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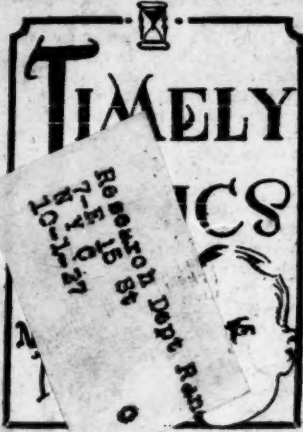
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Starvation Pay In Textile Shown By U. S. Figures

Full-Time Weekly Wage Drops from \$30 to \$25,
Department of Labor Finds—Cotton Indus-
try Wage Now Down \$17 Weekly

(By New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Charges made by the United Textile Workers of America that wages and working conditions in the textile industries are miserably bad and are steadily becoming worse are substantiated by the United States Department of Labor in bulletins just issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Government bulletins reveal that wages are dropping and hours of labor are increasing in the woolen and worsted goods industry as well as in the cotton goods industry. The reports cover the period 1910 to 1926. There has been little or no change since 1926. Bulletin 443, Wages and Hours of Labor in Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing, presents data for 1926 collected from 112 representative mills, located in eight Eastern States, and covers 39,970 employees.

For the industry as a whole the average earnings per hour decreased from 62.5 cents in 1920 to 53.3 cents

in 1924 and to 49.1 cents in 1926. The figure for 1926 is 7.9 per cent lower than 1924 and 21.8 per cent lower than 1920, the peak year, although still 17.6 per cent above 1913.

Average full-time earnings per week for all occupations combined decreased from \$30.33 in 1920 to \$26.17 in 1924, and further to \$24.21 in 1926.

Hourly earnings for male workers in 1926 ranged from 28.8 cents for doffers to 80.7 cents for loom fixers, and for females from 28 cents for doffers to 69.3 cents for wool sorters.

(Continued on page 3)

BOSTON COMMON WEVD PREPARES STILL CLOSED TO OPERATE

Permit Revoked During
Hysteria Not
Returned to Socialists

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—Although the Socialist Party of Boston had not yet regained any of the speaking and literature permits taken away from the party during the Sacco and Vanzetti protest period by the Boston police, Alfred Baker Lewis, State Secretary of the party, held an open air meeting on the corner of Tremont and Hammond streets, with Ethelred Brown as the main speaker.

The permit for the speaking privilege was granted by the police department to the American Negro Labor Congress. The officials of the Congress offered Lewis the use of their platform in introducing Brown to a Boston colored audience. According to some of the audience, this was the first time for years that any Socialist speaker had been listened to by a large colored audience in a colored district.

Many at Plieie
The discouraged and disgruntled ones of the Socialist movement should have hied themselves in the direction of Maynard, Mass., on Monday of this week in order to have their discouragement and discontent replaced by a feeling of courage and dogged determination to go on with the job.

The Socialist Party of New England was having its annual fall outing in the heart of the Maynard woods—on acres of land owned by the Maynard Finnish Local of the Party. A wide peaceful lake reflected the clear blue of the unclouded sky and the trees that overhung its shores. Shouts of happy laughter of slim young Yipsees as they dived into the water at one end of the lake, reached the ears of the older groups gathered on the clearing near the hall, where hot coffee, sandwiches, and other good things to eat were being dispensed by the untiring women members of the Party branches. Over a group of Yipsees athletes hurried their shining javelins through the air, their supple bodies reminding one of the sculptured athletes of ancient Greece. A thought clouded the minds of some of the on-lookers—what would years of toil in the factory and shop do to their young bodies?

Tokoi Is Speaker
Floating out on the warm breeze came the strains of the Internationale, played by the Maynard comrades' band. The speeches were about to begin. Alfred Baker Lewis, District Secretary, introduced the speakers—August Claessens and Ethelred Brown of New York, and Oscar Tokoi, former Socialist Premier of Finland. The names of Sacco and Vanzetti were mentioned often, and the deep necessity of carrying on, of strengthening the ranks of the workers so that similar outrages would be prevented in the future.

A program of musical selections followed, while out under the trees the members of the District Committee of the Yipsees laid their plans for the season's coming activities. This was a holiday—Labor Day—and the Socialists of the district had come together for a day of rest and recreation, but the feeling of renewed work and activity would not be denied. One felt sure that the winter's work would show splendid results. Here was no disheartened, depressed gathering, but a group of undaunted workers—determined and determined to carry on.

BRITISH LABOR DEMANDS AN ELECTION

Baldwin Is Challenged
to Go to Voters on
Trade Union Bill

EDINBURGH.—Premier Baldwin's appeal for industrial peace received an answer by the Trade Union Congress meeting here this week. There is much resentment by workers over this hypocritical plea of Baldwin after having jammed through Parliament a bill intended to injure the Labor Party and the trade unions. A resolution adopted by the Congress on Tuesday declared that no section of the community was more desirous of industrial peace than the workers, but asserted that the policy of the government, especially its Trade Unions Bill was a formidable obstacle. Such harmony could be made by immediate repeal of the bill or a general election.

In his address at the first session of the Congress President George Hicks warned the Tory reactionaries that "underground and dubious methods to do what they formerly did in the light of day" might be the culmination of legislation against the trade unions.

"Practically nothing has been done to establish an effective machinery for industry as a whole," he said. "There are many problems for which joint discussion would prove valuable at the present time. A much fuller use can be made of machinery for joint consultation and negotiation between employers and employees."

"Such a direct exchange of practical views would be of far greater significance than the suggestion which has been made for a spectacular national congress to discuss a vague aspiration toward 'industrial peace.'"

"A discussion along these lines would bring both sides face to face with the hard realities of the present economic situation, and might yield useful results in showing upon what terms co-operation is possible."

Mr. Hicks also warned of what he declared was the danger of another war through the militarism of men in power, and alluded to the question of the relations with Soviet Russia, which is expected to come up for discussion.

Mr. Hicks maintained an uncompromising attitude toward the Trades Union act, the recent Parliamentary measure which, among other things, makes general strikes illegal and strengthens the law regarding the prevention of intimidation in connection with strikes.

Trade unionism, he said, would have to find new methods if it is to survive.

"Those forces which produced the trade union movement cannot be shackled by legislation," declared Mr. Hicks. "Let any of our men be persecuted, let any of our unions be attacked, and just that element would be provided that will sweep this measure out of existence, along with its authors."

"We have no alternative but to make our trade unions and the whole organized working class movement—political, co-operative and industrial—an instrument capable not merely of winning electoral battles to secure the return of our representatives to Parliament and municipal bodies, but able to exercise industrial pressure and economic power, to secure the realization of the legitimate demands of the common people."

Referring to women's work, Mr. Hicks said: "One of the most encouraging signs regarding the movement is the increasing part which working women are taking in its activities. When the women of a people begin to move, it is the surest signal of a coming change. In many things women are more persistent and determined than men. In our movement we need the women's help. In all our struggles women can help."

Rebuffs administered by the Congress to its Communist minority were an additional indication that British labor has had enough of this movement.

(Continued on page 2)

Pullman Co. Accused of \$150,000,000 Annual Steal From Travelers

CANADA UNIONS GROW

Gain in Membership Is
Reported to Trade
Union Congress

By International Labor News Service

EDMONTON, Alta.—Outstanding proof of the supremacy and progress of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as the official legislative mouthpiece of the bona-fide labor movement of the whole Dominion was seen by P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer, in his report to the annual convention here, showing an increase of 11,325 in membership during the year.

The most phenomenal increase was reported by the firemen and others, from 125 to 3,457, while the United Mine Workers made an increase of 3,000 in face of a rival union known as the Mine Workers of Canada.

Marked Progress Made

"The past year has been one of marked progress for Canadian union labor, the spirit of unity so noticeable at the Montreal convention a year ago having permeated the whole membership and manifested itself in that close co-operation so essential to success in any movement," the executive committee of the Trades and Labor Congress declared in giving an account of its stewardship.

A resolution urging affiliated unions to work for the five-day, forty-hour week was adopted. Delegates affirmed that through greater use of machinery production in Canada had increased at least 40 per cent per worker in the last decade. It was also declared that although most industries were supposed to be working on a six-day week basis, great numbers of workers did not average as much as five days a week on full time. The question of what pay should be demanded when changes were made to the five-day week, it was pointed out, was a matter for the members of unions affected to determine.

A resolution instructing provincial executives to press for legislation by the provinces which would make the old-age pension scheme of the federal government effective in all parts of the country was unanimously adopted. The Dominion Government undertakes to pay old age pensions of \$10 a month if and when the provincial governments agree to add a similar amount or pittance.

7,000 N. Y. TEAMSTERS STRIKE FOR INCREASE

Between 6,000 and 7,000 teamsters and truckmen, members of Locals 252 and 807, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, went on strike Wednesday to enforce demands for shorter hours and a wage increase in a new agreement to replace one which expired September 1.

The action came after a meeting which started early Tuesday night and lasted until 2 o'clock Wednesday morning at Beethoven Hall, 210 Fifth street, at which the 2,000 truckmen in attendance voted unanimously to turn down the offer of the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau of New York to renew the old agreement.

Express companies will not be affected by the strike and the movement of produce to and from the central markets will not be interrupted.

Porters' Union Asks Inter- state Commerce Commission to End "Tip" System

THE Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has instituted an action before the Interstate Commerce Commission to compel the Pullman company to end the "tipping system" and instead pay its employees a living wage.

The petition charges that the Pullman company, through the tipping system, has been forcing Pullman car users to pay rates far in excess of the price marked on the passenger ticket and the price authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Porters are paid extremely low wages, it is charged, and they are specifically instructed to collect the difference between that and living wages through collection of tips from travelers.

A sum totaling \$150,000,000 is thus exacted from Pullman car users annually, it is alleged in the petition.

The petition filed by the union states, in part:

"That the practice of paying by passengers of said extra amounts called 'gratuities' or 'tips' is not voluntary on the part of said passengers, but the result of pressure of a custom adopted and maintained and officially confirmed by defendant; that the history of said process by defendant may be briefly set out as follows: Defendant began its business of selling and providing sleeping car and parlor car accommodations for passengers on or about February 22, 1887. The provision of said accommodations necessitated the performance of duties considered at that time menial and servile and unworthy of the dignity of white males. Negroes had but recently emerged from a condition of slavery and were regarded by the great mass of the white population of the United States as racially inferior and incapable of development to the intellectual level of white persons and fit only to perform menial and servile tasks. By reason of said attitude of the white population, the opportunities of negroes for employment as means of livelihood were greatly restricted, and accordingly their services could be purchased at rates much lower than those necessary to secure white employees for similar work. Furthermore, by reason of said former condition of slavery and of said attitude of the whites, the manner and demeanor of negroes to whites tended to be obsequious, fawning and servile, eager to please the whites by volunteering small personal services to them. It was the custom and practice for negroes to volunteer such services to whites and for whites to reward them by a small gratuity or tip."

"Defendant in 1887 adopted the policy of hiring only negroes as porters and of paying them only one-half to two-thirds of the amount necessary to enable them to remain in its service. In thus taking negroes into its service defendant took over with them the gratuity custom and has since maintained, developed and officially confirmed it.

"The defendant has not merely passively received the profits and advantages to itself of said gratuity custom. It has actively and by positive and continuous acts, policies and practices encouraged, confirmed and officially established it.

"Among said acts are the following: Defendant, in employing porters, notifies them that passengers will contribute \$50 to \$100 per month and thus take out the wage which defendant itself pays (approximately \$72.50 per month) to an income upon which it is possible for the porter to remain in the service. Defendant requires that porters perform personal services to passengers, such as cleaning shoes and clothes, and requires the porter to furnish supplies and equipment therefor. Defendant at all times since 1887 has fixed the wage paid by it in the light of the amount defendant estimates the porter will receive from passengers and by making the defendant's portion only approximately one-half to two-thirds of the said necessary wage. The said \$72.50 per month was established by defendant as a minimum rate for porters in February, 1926. Prior thereto and before 1923 it was \$60; before 1919, \$48.50; before 1918, \$30; before 1916 for many years it was \$27.50. These amounts were at all times inadequate to enable said employees to remain in the service and forced them to induce passengers to make up the deficiency. A month's work is equivalent to 11,000 miles or 400 hours of road service and said minimum rates are and were the pay received by the great majority of porters from defendant. By said acts defendant has, in effect, instructed porters to obtain the necessary residue of their wages from passengers."

PURCELL OUSTED BY AMSTERDAM

Oudegeest Letter in
1924, Revealed by
British, Causes Row
in Congress

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

AMSTERDAM.—European trade union circles are still discussing the "sensation" sprung at the recent Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions when John Brown, the English secretary, made public a private letter written by Jan Oudegeest, the Dutch secretary, which appeared to place Oudegeest in an embarrassing position.

It seems that in November, 1924, a proposal on "unity" had been received by the Amsterdam International from Tomsky, head of the Russian Communist unions. According to Brown, Oudegeest then wrote to Jouhaux, the French labor leader, saying that Tomsky's letter appeared "to show a sincere desire on the part of the Russians to co-operate with us and therefore it seems to me it is time to pass to the attack." Brown charged this letter indicated an effort by Oudegeest to sabotage possible unity efforts.

The congress appointed a commission to investigate the entire matter. The report has just been made public. It says:

"In accordance with instructions from the Plenary Meeting, Commission I has conscientiously investigated the charges, based on the copy of a letter, which were brought in the open Plenary Meeting against Comrade Oudegeest for his attitude as secretary in carrying out the resolutions of the Vienna Congress aiming at the affiliation of the Russian trade unions. In view of the length of time which has elapsed since the date of the letter, i. e. 6-11-24, it was impossible for the commission to obtain and check the manuscript of the letter, which is no doubt no longer in existence.

Letter Is Quoted
"The commission, therefore, bases its opinion upon the comprehensive questions and answers of Comrades Oudegeest and Brown and text of the copy of the letter of 6-11-24 which is before it.

"After examining the letter, Oudegeest acknowledges having written and sent it to Jouhaux. He dictated it in the Dutch language. He declares that he cannot remember whether he read through the French letter, but he signed it and handed it over for despatch. The actual letter despatched may possibly, because of translation difficulties, not have been exactly the same in its phrasing as the Dutch original.

"The third paragraph of the letter reports a letter received from Tomsky, of which the translation is as follows: 'I send you herewith copy in' (Continued on page 2)

PAPER BOX MAKERS SIGN MANY RECRUITS; OTHER UNIONS GIVE AID

The Paper Box Makers' Union ended its summer organization campaign with a mass meeting on Thursday, September 8, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, at 6 o'clock. Hundreds of paper box makers, disgusted with the conditions in non-union shops, where long hours and wage cuts are prevalent, have recently been signing up with the union.

Shortly after the Paper Box Makers' Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor last July, a committee of trade unionists, representing 800,000 employees who work on commodities for which paper boxes are extensively used, pledged the union their full support. Members of this committee at Thursday's meeting, represented the American Federation of Labor, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, United Hebrew Trades, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, International Pocketbook Workers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, International Jewelry Workers' Union, United Neckwear Makers' Union, Suspender and Garter Makers' Union, and the Woman's Trade Union League.

Notice of Meeting

NEW LEADER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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In THE PEOPLES HOUSE

7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Kuomintang Tells Why It Expelled The Communists

Discovery of Secret Resolution Leads to Charge Lefts Sought to Capture or Destroy Leadership of Chinese Nationalist Movement

THE translated text of the statement issued by the Political Council of Kuomintang in Hankow regarding the expulsion of Communist members from governmental and other party offices has reached the New York office of the Nationalist News Agency.

The statement asserts that certain resolutions of the Chinese Communist Party contained in a document brought to the notice of the Political Council through the innocent act of a Communist Party member were subversive of the general principles of the Kuomintang program, and that the adoption of such resolutions without the knowledge of the Kuomintang means that the Communists "have dealt a death blow to the toleration policy of the Kuomintang" toward them.

The full text of the statement follows: "Since the members of the Communist Party were admitted to the Kuomintang to participate in the work of national revolution all the members of the Kuomintang have consistently followed the directions of the Tunggil (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) and have striven to co-operate with the Communists, despite the fact that some undesirable members of the Kuomintang, represented by men like Feng Tse-yu and Chiang Kai-shek, actually committed counter-revolutionary acts under the pretext of anti-communism. Indeed, even during a time when we were beset with difficulties, the members of Kuomintang left no stone unturned in removing the obstacles in the way of the co-operative program.

"When, in March of the present year, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held its third general meeting, it was decided that a joint conference of the party and the Communist Party be convened to discuss the modus operandi of co-operation between the two parties. This is conclusive proof of the sincerity of this party to co-operate with the Communists.

"In pursuance of this decision, the Presidium of the Political Council forthwith invited the responsible comrades of the Communist Party to hold a joint conference, which consequently held sessions sometimes daily and sometimes once in two days. In the course of the sessions, often each lasting as long as four or five hours, all the internal and external questions of the country were brought up for joint discussion and decision.

Communist Document Found
"It was the firm conviction of the Political Council that in so doing the so-called Toleration Policy vis-a-vis the Communists could not but produce more far-reaching results.

"Unfortunately, in the beginning of June, the Presidium of the Political Council received the text of a secret resolution through a responsible member of the Communist Party. The content of the resolution was nothing short of a menace calculated to sap the life of our party. It is as yet premature to disclose the name of the 'responsible comrade' who delivered the resolution.

"It must be pointed out, however, that the comrade came to us, not to denounce secrecy, but approached us in an honest and sincere attitude. This comrade was soon after expelled by the Communist Party on the ground that he had divulged the secret of the said party. It was a shocking disappointment for us to realize that this sort of underhand and clandestine policy on the part of the Communists constituted a very unfavorable commentary on their spirit of co-operation and was liable to nullify the effect of the actions taken by the Joint Conference.

"We undertake to lay open some important points of the aforesaid resolution.
"(1) The resolution says: 'With regard to the land revolution, the lower class shall simply take possession of the land, without any order from the superior organs and the Nationalist Government commanding such confiscation.'

"Leaving aside the question whether this opinion is right or not, we cannot too much emphasize that this is not the view of this party. The doctrine of Socialism, in its explanation of the meaning of the sentence 'Let the tiller have the soil,' stresses that this has to be brought about by political and legal methods.

"In the course of a lecture delivered before the Training School of the Workers of the Peasant Movement at Canton on August 20, 1924, our Tunggil (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) dwelt upon the meaning of the foreign sentence, emphasizing earnestly that in order to realize such an aim the peasants must unite themselves and, under the leadership of the Government, seek a solution through peaceful methods.

The Confiscation of Land
"It is not contrary to the principles of our party, therefore, to advocate the confiscation of land by the lower class without any order from the Government commanding such confiscation? Had the Communists brought up this question at the Joint Conference and laid it open for discussion by members of this party, even if disagreement should lead to a split, their attitude would have been bespoken sincerity and honesty in their dealings with us. On the contrary, no proposal to this effect had been put before the conference by the Communists.

"After the clash between the soldiers and the peasants in Hunan on May 21, the Communists acknowledged the puerility and error of the peasant

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

nice things about Mussolini as are reported in our newspapers. Or maybe it was the effect of what our worthy Mayor told his Italian host was "the best lunch I had ever drunk." Of course no one can believe that a great Democrat and friend of the people like Mr. Walker could praise this blustering autocrat for any other reason. How often have we been told that the new Tammany Hall, under Al Smith and Jimmy Walker, is the last word in "government of the people, by the people and for the people!" Surely, it can have no sympathy for the Fascist boss.

That is an extraordinary story which is being told to the Russian courts by a self-confessed spy in the pay of the British. I doubt if Goler's revelations prove an immediate intention of the British government to attack Russia. I suspect that they are more or less typical of the kind of espionage that strong governments, including our own, carry on against other nations with which they profess to be on friendly terms. British espionage in Russia may be a little worse because feeling is a little stronger. Of course a nation that subsidizes this sort of thing has not a leg to stand on in criticizing Russian propaganda. The whole business is new evidence of the shocking immorality of our competing nationalist states.

Again the New York Times carries a front-page story about the well-nigh hopeless misery of Mississippi farmers in what used to be one of the richest cotton regions. Red Cross funds are almost gone, need of relief still continues, there are no adequate funds, even loan funds, to finance the farmers' reconstruction of their own houses and fields, and there are not enough government funds legally available even to repair the old levees. Yet the United States Treasury is bursting with a surplus and the bankers are plotting ways to get rid of some more taxes on the estates of the rich. Now that Coolidge does not choose to run in 1928, it is harder to see why he still stubbornly refuses to call an extra session of Congress. For his failure part of the blame must fall on the callous indifference of Americans outside of the area wrecked by the floods.

For some reason or other Mr. Coolidge has recently discovered that the manifesto of the financiers about the need of lower trade barriers cannot possibly apply to the sacred American tariff. Maybe not now. But very long there is likely to be a very interesting division in the Republican party between manufacturing interests which want to keep up the maximum tariff rates and investors in European securities who want to get dividends by stimulating European trade, which means lower tariffs. There won't be any idealism in either group. What the farmers and workers of America have to consider is the long run effect of high tariffs, not only upon their own interests as consumers, but upon the peace and prosperity of the world.

The most encouraging thing that I can find in the news is the steady evidence that the tide is turning against the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia and Alabama and that these outrageous floggings by masked men will be dealt with sternly by the law. That helps to redeem the honor of the South.

Communists, which is in itself a menace to the life of the party, and the Communist declaration announcing their withdrawal from the Nationalist Government, the Kuomintang cannot but feel persuaded that the Communists have dealt a death blow to the toleration policy of the Kuomintang.

"This party, however, having at heart the teaching of Dr. Sun concerning the toleration policy vis-a-vis the Communists, has, through the Central Executive Committee, formulated three resolutions regarding this question on July 15, 1927. A comparison of the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee with the Communist declaration of July 13 will not fail to tell the reader as to who are the supporters of the common front of revolution and who are shifting the blame to others and seizing a chance to utter diatribes."

Communists Protected
Shortly following the foregoing statement the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang issued orders for the protection of Communists, laborers and peasants. After explaining that the party had come to the realization that unless its authority was increased and unified, "the national revolution will be obstructed and the foundation of the revolution shaken," the instructions stated that it had become necessary to "limit the activities of the Communist Comrades." However, "we do not aim at doing harm to the Communist Comrades. Every member of the Kuomintang should bear this in mind."

"All Kuomintang branches of different grades, the Nationalist Government, the Military Council, and their respective subordinate organizations are hereby ordered not to oppress or harm Communist members and not to falsely charge anybody with being a Communist. Offenders shall be liable to severe punishment."

Building Workers Meeting Period Of Depression

By Louis Stanley

AN army of unemployed, competition from the unorganized, more workers killed and hurt on the job, and closer entangling alliances with the politicians are the prospects of the aristocratic building trades' unions, when the building boom definitely stops booming. A foretaste of these conditions is supplied by the situation in the New York region, the recognized national leader in building construction.

The building boom in the country as a whole showed no signs of decline until the beginning of this year, nor has New York territory failed to maintain its premier position. According to the F. W. Dodge Corporation, the value of the contracts awarded in thirty-six eastern states, accounting for 91 percent of the United States total, was as follows:

In the New York district, consisting of New York State and Northern New Jersey, we also see increases from year to year:

Building permits issued in 143 cities, according to the New York Federal Reserve Bank, ran as follows:

The decline in 1926 indicates that less building was being contemplated. It must be remembered also that the issuing of building permits does not always go with actual building. In New York City there was an uninterrupted growth:

Decline Ushers in 1927
It is only at the beginning of 1927 that the brakes were put on. The war shortage had been made up in 1925. Such is the considered judgment of three independent authorities, William J. Moore, president of the American Bond & Mortgage Company, the Harvard Economic Service, and W. S. Clark, economist of S. W. Strauss & Co. For the last year and a half or two building construction only had to keep pace with normal growth of business and population. In the opinion of many it has traveled too fast. Hence the warnings of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, to be at first contradicted then with equal heat confirmed by S. W. Strauss. New York, particularly, seemed to be becoming overbuilt, with respect to residential construction, which, of course, did not mean tenement houses.

How the building situation appeared in the first half of this year may be surmised from the following sets of figures for building permits issued in twenty-three cities in New York State, as compiled by the New York State Department of Labor:

Estimated Costs in Millions of Dollars

Residential \$417 \$349
Industrial and commercial 101 103
Public buildings 23 38
All other construction 35 50
Alteration and repairs 41 44

Total, including installations \$619 \$588
The corresponding figures for New York City follow:

Residential \$355 \$292
Industrial and commercial 53 93
Public buildings 17 25
All other construction 26 43
Alterations and repairs 31 35

Total, including installations \$513 \$493
Alteration and Public Work Rise

The full significance of these statistics will be discussed later. For the present we want to note the following facts:

1. There has been a decline in total building in the first six months of this year as compared with the corresponding period of 1926.

2. There has been a drop in residential building.

3. All other types of construction

have increased.

(a) Industrial building slowly, indicating a slackening;

(b) public building (which includes more than governmental building alone) very fast, and

(c) alteration and repairs considerably.

Different angles of the problem may be obtained by studying the classification of data for the valuations of contracts awarded as gathered by the F. W. Dodge Corporation for the New York District (New York State and Northern New Jersey). Some significant items for the first halves of 1926 and 1927 follow:

Contracts Awarded in Thousands of Dollars

Industrial 56,350 129,297
Residential 471,340 423,000

Here it is made even clearer that while industrial and residential building has been declining, as measured by actual contracts awarded for work, construction of a public and more specifically governmental character has been increasing.

Unemployment Increases

What is the effect of these changes in building construction upon the workers in the industry? What are the consequences of the slowing down of operations, of the greater importance of alteration and repair work and of the increase in the volume of public building? Aside from changes in wage scales and working hours, with which we are not concerned at present, we have four results, as indicated at the opening of this article:

1. Unemployment.

2. Competition of the unorganized.

3. Increased industrial fatalities and accidents.

4. Greater rancor upon politicians.

That the ranks of the jobless grow with a decline of employment goes without saying. The building trades unions have not wanted—and therefore they have never obtained—the right to the job and the resultant equal division of work. Where there is lack of work there is a wild scramble, a fierce struggle for the available jobs. An idea of what is going on is afforded by the figures supplied by the New York State public employment offices for the number of registered workers for each 100 places open in building and construction:

January 273.4 508.1
February 271.4 330.4
March 208.7 290.0
April 149.2 184.2
May 113.5 182.2
June 158.1 175.4

Six months 171.7 234.3

The number of workers applying for building and construction jobs in comparison to positions available almost doubled. Contrast this with the figures for all industries, namely, 126.5 for the first six months of 1926 and 144.0 for the corresponding period of this year.

The Unorganized and Old Work

The prosperity of the building trades unions depends chiefly upon new work. There the building trades councils of the various cities rally the crafts to each other's assistance in case non-union men appear upon jobs. The sympathetic strike has welded the building trades unions into powerful organizations. Upon old work, however, there is no such protection. Indeed, the union men have avoided these jobs. The unorganized, frequently excluded from union membership, have taken control of the field, and in the intense rivalry among themselves have depressed wages. With the decline of building the union craftsmen will be forced into the repair and maintenance field, where in the isolation of his job he will have no protection of the sympathetic

strike. The statistics, as we have seen, show that alteration and repair work is on the increase.

The Killed and the Maimed

At first thought it seems unbelievable that lack of employment in the building trades leads to more men killed and injured at their work. Such is the common observation, however.

The worker has no right to his job. To retain his position he is forced to speed up, to take all kinds of risks or be replaced by a fellow worker. In building construction especially the hazards are so scattered that little protection save carefulness can be taken. We do not have separate figures for accidents among building workers, and if we did, some cynic would tell us sneeringly that the men invited danger in order to collect compensation. But who will say that about men who are killed? The data for New York State shows that industrial fatalities compare as follows for the first halves of 1926 and 1927:

1st half 1st half
1926. 1927.

January 41 44
February 27 26
March 32 38
April 42 34
May 35 50
June 47 48

Totals 230 240

For the New York City district (New York City and Rockland, Suffolk, Nassau and Westchester Counties) we have the following data:

1st half 1st half
1926. 1927.

January 26 30
February 19 21
March 34 30
April 26 25
May 15 38
June 31 32

Totals 162 176

A confirmation of the fact that workers do take greater risks when unemployment impends is shown by the increase in the most characteristic cause of fatal accidents in buildings, namely, falls. The first six months of 1926 show 76 such cases in New York State; the corresponding period this year, 95.

Politics to the Rescue

Finally, the building trades unions become even more reliant than ever upon their political connections. Under the best of circumstances the alliance between politicians and unions is very close. The business agent can always place favorites upon public and semi-public work. In times of depression, when private building declines, this is even more true. The failure of the unions in obtaining any real hold on the industry is in part retrieved if the politicians come across with public and semi-public work. They do not always, and when they do, it is under non-union, if not anti-union, conditions; but it leaves the union helpless in the meantime.

British Labor Demands Election

(Continued from page 1)

On Wednesday the congress, by a decisive vote, made a complete break with Soviet labor organizations. British trade unions had been very tolerant with the Russians for several years, but repeated attacks from Russia have exhausted British patience.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress recommended that the congress break off relations with the Soviet leaders, the recommendations being framed in such drastic and definite terms as to cause somewhat of a sensation.

The decision follows a long campaign of calumny by Moscow of British labor leaders, and has been directly provoked by a telegram to the congress from the All-Russian Council of Trades Unions, the phraseology of which is revealed to be extraordinarily insulting.

The Russian message talks of "betrayal" of the British general strike and the "continued sabotage" by the Labor Party of the British miners' struggle last year. It terms J. H. Thomas, George Hicks and A. A. Purcell traitors, and accuses the General Council of producing groundless accusations against the Soviet trades unions as a pretext for breaking off relations.

Report of British Council

The report to the Edinburgh congress states:

"The telegram speaks for itself, and no comment is necessary, except to state definitely that the council has come to the conclusion that there is no indication that the All-Russian Council of Trades Unions has any intention whatever of observing the conditions absolutely essential if the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council is to be continued. No useful purpose will be served by continuing negotiations with the All-Russian Council as long as its attitude and policy are maintained."

Hicks Is Elected

As on the question of the Brown-Oudegeest incident the continental delegates divided against the British, so on the question of electing a new president was there similar division. The British delegates attempted to force the reelection of A. A. Purcell, despite the fact he is altogether out of sympathy with practically all sections of the International but the British. There has been mutual distrust and recrimination.

The non-British delegates insisted in re-electing Purcell. To show that no anti-British feeling animated this step, they voted to elect George Hicks in his place. The British remained adamant to the end, refusing to cast their votes for anyone but Purcell. A new executive committee elected is comprised of Jouhaux, Lelapart, Madson, Mertens, Tayler and Sassenbach.

PURCELL OUSTED BY AMSTERDAM

(Continued from page 1)

French of the letter received from Tamsky. It was in very bad English. It appears to me to show a sincere desire on the part of the Russians to co-operate with us and therefore it seems to me it is time we passed to the attack. It is, however, still possible that they will not want to have anything to do with it on account of our relations with Geneva. In our reply we might, for instance, ask them what they think of our principle of absolute independence of organizations affiliated with us from all political and religious influences, of the autonomy of national centres guaranteed by us, but violated by their cell-building; what they think of our relations with the International Labor Office (which they, contrary to ourselves, regard as co-operation with the bourgeoisie) and of our activities within the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations?

Meaning Is Sought

"Oudegeest says, therefore, that it (the letter) 'appeared to him to show a sincere desire on the part of the Russians to co-operate with us.' When the sentence goes on with the words 'therefore it seems to me it is time we passed to the attack' the phrasing used cannot but be felt to be wholly out of place. Not only has it no logical connection with the following passages, it is in open contradiction to them, these passages expressing a doubt whether the Russians would want to have anything to do with it (negotiations?) 'on account of our relations with Geneva.' The letter then put a few questions, to be submitted to the Russians in the negotiations, which touch upon the most important points of difference between Amsterdam and Moscow, questions which were necessary in view of the resolutions of the Vienna Congress and the previous attacks of the Russians.

"It must therefore be placed on record, in reference to the passage in which there is mention of an 'attack,' that the translator's phrasing is 'very unfortunate, but that the term can only be taken literally if we deliberately disregard or misinterpret the following passage. In reply to repeated questions asked very earnestly, Oudegeest declares that the words merely refer to the fixing of certain points which were to constitute the essential conditions in the negotiations with the Russians which were under contemplation.

"The correspondence with the latter on the subject was submitted to the I. F. T. U. General Council Meeting of February 5-7, 1925. The General Council Meeting of that date decided to continue the correspondence with the Russians under the conditions laid down in the Vienna resolutions, and this particular matter was thus brought to a conclusion in a manner entirely in order.

Brown Is Reproved

"Paragraph 5 of the letter reads as follows: 'At the Executive Committee Meeting on December 1 we shall have among us the Englishman Hicks, substitute for Purcell who has gone to Russia. In the circumstances do you not think it would be a good thing if, in consultation with Mertens, we should, before the matter is discussed in the committee itself, come to an agreement among ourselves as to the reply to be sent? If I am well informed, the downfall of the British Government has given rise to a sharp reaction against the Communists. Purcell has been turned out of Parliament by Zinoviev's letter, and I wonder whether his Communist sympathies will from now on be as strong as they were last year.'

"The commission considers that the mention of the fact that Hicks would be the substitute for Purcell at the Executive Committee Meeting, in connection with the desire to discuss the reply to be sent to the Russians before the Executive Meeting, is unhappily worded. The commission believes Oudegeest's assurance that he was far from desiring to arrange for this discussion on account of the expected presence of Hicks, but that he merely wanted to make preparations for the Executive Meeting.

"The commission greatly regrets that Comrade Brown let slip the many opportunities afforded by the meetings of the Executive Committee and the General Council of the I. F. T. U. in a period of over two and a half years, without expressing his objections and pressing for the remedying of the presumed abuses. It deplores the fact that Brown surprised the Congress by reading unproved passages from a letter, the reading of which was calculated to lead to wrong conclusions.

"The commission is of opinion that errors in subordinate questions of tactics, and differences of personal opinion must be eliminated, so that there may be no further impediments to the capacity for action of the I. F. T. U. It trusts that the Congress will take steps to create an atmosphere of confidence in the controlling bodies which will guarantee the future success and progress of the Trade Union International."

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BROWNSVILLE SOCIALISTS SEE VICTORY

Chas. Solomon, Elected Four Times, Again Running for the Assembly

WITH the nomination of Charles Solomon as the Socialist candidate for member of the assembly in the 23rd district, Kings county, there is every likelihood that the election contest in the Brownsville section will be the political pivot of Brooklyn. Solomon's running mate for member of the Board of Aldermen will be Mrs. Sadie Rivkin, an active member of the local Socialist organization, who made the race for the assembly two years ago.

The battle in Brownsville has attracted attention and aroused discussion throughout Kings county because of the abandonment by the old parties in the Brownsville assembly and aldermanic districts of the policy of fusing against the Socialists. This policy was adopted about six years ago to prevent the Socialists from electing their local candidates which they had been doing for years. With the fusion arrangement over, it is felt that Socialist success is almost certain.

Solomon carried the Brownsville assembly district on four occasions, twice by a majority of the votes. He represented the Socialist party in the state legislature for several terms, making himself conspicuous for distinguished service. His strength and personal popularity in the Brownsville area augurs a decisive victory for the Socialists and the probable return of the party to the legislative bodies of the state and the city.

The Socialist ticket in Brownsville has been further strengthened by the designation of Louis P. Goldberg to make the run for justice in the 7th municipal court district. Several years ago Goldberg polled about 14,000 votes in this district, or about twenty percent of the total. Goldberg has been the party's candidate on several occasions for local and county offices and has always polled heavily. Several times he opposed the fusion candidates, his vote demonstrating that in a three-cornered fight he would have won.

The return to the three-cornered arrangement has filled the Brownsville Socialists with hope and courage and plans are being formulated for an aggressive campaign. The prospect of victory has brought many back to the party fold and there is every indication that there will be a host of party workers.

Solomon and Goldberg are well known attorneys for labor unions and it is anticipated they will receive effective support from that source.

Starvation Pay In Textile Shown

(Continued from page 1)

The full-time hours per week for the industry decreased from 55.9 in 1913 to 48.3 in 1920, but since that time have gradually increased to 48.5 in 1922, 49.1 in 1923 and 49.3 in 1926.

The study of the cotton goods manufacturing industry, Bulletin 446, covers 32,962 employees of 151 establishments, located in twelve States.

For all occupations in this industry the average earnings per hour decreased from 48 cents in 1920 to 33 cents in 1922, increased in 1924 to 37.2 cents and dropped again in 1926 to 32.8 cents. The average earnings per hour although still 121 per cent above 1913 were 31.7 per cent less than 1920 and 11.3 per cent less than in 1924.

The average full-time earnings per week decreased from \$24.86 in 1920 to \$19.72 in 1924 and to \$17.48 in 1926.

Average earnings per hour of male employees in 1926 ranged from 19 cents for spool tenders to 65.6 for mule spinners, and for female employees from 24.6 for spool tenders and trimmers to 41.1 cents for beamer tenders.

The average full-time hours per week dropped from 57.3 in 1913 to 51.8 in 1920, but since that time have increased to 52.8 in 1922, 53.0 in 1923 and 52.3 in 1926.

On Socialist Ticket



CHARLES SOLOMON
Running for Assembly in the 23rd District, Brooklyn

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Friday, Sept. 9, 8.30 p. m.—95th street and Broadway. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Pierre De Nio.

Friday, Sept. 9, 8.30 p. m.—106th street and Madison avenue. Speakers, Leonard C. Kaye, I. George Dobseavage.

Friday, Sept. 9, 8.30 p. m.—Bleecker and Macdougall streets. Speakers, G. Valenti, Ben Caccia.

Friday, Sept. 9, 8.30 p. m.—Second avenue and 10th street. Speakers, William Karlin, Samuel Ulanoff, A. N. Weinberg, Ben Goodman.

Saturday, Sept. 10, 8.30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

Tuesday, Sept. 13, 8.30 p. m.—Fifth street and Avenue C. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, Irving Bassoff, Isidore Corn.

Tuesday, Sept. 13, 8.30 p. m.—Grand and Pitt streets. Speakers, Samuel Ulanoff, A. Kaufman.

Thursday, Sept. 15, 8.30 p. m.—Sheridan Square (Grove street and Washington place). Speakers, August Claessens, A. Peppenberg.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—10th street and Second avenue. Speakers, Samuel E. Beardsley, A. N. Weinberg, August Claessens, Ben Goodman.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—95th street and Broadway. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Pierre De Nio.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—15th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Leonard C. Kaye, I. George Dobseavage.

Saturday, Sept. 17, 8.30 p. m.—137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith and others.

Monday, Sept. 12, 8.30 p. m.—Seventh street and Second avenue. Speaker, Esther Friedman.

Tuesday, Sept. 13, 8.30 p. m.—Monroe and Prince streets. Speakers, G. Valenti, S. Romualdi, J. Lupis.

Wednesday, Sept. 14, 8.30 p. m.—12th street and First avenue. Speakers, G. Valenti, S. Romualdi, J. Lupis.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—163d street and Prospect avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, Abraham Kaufman.

Thursday, Sept. 15, 8.30 p. m.—Bathgate and Tremont avenues. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Dorothy Steinberg.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—138th street and Brook avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, Isidore Feinstein, Murray Gross.

BROOKLYN

Friday, Sept. 9, 8.30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speakers, Sadie Rivkin, August Claessens.

Saturday, Sept. 10, 8.30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Maurice C. Miller, Samuel Kantor.

Saturday, Sept. 10, 8.30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third streets. Speakers, August Claessens, Harry Schachner.

Saturday, Sept. 10, 8.30 p. m.—13th avenue and 42d street. Speakers, Morris Glnet, William M. Feigenbaum.

Wednesday, Sept. 14, 8.30 p. m.—Hinsdale street and Sutter avenue. Speakers, Frank Rosenfarb, Pierre De Nio, Esther Friedman, H. Mailis.

Thursday, Sept. 15, 8.30 p. m.—New Lots and Williams avenues. Speakers, Frank Rosenfarb, H. Mailis, I. Ostrowsky.

Friday, Sept. 16, 8.30 p. m.—Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speakers, Eleanor Levinson, Louis P. Goldberg, Sadie Rivkin, J. Altman.

Saturday, Sept. 17, 8.30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, William M. Feigenbaum, Maurice Miller, Samuel Kantor.

Saturday, Sept. 17, 8.30 p. m.—Havemeyer and South Third streets. Speakers, August Claessens, Harry Schachner.

Saturday, Sept. 17, 8.30 p. m.—13th avenue and 42d street. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Morris Glnet, Isidore Abb.

Turati's Young Aides Tell of Socialist's Escape From Fascism

Paris, Sept. 1927.

EDITOR, The New Leader: Will you permit me to add some details to Signor Turati's letter, published in your issue of September 3?

Roselli and Parri deserve to be known to the English public as two of the finest exiles of the Italian younger generation.

Signor Carlo Roselli fought gallantly in the war in 1922, after the "March on Rome," he joined the Socialist movement, when to be a Socialist meant facing prison and even death. He taught political economy at the School of Economics at Genoa, and in 1926 left this post in order to found a Socialist weekly paper of political culture, which was suppressed after an existence of a few months.

Signor Ferruccio Parri has never been a Socialist. He is a Liberal. Before the war, he taught in the high schools; after, he joined the staff of the Corriere della Sera, and remained at this post until November, 1925, when Senator Albertini was forced to relinquish control of the paper in order that it might pass into the hands of the Fascists. Called up at the beginning of the war as second lieutenant, Parri was soon promoted for conspicuous merit to the ranks of captain and major; he saw service of the most dangerous kind and took part in nine offensives; wounded four times, he was decorated with four medals for examples of heroism distinguished by the Supreme Command as "admirable"; he also received the "merito di guerra" and was mentioned in dispatches by General Nivelle.

Held for Aiding Turati

Arrested as accomplices in the crime of "unauthorized expatriation" on the part of Signor Turati, Roselli and Parri had the right, according to Italian law, to be given "provisional liberty." The judge, in fact, ordered their release. But instead of being set free, the two men were interned in the island of Ustica. From Ustica, handcuffed like common criminals, they have been brought to Savona for trial. While Roselli was interned, his young wife, an Englishwoman, gave birth to her first child.

I ask your forgiveness, sir, if I trespass too much upon your space; but I must beg you to publish the "declarations" which these two heroic young men have laid before the examining judge in order to "excuse" their crime. The documents are being circulated clandestinely in Italy, and have come within the last few days into my hands.

Permit me, sir, to add another particular. Last May Signor Mussolini made a speech in the Chamber of Deputies in which he ungenerously threw mud at the victims of Fascism, reading the letters of some interned opponents who renounced their political past and asked for mercy. Roselli, Parri and another courageous young man, Riccardo Bauer, who were interned in Ustica, wrote to the Duce to declare that if others repented of their past, they did not; they would refuse even to be amnestied, because it was not they who should profit by an amnesty, but the Duce himself and his followers who should ask one from the Italian people.

A country which produces men like these cannot perish. A regime which condemns them to prison and internment must perish.

I am, sir, your obedient servant.

G. SALVINI.

Declaration of Carlo Roselli
The responsibility for my crime belongs to Fascism alone. Fascism has suppressed with blind fury and by iniquitous laws any possibility of legal opposition; it has bound down in servitude millions of citizens, forcing upon them the tragic choice between acquiescence and exile.

The deepest foundations of the moral life of the nation being thus upset, nothing was left to the opposition leaders after the pogrom of last November, save one gesture: To leave the country. Through the sufferings and revolt of the exiles, the world should learn the historical value of our struggle in defense of the spirit of European civilization. This struggle must lead the Italian people to learn the true value of those principles of freedom and justice which a people can defend only when it has paid dearly for the conquest of them.

Our struggle is desperate today, because it is not understood by the majority, and because it is waged against a minority armed with all the power of a ferociously centralized state. But it is a fine fight for the faith which has been made sacred by the blood of Amendola and Matteotti.

It is in this faith that I have broken the Fascist law.

Filippo Turati abroad signified for me and for my companion a solemn project—given value by his forty years of service to the nation and to humanity—against the Fascist regime. In this old man, forced to leave his country, as other great Italians have been forced in times of tyranny, the free men of the other countries will find proof of the desolation to which Fascism has reduced Italy.

I came to Socialism after its defeat. In am convinced that the redemption of the workers must be based on unshakable moral foundations, taking up again the tradition of a Risorgimento which has remained the inheritance only of the few.

It is a comfort for me to know that this continuity which I vindicate between the struggle of today and that of yesterday, finds its counterpart in the history of my family. A Roselli sheltered in secret, at Pisa, the dying Mazzini, an exile to his own land. It is right that another Roselli, half a

century later, should help to save from the fury of the Fascists one of the most noble and disinterested of his countrymen.

CARLO ROSSELLI.

Declaration of Ferruccio Parri
I have not been guided by feelings of personal rancor towards the Fascist regime. I pride myself on having served the Italian State in peace and war with loyalty and self-sacrifice; I never followed extremist movements, not caring for political strife, and having always remained outside any party. I have no responsibility with which to reproach myself for the troubled post-war years.

Against Fascism I have only one reason for aversion, but that one is unalterable. My aversion is on moral grounds; it is an entire repudiation of the moral atmosphere of Fascism. In this I am not alone. My ideas are those of thousands of young men, who, yesterday, fighters on their country's behalf, today are the enemies of all the rhetoric and jargon which distinguish the Fascist regime. To them Fascism must, and will, render strict account of the tears and hate which burden its story, of the good which has been destroyed, of the wounds inflicted upon the nation. The regime can persecute and scatter them, but it can never stifle their opposition. They know that to them is entrusted, for the hope of the future, the tradition of the past. This tradition lies in the aspiration, ever present in our history, towards liberty and justice. In our faith in these ideals we know each other. In its contempt for them we recognize Fascism. Against our persons Fascism can employ budgeons and handcuffs. Against our faith it is powerless.

It declares us as "anti-national." But I, who taught, before the great war, our national history in school, who, during the great war, fought for my country and for an ideal of liberty and justice, I know that the example of the Risorgimento and the duty of 1915-1918 is still our duty today.

When November, 1926, came with its complete suppression of all trace of resistance, I felt the necessity of making some lasting protest that, breaking the silence, should reassert before the future, a better Italy. This protest could only be given reality beyond our own borders. Signor Turati, by virtue of his high-mindedness and by the honor and dignity of his life, is well fitted to represent, beyond our frontiers, the condemnation of the darkness which has fallen on our country.

Since Fascist law calls us to answer for our act, we acknowledge with pride our direct responsibility. The aloof and hypocritical cowardice of our ruling classes needs an example of sacrifice and of loyalty to ideals. Before a horizon in which there is no break, our faith in the future is most firm.

My lord, the Fascist law, in striking us, honors us.

FERRUCCIO PARRI.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Monday, September 12, 1927, the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East Fifteenth street, New York City, will begin its twenty-first year of educational activities in behalf of the workers' emancipation. This year promises to be very successful. There are going to be four classes in English—A, B, C and D. These will be held twice every week. Class A will be held on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Class B, C and D will be held on Mondays and Wednesdays. There will be two sessions every evening. The first will be from 7 p. m. to 8:30 and the second session will be from 8:30 to 10. Registration for these classes should be made at once.

Classes in Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, under the direction of Educational Director, Algerian, Louis S. Stanley, instructor, will meet every Monday and Wednesday evening, beginning Monday, September 12. This course will also have two sessions on these days.

Class in Composition and Literature, David P. Berenberg, instructor, will be held every Tuesday at 8:30 p. m., beginning with September 13.

Class in Psychology and Personality will be held under the direction of Professor Joseph M. Oaman and will begin on Tuesday, September 13, having two sessions every Tuesday.

Mrs. Beatrice Becker, instructor in the course on the Proper Use of Accent in the English Language, will have a class every Thursday evening, beginning September 22. There will be two sessions every Thursday.

The course in Socialism, Mrs. Esther Friedman, instructor, will begin on Thursday, September 22, at 8:30 p. m. The Story of Human Work, Professor Alexander Goldenweiser will begin a series of lectures on this very important subject on Friday, September 30, at 7 p. m.

The class in Science and Human Welfare, by Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, will begin on Monday, 8:30 p. m., October 3. Classes will be held every Monday.

Bertrand Russell, the celebrated English philosopher and psychologist, will lecture under the auspices of the Rand School at Town Hall on October 4, at 8:30 p. m.

Registration for all the above classes, courses and lectures is now open at the Rand School. All those who wish to avail themselves of this splendid opportunity to get a high grade education should apply at once.

Rand School Fellowship will meet on Friday, September 16, at 8 p. m. in the studio. All members requested to attend. Very important.

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MEXICAN LABOR ENDORSES OBREGON

Capital Gives Rousing Welcome to Candidate for President

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MEXICO CITY.—The Mexican Labor Party has endorsed Alvaro Obregon for President of Mexico.

Recently Mexico City welcomed Alvaro Obregon, former President of the Republic and now announced candidate for a second term, on his return to public life after four years spent in farming on his ranch in the northern Mexican State of Sonora.

"Twas a glorious day. Literally thousands of 'campesinos'—peasant farmers—'ejidatarios' as they are called today in Mexico for they are the peasants to whom the revolution has given back the 'ejidal' village lands which are worked in common by the heads of families of the whole village—traveled from the nearby States and thronged the streets of the capital city proclaiming their leaders—Calles and Obregon—from whom they had received these lands.

They had brought with them their native flutes and drums and in their white cotton loose-fitting suits, their enormous sombreros going up to a peak, huaraches (sandals), their water jugs and belongings slung over their backs and with colored banners aloft, these Indian farmers of the new Mexico were a marvelous sight in the white tropic sunshine. Most of them had never before come to the capital. Only since the revolution have Mexico's small farmers had even the first requisites of an economic independence, one big item of which is the right to group action.

Today, there are in Mexico organizations of farmers—economic in the form of agricultural co-operatives and political. Today it is perfectly possible to issue a call from a National Agrarian Commission and get response from the affiliated small peasant groups all over the country. No longer are Mexico's small farmers isolated, hopeless units. They came carrying the banners of their various communities and certain it is that only for Obregon whom the peasants love and have always considered their leader would they have bothered to come.

Mexico City's main thoroughfares were thronged. There were speeches. Obregon spoke and so did many others. Many groups, especially the Otomies from the State of Hidalgo who had come in great numbers as that State is nearest, discussed together in their native dialects. The manifestation was unusually enthusiastic for the Indians are naturally quiet, are accustomed not to show emotion. Throughout the day, great groups of Mexico's country folk could be seen wandering up and down the Paseo de la Reforma, visiting Chapultepec Park and the Castle; other groups were spread out in the Alameda (Mexico City's beautiful tropical central park) or by the hundreds had picturesquely arranged themselves in the Plaza in front of the National Palace and the Cathedral eating the simple food they had brought with them. Only the men came, no women.

In Diaz time, no peon in white cotton shirt and trousers and sandals or Indian women in blue rebozo and colored calico dresses was permitted to walk through the city's main thoroughfares. Yesterday, the capital was theirs. They had actually been brought in to approve of the Presidential candidate. The impression struck one forcibly: Obregon's parade was blue and white—the city workers in overalls and the white-garbed campesinos; other manifestations for other candidates will be gray and black—the business and industrial, in short the conservative class. But for those in tune with the new Mexico, how significant of the changing Mexico was this manifestation of the agricultural class.

Yudico to Paris
The Cron (Mexican Federation of Labor) named Samuel O. Yudico, head of the Mexican Transport Workers Union, as their fraternal delegate to the Paris Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions and to the British Trades Union Congress in Edinburgh. He will also visit Denmark during the time of that country's Labor Congress and will travel throughout European countries studying conditions of labor so as to bring back a full report to the Mexican movement.

The representative of Mexican Labor to the Chinese Labor Congress in Canton, China, J. Barragan, has informed the executive committee of the Cron that he did not take part in the sessions of this Congress because "of the prevalence of Communist ideas among the accredited delegates and the fact that his participation would have given the impression that the Mexican proletariat favored such tendencies."

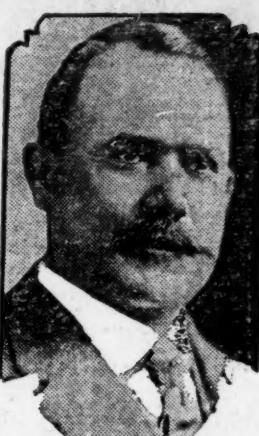
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Backed by Labor



ALVARO OBREGON

Former President of Mexico; now the Candidate, with Labor's support, for the same office

WEVD Prepares To Operate

(Continued from page 1)

He points out that the time allotted to WGGN, by which WEVD was formerly known, is quite unsatisfactory and WGGN's refusal to reach an understanding further aggravates the situation. In the event the Commission finds

itself unable to give WEVD better consideration on its present wave length, Mr. Gerber wrote, it was urged that another wave length be assigned to WEVD where there would be no interference with already conflicting stations. Mr. Gerber listed for the Commission's consideration several wave lengths already in use upon which WEVD could operate without any interference with stations already assigned. The Debs Fund expects serious consideration of its request.

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:-: The Short-Circuiting of Socialism :-:

By Louis Francis Budenz
Editor "Labor Age"

THE falling of bastilles often fall on the deaf ears of those in power. Louis XVI wrote "Nothing" in his diary of July 14, 1789. It signified that he had shot no game that day. But other shots had rung out in Paris on that mighty date, aimed at bigger game—Louis himself. George III greeted his revolting colonists with threatening decrees that served to make them the more determined in their revolt. He ordered them to seek his kindly forgiveness—when they had already decided they would have no king.

That is ever the die-hard attitude. It refuses to see its own grigghness. Its eyes are centered, with the strange fascination of hatred, on the stiff-necked group that has dared to defy things that are.

At the present moment the British Empire is in the throes of a violent die-hardism. The specter of Labor Party capture of the government has thrown the Tory leadership into a fit of reaction. As Sidney Webb emphasizes in the July issue of "Current History," "the continuous steady growth of the Labor Party" has had much to do with the Baldwin trades union and trades disputes bill.

Four Tories Defy Fate

Perhaps Webb stresses this a bit too much, for he thinks essentially as a Labor Partyite rather than in the terms of a trade unionist. But it is the fear of a permanent dispossession from power that has made Winston Churchill and Joynson-Hicks the real leaders of the Tory Party, whether the dispossession comes from Labor Party, trade unions or co-operatives, or all combined. It is this fear which has transformed Premier Baldwin from the meek and humble man of public pose to the cheap imitator of our tyrannical American judgocracy.

This fate-defying policy has caused many forebodings among some of the lesser leaders of the Tory Party itself. They prefer a staving off of the evil day of show-down. They would kill Socialism with kindness. They are for hugging it to death, with a Judas kiss. They are confessed admirers of American capitalism's methods of smothering the spirit of revolt.

Four gentlemen of this belief, Conservative members of Parliament, have come forward with a message of this sort for an awaiting world. In "Industry and the State: a Conservative View," they state their case. (Published by Macmillan & Co., London and New York.) In compact form—"on the narrowest lines," as they say—they present a proposed industrial policy for the Tory Party. They hope thereby to "break the conspiracy of silence which envelops the protagonists of the much abused" capitalist system. They find the Tory organization bankrupt of such a policy—"chaotic" in viewpoint, as they put it.

Progressive Toryism?

To offset the "folly" of State ownership and the infection of "Marxian So-

cialism, Communism and other like monstrosities" within the Labor Party, they would give bankrupt Toryism a program that would rob Labor of "its great spiritual force." This lies, as they see it, in the "desire of the people for an economic status parallel to their present political status." Throughout the volume they hammer at this demand of the workers for industrial power, as well as political, as the chief cause of discontent. Therefore, knight-like, these modern Don Quixotes issue forth to supply this demand, under the slogan of a "property-holding democracy."

To reach this goal, they cover quite a bit of territory in rather short time. Their program is roughly divided into: (a) Commercial; (b) Financial; (c) Imperial, and (d) Labor. Throughout it all there hover the shadows of two great industrial competitors—Germany and America. But particularly the latter. Every suggestion is accompanied by the account of how it is done in the United States. Commercially, there is the glory of Hooverism, supplying industry with facts about itself. Financially, there is the Federal Reserve System, which the Bank of England might well emulate in strengthening the credit and money situation. Imperially, the "large economic unit" of the United States creates a panic of "peculiar danger" that Britain must offset with a closer economic alliance within the Empire. The Dominions must be welded to the Mother Country with hoops of gold.

Make Them Partners

In labor relationships, the great American remedy of making the workers "partners" in industry and in promoting "more widespread ownership" is suggested as something of a cure-all. The struggle with the Socialist opponent, however, has left its imprint on this conservative and "Americanized" product. The Socialists' reputed reliance on the State, for example, is dismissed with a gesture of dissent. But the pressure of their agitation is great enough to cause a suggestion even in this Tory document of State interference in Britain which a Conlidgean statesman or a Gary-Ish industrialist would reject with horror or contempt. Necessary monopolies would be compelled by law to grant co-partnership to their workers. Other industries would be brought to the same point of view by the withholding of State contracts or by other measures of coercion.

Naturally, encouragement would also be given to Works Councils. These bodies, now flourishing in America as "company unions" and in Germany in a slightly different capacity, would be of "immense value" in Britain. It would be a mistake, think the authors, to attempt the establishment of these bodies by statute. Rather should they

"Americanization" of British Industrial Policy Mooted as an Alternative to Socialism

be developed by a National Wage Board—which is the keystone of their labor suggestions.

This Wage Board would likewise stimulate welfare work. It could recommend pension schemes, holidays, industrial old age remuneration, etc. It would fix the standard wages in each particular industry. In monopolies, it would have power of compulsory arbitration; in other industries, power of compulsory conciliation. But its "conciliation" would be largely compulsory in character, also; for the party refusing to accept its awards could be subjected to various penalties, more or less extra-legal.

"Pampering" the Workers

The unlikelihood of the acceptance of this program by the Tory Party is unconsciously felt by these crusaders in a lost cause. Their very sensitiveness about the term "Socialist," which it appears their unfeeling fellows have dubbed them from time to time, indicates the uncertain ground on which they stand. Baldwin's group have shown anything but a desire to conciliate the workers and remove the sting of workers' militancy. They have not yet grasped the finess of the

new American method of making industry safe for the plutocracy.

Even at that, the policy thus put forward is so far from any ideal that the class-conscious workers of Britain may have formulated that it is safe to say it will not satisfy them in any respect. The American model itself carries in it the seeds of its own destruction. Teach the workers they are "partners" in industry. "Pamper" their desire for power. Then, seek by devious and deceitful measures to rob them of this power and partnership; and the industrialist is preparing himself for a whirlwind. It may take an unholy length of time for the idea to penetrate the workers' craniums. But penetrate them it will at last, with dire results.

The worthy Tories have gambled too much on a single idea. The composition of their board is one that will not ally suspicion and discontent. It is to be composed of union-appointed representatives, employer-appointed representatives, other workers' representatives and other employers' representatives appointed by the government, representatives of the governing and an independent chairman. That sounds too much like President

Wilson's second Industrial Relations Commission, on which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Judge Gary "represented" the "public."

Democracy Seeping In

The whole experience with regulation is so unhappy that the workers who want power want nothing of it. If there is to be an Interim Wage Board, they would much prefer that it be composed only of employers and workers. Or better still, if they get real power in Britain, that it be composed solely of men appointed by the organized working people. With any such arrangement, they want the right to strike unhindered and unhegged.

It is absurdity of the extreme, moreover, to expect that any such stopgap will long mend the sad ways into which Britain has fallen. There are forces working below the surface, easily understandable, which will undo any such jerry-built fabric. The idea of "industrial democracy" may be stopped for a time by a phrase. But it will not stop for long—not in the larger run of things. The promises of the French and American Revolutions are still very much at work in the world. "Political democracy" is busily destroying old forms of autocracy and

feudalism. Halted here, shut out there, it works its way in, nevertheless—like water seeping through a small dike-crack. So have we every reason to believe that it will be with "industrial democracy." It may be stopped in this country by Mussolini's suppressions, in that by Ivy Lee publicity and personnel phrase-mongers' babble. In the end, it will work through quicker than in some other capitalist countries. Even "co-partnership" and the possible temporary decline of the unions will scarcely halt it there.

Progress Irregular Path

Progress does not proceed in a straight line or move in universal array. It travels in zig-zags. There is no such thing as the sweeping away of an entire order. Many remnants of the Feudal System still remain with us. I pointed that out four years ago, in the pages of Labor Age, in discussing the possible line of march in the overthrow of the Profit System. The statement is even more correct today than it was then, for we have advanced a bit further in the development and study of the Russian experiment. Werner Sombart states it

pretty sweepingly, in the Berlin Vossische Zeitung of April 17—perhaps too sweepingly.

But, nevertheless, progress is made. The sort of compromise with progress that Britain must make, must be of sterner stuff than the present Conservative creation. This much is apparent for radicals, out of such books as that of these M. P.'s. Our task is to continue the ceaseless agitation against What Is. We see, in this very book proposed to stop What Is to Be, that such agitation has effects even in the camp of the enemy. It is not our function to compromise—even though we know, philosophically speaking, that compromises will be made along the way. There will be "statesmen" and time-servers a-plenty to do the "constructive" compromising, when our agitation has reached its full strength. Ours is the constructive work of destruction. Ours is the constant criticism which puts to the acid test any compromise that is made. Agitators will be needed, even when the Profit System is abolished! But when compromises are presented for our "destructive" criticism, we want them at least to include something of the substance of the New Idea. That has not been done by these Tory M. P.'s, seeking for a solvent for Socialism. They have merely snatched at shadows. The powerful urge that is back of the Labor Movement in Britain will not be short-circuited in that infantile way.

:-: Where Is That Half-Million? :-:

The Communists' Unsavory Part in The Sacco-Vanzetti Case

By James Oneal

ONE may concede the right of every man and woman and every movement regardless of their views, whether radical or conservative, to give their services in behalf of two men who were obviously the victims of a revolting "trial." The lives of Sacco and Vanzetti were at stake. The shadow of death was closing about them. Whatever differences there might be between men and movements, civilized men and women would place them on a shelf and devote their time to the one purpose—staying the hand of the executioner.

Trade unionists, Socialists, Anarchists, Farmer-Laborites, liberal men and women, educators, publicists and even many members of the bar all over the country acted like serious and intelligent human beings. The one note of discord, of strife, of hate and intrigue injected into the movement for saving Sacco and Vanzetti was introduced by the Communists. They saw in the dying men only another opportunity to engage in a campaign of filthy lying about and distortion of the motives of all others working to save the condemned men. With their fingers dripping with money ostensibly

raised for Sacco and Vanzetti, nearly all of which went into their own coffers, the Communists pursued this malicious campaign, giving the movement the only dishonest phase that it had.

The Haymarket Defense

There have been other movements in our history to save labor men and a consideration of only two will be sufficient to bring out the contrast. First, the victims of the Haymarket affair. Socialists, trade unionists, Anarchists and liberal intellectuals co-operated in the attempt to save the men who died on the scaffold. They failed, but they helped to mobilize the sentiment that finally resulted in the pardon by Governor Altgeld of the remaining victims in prison. There were wide differences in the labor movement at that time, but there was also a close fraternity and co-operation between all on the one supreme purpose of obtaining a pardon. The trade unions were especially active.

Samuel Gompers personally used all his influence in behalf of the victims. The only notable man in the labor movement who did not co-operate was Powderly, but even he did not attack anybody engaged in asking for a pardon. Moreover, nearly all the Knights of Labor Assemblies co-operated despite Powderly's indifference.

The second case is that of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The whole labor movement without exception, political and economic, co-operated in the defense of the accused men. I do not recall a single instance of any group acting as the Communists have acted in the recent case. Moreover, A. F. and L. unions all over the country played a splendid part in that notable struggle, so much so that Haywood, upon his release, took pains to heartily thank members of the unions for their valuable aid.

One may consider every case of this kind that we have had in this country and not until he reaches the Sacco-Vanzetti case will he find an instance of a small organized group guilty of the criminal conduct exhibited by the Communists. Their activities were devoted to asserting that all but their small band were "betraying" Sacco and Vanzetti. Their antics continued after the electric current had closed the lips of Sacco and Vanzetti. They inspired the Soviet masters of Russia to engage in similar attacks on the trade unions, Socialist and Labor parties of Europe, charging that Communists alone were working for the condemned men. All others were "betrayers" of Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was not enough that the A. F. of L. in convention urged a new trial. Not enough that President Green twice in the last two weeks appealed to Governor Fuller. Not enough that many A. F. of L. unions unwittingly contributed funds to the Communist "defense" committee. Not enough that unions and Socialist and other organizations organized a one-day general strike of 400,000 workers, circulated petitions, forwarded protest resolutions and funds to the Boston Defense Committee. All this was "betrayal" of Sacco and Vanzetti. On the other hand, raising of funds by Communists for the condemned men but which remained in Communist hands was the essence of good faith and devotion to the cause! Robbing the dying men of this aid, they are even capable of sneering at the noble woman who gave seven years of devoted service to the two Italian martyrs!

Repaying the Committee

Turning to the "Daily Worker" of August 30 we find an article by Michael Gold on the Union Square meeting after Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. We quote: "The sabotage of the mean-minded Boston committee and the Socialists was ineffectual. . . . Mary Donovan, an obscure spiteful female with a great lust for publicity was responsible for this." Two little parasites who have fattened on the Sacco case in Boston, and have tried to keep it from the world.

The man who could write these sentences reads himself out of the company of decent and civilized human beings. Who is Mary Donovan? More than any other person in this country this devoted woman is responsible for arousing the conscience of the world regarding the Sacco-Vanzetti "trial." Night and day she has worked and sacrificed, sharing the agonizing suspense, fears and hopes with Mrs. Nicola Sacco. When the full story of the hardships, anxieties and sacrifices of the condemned men is written, Mary Donovan will tower like a granite shaft among other devoted friends who tried to save the fish peddler and shoemaker from death.

Who is Michael Gold? A literary gentleman of uncertain attainments, a

Communist Appreciation

Mary Donovan has been secretary for seven years of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston. As a result of her activity, she has been discharged from her position as State factory inspector, though she held the reputation of being best inspector on the entire force. Casting all this aside, she has labored day and night, to the point of exhaustion, to save the two anarchists. After the execution, suffering intense shock and sorrow, she was arrested by the Boston police.

On the same day she was sentenced to a year in jail on a charge trumped up by the Boston police, the esteemed Daily Worker, Communist organ, described her thusly: "Mary Donovan, an obscure spiteful female with a great lust for publicity."

smart-aleck playing at burlesque revolution, producing a "revolutionary" drama jazzed with the funds of the millionaire, Otto H. Kahn, a type that hangs on the fringe of the working class movement, snarling at what he does not understand, and one of the many little Lenins that try to ape the original. Could the cold lips of Sacco and Vanzetti speak they would break into blistering speech to rebuke the slander of Mary Donovan.

Gold's cowardly failure had reference to the failure to send the ashes of the dead men to the Union Square meeting. In New York last week Aldo Feliciani of the Boston committee explained why the ashes were not sent. That meeting drifted into the hands of Communists, and Feliciani declared that the ashes would be sent to Russia, which treats Anarchists worse than they are treated in the United States. This is literally true, as we shall show below.

That \$500,000

When we consider the handling of Sacco-Vanzetti funds by the Communists we come across a revolting situation. They must set up their own agency for collections. All other organizations co-operated with the Boston committee. When it appeared that a strike might occur on the New York transportation lines the Communists published a program which provided for another collection agency. They have another one for the miners in Pennsylvania. Everywhere they are hot for funds. They would undoubtedly have appeared in the strike of the Chicago movie houses for more funds if the struggle had continued. Through this method of attaching themselves as parasites to a strike or some other struggle they gather in funds from what they call the "innocents."

There stands in the record that they reported to Moscow having gathered in a half million dollars for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. What became of the money? The Boston committee received only a few hundred dollars. Their report to Moscow appeared in the "International Press Correspondence of Vienna," issue of January 6, 1927. One of two conclusions is inevitable: Either they lied to Moscow or they collected hundreds of thousands for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti which they kept.

What is the truth? We do not know, and even Moscow does not know, for they have frequently swindled Moscow with lying reports. In 1923 they reported to Moscow that they had organized the Federated Farmer-Labor Party with 600,000 members and had won the "leadership of the American masses." We declared it a swindle, but Moscow spread the news all over

the world. One year later our American Lenin abandoned the fraud and Moscow forgot all about it. In 1924 they called Moscow that Foster had received 100,000 votes for President. Moscow spread this news, only to later learn that the vote was about 23,000. In the same year they reported that they had influenced the decisions of 2,000,000 organized workers in this country and were on the road to falling heir to the whole trade union movement. Then came their collapse in the needle trades and heavy desertions because of their shady financial transactions and near destruction of the unions.

Anarchists in Russia

It is necessary to recall this in passing judgment on their report of raising a half-million dollars for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. It is my opinion that they again lied to Moscow in making this report. They may have raised a hundred or two-hundred thousand dollars, but Moscow could be impressed if they reported twice or thrice as much. The truth probably is that they lied to Moscow as well as kept the bulk of the funds they collected for their own purposes. In any event, their report to Moscow places them in the pillory before all decent and honest men and women.

Two more items must be added to make the Communist record complete on this score. In the Daily Worker of September 1 is a three-column appeal to "Carry on the Fight for Which Sacco-Vanzetti Gave Their Lives" and illustrated with portraits of the dead men. Readers are asked to contribute money as a "tribute to the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti" and to "Help the Daily Worker." It is obvious that all such funds will go not to aid in vindicating the names of Sacco and Vanzetti but to help that Communism, which, in Russia, would not have permitted Sacco and Vanzetti to live and to express their views!

The second item is in the issue of September 2, a streamer advertising a "Jamboree" with "Hundreds of Wonderful Attractions," ostensibly for a "Defense Committee" of "Furriers and Cloakmakers." This streamer advertisement had been appearing for some time. After the execution, it was changed to include the following addition: "Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Music." So a "Jamboree" originally arranged for a little side graft is changed to drag in the two men executed in Charlestown prison. The foulest oaths of drunken sailors could not do justice to such conduct. It is all the more revolting considering that Sacco and Vanzetti would have been hunger-striking in a Bolshevik prison if they had been deported to Russia.

Debs "A Casualty"

What is just as revolting is the pretense of Communists that they are shocked because of the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti. These are the same gentlemen who answered when Eugene V. Debs was in prison that he was only a "casualty of war" and it was silly to worry about him. When Debs was released and could not be won for them they declared that he was in his dotage. When Debs died they counter-marched by declaring that after all Debs belonged to them and thus tried to label him a fool.

Had Sacco and Vanzetti lived in Communist Russia they would have been executed, imprisoned or exiled. This is what has happened to every man and woman holding the views

(Continued on page 7)

:-: The July Events in Vienna :-:

By Otto Bauer

WHETHER wants to understand the events of July in Vienna must begin by visualizing the fundamental social facts of Austrian life. Of these the following are chief:

1. Class Antagonisms

These are in Austria harsher than anywhere else. Austrian Socialism obtained at the last elections almost 43 per cent of the total poll. The capitalists fear, lest, within a few years, we might be able to achieve power by democratic methods. They are disgusted at the parliamentary tactics of the Socialists, who in important cases, especially in the campaign for tenants' protection, have prevented the majority of Parliament from passing laws as it pleases. They are indignant at the formidable position of organized trade unionism among the Austrian workers, and in particular that the Austrian workers are able at any time to suspend the essential transport services, and that trade unionism has also captured and firmly holds a great part of the members of the army. But, most of all, the bourgeoisie are disgusted at the taxation laws of the municipality of Vienna—the city is constituted as an independent federal unit—which is developing social welfare and the system of schools at the expense of wealth and luxury. The resentment of the bourgeoisie found expression at the last elections in the coalition of all the capitalist parties in one collective list of candidates, as also in the passionate "anti-Marxist" drive carried on in well-nigh the whole capitalist press.

On their side, the workers also are existing in a state of profound embitterment. Unemployment is enormously great. Great numbers of workers have been without work for years. The grave economic crisis weighs upon every wage-struggle. The state of feeling among the workers has been heightened especially by the recent elections. The workers perceived that by means of an unreserved league between all the capitalist parties in Parliament against Socialism the capitalists were trying to rob the workers of the fruits of their substantial electoral success. Indeed, the ill-feeling on both sides has become so keen that between persons belonging to the two hostile classes almost all social relations have become impossible. For example, we have had the experience of societies for the protection of animals having been split asunder by the differences of class.

What Was Behind the Riots And the General Strike

so that we now have capitalist and working-class societies with this object, each working against the other. This aggravation of class antagonisms has had its effect on the administration of justice. Whenever during the last few years workmen have been killed by Fascist gangs—which has happened repeatedly in local encounters—the whole judicial proceedings have become an arena of party politics between capitalism and Socialists. Only so can we account for the fact that everyone of these murders has remained unpunished. These verdicts by which Fascists who killed workers were acquitted have inflamed to the utmost the bitter feeling of the workers. When the other day, on July 13, Fascists who killed a workman and a child were acquitted by the jury, this bitterness of feeling resulted in an outbreak of wild fury.

2. The Antagonisms Between Vienna and the Federal Provinces

The supremacy of Socialism has its roots in Vienna and in the industrial districts of Wiener-Neustadt (New Vienna), lying near the outskirts of the capital. In all the other federal provinces peasants of clerical tendency form an overwhelming mass of the population, while Socialist towns and industrial centres are but small islands in the sea of capitalism and clericalism. Socialism is indeed striving to gain a footing among the land-working folk, but up to now this effort has only borne substantial fruit in those regions where landed estates are dominant, as in a portion of Lower Austria and in the Burgenland. Apart from Vienna, the rest of Austria is ruled by the bourgeoisie of the middle and smaller towns, relying for support on the peasants, who are clerically minded, led by the Catholic clergy, fanatically anti-Socialist, and in part organized in the armed "Local Guards" (Heimatwehren).

Supposing the Austrian working class had replied to the bloodshed of July 15 by revolution, by an open fight for mastery of the state, this revolution would have taken the following course: In Vienna, the attempt would perhaps have succeeded, though only after very hard fighting and at the cost of very heavy casualties and terrible destruction in compelling the government to capitulate and in set-

ting up a dictatorship of the workers. But the dominion of this workers' dictatorship would have extended only to Vienna and the neighboring districts of lower Austria. In the provinces, where hardly any but the railwaymen distributed along the railroad and the workers in a few industrial centers, could have sustained the movement, the workers would unquestionably have been suppressed. The provinces would have divided themselves from Vienna and would have set up a joint rival government. Open warfare between Vienna and the provinces would have been inevitable. This would certainly have led to an economic blockade against Vienna, and almost as surely to foreign intervention—invasion by Hungary of the Burgenland, by Italy of Karnten and Tyrol. The Viennese workers would have fought heroically, but it is as sure as fate that they would have been beaten. All the potentialities for the future which are contained in the formidable power of the Austrian party and of the Austrian unions would have been at one stroke scattered to the winds. Such are the fundamental facts, such is the determining distribution of power, which must be known, in order to grasp the course of events in Vienna. Let us turn now to these events themselves.

A Bloody Friday

When on Friday, July 15, the acquittal of the Schattendorf murderers became known in Vienna, a portion of the big industries of Vienna ceased work, and their employees marched out into the central streets. Spontaneous strikes and demonstrations of such a kind have again and again occurred in Vienna without leading to any acts of violence. That this time things were otherwise, must be attributed especially to the immensely inflamed bitter feeling among the workers; in conjunction therewith, however, the following circumstances played a part: The police, at the outset of the demonstration, felt themselves too weak; in consequence of this feeling they employed at the very start a method disused in Vienna for the past century and a half, and which angered the workers extraordinarily, namely that of charges by mounted men against the crowd of demonstrators.

This was the immediate cause of the riots. The crowd retaliated for these attacks by setting fire to buildings and by assaulting individual policemen.

Since the members of the Republican Defense League had left work with the others, it was exceedingly difficult to collect them. Consequently the party, which immediately intervened in the affair, could only at a very late hour muster bodies of guards in sufficient strength. So soon as these bodies at length reached their posts, they exerted the greatest imaginable efforts to restore order and to clear the way for the fire brigades into the burning buildings. They were actually, after a long struggle with the undisciplined elements among the demonstrators, on the verge of reaching their goal, it had just been possible to bring the fire engines up to the burning law courts, when one of the officers commanding the police lost his head, despaired of any success attending the efforts of the Defense League, and ordered a volley to be fired into the crowd. With this action the bloodshed began.

The crowd of demonstrators were scattered by the volleys of the police; but the casualties filled the workers with intense wrath. The consequence was that in the afternoon, when the demonstrations around the "Ring" streets were long over, individual policemen and police stations were threatened and attacked by little bands of workers. The police became nervous, and now began to shoot at every collection of people, even in places where no attack had been made on them. The majority of the victims fell, not during the demonstration in the "Ring," but in consequence of this senseless shooting by the police, and their number was all the greater because of the criminal use of the police of lead bullets without casing, i. e., bullets with dum-dum effect.

The Strike Is Called

On the afternoon of this day of bloodshed, the party executive and the trade union commission had to consider, how the working class should reply to this appalling slaughter. Both sides immediately resolved on a 24-hour general strike of all workers for the morrow, immediate stoppage of railways, of postal, telegraphic and telephonic traffic and of steamer service on the Danube, without the usual 24 hours' notice. These decisions by the party executive and the trade

(Continued on page 7)

The Repast Cafeteria
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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Brutal and Stupid

THE killing of Sacco and Vanzetti hit me so hard that for a few days I couldn't think of anything else and much less write about it. Strange how a shock sent through the bodies of these two Italian working men should be felt all around the world. At least, I felt it on the night they sent the two men to eternity and the tearing pain is with me yet. Many others, perhaps millions, in all parts of the world, had the same experience, no doubt, else why these outbreaks of "mob" violence in so many countries.

It was such a brutal and such a stupid thing to do. No one, not even the judge who sentenced them to death, claimed that the evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti was anything but circumstantial and even such circumstantial evidence as there was, was of the most questionable kind. Anyhow, it is perfectly safe to say that if the accused men had been native Americans, or even English speaking aliens, or if they had been members of some Republican or Democratic Tammany Hall gang instead of anarchists, no twelve men could have been found in the U. S. A. to find them guilty of first degree murder on the evidence submitted in court.

From what the papers say, one would think that the violent protests which followed the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in many parts of the world were all due to ignorant mobs and communists. Well, mobs there are everywhere, but it isn't the manifestation of the mobs that worry me; it's the opinion of great journals, as The London Times, The Paris Temps and numerous others, which are as conservative and respectable as The New York Times and The Chicago Tribune that bothers my mind. The press of the owning classes of Europe and South America had no more sympathy with the mobs who threatened American consulates than our own press but there is little solace in that, for, while protesting against the action of the mobs, that press also damned the action of the Massachusetts courts as judicial murder.

Judicial murder is an ugly term. Besides it may not be deserved at all. A new trial might have established the positive guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti. Or it might have cleared them of all guilt. Commutation to life imprisonment would still have given them a chance to establish their innocence, if innocent, at some future day. In any of these events, the millions of people who felt that the two men were convicted on insufficient evidence would have accepted the result of a second trial, whatever it might have been. They, also, would have accepted a life sentence as sufficient punishment under the circumstances, although life imprisonment is so much more terrible than sudden death in the chair.

But the case had gotten into a snarl. The judge who sentenced the poor devils would not grant them another trial. No other court could give them another trial. The governor who could have commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life, was too weak to fly in the face of the Boston Back Bay crowd, or too proud to bow before the opinion of the outside world, or too flint-hearted to give a damn for those "Dago" anarchists and the opinion of their friends and supporters. Chief Justice Taft, who, in spite of his plutocratic proclivities, is a human sort of a man, was out of the United States. Justice Holmes, as fine a man as ever honored the supreme court, felt he had no jurisdiction in the matter, and Justice Brandeis, another splendid man, felt he could not interfere on account of the active part his wife had taken in trying to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair. It would be interesting to know what men like Taft, Holmes and Brandeis think about the Sacco-Vanzetti case. But, of course, the world will never know. Judicial courtesy, temperament and respect for state and jurisdictional rights will not permit these men to speak from the fullness of their hearts.

A bloody, stupid mess, snarled up in regularity, precedents, proceedings, prejudice, pride and red tape which was finally solved in the worst possible manner—the killing of two men after seven years of mental torture—worse than seven times seven deaths.

After the Jag

The Chicago Tribune, in a ponderous editorial, advises the American Legion to call off the trip to Paris. Feeling against Americans in that city, says the editorial, is so bitter on account of the Sacco-Vanzetti execution that American visitors are no longer safe. The French authorities will, of course, do all in their power to protect the visiting Legionnaires against attacks from irresponsible mobs. Shop, tavern and coffee keepers are still sympathetic toward American dollars, but at that it isn't fair, opines The Tribune, to compel the French government to do such an unpopular thing as to protect our ex-doughboys against the wrath of a goodly portion of its citizens, who, in addition to cobblestones and bricks, are also armed with votes.

I have a hunch that the Sacco-Vanzetti case is but a vehicle by which the working classes of France express their abhorrence of anything American. Debtors never love their creditors, especially when the debt is due on the burial expense of such a death horse as a war to make the world safe for democracy. The upper classes in Europe are too suave to tell us to go to hell and pocket our losses as they did theirs. But the so-called lower classes lack the refinement of their "betters." The best these inarticulate folk can do in expressing their dislike of Americans is to spit on the walls of American consulates and yell uncompensated epithets at old glory.

Say, don't it beat all how times change? Only a short ten years ago our dough boys entered Paris among the hallicujahs of the grateful multitudes. "Lafayette, we are here," cried our clean, manly boys. "Lafayette, we are here," they well may exclaim now, for the sweet innocent maiden of western democracy we rushed to rescue from the "Beast of Berlin" revealed herself as a regular street walker, soliloquizing the gentlemen of autocracy and dictatorship. We paid her clothes and board. We dressed her in the garment of the vestal virgin and she deserted her erstwhile lover, fresh from cow pasture and cornfield, for the pimps of the old world red light.

Too bad, too bad. But old Adam Coaldigger had it all dotted out. He told them in the very midst of the honeymoon just exactly how it would all turn out. But they wouldn't listen to Adam. Said Adam was pro-German and pro- Kaiser, when all the crime he had committed was to remain cool and sane when all around thundered the waves of mania.

Adam was a real patriot. He loved America. He loved the traditions of America. He realized how much the American people and their Franklins, Jeffersons, Washingtons and Lincolns had contributed to the freedom of the human race. But he also knew European history. He knew how dynastic ambitions, dating back thousands of years, had set the poor people of Europe against each other like dogs fighting over a bone.

And he said, wisely, stay out of that family quarrel. But they wouldn't listen to an humble Coaldigger and so the world is so much the worse for that.

Adam Coaldigger.



The Fiction of Business

By Louis Stanley

FOR those tired business men who find the straight inspirational stuff in books or even short magazine articles a little too heavy for them "Captains in Conflict," by Robert R. Updegraff (A. W. Shaw Company), should be light enough reading. Here in a novel is packed away all the platitudes, all the hypocrites of modern business. Its subtitle is "The Story of the Struggle of a Business Generation," and it is announced as "a book for a million BUSINESS MEN." It was originally published in "System," the Magazine of Business, of which periodical "Captains in Conflict" is the novelized version. A. W. Shaw, publisher of both "System" and the book, departs from the usual canons of the publishing game to write a foreword of laudation, and several "captains of industry" are quoted in a similar vein.

The book has its hero, John Rowntree, and its villain, H. B. Lockhart. The struggle is over the stove and range business. Rowntree inherits a flourishing company from his father, symbolically at the opening of the twentieth century. Lockhart, a former employee of the elder Rowntree, is now in business for himself, having established himself when he stole an important patent for a base burner from the elder Rowntree. Why was he not sued by the real owner, who had a photographed copy of the patent assignment? Here enters the love theme. Because Lockhart had also stolen the sweetheart of Fowler Rowntree and the faithful gallant did not want to disillusion Mrs. Lockhart, who was happy with her crook of a husband.

A "Fomented" Strike
Rowntree, senior, belonged to the old-fashioned school of business men; his son, John, and Lockhart to the new. But the last two represented the opposing elements of the new business generation. John stood for service, not mere money-making, and Lockhart for profits and cold cash through the ruthless and unscrupulous crushing of competition by monopolistic control. Thus, Lockhart forms a trust, the Consolidated Stove and Range Company of North America; but Rowntree refuses to join.

Then the battle begins. The Consolidated starts price cutting, but the Rowntree firm responds with scientific selling methods, analysis of costs and improvement of models. The story continues: There is Rowntree inad-

vertently infringing on Lockhart's base burner patent and being heavily fined by the courts; there is Rowntree refusing to pay the penalty when he discovers a letter written by his father on the day he died in which the story of the patent and Mrs. Lockhart is told; there is a race for control of the gas range and electric range market; there is a strike that Lockhart hires agitators to foment at his rival's plant, which is shifted to the Consolidated, when the workers come to realize what a good fellow Rowntree is; there is the ousting of Lockhart when the trust fails bankruptcy, and, just as in the movies, there is his replacement by his arch enemy, the virtuous Rowntree; there is the villain's profiteering during the war and the hero's noble service as a dollar-a-year man in Washington; there is a silly book on naval battles, published in 1910 in London, from which the elder Rowntree and the younger one after him cull words of wisdom to guide them in crises; there is the attempt of Lockhart to gain stock control of the Consolidated in order to push out Rowntree, who has just put the combination on its feet; there is the frustration of this wicked design when John Rowntree produces the incriminating evidence against Lockhart, now that the latter's wife is dead, of course; and, finally, like in all good stories, there is the death of the villain and the entrance of the hero's company into the Consolidated, now no longer a grasping octopus, but an efficient organization dedicated to public service. Amen!

Everything would be satisfactory were it not for the fact that in real life the saintly business man, if such could be found, would have been driven to the wall by the cold-blooded trust. Certainly, a huge corporation properly run, which for the purposes of the story the Consolidated is not, would have easily crushed a single firm such as the Rowntree Stove and Range Company, which does not even seem to have been a corporation. But that would have upset the whole story and reversed the dedication of the book, which, by the way, is "to the John Rowntrees of Today who are wiping out the memory of the H. B. Lockharts of Yesterday."

Swedish Labor

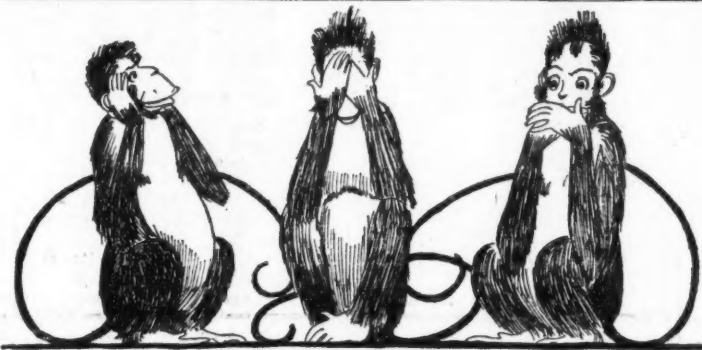
THIS booklet, "The Trade Union Movement in Sweden," by Sigfried Hansson, which is No. 6 of the International Trade Union Library, published by the International Federation of Trade Unions, gives an excellent review of the origin and growth of the Swedish trade union movement, which may be considered one of the strongest and most devoted members of the international trade union movement. Sweden is one of the few Continental countries where the trade union movement has remained immune from the effects of dissension generally occasioned through diversity of race and language or through political and religious views. The general strike, which was proclaimed in the year 1909 as a counter-move against certain very comprehensive lockouts, resulted in severe loss to the Swedish trade union movement, which at that time was de-

veloping vigorously. Since then the membership of the Swedish unions has, however, again continued to increase, and at the end of October, 1926, the membership of the unions affiliated with the National Center numbered more than 400,000, while that of the organizations outside of the National Center amounted to about 100,000. An idea of the financial strength of the Swedish trade unions is afforded by the fact that at the end of 1925 the unions belonging to the National Center had a sum at their disposal of over 17,500,000 kronen, or 45 kronen per member.

In this booklet of fifty-six pages the author gives a graphic and extraordinarily interesting description of the very close co-operation between the political and industrial sides of the Swedish labor movement, its educational activities, the organization of the intellectual workers and civil servants, etc. The chapter dealing with the form of organization indicates the importance which the question of organization by industry has attained in Sweden, and that, in spite of exhaustive discussions and decisions taken at previous congresses, it has as yet been impossible to arrive at a solution satisfactory to all parties.

This brochure from the pen of an author responsible for a series of works dealing with the history of the Swedish labor movement in general and several individual unions of his country, and who has, so to speak, become the historian of the Swedish trade union movement, is recommended to every trade unionist.

The brochure is obtainable in the United States of America from Bruno Wagner, 243 East Eighty-fourth street (Labor Temple), New York city, at 20 cents per copy.



"Hear-No-Evil, See-No-Evil, Speak-No-Evil," drawn by Christopher Rule for "Mickey and the Monkeys" by Victorine Kirk (Viking Press)

The Mexican Generals Are at It Again

By Norman Studer

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 25.
ONCE more Mexico's military men are out for the Presidential prize. In bedizened military dress that contrasts ludicrously with the ragged uniforms of the lowly soldados who pass and repass below them, three generals beckon the voters from every available wall and fence. Although election day is almost a year off the political kettle seethes violently. A score of fly-by-night political dallies are on the field, while numberless transitory "revolutionary" parties are functioning for the duration of the campaign.

These parties and party organs are usually made to order and will cease to be as soon as the spoils are divided. The campaigns they wage are of an intensely personal nature, not without amusing aspects. General Arnulfo R. Gomez flaunts the slogan "The Man Without Vices." Promptly his co-partner General Serrano, well known for his wine-bibbing, is dubbed "The Man With Vices." "Surely this agrarian program seems to have been approved of in a fit of drunkenness," remarks a critic of Serrano's platform. General Obregon in turn is depicted as an unprincipled egoist always thirsting after more power. Former campaign mates cite anecdotes to prove this. He would tear up the hard won principles of 1910 to satisfy his craving for power, they say. In cartoons he is depicted standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the hated Santa Anna who sold himself to the gringos.

Retaliating for reflections on General Serrano, his follower make use of a stock Mexican advertising slogan which is altered to read: "Ask for Beer and They Will Give You Obregon."

A Personal Campaign
Petty personalities such as these are openly bandied about in the Mexican campaign (rather than whispered as in our contests). They serve to fan the flame of political passion to a dangerous height. The Mexican Presidential campaign is largely a personal battle for bureaucratic loot between militaristic-political cliques.

The three aspiring generals—Serrano, Gomez and Obregon—have this much in common: They derive much strength from the personal loyalty of various segments of the federal army which still remains a potent political club. General Serrano has the loyalty of many army officers in the federal district. It is generally believed that his rise to importance has been mainly due to his ability to play the good fellow with his brother officers. In outlying districts General Serrano's National Revolutionary Party is barely heard of. General Gomez is a more formidable contender. He recently re-

Three Military Men Seek The Presidency

signed his position as chief of federal army operations in the State of Vera Cruz in order to campaign for the presidency. He has the loyalty of the army of Vera Cruz. General Obregon has the allegiance of the important army of Sonora which took a leading part in the revolution.

Little can be said concerning the programs of Serrano and Gomez. In fact, they themselves say little about them, concentrating their verbal fire on the re-electionists "betrayal" of the revolution. To the agrarians Serrano holds out such generalities as "fulfillment of the agrarian promises of the revolution," to the latifundists (absentee owners of huge tracts of land) he promises, more specifically, that there will be no further partition of large estates without ample "mediation" and "study." To labor he promises "fulfillment of the revolutionary labor program." General Serrano was at one time member of Obregon's military staff and it was originally planned that his candidacy be launched to divide the anti-re-electionist ranks. But he now cherishes ambitions of his own.

Gomez makes a frank bid for support of the vested interests in oil and religion. In his program he declares that "the problem of land is not a question of unindemnified division of the land but of intelligent farming." In Vera Cruz his sympathies have been markedly for the large land owners and under his presidency it is safe to predict that the tedious legal process of returning the communal lands to the Indians would come to a halt. The agrarians of Vera Cruz, a state still saddled with the curse of latifundism, are bitter in their opposition to General Gomez. They cite state after case of rebel bands harrying the fields and murdering farmers while the federal troops do nothing, or else actually abet the marauders. These rebels are mainly dispossessed landowners out to kill and pillage on the ejidos, or common lands, which have been returned to their rightful owners. Championing the cause of the Catholic Church, General Gomez is likely to attract many who have just grievances against the present government policy, which has its roots in the Obregon administration. A short time ago the Calles government was forced to pardon all the Catholics imprisoned for violating the ruling against holding public worship in private homes. This

action hastily followed revelations of large scale bribery and corruption by Mexico City police in the enforcement of the regulation. General Gomez is for "religious liberty." "Any restriction of thought, religion and the press is a crime," he said.

If General Gomez is elected, the Doehny Interests and Standard Oil will have nothing to fear. His platform includes a plank calling for "no retroactivity" of Article 27 of the Constitution, relating to nationalization of the subsoil.

The "Re-election" Menace

But General Gomez and Serrano are more concerned with the "re-election" menace than with social programs. They have revived the rallying cry of the revolution against Porfirio Diaz in 1910, "Effective Suffrage, No Re-election." General Obregon wishes to violate Article 83 of the Constitution, they charge, an article which he helped to place there. This article provides that "the President will begin to exercise his duties the 17th of December and will remain for four years and may never be re-elected." "The voice of the martyr, Madero, cries to us from his venerated tomb" against this outrage, the anti-re-electionists assert. But the Obregonists contend that the Constitution merely forbids the President to succeed himself and says nothing of alternate terms. They profess to question the sincerity of the anti-re-electionists, pointing out that re-election has always masked itself under some deceptive and honest appearing slogan. Which is true. When al the progressive-minded leaders had deserted Carranza in 1920 the reactionary military chieftains put forward Bonillas with the slogan, "Back to 'civilism.'" And when de la Huerta launched his well-oiled revolt in 1923 he raised the cry of "anti-impositionism."

Whatever degree of sincerity the anti-re-electionists possess, it is highly significant that they reverted to the futile unrealistic first stages of the revolution for a battle cry. The slogan, "Effective Suffrage, No Re-election," was aimed solely for the downfall of Porfirio Diaz. It was a political program, and failed to satisfy the great social and economic discontent which was the real cause of the revolution. In putting forward this slogan the Serranists and Gomezists are insuring themselves against the necessity of pushing forward the great constructive work of the revolution.

Everywhere in Mexico men fear a new rebellion in connection with the present campaign. They predict that the disgruntled church leaders allied with the latifundists and financed by the oil interests will precipitate another de la Huertist revolution. But such an uprising has little hope of success. The agrarians will rise to the defense of their government as they did in 1923, when the Agrarian party alone placed 10,000 men on the field. Labor will not be backward, either, in helping put down a counter-revolution.

The bulk of farmers and laboring men are supporting General Obregon. With Obregon, a military man of entirely different stamp, began the constructive work of the revolution in 1920. It is safe to predict that if he returns to office the tedious and seemingly hopeless work of reconstruction will continue. The most important of these tasks—beginning in his or President Calles' administration—are: (1) The Agrarian reconstruction, restoration of the ejidos taken from the people during the Diaz dictatorship. Granting agricultural loans for tools, seeds, animals, etc. Irrigation projects, roads building. (2) Fostering a national industry. (3) A school program looking to the abolition of illiteracy, with parallel development of agricultural and industrial schools. (4) Providing the necessary atmosphere for healthy expansion of the labor unions and bona fide agrarian guilds. (During the past year the growing League of Agrarian Communities has increased to over 400,000 members, while among the industrial workers the C. R. O. M. has passed the million mark.)

If this program is continued by the next President, Mexico will soon pass from the present phase of military generals. The Obregonians will eventually eliminate themselves. The hesitancy of the C. R. O. M. in climbing aboard the Obregon band wagon and the earlier rumor that a non-military laborer might be supported is handwriting on the wall for the military men. While it is unlikely that the C. R. O. M. leaders will carry out this plan the existence of the possibility is an indication that profound social changes are taking place in Mexico. The great masses of farmers and laborers are building up a political power that will some day overshadow the military men. Meanwhile they support Obregon in the present struggle, as a Mexican writer has observed, "not only for gratitude, but by instinct, since they know that any other President would come to demolish what has been done, and that with any other man the agrarian situation would be in danger of slipping backward to the Porfirian epoch."

The author tells us that because the Harding family while apparently acquiescing in the truth of her story, still refuse to do anything adequate for her in the shape of financial assistance, she was forced to publish this book to make enough to take care of Elizabeth-Ann. She was also forced to find her own publisher. And just as the first edition was going to press, she tells us that John S. Sumner and "six burly New York policemen" marched in and carried off the plates of the book, which they later returned without comment.

The reader leaves this amazing book with many questions. How come that the story of Sumner's raid escaped the New York reporters for whom the New York "Times" with emphasis on the quotation marks humorously refers to as "the capitalist press"? What papers have reviewed this book? We have seen one advertisement of it thus far, but no reviews. What societies of "patriotic women" are going to book stores buying up all available copies of "The President's Daughter," as a clerk recently informed a friend of ours? But most of all, what sort of civilization is this that so overwhelmingly chooses for its head the shoddy, shop-worn, enamored grocery-boy type that this book proves Warren Gamaliel Harding to have been? And will choose again next year, unless all signs fail.

*The C. R. O. M., since the above was written, has endorsed General Obregon.

The Portrait of a President

"WHERE was you born?" asks a character in one of Ring Lardner's delightful plays. "Out of wedlock" is the gloomy answer.

We have just finished a most amazing book which describes with meticulous detail the history of a child born under these circumstances.

Now from time to time rumors have reached our innocent ears that this sort of thing does happen, even in the best regulated romances. There would be nothing to warrant the use of the word "amazing" about this book were it not for the fact that the child in question is introduced as the daughter of the late Warren Gamaliel Harding, one time President of these United States. Nor again would "amazing" be appropriate if the book merely informed us that Warren was no monogamist. Long before Sam Adam's "Revelry" appeared, we had a sneaking notion that Mr. Harding knew his wild onions.

What does amaze us in "The President's Daughter," by Nan Britton, published, and with some difficulty, by her under the name of the Elizabeth Ann Guild at 20 West 46th Street, New York City (price \$5) is the light that it throws on the mental set-up of a man for whom millions of Americans so emphatically cast their ballots. The story that Nan Britton tells is the story of the love of two second-grade morons. That it is a true story no one who has read more than fifty pages can possibly deny.

For Nan has an embarrassingly uncanny memory for the names of shady resorts, the time-tables of sleepers, even the menus of meals she ate with Warren. And she puts it to good use as she describes the Grand Presidential Passion that began in May, 1917, at the old Manhattan Hotel at Madison Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City, when the Presidency was still ahead, carried on through New York and Marion, Ohio, and the Senate rooms, and even the holy places of the White House itself and culminated only by death from what the world took to be ptomaine poisoning, but what Nan assures us was really a "broken heart." Her version of Mr. Harding's death is: "I believe that under the burden of fatherhood, which he revered but dared not openly confess, combined with the responsibility of the welfare of the nation, he loved, the twenty-ninth President of the United States truly laid down his life for his people."

The entire five hundred pages of this book are filled with the unabashed hero-worship of the paragraph quoted above. Even when Senator Harding was sitting in his pajamas on the side of a bed in a room in a hotel in the Thirties in New York, where "friends of his in Washington had intimated that they had stopped under similar unconventional circumstances with no unpleasant consequences," even when there entered to him and Nan two gruff blackmailers, even then he was the "parfit, genteel knight" trying to protect his "little girl" and finally getting off by slipping the intruders a twenty dollar bill. When Nan and he were safely off in a taxi bound for Churchill's, he exclaimed in relieved glee, "Gee, Nan, I thought I wouldn't get out of that under \$1,000."

It is interesting to the student of American affairs to note that the reason why the Senator got out of that scrape so cheaply was, as Mr. Harding later explained to Nan, "a member of the House of Representatives or of the United States Senate cannot be detained for any reason whatsoever when he is en route to Washington to serve the people. At the time of our almost tragic adventure Mr. Harding had been 'en route,' for he had stopped to be with me (Nan) on his way back to Washington from some city where he had delivered an address." The address, no doubt, was one on the sanctity of the American home and the deep damnation of those "subversive forces of Socialism and Anarchism" that would violate it.

Interesting also to the student is the story of how Senator Harding got Nan a job at the United States Steel Corporation. Let her tell it:

"Mr. Harding had told me that he thought the very place for me was in the United States Steel Corporation. I had never heard of Judge Gary, strange to say, and he explained that he was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the largest corporation in the world. Mr. Harding handed his card to the secretary in Judge Gary's outer office. The judge came out immediately. After introducing me to Judge Gary, Mr. Harding inquired casually of him whether his (Harding's) senatorial services in a certain matter had indeed been satisfactory. The judge replied that they had indeed and thanked Mr. Harding."

Nan got the job. From now on Washington guides may point with pride to Rooms 314 and 341 in the Senate Building. It was in one of these rooms that Nan believes the President's daughter was conceived. "We went over to the Senate Office in the evening. We stayed quite a while there that evening, longer, he said, than was wise for us to do, because the rules governing guests in the Senate Office were rather strict. It was here, we both decided afterward, that our baby girl was conceived." She explains that "the Senate Office does not provide preventive facilities for use in such emergencies," a deficiency which the next Congress will undoubtedly remedy with much needed legislation.

In the darkness of Senatorial chambers, in sleepers and boarding-houses and New York apartments and in a tiny closet in the White House, the embraces, the "Gee, Nans," the elaborate interchange of innocent appearing letters continue in the exalted manner of the love of a bond-salesman for his stenographer. The affair of Judd Gray and Ruth Snyder takes on the majesty of the passions of Tristram and Isolt by comparison.

The book is studded with pictures of the principal characters, there is a priceless snap-shot of the younger Harding that time he blew the slip-horn to the Marion band. The love-child Elizabeth-Ann, a really beautiful little girl, is shown in numerous poses.

The author tells us that because the Harding family while apparently acquiescing in the truth of her story, still refuse to do anything adequate for her in the shape of financial assistance, she was forced to publish this book to make enough to take care of Elizabeth-Ann. She was also forced to find her own publisher. And just as the first edition was going to press, she tells us that John S. Sumner and "six burly New York policemen" marched in and carried off the plates of the book, which they later returned without comment.

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McAlister Coleman.



Amusements



The New Plays

"Pickwick" Arrives at the Empire With an Excellent English Cast—"Good News" Fast and Rich Musical Comedy at the 46th Street Theatre

THE much-heralded "Pickwick" which Mr. Frank C. Reilly has been promising us these many months has arrived at the Empire Theatre in all its impressive regalia. "Freely based" on the famed "Pickwick Papers," the play presented by Mr. Reilly and his more than capable company is certain to enthrall all lovers of Dickens.

There is little of plot in "Pickwick." It is rather a series of pictures taken from the book and strung together with slight sequence. Only toward the end do we find a connected attempt to tell a story. The imprisonment of the philosophic and bibulous Pickwick on the trumped up breach of promise suit, preceded by the courtroom scene, is the climax of this pleasing bit of polite humor.

Mr. Reilly, who was assisted in writing the play by Cosmo Hamilton, has brought over a troupe of British players, headed by John Cumberland. Even though the action falls a bit over so often through the three acts and eight scenes, the players from Mr. Cumberland down are more or less perfect pictures of Dickens' beloved and hated characters. And when one tires of watching them, there are the rich settings provided through the artistry of William Castle. There is never a dull moment, however, when Charles McNaughton is on the stage portraying Sam Weller, Pickwick's loyal and happy man-servant. Particularly on the witness stand was Mr. McNaughton's Weller a delight. While politely restrained (or forced) mirth was the general rule, McNaughton shattered this rule completely. Of a piece with his spirited acting in the courtroom scene was that of Bruce Winston as Sargeant Buzfuz, and Hugh Miller as the eccentric Mr. Jingie.

THE enthusiastic pleasure seekers who filed out of the theatre at 46th street last evening were speculating quite avidly over the huge sums of duets that the genial partnership of Schwab & Mandel will scoop up out of "Good News."

It is a musical comedy of rare talent in these days when any kind of talent is rare. Firstly it is the cleanest bit of entertainment that Broadway has seen in many a moon. We counted only one or two questionable quips. And when one considers that the plot, and subject matter is wrapped around the campus and college life of a co-ed college, it is quite remarkable that the tin pan al-leyists who hatched and patched "Good



ALINE MACMAHON
in "Her First Affaire," at the Nora Bayes Theatre

News" together kept themselves in such decent restraint. The furthest they dared to venture in their naughtiness was a hasty remark regarding a fair co-ed's lost bloomers. Broadway is surely on the reform upslide.

Sprightly tunes, sprightly dances, black bottom specialty numbers, a fumbled ball in a football game, where the hero pulls the bone, and the dumb-bell does the heroic recovery; college boys and girls that look like the goods on any campus, fair faces, lithe limbs, and rattling patter make for a light evening's entertainment that New York's weary tradesmen will enjoy all winter and far into the spring.

The cast is uniformly well trained and efficient in fun making and musical effort. The dancing of Don Tompkins and Zelma O'Neill is dippy and zesty, and the costuming fresh and aesthetically pleasing.

All in all "Good News" is in for a long trip. And it will keep traveling as it did last night, fast and furiously, indeed.

S. A. D.

Two featured actresses have been engaged for productions by Flo Ziegfeld this season. Harriet Hootor, the little dancer who soon became a favorite in the revue "A la Carte," is to appear in "The Three Musketeers," the musical version of the Dumas novel, rehearsals for which are scheduled to begin late in November. In the meantime Miss Hootor will continue her pleasing dancing in "A la Carte."



J. C. NUGENT
in "Mister Romeo," at Wallace's Theatre

J. C. Nugent Happy In New Role

THERE was a time when coy politicians seeking political advancement would strike an attitude and mouth a time-worn aphorism. "The office seeks the man" was the burden of their utterance. Applied to the theatre, it means that the play seeks the player. The instances, however, where the player suits the part, or vice versa, are, unfortunately, most rare.

One of the rare instances occurred when "Mister Romeo," a comedy, the joint work of Harry Wagstaff Gribble and Wallace A. Manheimer, was submitted to J. C. Nugent, acknowledged to be America's foremost character actor. Mr. Nugent had barely closed his most phenomenal revival of his play, "Kempy," at the Hudson Theatre, and retired to his home in Harbor View, where, surrounded by his family, he was settling down to enjoy a much-needed rest, when the script of the play was forwarded to him. He was on the beach near his home tinkering over a new boat when his daughter Ruth handed him the play. Forgetting all about the work in hand, and surrounded by tools of all description, he sat down on the sand and read the play. An hour later he was on his way to sweltering New York to discuss terms for his engagement. In less than a week he was rehearsing. Here is an instance of a play seeking and finding the player.

In this new comedy Mr. Nugent once again has found a vehicle that affords him splendid opportunities to display the unique talents that have endeared him to the theatregoing public in every city in these United States. While it is true that, in his opinion, the finest part he was ever called upon to create was in the McEvoy play of last season, entitled "God Loves Us," he yet feels that in "Mister Romeo" he will repeat his former triumph.

"My Maryland" Opens At The Jolson Monday

THERE is a little blonde lady with a golden voice who has deserted grand opera for operetta. She was on the threshold of a great career in the former field when she left it. The lady's name is Evelyn Herbert, and her latest operetta is "My Maryland," in which she will make her first New York appearance at Jolson's Theatre on Monday, September 12. Incidentally, she has been playing in it in Philadelphia for nine months; it has been a sensational success there.

Miss Herbert was a leading singer with the Chicago Civic Grand Opera Company, having sung Mimi in "La Boheme," and other leading parts. But it seemed that while she became well-known in Chicago, her glory did not spread far beyond that metropolis. And, besides, the financial remuneration was nothing to speak of. That, it seems, is the general rule in grand opera.

She decided to come east, and when she reached Manhattan she met the famous Roxy, who had heard her sing in Chicago. He asked her if she would like to appear for a week at the Capitol Theatre, whose destinies he was then guiding. The week stretched into a month, and she was just about to accept his offer of a long-term contract when Mr. J. J. Shubert heard her voice. He sent for her and within the week she was rehearsing the leading role in "The Love Song." From the first night she appeared in that she realized that operetta was her forte. It might be added that Miss Herbert is an excellent actress as well as singer.

After "The Love Song" came the part of Princess Flavia in the operetta of that name. And on Monday New York will see Evelyn Herbert as Barbara Frietche in "My Maryland," the most ambitious role in her career. She has found the right medium for her abilities, and it is in operetta that she wants to stay. After "My Maryland" the Messrs. Shubert plan to star her in another operetta. But from present indications it will be at least two years before she can leave "My Maryland."

Provincetown Announces New Play by Paul Green

The Provincetown Playhouse, which is now reviving "In Abraham's Bosom," announces that its subscription season definitely would include "Seven Against Thebes," by James Light, the Provincetown stage director, and a new full-length play by Paul Green. One more production, still to be selected, will round out the schedule.



EVELYN HERBERT
Prima Donna in "My Maryland," Which the Shuberts Bring to Jolson Theatre This Week

The completed cast of "The Wild Man of Borneo," by Marc Connelly and Herman Mankiewicz, which Philip Goodman will present at the Bijou Theatre, September 12, includes George Hassell, the featured player; Josephine Hull, Harold Elliott, Marguerite Churchill, Spencer Chartres, Edward F. Nannary, Anna Thomas, Lotta Linthicum, Murray Alper and Sarah Enright. The play opens in Astor Park next Monday, where it plays for three nights. It will be seen the second half of the week in Long Branch.

The New Plays Next Week

MONDAY, SEPT. 12

THE BABY CYCLOPE, at the Henry Miller Theatre. A farce by George M. Cohan. With Grant Mitchell, Joseph Allen, Georgia Caine and others.
REVELRY, at the Masque. By Maurine Watkins, from Samuel Hopkins Adams' novel. With George MacFarlane, Jefferson DeAngelis, Charles Ellis and others.
THE WILD MAN OF BORNEO, at the Bijou. A comedy by Marc Connelly and Herman J. Mankiewicz. With George Hassell and Josephine Hull.
MY MARYLAND, at the Jolson. An operetta by Dorothy Donnelly and Sigmund Romberg. With George Rosner and others.
SECRET SERVICE SMITH, at the Cosmopolitan. A detective play by Lincoln Osborne. With Ramsay Wallace, Norma Phillips and others.
HALF A WIDOW, at the Waldorf. A musical comedy by Frank Dupree and Harry B. Smith; music by Shep Camp. With Vivian Martin, Gertrude Land and others.
ENEMIES AND LIVERS, at the Little Theatre. From the Russian Artzbasheff. For special matinee only.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 13

THE TRIUMPHANT BACHELOR, at the Biltmore. A comedy by Owen Davis. With Robert Ames, Elsie Lawson and others.
TEN PER CENT, at the George M. Cohan Theatre. A comedy by Eugene Davis. With James Spottswood, Robert Leonard and others.

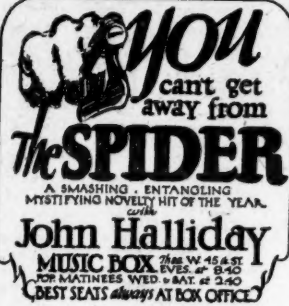
FRIDAY, SEPT. 16

CREOLES, a play by Samuel Shipman and Kenneth Perkins. With Allan Dinehart, Helen Chandler and Natcha Rambova.

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John Halliday
MUSIC BOX
BEST SEATS AT BOX OFFICE

Jack Haskell is staging the dances for Philip Goodman's production, "The Five O'Clock Girl," now in preparation for a New York opening on September 19 at the Shubert Theatre, Philadelphia.

The Duncan Sisters saw "The Desert Song" the other evening and went backstage to congratulate Robert Halliday on his success in the role of the Red Shadow. Halliday was leading man for the Duncans in "Topsy and Eva."

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MUSICAL VERSION OF "THE GORILLA" PLANNED

James W. Elliott announces that he has signed contracts with two unnamed comedians to appear in his forthcoming musical version of "The Gorilla." Due to prior contracts, Mr. Elliott claims that he cannot at present reveal the names of the players.

Frank Mandel, of the firm of Schwab & Mandel, returned from Chicago, where he presided at the opening performance of "The Desert Song" at the Great Northern Theatre. He reports that this Romberg musical play was cordially received in the lake metropolis.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

NATIONAL

October 20—November 5
Party branches, sympathetic organizations and Socialist voters are urged to co-operate in the period including the above dates in a campaign for intensive educational and organization work. These sixteen days are to be a period of intensive work. Eugene V. Debs was born on November 5 and died on October 20, and the period has been chosen for a drive preparatory to the national campaign all over the country.

In Organized States
In organized states the state secretary and executive committee should plan meetings weekly in advance. Arrangements should be made for distribution of leaflets, canvassing enrolled voters, gathering subscriptions for Socialist publications and obtaining applications for membership in the party. Where trade unions and other organizations are sympathetic in this work their co-operation should be obtained.

The Only Third Party
All indications are that the Socialist party will be the only third party in the field to challenge the rule of the parties of capitalism. Many thousands of those who voted against these parties in 1924 will not return to them in 1928. By loyal and intelligent work in the sixteen days anticipated for this campaign the party membership can be increased, thousands of new readers for the party press can be obtained, and funds can be raised for the important work which the National Office must do in weak and unorganized states.

Sixteen Notable Days
The National Office of the party will co-operate with local and branches in obtaining speakers for local affairs. Get on the job now. With the spirit of devotion our members can go forward and make these sixteen days historic in the history of the American Socialist movement.

A big meeting has been arranged for Cleveland for Sept. 11, Sunday at 4:30 p. m., at 1711 Lake Shore boulevard, formerly May's restaurant. The party will have a car and get off at 148th street. William H. Henry, national secretary of the Socialist Party, will discuss party matters and explain the situation confronting the Socialist Party for the 1928 campaign.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading
Street meetings are being held each week in the municipal campaign of the Socialists with increasing prospects of success. The main problem of the campaign committee now is the raising of funds. J. Henry Stump, the candidate for Mayor and treasurer of the campaign committee, has placed this problem before the voters of the city. An appeal is made to all friends of the only labor ticket in the field to contribute to the expenses of the national campaign. Readers in other cities who may be able to help may send contributions to J. Henry Stump, 528 Walnut street, Reading, Pa.

NEW YORK CITY

Membership Drive
The drive for 500 new members began the end of the campaign has begun. Since last week eight new members have been obtained. The Brownsville Branch, 234 A. D., heads the list with four new members, and the following branches each gained one: Boro Park (English speaking) Branch; Branch Seven, Bronx; 2d A. D., Kings; 19th-21st A. D., New York. The progress of this drive will appear in this column from week to week and the contest for membership of the various branches. Every branch officer and active member will be spurred on to the drive by the fact that this drive will not be a difficult goal to achieve, and 500 comrades will add considerable strength to our party organization in New York City. Several new branches are in process of formation. More news about these later.

Campaign Dance and Reunion
All candidates, campaign managers and committees, as well as Socialists and their friends throughout the city, will gather in the People's House, 15th street, Saturday evening, Sept. 16, Schiller's Society Orchestra has been engaged and will furnish the music. Other details as to the program will be announced later. Tickets are 50 cents, and all comrades are urged to assist in making this first dance a success, socially and financially.

MANHATTAN
2nd Judicial District
The Campaign Committee met Tuesday evening, Sept. 6, at the headquarters, 107 Second avenue. Various committees reported on the progress made. The manager, A. N. Weinberg, reported that many unions are already electing delegates to the Trade Union Conference that will take place on Sept. 14 at Beethoven Hall. He also reported that much interest has been expressed, not only among trade unionists but professional groups who are now organizing to help in whatever way they can to assist in the re-election of Judge Panken. Plans were discussed to establish an organization of canvassers to reach the voters at their homes. A Workers' Circle Conference Committee was elected to visit a number of branches to request them to issue a call for such a conference. A Budget Committee was also elected with instructions to bring in a report at the next meeting of the committee, with a detailed plan for activities, exact data on what such a campaign would cost, and the possibilities for raising funds. The next meeting of the Campaign Committee will be on Monday, Sept. 12, in Room 505, People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8 p. m.

Italian Voters
Comrade Valenti is on the job doing the preliminary work to reach Italian voters in the district. Connections with active Italian workers have been established. Officials of several Italian trade unions have been enlisted in the campaign work. Headquarters in the heart of the Italian section in the 2nd A. D. will soon be opened. Steps are being taken to reach the voters of Italian descent through the many sick and benefit societies flourishing in the district. Open air meetings are being held at Bleecker and MacDougal streets and at 12th street and First avenue.

3rd, 5th, 10th A. D.
This branch will meet on Monday, Sept. 12, in Room 402, People's House, 1 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m. Organizer Abram Peppersberg mailed letters asking for a full attendance now that the summer season is at an end. He also comments upon the fine work done in holding street meetings at Sheridan Square during the spring and summer months and calls for more intense activities during the next two months.

HARLEM
A joint meeting of the Harlem

branch is called for Tuesday evening, Sept. 13. Candidates for Assembly and Alderman will be present and a campaign committee will be organized and empowered to conduct the campaign. It is believed that the Socialist Party will make a good showing in the coming election in Harlem, and that Leonard C. Kaye, candidate for Assembly, and I. George Dobson, candidate for Alderman in the 7th Aldermanic District, will lend considerable life and enthusiasm to the campaign.

BRONX

The memorial meeting in behalf of our late comrade, Fred Paulitsch, was held last Tuesday evening at the clubrooms, 1167 Boston road. The Paulitsch family was present, members of the Sheet Metal Workers Union, several comrades from various parts of the city and a large gathering of Bronx Socialists filled the hall and participated in a dignified and impressive memorial service. Eulogies extolling the character and virtues and the remarkable services of Fred Paulitsch to the Socialist and Labor movement to which he had given the best part of his life were delivered by William Karlin, Nathan Fine, Samuel Orr, E. P. Cassidy, August Cassenau, Harry Diamond, Sidney Hertzberg, I. George Dobson, Samuel Hoffman, Comrades Flannigan, Young and Timm spoke in behalf of the Sheet Metal Workers Union.

A brief business meeting of the Bronx County Socialists and the Central Branch was held later in the evening. The next meeting of the Central Branch will be held on Tuesday evening, Sept. 20, and a new organizer will be elected to fill the vacancy created by Paulitsch's death.

Italian Branch
The Italian Branch of the Bronx County Socialists deplores the death of Comrade Fred Paulitsch. Many members knew of his work for the cause and The New Leader, and we hope that memory of his many good deeds will inspire others to take his place and work just as hard. The Italian Branch, through The New Leader, expresses its sympathy for our departed comrade's family.

Branch Seven
At the meeting next Tuesday, Sept. 13, at the clubrooms, 4215 Third avenue, reports are expected from the following committees and officers: Financial secretary, reports covering July and August; Open Air Committee, a list of corners where meetings can be held; other committees now on file. Delegates to the Bronx County Committee are expected to report on condition of the county organization. Delegates to Executive Committee are also urged to report on the activities of said body. As this is a very important meeting, every member is expected to be present without fail. Remember the date, Tuesday, Sept. 13.

BROOKLYN

Second A. D.
Regular meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at the headquarters, 420 Hindsdale street.
Fifth A. D.
A special meeting will be held Monday evening, Sept. 12, at the headquarters, 345 South Third street. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Alderman in the Thirty-fifth, Harry Schuchman, candidate for Alderman in the Thirty-fourth; Samuel Schneider and Morris Blumenreich, candidates for Assembly in the Fourth-Police district, and Anthony de Biasi, candidate for Senator in the Eleventh Senatorial District, will be present and, with the members, will plan activities in the coming campaign.

Fifth-Sixth A. D.
A special branch meeting and Y. P. S. L. members in the district will be held Tuesday evening, Sept. 13. Candidates for Assembly and Alderman, Joseph Tuvin and Samuel H. Friedman, respectively, will be present and reports are requested to attend so that plans for the campaign can be acted upon and an organization effected for a vigorous canvass of the district.

Twenty-third A. D.
During the campaign meetings of this branch will be held every Monday evening at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. As the campaign gathers momentum many types of work will be proposed and carried into effect at these meetings. Therefore it is requested that every Brownsville member be present.

Twenty-second A. D.
A banquet has been arranged for Saturday evening, Sept. 9, at the Restaurant. This affair will be in the nature of a campaign get-together of all East New York Socialists and their friends. A special meeting of this branch will be held Tuesday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m., at the Workers' Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken Avenue. Final arrangements for the banquet and the campaign will be made.

Where Is That Half-Million?

(Continued from page 4)
To which Sacco and Vanzetti subscribed. Our Communists not only know this but they have defended the policy of terror applied to Menchovics, Social-Revolutionaries, Non-Party men, Anarchists, Co-operators and even Communists who differed with the small oligarchy that rules Russia. Atrocious as the "trial" of Sacco and Vanzetti was it was equity itself compared to what would have happened to them in Russia. The noise raised by Communists here over Sacco and Vanzetti is revolting hypocrisy and they know it.

Just as abortive was the "general strike" called by the Communists. They have no more authority or power to call a strike than a lodge or Elks has. Like utopians of the past they assume that a general strike is a simple matter rather than a complex and dangerous weapon requiring long preparation in education and training of the organized working class. To call a general strike without assurance that it will be responded to by the organized workers is to indulge in reaction against the cause for which it is called. It was certain that the organized workers would not respond to any call coming from Communists.

An investigation made by The New Leader of the few Left Wing Fur Shops in New York showed that not one responded to the call. The only result of this utopian meddling was to confuse readers of the daily press and give the impression that organized workers were not much interested in Sacco and Vanzetti.

Three American Anarchists were deported to Russia, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and Mollie Steimer.

Our Communists were very unhappy and made much noise about it. Miss Steimer was glad to go, believing that in the "proletarian democracy" she would have the freedom denied her in the United States. Berkman and Miss Goldman protested but preferred to go to Russia if they were to be deported at all. These deportees received a warm welcome in the holy land of working class "freedom." But they are now disillusioned. Both Berkman and Miss Goldman are no longer in Russia. Mollie Steimer also had an experience that is typical of others. She was deported from the United States in 1921 to Russia and deported from Russia in 1923.

Not Like American Police
Mollie Steimer's offense in Russia was membership in an Anarchist group providing aid to other Anarchists in prison. Mollie landed in a Bolshevik prison. Deported in 1923, she reached France. There she declared that the Russian prisons "are filled with revolutionaries who do not agree with the tyrannical regime enforced by the Bolsheviks. The inhuman treatment that those people receive at the hands of their jailors can have only one purpose, that is, to wear them out physically and mentally so that their lives may become a mere burden to them."

Because of brutal treatment in prison Miss Steimer and other political prisoners declared a hunger strike. The prosecuting attorney urged a fellow prisoner to induce Miss Steimer to abandon her strike on the seventh day. He declared that he could not persuade her. The prosecutor declared: "Then she will be forcibly fed. Does she think she is dealing with the American police?" Miss Steimer's comment on this statement is illuminating: "He spoke as if the brutal methods of the American police were tenderness itself compared with what he and his comrades intended to do."

The above is taken from "Letters From Russian Prisons," a collection of authentic documents which show that all the atrocities of czarist prison life are borne by working class prisoners in Communist Russia. Thousands of prisoners get insufficient food and some food that is provided is repulsive. Hunger strikes are frequent. The treatment of women prisoners is often atrocious. The following is from the statement of a woman on the road to exile:

"I approached the door of the common female cell where I was sent. I gasped. No words could transmit the incredible horror of the thing. In an almost dark room, amidst a filthy heap of mud, swarmed about 35 to 40 creatures, half alive. Even the walls of the cells were covered with excrement and other filth." Transferred to another cell it was occupied "by a woman eaten up by venereal disease and fever; besides, she was weak-minded." The women were warned by the wardress to be on their guard against the keepers who "might come late at night for a certain purpose. Such is the 'custom.' Almost all the women who passed through this prison are abused that way. In addition, almost all the officials are diseased and infect the women."

The letters and other documents in this book are a hideous indictment of the Communists. They unmask those who pretend to sympathize with Sacco and Vanzetti. These Italian workmen received merciful treatment compared to what they would have received in Communist Russia, and the Communists know it.

Moreover, Sacco and Vanzetti in Russia would never have been able to get the support which they received in the United States. No defense committees could live in Russia. No funds could be openly collected for the defense. No mass meetings could be held. No petitions could be circulated or signed. Every person who would have tried to help them would have gone to jail, into exile or be deported. Communists know this as they have defended it time after time. Their conduct shows that they would be equal to selling the ashes of Sacco and Vanzetti to pay salaries of Communist guardians of their nuclei.

The suit for criminal libel brought by President Sigman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers against certain Communists shows how low they can sink in their propaganda. Men who can stoop to charging Mrs. Sigman with keeping "a house of ill fame" in the hope of blackening the reputation of Sigman are beyond the pale of human decency. Yet towards women strike workers the shoulders of women at their political opponents. It is a disgusting duty to place on record such things. The writer has never written anything in his life with more reluctance than this. Our class bears within its movement and its ideals something much nobler than an inverted imitation of the worst elements of the upper classes. The long and thorny road of mankind upward from the beast to elementary decency and honor is strewn with tears, suffering and sacrifice. The workers are civilized human beings, not barbarians. When honor is thrown on the ash heap in the name of "revolution" the revolution itself turns to ashes.

Intrigue is not knowledge, slander is not culture, lying is not strength, hypocrisy is not power. Moreover, those who cannot act as civilized human beings when the shadow of death hovers about two unfortunate men belong not to the labor movement of this country and of the world. Inverted Fullers, Thayers and Lowells do not belong to our class. The Cossack Socialism of the knout differs little from the capitalism of Thayer's court. The Communist falls differ from the czarist prison only in better more cruel. Mollie Steimer feared no better before Communist "justice" than she did before American "justice."

Having recorded this black episode in the Sacco-Vanzetti affair it is now our duty to turn from it to the task of making this a world of decency, fair

play, honor and economic equity based on social democracy. The men who are guilty of the fearful conduct we have reviewed may be left to merit the judgment of history which will write them down as they deserve.

The July Events In Vienna

(Continued from page 4)
union commission were executed with exemplary discipline. The 24-hour strike of protest began and ended to the minute as it had been planned; not one single industry refused to participate, nor did a single one continue it beyond the time appointed. But the transport services, as had been decided, continued on strike after the 24 hours were over. Nor did the occupation of the railway line by armed local guards undertaken in Tyrol and in part of Steiermark, have any effect towards breaking the railway strike.

On the Saturday there were still some cases of shooting in the streets, but very soon quiet set in. The mayor of Vienna established a municipal defense guard from men of the Republican Defense League. Thus now wherever a row was threatening between the police and the crowd, the municipal guard hastened to the spot and relieved the police. The same masses, who against the police displayed fierce resentment, greeted with cheers the new guard of red Vienna. In this manner it was possible to put an end to the bloody encounters in the streets.

Meanwhile the transport strike lasted on through the Saturday, Sunday and Monday. The purpose of this strike was the following: On the Friday afternoon, when the police were masters of the streets of Vienna, it was necessary on the one hand by a powerful demonstration to give utterance to the workers' protest, and at the moment when they were being scattered by rifle fire to heighten their consciousness of strength, and on the other hand to show reaction, which felt itself victorious, that the workers without taking up arms had resources at its command not to be swept away by the rifles of the police.

No concrete demands were advanced in connection with the proclamation of the strike. The great meeting of the Vienna party organizers, which set on Sunday, contented itself with giving authority to the party executive and the Trade Union Commission to prolong the strike until the immediate danger that the bloody events might be exploited for the ends of reaction should have ceased.

Sounding the Government
On Monday the spokesmen of the party and of the unions had an interview with the Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, which had two results. It was made perfectly clear that the Government had no intention of using the situation for any reactionary step, or for any attack on the workers' organizations or rights, that in fact immediately after the close of the strike they intended to summon Parliament and leave to it the further decisions. However, the Government refused to express this intention of theirs in any public statement so long as the strike continued.

The position was accordingly as follows: We had the choice of either tightening our pressure on the Government by suspending the working of provisions trains, which had been excepted from the strike, and extending it also to other industries, or else of breaking off the strike, since it was clear that there was no danger of any reactionary advance. This first possibility of intensifying the strike would undoubtedly have meant taking up the struggle for mastery of the State, revolution and civil war down to its ultimate consequences. The second possibility of breaking off the strike without any public assurances from the Government involved the danger of a loss of prestige for the party and the unions. We chose the second alternative. That we did right was proved by the behavior of the strikers. The order to resume work at midnight was observed by the hundreds of thousands involved with absolute precision and without the slightest resistance. Although we could bring to the masses no visible concessions by the Government, the trusted in the view of the leaders that the strike could be terminated without danger as soon as the governing bodies had resolved on this course. In Tyrol, where the railway tracks were in the occupation of the "Local Guards" (Heimwehr), the railwaymen declared they would only resume work after the withdrawal of the Fascists; they did so accordingly on the Tuesday morning at eight, after the local guards had removed themselves.

The whole attitude of the party and of the unions can now be well understood. We do not wish that these bloody happenings should be carried further to the point of revolution, because we were assured that this revolution, even in the event of triumph in Vienna, could only end in civil war and foreign intervention. A dictatorship of the workers in Vienna, faced with hostile provinces and menaced by Italian and Hungarian Fascism, could surely have ended no otherwise than with the most appalling defeat. But if we wished to avert civil war, on the other hand we wished by a formidable intimation of our strength both to strengthen the workers' confidence of power which the sanguinary occurrences seemed likely to damp, and on the other hand to intimidate

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11-27 Arton Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
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reaction which thought to exploit these events, I believe that we have succeeded on both counts. The spirit and consciousness of the workers are unbroken; our organizations are unimpaired. One cannot yet detect what political consequences the events will bring in their train, but in the parliamentary field will very speedily become visible that no attack on the strength of our positions can be successful. As a lasting token of these days of bloodshed we shall presumably keep with us the Municipal Guard, established by the Mayor of Vienna in the hour of danger, and that is not an inconsiderable reinforcement of the Socialist municipality. All those at home and abroad who believe that the bloody events of July will result in a setback for our powerful movement in Austria will ere long become aware of their mistake. Despite all the vehement criticism from Left and Right we believe in the soundness of our tactics, which have preserved the Austrian workers from civil war, without, however, yielding helplessly to the shots of the police, which indeed in the great demonstration of the transport strike, immediately following the hours of bloodshed, has afforded an imposing proof of proletarian steadfastness and discipline.

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THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1927

POLITICS AND INTERESTS

ONE of the hypocrisies of American party struggles is the constant repetition of the assertion that political power and political struggles have no reference to economic groups and classes. This goes so far as to deny that there are such groups and classes with diverging interests. If this assertion were true it would be impossible to understand American history and especially American political struggles.

It is interesting to observe that practically every prominent political leader in this country before the advent of general manhood suffrage accepted the struggle between economic classes and groups as an axiom of politics. Adams, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, Ames, Calhoun, Webster, and practically all the framers of the Constitution knew that this struggle is the basis of politics, legislation, and government in general. It is because of this knowledge that they supported the policy of a property qualification for the exercise of the suffrage. They feared that extension of the vote to those without property would place the owners of property at the mercy of the propertyless majority.

When in the first half of the nineteenth century grudging concessions were made in state conventions that revised their constitutions fearful predictions were made by the Old Guard of the result. The Old Guard argued that the interests of the workers could not be reconciled with the powerful owners of plantations in the South and of factories in the North. Therefore, the workers would use their franchise to wrest power from the upper classes.

But while the suffrage was being cautiously extended politicians like Weed and Van Buren in New York developed tactical appeals to befuddle the minds of the masses. The old frank discussion of interests was gradually discarded and what has come to be known as "hokum" took its place. That article is now the standard substitute for genuine discussion and every candid appeal to labor interests is today denounced as an unpardonable sin. Socialists are considered impious rascals for stressing economic interests in politics and legislation for this exposes the whole political game of deceit which holds workers and farmers in allegiance to the two-party game of big property interests. Progress will be made just in proportion as we destroy the "hokum" marketed by the professionals.

POLICE-ENFORCED VIEWS

THE child mind of adults functions after a simple pattern. It subscribes to a few primitive beliefs and endeavors to enforce them upon others by police power. In every instance where the state has been used to enforce beliefs it has been employed in behalf of the old, never the new. On the other hand, the advocates of new discoveries in science, philosophy and politics have been content to have the new win its way in the arena of discussion. It is when the new makes inroads on the old that the latter takes shelter behind the police club of the state.

Two contemporary examples of this are interesting. The Protestant South is Democratic and Ku Klux. Catholic Boston is Democratic and anti-Ku Klux. Antagonistic to the point of hatred as they are, both exhibit some fundamental similarities in methods, especially in the desire to use the police powers of government to enforce their respective views. Each becomes alarmed over the activity of the other, but this alarm is not due to fear of police enforcement of views, but fear that the other will do the enforcing. Recently the Alabama Ku Klux inspired a gag bill in the Legislature which, if enacted into law, would make the Alien and Sedition Acts the essence of democracy by comparison. The details are unimportant. It is sufficient to say that terror would dog the heels of those who defied Ku Kluxism. In Boston the other wing of this same Democratic party sets up and enforces a police censorship of literature which is inspired by ancient piety. In the South and in Boston clericalism works the same way, but in behalf of different views of what should be believed.

Fundamentally, this attitude tends to support reaction and resist progressive expansion of ideas. Both groups swear allegiance to the great Virginian who broke the power of Church and State and who swore eternal enmity against every coercive power that attempts to limit the function of the human mind. In Boston Jefferson would be hailed before Superintendent of Police Crowley to answer for his unorthodox views and in Koo Koo Alabama a night shirt band would take him out for a midnight flogging. Between the two free discussion is an exile, liberty is a suspicious character, and the bill of rights a seditious document.

ELECTRIC PLOWING

EXPERIMENTS in northern New York with a plow that sends 103,000 volts of electricity into the soil promise a revolution in agricultural production. It appears that electric plowing eradicates weeds, exterminates insects, and provides a substitute for fertilizers. Not only are crops increased and worn out soil renewed. Crops are brought to maturity in much less time than by the old methods.

All of which would be a matter of rejoicing if we had any assurance that the farmer and workers in general would be the gainers. They will not be under present economic arrangements. Those who will be enriched are owners of railways, market gamblers, those who control credit, and those who will manufacture and sell the new machine to farmers. The latter will produce crops in larger volume, but the increased values will flow into the hands of those who know nothing about farming.

Before the days of modern farm machinery many a farmer rejoiced to hear of each new invention in the field of agriculture. He anticipated a great increase in financial returns, more leisure and more economic security for himself and family. Experience has punctured his dream. Only a small part of the anticipated aid has been reaped by him. Within the past ten years in a large section of the Northwest hundreds of thousands of farmers have even been beggared although possessing modern farm machinery.

All our history shows that if electric plowing proves all that is claimed for it, farmers will simply heap up more values for various sections of the capitalistic class. The farmer has no future under capitalism. Either he will help to abolish capitalism or eventually he will become a peasant. His ally is the wage worker of the city. When both sweep their class into public power they will be masters of the situation.

ADVISING WORKERS

NIAGARA FALLS unemployed workman writes to the Gazette of that city complaining of widespread unemployment in that city and Buffalo, low wages that prevail, the difficulty of a workman over the age of 45 obtaining a job, and asking the editor what advice he can give this workman and others who are unemployed. The editor answers that there is a Workmen's Compensation act in this state and if it is not satisfactory it should be amended. But this act presupposes employment. It offers no relief to men out of work and by calling attention to this act the editor admits inability to answer the question that is put to him.

The editor goes on to give other advice to the effect that those who are dissatisfied with conditions have the ballot which they can use to change them. But since the unemployed worker is a Socialist the advice is not necessary for him, sound as it is. On the other hand the correspondent points out that as a Socialist he is denounced by the very press that advises him to take his grievances to the ballot box. The worker is urged to use the ballot, but to cast it for one of two parties whose administration brings unemployment. When the unemployed worker proposes to cast his ballot against these parties he reads himself out of the sympathy of the editors of the capitalist press.

The upshot of all this is that the intelligent worker who is emancipated from dependence upon the ruling parties is condemned as a miscreant. He is all right if he contents himself with making a noise, about unemployment and votes for the parties of capitalism. In this case "sympathy" with his plight takes the form of calling attention to a law that is of no use to the unemployed. To intelligent men and women this conduct should convince workers of the need of supporting a party of their class.

A DUBIOUS LABOR DAY

AN UNUSUAL number of editorials on Labor Day pointed out that the day has lost some of its old significance. It is coming to be accepted as one of a number of holidays, a day of general recreation and rest, no longer conspicuous for labor idealism and symbolic of the power or potential power of a class.

This is unfortunately true, especially in the Eastern States. The old ideal survives chiefly in the Rocky Mountain States and to a lesser extent in the upper Ohio and Mississippi Valley. Twenty years ago the trade unions prepared for it months in advance and in many cities Labor Day was given a special labor character fitting to the occasion. There has been a rapid decline of the old idealism in the past ten years, a decline which has become so apparent as to invite the editorial comment mentioned above.

Whatever may be the explanation, one thing is sure. A growing, expanding, thinking and forward-looking movement would not be accompanied with a decline in the observance of the one holiday that belongs to it. The decline is a symptom of a listless and uninspiring trade union movement. It is lacking in the spirit of adventure, the will-to-power, eagerness to expand, to carry its message to the millions of unorganized, and to present its claim as a force in the social order. Presenting this mood, Labor Day means no more than any other holiday.

May Day is the general labor day abroad, and it remains the great day of the working class, observed by the whole labor movement and as inspiring as ever. When the soul expires the body cannot long survive. Responsible men in the trade unions should take stock of old war cries, methods and policies if they are to check the decline in idealism and avoid descent into a lifeless routine.

Another Pilate

To Gov. Fuller on his Sacco-Vanzetti decision:

Another Pilate washed his hands and said:
The priests of gold are clamoring in my ear,
(And thinking of his politician's head)
I really see no cause to interfere.

—William Claassen Emory.

Justice in the Chair



As the New Leader of London Saw the Sacco-Vanzetti Execution

THE CHATTER BOX

FOR Sacco and Vanzetti personally I have little sympathy. They are uplifters, and all such persons are entirely loathsome to me. . . . These sentences I pick out bodily and quote fairly to the rest of the text. The rest of the statement protests against destroying the two martyrs on the ground that to electrocute them is to immortalize them. It starts in by comparing the Fuller Decision in this case to the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court before the Civil War on black slavery. It attacks the plutocracy, saying that the day of the Massachusetts legal murder announces its intention to do away with any man who opposes its ascendancy. "Men will be bombing each other over this case long after Lincoln is forgotten. . . ." is another excerpt I lift out of the statement.

The matter under discussion here is what was said about the Sacco-Vanzetti case by that gigantic ogre to American morons and timid intellectuals—Henry L. Mencken.

What riles me now is that I must ram a fistful of linotyped knuckles down the throat of a guy I've thought a heluva lot of in days gone out. Really, fellows, I never thought it would come to this. But when a bozo that pulls the high sombrero stuff on us poor stick-in-the-muds, so as to make us ashamed of being such dumbbells, suddenly does the double-cross, like he's gone and done it the other day, then he ought to get the works. No real rough stuff, lads, get me, cause the bloke's an orphan, but just enough lip to make him eat his own dirt. What's he say, buddies?

My stock of publishable Cherry Street vernacular has thinned down with the years. The other phrases and words that I might with all decent justice apply to Mr. Mencken in this instance, I quite remember, but I am mindful of the P. O. regulations on indecent expressions for a public sheet, and also that tens of thousands of respectable working class families allow this weekly to enter into the education of their adolescents. My cursed and loathsome uplifting instinct right here interferes with what I should rightfully call Mr. H. L. Mencken. Alas, that I am left only the dull foil of elegant badinage for tournament against the great killer of Americans.

Always he had posed and insisted that some secret strain of pure aristocracy had marked him different from the common muck of men. He held a fine lorgnette over the wormholes, slanted his thin imperious lips into a slit of disdain, and sniffed—"fish-tosh" at us all, ditch-diggers and pot-boiling scribbles alike. However, it was a sort of parade that he might justifiably strut through the battlements of his ivory castle. If he chose to wear the awesome armor of Nietzsche against the underdogs of this day, he was quite within his philosophic right. When he fought for "free press" in Boston because his magazine was barred from public sale by the Irish Catholic police of that Protestant city of ill fame, I just lifted my social service soul to the heights and sang "hor-nnas" for the crusader. And strange, I, poor soul, I, underdog, mediocrity, bard of balderdash and pish-tosh, I, worming and proletarian—I, little, diminutive and faintly dotted "I," dared to "sympathize personally," greatly unrestrainedly with Henry L. Mencken. Free speech and free press, and the "American Mercury" included, are some things that all "entirely loathsome" uplifters are vitally concerned with. And Mr. H. L. Mencken certainly fought, and quite valiantly, for the cause of free press in Boston. And, pray, would Mr. Mencken please explain if he deigned to lower his de Gotha dignity, what be his purport in so consistent and incessant a banter against the boredom of Babbitt and the minions of Moronia? Might it not be that the manner of these men doth not please him? And forsooth, doth it not behoove him mightily that these same souls in error should change their manner to his light, so that their lives be full of peace and the Menckonian pleasure of living?

To me, Mencken has been the Jeremiah of America, a scolder, a scourge, a virago, a swashbuckling. Don Quixote of the phrase. And always when he saw a wrong he strove to have it righted, and always he wailed and railed at those who refused to be yanked up to the plane he set for intellectual and civilized perfection. And if Mencken insists again before my senses that uplifters as such are "entirely loathsome" to him, then I shall hardly be so weak as

to just dub him "Liar." "Hypocrite" would be more to the point. Especially since I know that he liketh himself beyond all surpassing.

And then, "not to have any sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti. . . ." On this point I cannot argue with Mr. Mencken. He has a right to his hates when they are honest. If he is honest in his lack of love for those two immortals of the poor, and he so declares himself, then the thousands of liberals and radicals who read his magazine and his books, and who wept and sorrowed over the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti are only supplying a living and a prestige to an avowed enemy.

I, for one, vow here and now never to buy the "American Mercury" or any newspaper that publishes the utterances of H. L. Mencken. Nor shall his books ever come again into my home. Those that I now possess I will retain only in memory of what he once meant to me. Sentimental, you say. Damned practical, say I. Boycott is a fine weapon in the hands of the important mass. Ask Japan how effectively the low-down Chinese used it only a few months ago. The troops of Japan in Shantung went in quite hurriedly to "protect life and property." And when the Chinese refused to buy anything "made in Japan," how hurriedly the troops went back again, leaving "life and property" so unprotected.

Neither Fuller, nor Lowell, nor any of that infamous Bay State oligarchy had any sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti. Henry L. Mencken publishes his personal alignment with that crew. What have we liberty loving fools left to do except to socially ostracize them all?

The statement from Mencken "that men will be bombing themselves over this case when Lincoln is forgotten" is insidiously vile if only to say it with gentle intent. Mr. Mencken knows full well that the word "bomb" implies to the plutocrats and oligarchs. Mr. Mencken has had a social training sufficient to the evil of that word. He knows full well that "bombs" have been planted by the "whites" in days of outrage, in order to invoke or imply a "red terror." He knows the ways of the "Prince" from Machiavelli down to Azav, and even up to the Lawrence line strike. How greedily the public press snapped up on his "bombing predictions." Mencken, even Mencken, the avowed ikon-smasher, the high priest of ridicule over American institutions—look, even he said that bombs will be thrown. How easy it will be now for private detective agencies and even public-hired provocateurs to hurl a few harmless smoke bombs, have some aliens arrested, and so assure the general public how well they are being protected by the servants of law and order! Mr. Mencken knows all this.

I am stirred into unspeakable detestation of him and his stripe. Something tells me that American liberal thought has lost another of its few sparks of glimmering light. Not through death, but through the fell route of the renegade. I once said that name-calling is the last refuge of the failure. Perhaps a sense of having failed in impressing my bitterness upon him and you is halting my pen. And that is why I have called him "hypocrite" and "renegade." But let those names stand against him, as they must stand against any professed intellect such as his, that failed to find a glory in the life and death of the two martyrs, or could not loosen manhood from the dam of rhetoric and let forth a flood of human grief for their hideous suffering.

S. A. de Witt.

Of Sacco and Vanzetti

Who has been happy, tasting sunny fruits,
Or hearing summer hum her vast green song,
Or watching ocean tugging at its roots,
Or lying in quick arms when nights are long—
How shall he now bank in the honey hours,
Ask favors of his love or of his fate,
When, like a beast fondling what it devours,
Law slobbers justice—cold upon the plate.

Yet history knows: to every age, its crimes:
Empires half-fledged cannot be wholly wise.
We shudder, learning to endure our times,
And from the threatened flood avert our eyes.
Our senses will applaud the world again,
But who can clap life into murdered men?
—Babette Deutsch.

The Letterbox

What is Honesty?

Editor, The New Leader:

What is news?

On Sunday the Sacco-Vanzetti funeral was held in Boston, and it is reported on the first page of The New Leader.

On Monday 25,000 people stand for hours, part of the time in a heavy rain, in Union Square, New York, at a memorial meeting for Sacco and Vanzetti. Mrs. Sacco and members of the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee are present. There is not one line about it in The New Leader.

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the death masks of Sacco and Vanzetti are on view in Stuyvesant Casino, also in New York, and not less than 100,000 people pass in a steady stream through the hall to pay their last respects to their dead comrades. Not a word about it in The New Leader.

My astonishment at this strange Socialist Party evaluation of what is news should, I suppose, have been lessened by the previous action of the party's executive secretary, in regard to the New York memorial plans. I called on August Claassen Friday to enlist the party's co-operation. I showed him credentials issued by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston, which he attentively examined. In Sunday's "Times" he was quoted to the effect that the Memorial Committee, which I represent, was "self-appointed" and "that the memorial demonstration had been repudiated" by the Boston committee. This was, of course, untrue.

What, Mr. Editor, is news?

And what is sabotage?

CLARINA MICHELSON.
New York City.

The demonstration of "25,000 people" (which could not have taken place in Union Square unless men and women stood three high on each other's shoulders) was not a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting; neither was it run with the co-operation or support of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston.

When two such oracles of the truth as the "Daily Worker" and Mrs. Michelson disagree, where are poor, bewildered truthseekers to turn? Mrs. Michelson says her "memorial meeting" was run on the authorization of the Boston Committee. The "Daily Worker," on August 30, reported that the meeting took place despite "the sabotage of the mean-minded Boston Committee." The ashes of the martyred Anarchists, scheduled, as the chairman said, for "exhibition" at the meeting, did not arrive. The Boston Committee refused to send them, the esteemed "Daily Worker" informs us.

Mrs. Michelson is able to say, in all truthfulness, technically, that she is not a member of the Communist Party. She is thus a thousand times more useful to the Communists than she would be if she were a member of the party. She came from Boston ostensibly to arrange a "non-partisan" memorial meeting. She immediately turned over the meeting to the Communist "Emergency Committee," she and a representative of that body waiting on the Police Department to make arrangements. The "non-partisan" meeting immediately became indistinguishable from a Communist meeting, which it was. After this piece of maneuvering, Mrs. Michelson toddled over to the Socialist Party office. Secretary Claassen told her the Boston Committee had requested memorial meetings be held on Sunday, while the Boston funeral was going on. Two such meetings were held by Claassen's party. He withheld comment on the Michelson memorial.

The fears concerning the Union Square meeting were borne out. A high official of the Civil Liberties Union described in direct, unmeasured terms what he called Mrs. Michelson's "bungling" in arranging the gathering. "That many thousands of workers attended the meeting only adds to the enormity of the crime. As to the character of the meeting, Aldino Feliciani, founder and treasurer of the Boston Committee, described it as "a disgusting carnival; offensive to sincere mourners."

There is evidently a misunderstanding somewhere. Mrs. Michelson insists she was asked by the Boston Committee to arrange the meeting. On the other hand, we learn, the meeting was "sabotaged" by the Boston Committee. Mrs. Michelson's letter gives us an opportunity to clear this up.

We have ascertained that Mrs. Michelson was chosen in Boston to organize a New York memorial meeting only because she represented herself as a Socialist. Having had numerous disappointing experiences with Communists, particularly in the matter of funds collected for Sacco and Vanzetti, the Boston Committee wished to keep the memorial meeting out of Communist hands. Casting about for a person who could be relied upon to act in good faith, Mrs. Michelson, posing as a Socialist, was chosen to handle the meeting. Many years ago Mrs. Michelson stopped paying dues in the Socialist Party. To all intents and purposes she has not been either a Socialist or a Socialist Party member. Yet, for reasons now evident, she posed before the Boston Committee as a Socialist.

"What is news?" our friend asks. When Mrs. Michelson acts as window dressing for the Communists, that's NOT news. If she should for once refuse to be their window dressing, that would be news.