell Bodenheim.

Two Poems

Footsteps

Blind in the wind, in the rain, in the dusk,
Blind in the night, in winds of the sea,
Blown in ships, in shadows of dusk,
Of fog horn calls and soft ebb tides,
Of wind-swept seas,
And field blown signs. . . .

Whispers lost in the sweetened dew,
Shadows of breathing quiet and dreams,
When wind blows the sea
And the night is still
And the rain is soft
In the dark, in the dusk.

Sonnet

And now that words are lost in futile prayer
What little breath betrayed his stolen pride
Is gone; no wish, no promised faith can dare
Remove this Hate that spat, then vainly cried
When feeble winds were dead and dawn had come,
And sand and sky and sea were quieted,
For words were lost and he was cold and dumb,
And though once warm his heart had dropped like lead.

And as each wave brought in the morning tide,
And cast its shadow on the listless sand,
Vaguely unaware of Hate he tried
To call the sea, and so he placed a hand
Upon his moving lips and bowed his head;
But though he prayed, his words remained unsaid.
—Solomon Portnow.

The New Leader Mail Bag.

JAMES ONEAL'S WORK

The New Leader:
The writer believes a tribute is in order for the excellent work being done by James Oneal, of The New Leader staff, for American Socialism. It is customary for a great many of us to cast about in the direction of Europe when mention of great leaders in the Socialist movement of the world is made. America has been fortunate in the possession of a Debs or a Hillquit as outstanding figures; however, the comrades of America have been overlooking the efforts and accomplishments of one in our midst who is doing more at the present time looking toward making Socialism indigenous to America than any other single individual.

An illustration of the care and diligence in preparation of material and for originality displayed in Oneal's "Workers in American History." At the present time Comrade Oneal is conducting original research among the writings of early American labor philosophers, with the purpose of bringing to light the contributions of these early protagonists of the working class, who, in many cases, have displayed surprising knowledge of the economic laws governing modern so-

ciet and approximating closely our present theories of the class struggle and the economic interpretation of history.

The excellent editorials in The New Leader weekly, giving the Socialist interpretation of passing events, his able exposition of the Communist movement, his numerous writings and pamphlets on all subjects bearing on the working class, stamp James Oneal as one of our ablest exponents. Comrade Oneal, by his individual efforts, is slowly but surely adding to the building up of a primarily American Socialist philosophy, and his painstaking efforts will undoubtedly greatly enhance the chances of an American Socialist literature. Too long has American Socialism depended on English, French and German Socialism for a basic literature, with the result that in our endeavors to enlist the support and interest of the American worker we have been talking to him in terms of English, German and French working class history. This kind of work should have been done 20 or 30 years ago, and it is to the credit of James Oneal that he is doing a work, and doing it well, which is sadly lacking.

Modest, diligent, brilliant and painstaking, James Oneal is one of the greatest contemporary figures in the American Socialist movement, and if

we are to recognize him for what he is and what he has accomplished, now is the time to throw bouquets at him, while he is here to appreciate them. In any event, a little appreciation and encouragement goes a long way to bring happiness and pleasure to these stalwart sons of the proletariat.

JOSEPH N. COHEN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.
[Assistant Editor's Note.—We print the above in open defiance of orders from the boss.]

A Card of Thanks

Editor, The New Leader:
I wish hereby to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to those comrades who, in the midst of their own too busy lives, paused to remember me on the occasion of my birthday, and who presented me with a token of their comradeship and faith in me as a soldier in our common cause. If I thought it was necessary I would here reiterate them and all my other comrades in the coming of Socialism and my immovable faith in the triumph of industrial democracy. Suffice to say, however, that my life is unalterably dedicated to the cause of labor's emancipation.

Frank R. Crosswaith.

New York City.

300 NICARAGUANS ARE SLAIN BY U.S.

A. F. of L. Warned of War a Few Days Before Attack Started

(Continued from page 1)

formation contained in the telegram which I have quoted, that blood shed is imminent and destruction of life is seriously threatened. We shrink from the consideration of such a situation. We cannot contemplate it with complacency. I urge you to prevent the use of the United States armed forces in the Central American Republic of Nicaragua.

"The exercise of force by the government of the United States, which would result in the loss of human life in the Republic of Nicaragua, would, no doubt, create great resentment against the government of the United States, among the people of the Latin-American republics, and cause feelings of profound regret in the minds of many people residing within our own land.

"Will you please advise me as to the correctness of the information contained in the telegram to which I have called your attention and transmit to me such information as you can regarding the situation existing in Nicaragua and what is being done to bring about peace?"

"Respectfully yours,
(Signed) "WILLIAM GREEN,
"President American Federation of Labor,"
"President Pan-American Federation of Labor."

Not till three days later did President Green receive an answer from Secretary Kellogg. The reply declared that Sandino and his forces were "nothing more than common outlaws." The implication of Kellogg's letter was that the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor in filing its protest with President Green is also an "outlaw." No other interpretation can be placed upon this reply and it is evident that American power in Latin-America is determined to crush the labor movement when it stands in the way of this power.

The paragraph in the Kellogg letter, which brings this information to American and Latin-American labor, reads:

"From the above you will observe that the Nicaraguan forces referred to in the telegram which you quote, and which it is stated, are wholeheartedly supported by the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, are in effect nothing more than common outlaws. So far as this department is aware, Sandino and his followers do not have the support or approval of any of the leaders of either of the political parties in Nicaragua."

This is true of the Diaz party supported by American bayonets, but it is not true of the Saca party. One section of this party laid down its arms because it believed that to contend with American armed forces is useless. The Sandino section determined to continue the struggle, despite Colonel Stimson's threat to "forcibly disarm all opposition. This display of the mailed fist is declared by Secretary Kellogg "the good offices of Colonel Stimson."

One day after writing this letter machine guns were firing upon Nicaraguans from five airplanes. For sixteen hours the battle raged between a small land force of Americans supported by the airplanes and 400 revolutionists at the village of Ocotol. It is estimated that two-thirds of the Nicaraguan losses were due to the deadly airplanes against which the revolutionaries were helpless.

Early in May, it is recalled, Colonel Henry Stimson, personal representative of President Coolidge, sent to Nicaragua to assist in ending the revolution which had been in progress between the Liberals and Conservatives for eight months, issued an ultimatum demanding that both factions turn in their arms and end the civil war. The demand was diplomatically phrased, but its meaning was unmistakable.

"The forces of the United States," said Colonel Stimson, "will be authorized to accept the custody of the arms of those willing to lay them down, including the government's, and to disarm forcibly those who will not do so." These strong words were effective. Jose Maria Moncada, generalissimo of the Liberals, broke with Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, their claimant for the Presidency, accepted the conditions imposed and directed his forces to turn in their arms. The Liberals surrendered more than 2,000 rifles, many machine guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

General Sandino, however, elected to carry on the revolt, and Moncada was powerless to bring him into line. Possessing himself of all available arms and ammunition and supported by a few loyal adherents, Sandino escaped to the mountain fastness, in the Department of Nueva Segovia, essentially a Liberal district adjacent to Honduras. He announced he had formed an independent government with himself as President.

For more than two months Sandino defied the American marines and the Diaz constabulary. His army assumed alarming proportions, and now is said to number more than 400 well armed men, each solemnly sworn to obey him. It is this resistance to American mastery of Nicaragua that induced Brigadier General Logan Feland, who commands American forces in Nicaragua, to carry out the sinister threat of Colonel Stimson to "disarm forcibly those who will not do so." The result is a war waged with American troops upon the soil of another nation, an act which, if committed against a strong nation, would lead to an open declaration of war by the wronged nation.